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INCIDENT OR INSURRECTION?

A CEREMONIAL PROCESSION OF ARTISANS OF
AIX-EN-PROVENCE IN 1730

A STUDY OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY

by [par]

Carole Anders, B.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

[Thèse soumise à la “Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research”
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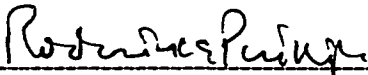
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ABSTRACT

On 24 May 1730, the ceremonial entry of the Princess de Conti into Aix-en-Provence was disrupted by artisans participating in the procession. The communal nature of the event provides an opportunity to consider prevailing attitudes towards authority among artisans in an urban setting. The study retrieves indicators of *mentalité* among shoemakers and considers them in their social and cultural context. The argument is that the protest was intended as a proportionate response to perceived transgressions, on the part of authorities, of a mutually accepted code of privilege and precedence. The ceremonial procession served as a theatre of protest for artisans, who acted to sustain rather than to challenge the status quo. In a subsidiary thesis it is argued that ceremonial processions provide a useful tool for historians to access the *mentalité* and cultural values of groups within the *menu peuple*.

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Librarians and archivists with whom I have come into contact have been exceptionally helpful. At Carleton University, Callista Kelly and Monica Ferguson have anticipated my requests and rendered services beyond what was required. The archivist and staff of the Archives municipales d'Aix-en-Provence, specifically Madame Brohon and *Monsieur le préposé au service*, were pillars of efficiency and reliability, and continued to be so through long distance requests for information. Similarly, at the Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, Monsieur Pelligrini showed exceptional consideration.

As may be seen, I have been shown high standards of professionalism. Errors, omissions and any substantive weakness of this paper are mine to improve as I grow in the discipline.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.	Archives Nationales de France.
A.D.B-R.	Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône.
A.M.	Archives Municipales à Aix-en-Provence.
A.M.C.	Archives Municipales à Cavaillon.
B.N.	Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
B.M.	Bibliothèque Méjanes à Aix-en-Provence.
M.A.	Musée Arbaud.
M.V.A.	Musée du Vieil Aix.

GLOSSARY

Bourgeoisie.¹ A generic term more or less synonymous with urban middle classes; bankers, stockbrokers, merchants, large manufacturers, and professional men of every kind.² The number of citizens belonging to the *bourgeoisie* in Aix-en-Provence in 1730 was limited (between 700 and 800 citizens according to the capitation records of 1695) because the city was an administrative centre dominated by magistrates who claimed noble rank.³ In addition, the nearby, larger city of Marseille served the economic and commercial interests of Aix-en-Provence so that opportunities for upward mobility were limited in these sectors where a *bourgeoisie* would normally develop.

Capitation. A tax levied on individual incomes, originally paid by all classes; but during the eighteenth century the clergy was legally exempted and the nobility was often so in practice. Royal tax based roughly on wealth and rank.⁴

Colonelle. Infantry company of a regiment commanded by a major. Usage in the context of a company of bourgeois guards that might protect city gates. Officers guarding a trade guild.⁵

Consul. In the municipal government of Aix-en-Provence, the consuls held executive powers

1

Roland Mousnier, *Les institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue 1598-1789* (Paris, 1996), I, 196-198.

2

Georges Rudé, *Revolutionary Europe, 1783-1815* (London, 1985), 331.

3

Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 22: "Some families' claims to nobility were immemorial, extending back to the Gallo-Roman aristocracy."; and Monique Cubells, *La Provence des Lumières* (Paris, 1984). Throughout this latter work, dimensions of nobility are discussed along a continuum of determinants.

4

George Rudé, *Revolutionary Europe. 1783-1815* (London, 1985), 331.

5

E. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris, 1863), 670.

consul in third place and the third consul in fourth place of precedence.⁶ “In theory the first consul was a noble with a fief; the assessor was a lawyer; the second consul was a noble without a fief; and the third consul was a bourgeois. The consuls could never agree whether to march by office or by rank. The assessor preferred to march by office, since in rank he might be non-noble.”⁷

Corvée. The peasant’s obligation to do unpaid labour on the roads, or make payment in lieu. Work done in turn by a corps of troops, members of a community.⁸

Ecuyer major. Gentleman in the service of the stables. “*Ecuyer* was a qualifying term that would follow the name of a noble, and less frequently the word *noble* itself appeared in the register to signify “*écuyer*”.”⁹

Grenadier. In former times, a courageous soldier who was responsible for throwing, by hand, lit grenades. Elite soldiers forming the first company of an infantry battalion. A battalion belonging to the guards and composed of elite soldiers who are tall. At the time of Louis XIV, a company of mounted grenadiers served the king’s household and marched first.¹⁰

Livre. Monetary unit of 20 *sous* or *sols* to the *livre*. There were 12 *deniers* in a *sous* or *sol*.

Menu peuple. This included wage-earners and small property-owners. The majority of artisans of Aix-en-Provence fell into this category because of the nature of the artisan milieu that mostly consisted of small enterprises operating in a limited marketplace.

6

Jacqueline Dumoulin, *Le Consulat d’Aix-en-Provence* (Dijon, 1992), 340.

7

Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolts in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1977), 42-43.

8

George Rudé, *Revolutionary Europe, 1783-1815* (London, 1985), 331: “Work done on a rotation basis by members of a militia corps, the members of a community.”

9

Donna Bohanan. *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence, 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 19.

10

E. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris, 1863), 1930.

Nobles. In Aix-en-Provence, in 1695, there were 398 sword nobles and 193 judicial or robe nobles, for a total of 591 nobles. Traditionally the majority of parlementaires in Aix-en-Provence were nobles. The 1695 capitation figures indicate that 5 of 111 parlementaires were non-noble.¹¹ *Huissiers, greffiers* and *notaires* were considered as *petite robe* in these figures, in part because of the nature of precedence and privileges in the community of Aix-en-Provence. The incumbents of these positions were given a status concomitant with that of lower nobility, a measure of the prestige of the administrative establishment in the capital of Provence.¹²

Parlements. The most important of the French courts of ordinary royal jurisdiction intended mainly as High Courts of Appeal.¹³ Please refer to Chapter I, Figure 23, page 60.

Pays d'élection. Territory in which the king could impose taxes and levies directly through elected intermediaries.¹⁴

Pays d'états. A territory in which the estates themselves were able to distribute the weight of taxes and levies required by the king and to which they had consented.¹⁵

Perruquier. A wig-maker, hairdresser. The guild of wig-makers in Aix-en-Provence included barbers and operators of bath houses.

¹¹

Jacqueline Carrière, *La population d'Aix-en-Provence à la fin du XVIIe siècle* (Aix, 1958), 70-72; Jean Paul Coste, *La ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), I, 754-755; Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 216.

¹²

Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence, 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 19.

¹³

George Rudé, *Revolutionary Europe 1783-1815* (London, 1985), 331.

¹⁴

Jacqueline Dumoulin, *Le Consulat d'Aix-en-Provence* (Dijon, 1992), 340.

¹⁵

Jacqueline Dumoulin, *Le Consulat d'Aix-en-Provence* (Dijon, 1992), 340.

Syndics. An official elected to conduct the affairs of a body; former name for the Consuls. By extension, the elected inspectors of each guild charged with the administration and monitoring of guild regulations and levies. The title of *anciens syndics* conferred social superiority over other members of the guild.¹⁶

*Viguiers.*¹⁷ In Provence, a magistrate who had policing responsibilities within the city, and oversaw ten archers (modern day police officers) routinely called “*la famille du Viguiers.*”

¹⁶

Roland Mousnier, *Les institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue 1598-1789* (Paris, 1996), I, 202.

¹⁷

André Bouyala d'Arnaud, *Evocation du vieil Aix-en-Provence* (Paris, 1964), 83.

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PROLOGUE - THE NARRATIVE

The two texts that follow are formal accounts of the disruption of the ceremonial entry of the Princess de Conti¹ into Aix-en-Provence. Written in 1730, the first manuscript is intended to record the procedure followed by city officials in preparing and welcoming the distinguished visitor, and her thirteen year old son. The description was to be entered in the city's Book of Ceremonies, an official manual whose purpose was twofold. The first was protocol-related: the account provided officials with a reference on customary precedence, a comparative basis upon which to devise the level of protocol to be accorded nobles of royal blood and Marshals of France. The second was administrative and quasi-legal. The recorded ceremonial served to confirm that the city had duly fulfilled its duty of extending privileges due to such distinguished visitors. As to time, this first document refers to the day immediately preceding the arrival of the Princess de Conti, and the formal ceremonies, to the time that the visitors retired on the day of arrival.

The document that follows the first brief record is of more formal judicial importance. It provides an expanded account of the arrival ceremony, but more specifically of its disruption by artisans of Aix-en-Provence. The narrative would have been penned by the city's official recorder, Monsieur Fèdon, from the testimony of reliable witnesses to the event.

¹ Primary and secondary sources use either Conty or Conti. The majority of family manuscripts, and R. de Saint-Simon use the appellation Conti. The signature of the husband of Louise-Elisabeth de Condé, uses Prince de Conti, the spelling adopted in this paper.

in this case the *Assesseeur* of the city, Sieur Gensollen, the *Ecuyer* de Saint Louis, and *Capitaines de quartier* Court. Bruys and Concorde who, in their role as leaders of detachments of the bourgeois guard, had also participated in the ceremonial procession. The formal authors of the contextual account were the Consuls of Aix-en-Provence, leading officials of a city where there was no mayor but shared executive responsibilities among four elected officials, the First Consul, *Assesseeur*, Second and Third Consuls, supported by councillors from the city's five districts. Any anomaly in the spelling of the names of individuals and locations would be due to the general upset caused by events, as it is unlikely that the recorder, Monsieur Fèdon, was not acquainted with the artisans mentioned in the testimony: D'Ambrun and the Routiers, father and son. Messieurs Saurin and Besson were affluent master artisans who held elected office within their guilds. It should be noted that all witnesses were elected officials of Aix-en-Provence. The purpose of the written testimonial was to serve as evidence before the *Grand' Chambre*, the highest court of Provence. Judicial protocol required that the testimony of reliable witnesses substantiate accusations placed before the courts. The *Grand' Chambre* would consider the written evidence in closed session, with neither the accuser nor the accused being present.

On the same day as the disrupted procession, Consuls had held audiences with witnesses and determined to fine the guilds involved, and to imprison those artisans who had been the most "seditious." The written testimonial was to serve as supportive evidence as Consuls referred their own actions in the matter to the *Grand' Chambre*, for confirmation of their authority to act, and for endorsement of the sentences Consuls had imposed. There are two reasons that motivated this step by Consuls of the city.

The *Grand' Chambre*'s authority in judicial matters relating to rank and precedence was indisputable. The *Grand' Chambre* was the highest court in the province mandated to deal with matters of precedence but also with those relating both to the artisan class and to the maintenance of peace, order and good government in Provence. Since it was chaired by the Intendant and First President Cardin de LeBret,² the *Grand' Chambre*'s endorsement of the measures imposed would therefore present a common front of official authority before the citizens of Aix-en-Provence. In turn this common front would render the Consuls' own judgement in the matter of the sentencing of artisans more authoritative.

A previous official decision on precedence, considered by both Consuls and members of the *Grand' Chambre* immediately before the ceremonial entry of the Princess de Conti, is of interest. In the matter of the rank and precedence given to the guild of shoemakers in the ceremonial procession, Consuls may have recognized that they were vulnerable to criticism before central authorities in Versailles. Normally, Versailles would hold local officials responsible for unrest in their jurisdictions. In this instance, central authorities might have perceived correctly that officials of Aix-en-Provence had contributed to an atmosphere of discord by their own actions before the arrival of a princess of royal blood to the capital city of Provence. Thus the second document should be read with an awareness that it was to serve also as a pre-emptive statement exonerating Consuls of blame in the matter of the disrupted ceremonial procession.

²

In secondary sources, Cardin de LeBret is often referred to as Cardin LeBret. Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris refer to the Intendant as Cardin de LeBret, and on this basis the former version of the name has been adopted. It is the appellation used in the original manuscript describing the ceremonial entry and its disruption.

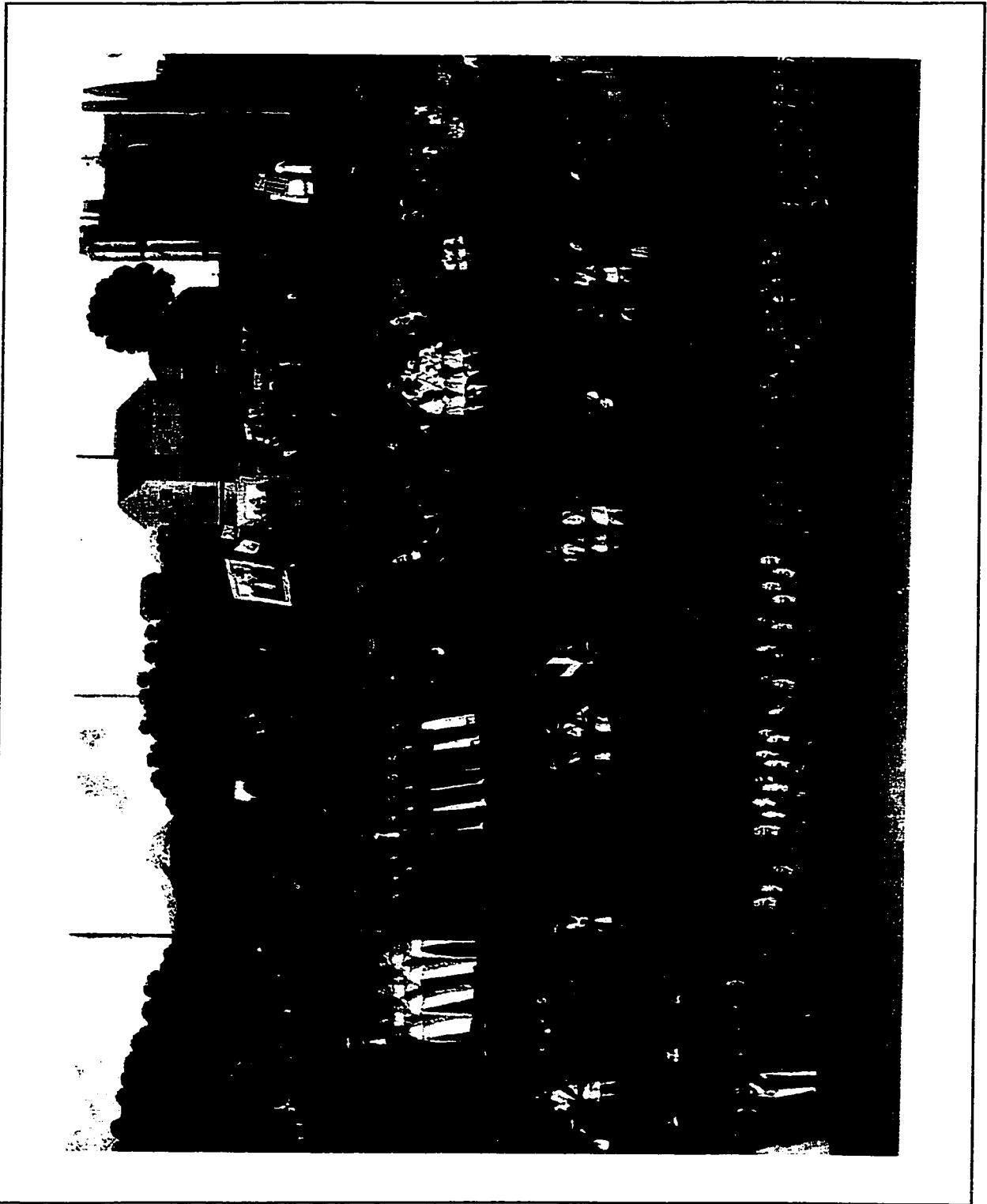


Figure 1. Procession in Aix-en-Provence (Between 1710-1740).
Source: Nicole Martin-Vignes and Noël Coulet, *Aix-en-Provence au XVIIIe siècle* (Aix-en-Provence, 1986), 13-14.

Verbal written on the reception of Monsieur the Duke, and the Princess de Conti.³

On 24 May 1730, upon the notice given to Messieurs the Consuls that the Dowager Princess de Conti and her son, the

Prince de Conti, would be arriving in this city, the corps of trades and crafts were ordered⁴ to prepare 200 artisans to be put under arms for her arrival. Messieurs the Consuls sent one of the *capitaines de quartier* to find out the precise time of her arrival. The *Capitaine* saw the Princess on 23 May 1730 at Cavaillon, and was told that she would be in Aix the

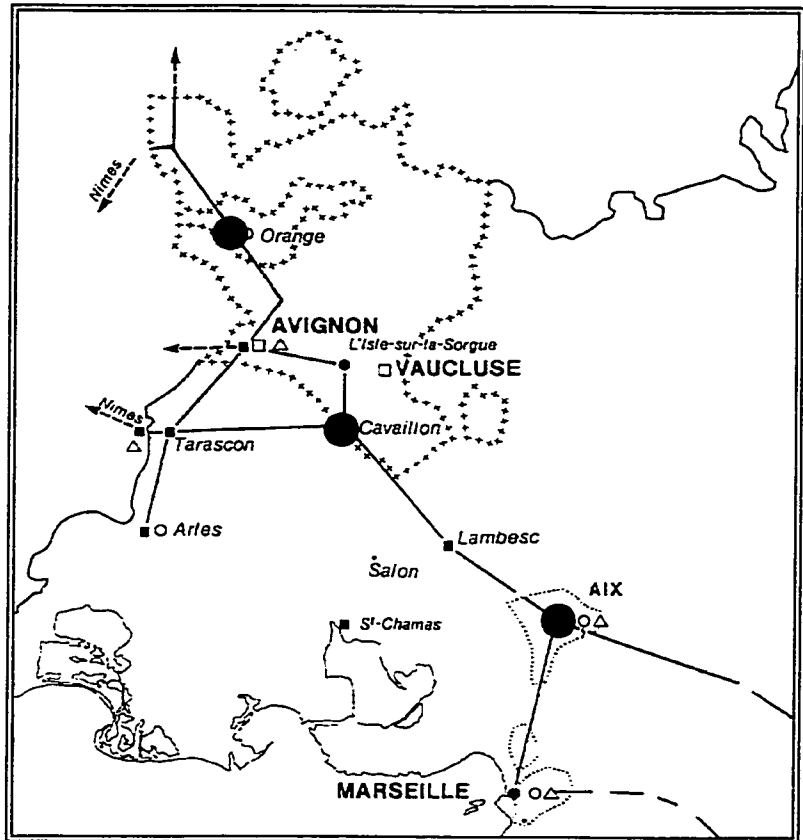


Figure 2 - (Scale: 1cm to 15 kilometers)
Travel Route: Cavaillon to Aix-en-Provence in 1730.
Source: E. Baratier, *Atlas historique* (Paris, 1969), 261.

³

A.M., AA 55 F 78.

⁴

A.M., HH 15 F 71. This document states that the guild was advised of the visit on 22 May 1730.

next day, May 24th at about noon.⁵ The said *Capitaine de quartier*, having marched the night long, gave this notice to the Consuls on May 24th, at six o'clock in the morning. Immediately, order was given to beat the drums to signal the Trades and Crafts to come under arms. They arrived at City Hall with the members of Council who had been invited to do so by written note. At the agreed time, Messieurs the Consuls left City Hall wearing their hoods.⁶ The Consuls were preceded by the Trades and Crafts who were under arms and who had been organized in five companies. Each company was commanded by one of the *capitaines de quartier*⁷ who carried a standard and wore neck armour. The trumpets in front of Messieurs the Consuls sounded the call to march. Messieurs set off, followed by provincial and city officials, and then by delegates from the Council. In this order they went to the Bras d'Or⁸ to await the arrival of the Princess. The troops were lined up from the Bras d'Or to the fountain that adjoins the enclosed area des Minimes. Wig-makers were at the head of the

5

A.M. HH 15 F 71; BB 108 F 37; HH 42 F 28.

6

Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt* (Princeton, 1978), 43. The *chaperon* was a band of red and black velvet worn by Consuls across the left shoulder. It was evocative of the Roman past of Aix-en-Provence and a valued symbol of office.

7

Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence* (Baton Rouge, 1992) 86-89; and Jacqueline Dumoulin, *Le Consulat d'Aix-en-Provence* (Dijon, 1992), 87. Elected by district, a *capitaine de quartier* was usually a noble or a member of the bourgeois elite. In times of war, he was responsible for the recruitment and command of a fighting unit of bourgeois. In peacetime, the *capitaine* maintained order in the neighbourhood, organized festivities and was responsible for the maintenance of the city's firearms.

8

The Logis du Bras d'Or was a prosperous inn located outside city walls where travelers would stop on their way into the city. It is depicted in the upper right hand corner of the figure of a procession appended as Figure 1, page xvii. The Logis du Bras d'Or is also annotated on a map to be found in Chapter I, Figure 14, page 34.

troops. each wearing a hat with an identical border. As soon as the royal carriage was seen with the Princess and Monsieur her son sitting in front of her, the drums called to arms. Once at the Bras d'Or, Messieurs the Consuls approached. Mr. Gensollen addressed her and in his speech he mentioned Monsieur le Prince de Conti, who was about thirteen years of age. After this official greeting, the drums rolled, trumpets sounded, and the Princess entered by the Porte des Augustins. An entrance arch had been prepared very simply with wood upon which had been placed the arms of the Princess at the centre, and the arms of the province and of the city at the sides. The Princess was brought to the residence of Monsieur de LeBret, first President and Intendant. The companies followed them to set up a guard detail but the Princess declined their services. Messieurs the Consuls sent a trumpeter to learn when they might have the honour of greeting Her Most Serene Highness. Told that it would be convenient around five o'clock, they then returned with city officials. Having greeted Madame la Princesse, they offered her gifts from the city: 24 bottles of jam, 24 boxes of candles, three books. The package was ornamented by ribbons in city colours. The delegation then went to the apartment of Monsieur le Prince de Conti where they had the honour of saluting him. Consuls offered a similar gift to that given the Princess but to which 24 bottles of wine were added and they retired.



Figure 3 - Armories of the City in *Sang et Or* (Blood and Gold) the colours of Aix-en-Provence.

Procès Verbal done in the case
of the disobedient Trades and
Crafts upon the arrival of
Monsieur de Conti and the
Princess de Conti.

The twenty-fourth of May, seventeen hundred and thirty, be it known that we, Consuls of Aix, *Procureurs* of the three Estates of this *pays* of Provence, Lieutenant Generals of Police, upon the news of the arrival of the Princess, third dowager de Conti, and of Monseigneur the Prince de Conti, her son, gave the necessary orders to render the honours due Their Serene Highnesses. We ordered each corps of Trade and Crafts of Provence to take up arms. A dispute arose yesterday on this, between the wig-makers' guild and that of the shoemakers. The guild of shoemakers submitted a request to the court to confirm its rank and precedence in the bourgeois guard. Having done us the honour of calling us to the *Grand' Chambre*, after having heard us, the court decreed that the march would be ordered following the rank that we would designate. The shoemakers' *syndics* came to City Hall where they had us read the court's decree. Since the court's decision was that we should designate the order as we deemed, we ordered that wig-makers be placed in the first rank of the bourgeois guard: it should be noted that we had told the court in chambers that this had been our intention, and the court did not disapprove of it. Nevertheless contrary to the orders that we had given pursuant to the decree of the court and in discharge of our duties, there happened today on the occasion of the entrance of Their Most Serene Highnesses, a number of rebellions, mutinies, and disobediences on the part of various trades and individuals.



Figure 4 - La Fontaine des Minimes. Source: Lucie Schmeltzer, *Promenades autour des fontaines d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1995), 34.

At ten o'clock in the morning the guard lined up in rows on the arrival route of Their Most Serene Highnesses, on the road which leads from L'Aigle d'Or to the Fontaine des Minimes. The shoemakers, who were standing behind the wig-makers, started to mutiny. They shouted that when the wig-makers walked by, they would shoot at them. As their exchanges were bound to create disorder, we were given notice of it at the Logis du Bras d'Or where we had retired while awaiting the arrival of Their Most Serene Highnesses. We were obliged to summon the *syndics* of the shoemakers to order them anew to remain in their place in the procession. They were to let wig-makers take the place that we had assigned them. If they felt that they had rights to the contrary then they should plead such rights before the court. However, when Their Most Serene Highnesses arrived the shoemakers again caused upheavals. The following complaint was made by Seigneur de St-Louis, major-

equerry of the city, and Seigneur Court first *capitaine de quartier* who was at the head of the wig-makers in the procession.

To wit that the shoemakers seized the area around the carriage in which Their Most Serene Highnesses had arrived, as well behind as on either side of the carriage. To do so they had pushed with force many wig-makers who were marching behind the carriage, following instructions given to them, to place themselves in the lead. Shoemakers forced the said wig-makers to abandon their position. Having witnessed this, the said Seigneur de St-Louis advanced to order them to step aside and to take their place and to open the way to let wig-makers pass. The shoemakers responded with insolence and refused to obey. They did not want to leave the place that they had just occupied, and with force and violence repulsed the wig-makers who were advancing.

A great number of wig-makers were mistreated by blows and assaulted with rifles. Among those who took part in the assault on wig-makers, the said D'Ambrun, shoemaker, who resides in front of Graille, the druggist by the Carmelites, appeared always to be the most seditious. Seigneurs de St-Louis and Court suffered a serious disobedience: their orders and their representations were ineffective. Not only were they pushed back but they were also threatened with rifles turned against them. Seigneur Court received a blow from a rifle, and both he and Seigneur de St-Louis were obliged to leave the area when a crowd arrived and surrounded the shoemakers.

A moment later the said Seigneur Court was in the alley that is between the first door and the corner of the Logis de la Mule Blanche. He saw the said Michel Routier, the elder, a carpenter who has his shop facing the Rue des Eyguesiers, assaulting the apprentice of

Besson, a wig-maker. He was beating him with a rifle butt, giving him blows about the head.

The apprentice was so injured that he is still bedridden. As Saurin the wig-maker happened upon this, and tried to stop the exchange, the said Routier hit Saurin about the head with a rifle butt with such force that he was felled. Having witnessed this, the said Seigneur Court approached to stop the fight. He seized the said Routier by the collar to bring him to us, but in that instant the younger son of the said Routier, named Esperit living on Rue du Mouton, arrived and jumped furiously onto Seigneur Court. He pushed him back with violence, giving him a great blow on the collar and obliged him to leave his father. Esperit Routier delivered several blows to the said Seigneur Court. Several people happened at that moment upon them and ensured that he was not mistreated further.

Elsewhere, Their Most Serene Highnesses had arrived at Monsieur the First President's residence. Seigneur de St-Louis entrusted Seigneur Court with the responsibility of mounting the guard with wig-makers. Seigneur Court went to the Princess' apartments to offer this guard to her. Upon arriving at the said apartments he found that the shoemakers had seized the first entrance to the apartments which is on the landing of the stairs. They had locked it so that no one could get in. Thus, Seigneur Court, having arrived from outside to mount the guard with the wig-makers, found that the shoemakers had seized this post. They were partially inside and partially outside, and given that Their Most Serene Highnesses had refused a guard, the said Seigneur de St-Louis ordered the shoemakers to open the door and to withdraw. They refused to do so for a long time, so he was obliged to take the keys from them by force, and to open the door himself. Once the doors were opened, these shoemakers joined with their comrades who were outside. They once again refused to withdraw and

began to insult those of the wig-makers who were present. This caused a frightening fracas in the stairs and in the yard of Monsieur the First President to which one could not bring order, the said shoemakers mocking the orders of the Seigneur de St-Louis with disdain. He was obliged to take the guards of Monsieur the First President and to remove them with violence, a thing which was executed with great effort and with a great tumult caused in the home of Monsieur the First President. The complaint above being affirmed by the Seigneurs de St-Louis and Court, as true and having signed thereto, St-Louis Major, Court.

Elsewhere, Seigneur Concorde, another *capitaine de quartier*, was at the head of a company composed of carpenters, locksmiths and metalworkers. He has brought a complaint to us that the metalworkers wanted to advance in front of the said carpenters and locksmiths. When he denied them that position, they refused to march with the rest of the company. Having seized the two drums and the fifes, they took another way and left the Seigneur Concorde without fife and without drums, to go to Monsieur the First President only with the carpenters and locksmiths.

As Seigneur Concorde was coming back from Monsieur the First President's residence with these same carpenters and locksmiths, he found the said metalworkers at the end of the Cours. He ordered them to take their place and to follow him with the drums and fife. The said metalworkers refused, and in that moment, the Sieur *Assesneur* arrived at the Cours where the conflict was occurring.

The *Assesneur* saw the company separated in two, with the Seigneur Concorde⁹ with

9

The official recorder, Monsieur Fèdon was casual about the use of titles and the spelling of names. To facilitate the reading of this narrative, names and titles have been standardized.

the carpenters and locksmiths in front of the house where Monsieur d'Entrecasteau resides. Opposite them in the Cours was the other half of the company, composed of the metalworkers, gathered in front of the house of Monsieur Perrin, the drums and fife with them. Upon the complaint made to him by Seigneur Concorde, the said Seigneur *Assesneur* advanced towards the metalworkers and ordered them, as well as the drums and fife, to follow their *capitaine de quartier* in good order, and to obey him. They responded that they would obey; but hardly had the said Seigneur *Assesneur* gone into the Rue de la Monoye, that they no longer wanted to recognize Seigneur Concorde. As he wanted to go towards the Rue de la Miséricorde, they started to beat the drums and to march towards the Pont Moreau, abandoning the *capitaine de quartier* and the rest of the company. The *capitaine de quartier*, ran after the Seigneur *Assesneur* to give him an account of what was occurring. He retraced his step and, in his presence, forced the drums and fife to follow the *capitaine de quartier* and the metalworkers to march. Rather than go within the ranks, the metalworkers followed the fife and drums. Worse, in the presence of the Seigneur *Assesneur*, they turned their rifles, putting the crop behind the shoulder and the mouth of the rifle downward, and this with an almost unanimous will on the part of the metalworkers. One of them, upon seeing that the drums were following the *capitaine de quartier*, wrenched by force the drumsticks that had been given them. The Seigneur Concorde has been unable to tell us the name of the one who did this, and has so signed Concorde.

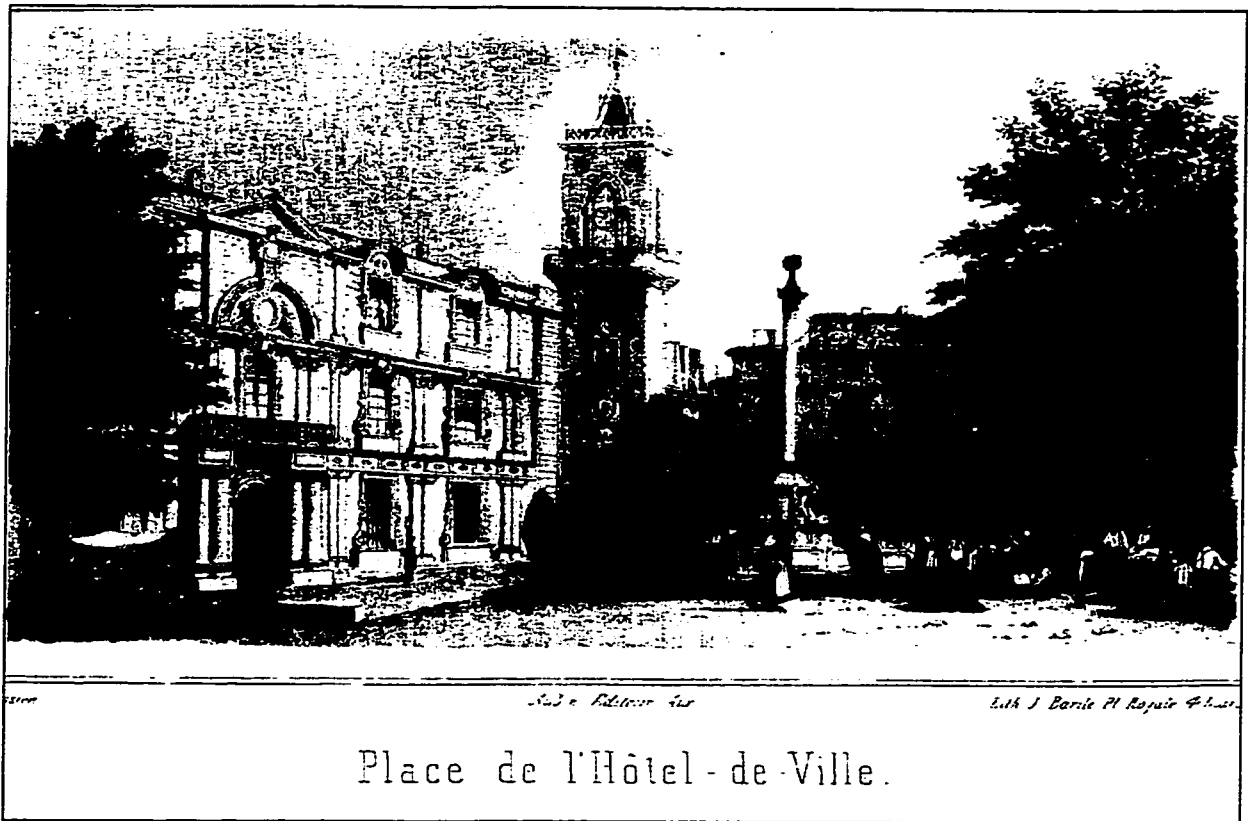


Figure 5

City Hall in Aix-en-Provence where the procession assembled on 24 May 1730 for the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti. Source: Roux Alphéran, *Les rues d'Aix* (Aix-en-Provence, 1848).

And as all the facts above are extremely grave, that there has been formal disobedience to the order of the officers of the city, a disdain of the authority of the Consuls, a number of insolences, mutinies, drowned in facts and seditions,¹⁰ so that it is impossible to deny such occurrences, as much for the present as for the extreme consequence that this may cause in the future, we have come together in the City Hall. We called the guild of shoemakers and advised them of the complaints above for each item that involved them. As

¹⁰

This unusual expression, translated literally, provides us with a sense of how overwhelming events appeared to the writer.

they had with them Galon their *prieur*¹¹ at their head, he responded to us that he could say nothing about that which had happened as the disruption had occurred at the end. He was at the head of the company and had been unable to remedy the situation. When we asked him who were those at the end who had caused the disorder, neither he, nor anyone else wanted to name them. He asked that we hear Seigneur Bruys, *capitaine de quartier*, who was at their head and we requested that he bring the roll of all those who were under arms.

Furthermore we summoned the metalworkers, after we had advised them of all the complaints that concerned them. They had given no legitimate response to the accusations, and did not want to name the individual who had ripped the drumsticks from the drummers. Upon our request they gave into our hands the roll of those of their trade that were under arms.

As hereinbefore stated:

further to the information given to us by many individuals whose veracity is not suspect as to the facts outlined above, we have ordered with respect to the shoemakers that the so called D`Ambrun, residing in front of the druggist, Graille, shall be placed in La Charbonnière,¹² to remain there until further orders. For the rest, the remainder

¹¹

Fernand Benoit, *La Provence et le Comtat Venaissin* (Avignon, 1992), 204. Each trade was under the protection of a saint and associated with a parish. The *prieur* was a master artisan elected by the guild of artisans to represent their interests. The shoemakers of Aix-en-Provence were under the protection of Saint Louis, and Saints Crépin et Crépinien. The guild of shoemakers met in the convent of the Augustins in the *quartier* Augustins.

¹²

Despite several interviews with local curators, historians and researchers, and consultation of manuscripts and maps of the period in Aix-en-Provence, I have been unable to establish the location and exact meaning of this reference to La Charbonnière. Usually, prison sentences simply referred to the local prison within the palace walls (torn down in the late

will be decided by ourselves only after having heard Monsieur le Seigneur Bruys;

That the named Michel Routier, the elder, and his youngest son, will also be placed in La Charbonnière to remain there until further orders; and the son for such length of time until the insulted Seigneur Court, *capitaine de quartier*, consents to having him freed. This will not be for longer than a fortnight. They are condemned to a fine of twelve *livres* each;

That *l'ancien des jurés* and *l'ancien des prieurs*¹³ of the metalworkers will be similarly put to La Charbonnière to remain there until further notice;

And [...]of all the other members of their corps who were under arms and of whom they have given the roll will be condemned to a fine of six *livres* each, to the effect of which the roll will be inserted following this present record;

eighteenth century). However, there is common agreement among those consulted that this passage refers to work sentences. If this is the case, the unusual sentences would serve as corroborating evidence that this disruption of the ceremonial entry of the Princess de Conti had significance beyond a routine disturbance. La Charbonnière would be the site where wood coal was manufactured and stored, outside city walls. There were several mines beyond Fuveau, to the south east of Aix-en-Provence, on the route to Marseille. (Source: Edouard Baratier, *Atlas historique* (Paris, 1969), 237.)

13

Master artisans who had served as elected representatives of their guilds had acquired increased status, and were allowed to retain their title, with the appellation "*ancien*" preceding the title, after their term of office. They were accountable for the actions and financial encumbrances of guild members. For this reason, authorities could and did hold them liable for fines and prison terms to which the guild had been sentenced. In Aix-en-Provence, the traditional term referred to the "executive" master artisans who had taken oath, or *jurés*. The *jurande* was the traditional term for the single legal corps of artisans, referred more commonly in 1730 as *corps* or *corporation*. W. Sewell, *Work & Revolution in France* (Cambridge, 1997), 189: "borrowed from the English in early eighteenth-century". *Prieur* was the traditional term used to designate the elected guild official who bore the more modern title of *syndic* in common usage in Aix-en-Provence in 1730.

And, given that we have been unable to hear the Seigneur de Bruys *capitaine de quartier*, today, that it is already late and that there are a number of other plaintiffs, we have remanded to tomorrow the continuation of this present transcript, disbursements of which they will be constrained to conform to, by usual means, solidly by corps. signed Gensollen *Assesseur d'Aix. procureur du pays*. Bonfils *d'Aix procureur du pays*. Grassy *d'Aix. procureur du pays*.

On the following day, the twenty-fifth day of the month of May and year, we have assembled at the place stated above, where the Sieur *Assesseur* has declared that about nine o'clock yesterday evening, the *syndics* of the shoemakers accompanied by a few members of their corps came to him to hand over the roll of all those who were present under arms. They declared that they were not in a position to stop the mutinous and the seditious ones. We required that they annotate the names. They refused to do so, saying that they did not know them.

And when he arrived, the said Sieur de Bruys, *capitaine de quartier* who was at the head of the shoemakers, explained that having been close to L'Aigle d'Or he came first upon a tumult and a sedition. People were saying that one had to take the advance by force over the wig-makers. To appease them he made them understand that they could not overtake the wig-makers, since a space of six paces had to be maintained between companies of the *garde bourgeoise*. By means of this, the wig-makers formed the Company of Grenadiers and they, that of La Colonnelle.¹⁴ This expedient first calmed spirits. Then the named D'Ambrun, shoemaker, who lives in front of the druggist Graille, said out loud that they had to seize the

¹⁴Please refer to the glossary for a full explanation of these positions.

area surrounding the carriage of the Princess. The idea was approved by almost everyone. Their Most Serene Highnesses having arrived, they placed themselves by force around the carriage, seized the drums and the fifes, and then obliged them to march with them. Everything that was said to them or ordered proved to be useless, so that there remained but the named Galon *syndic* and some ten others that did not leave, and could not know what occurred afterwards, and has so signed Bruys.

Following which, we the Consuls and *Assesneur* of Aix, *procureurs* of the people of the three estates of this province, Lieutenant General of Police for Aix, after having closely examined everything above on the sedition and disorder, have commanded:

That they will be interned in La Charbonnière, to remain there for a longer term than would normally be the case,

And condemned to a fine of thirty *livres*:

That the *prieurs* and *jurés* of the corps of shoemakers, other than Galon, who did not leave the *capitaine de quartier*, will be put in La Charbonnière to remain there until further notice;

And, on the understanding that they were almost all delinquent, sentence the corps of the said shoemakers to a fine of three hundred *livres*, to be settled among them;

And, to those who did not leave the *Capitaine*, to be discharged of their contribution to the said fine:

And, regarding the other plaintiffs who are presently at City Hall, for blows and insults received by them, we have sent them away after noon, and have

said that having heard eyewitnesses for the greater part of the matters aforementioned;

And, the importance of the above events being understood, we have judged that it is proper to let the Court know what had occurred and the orders that we have given and have charged the clerk, Monsieur Fèdon, to find out if the Court would grant us an audience this morning and he has replied that the Court was disposed to hear us.

At that moment we went to the *Grand Chambre*, accompanied by Monsieur de St-Louis, Major and of the three *capitaines de quartier*. In the presence of Messieurs the representatives of the King, we explained to the Court what had happened yesterday, and the manner in which we had dealt with matters, begging the Court to read our transcript. After, we left the chamber. We were recalled after the Court had taken its determination.

Monsieur the First President pronounced:

That the Court, having read the transcript, approved our conduct and all the punishments that we have pronounced;

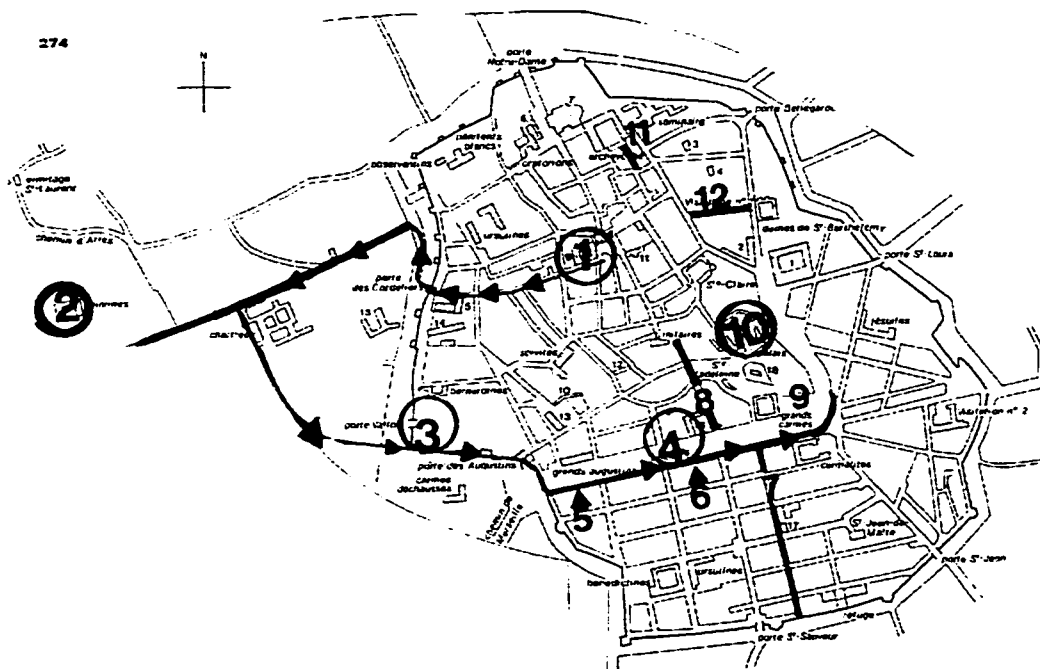
That the Court found only that we had been too moderate but that the Court attributed this gentleness to that of *pères de la patrie* (Fathers of Provence);

And exhorted us to continue to gather evidence of all the diverse accusations against other delinquents and to punish them as we saw fit and legitimate, the intention of the Court being to support our authority.

After the decision, we withdrew to City Hall where we added the pronouncement of the Court to our own transcript and ordered that we would continue to investigate the events which occurred yesterday.

Done in Aix on the day and month mentioned above.

AIX-EN-PROVENCE - THE CEREMONIAL ENTREE - KEY LOCATIONS



Map of Aix-en-Provence in 1730 - Source: E. Baratier, *Atlas historique* (Paris,1969), 274.

The ceremonial route began at City Hall (1) to the Fontaine des Minimes (2). The procession then returned to the city through the Porte des Augustins (3) down the Cours (4) past the house of Monsieur Entrecasteau (5) at number 10 and Monsieur Perrin (6) at number 46. On this south side of the Cours, was the Rue de la Monoye (7) from which *Assesseur* Gensollen returned to help Sieur Concorde. In front, on the north side of the Cours, was the Rue de la Miséricorde (8) down which metalworkers refused to follow *Capitaine de quartier* Concorde. The convents of the Carmelites were on either side of the Cours, in front of which d'Ambrun, the most seditious shoemaker had his residence (9). The procession wound its way to the residence of the Intendant and First President (10). Rue des Eyguesiers (11) and Rue du Mouton (12) were in the same *quartier* where the Routiers assaulted Besson's apprentice and the *capitaine de quartier*.

Figure 6 - The Ceremonial Procession - Key Locations. (Scale: 1 cm to 100 m.)

INTRODUCTION

On May 24, 1730, the ceremonial procession in honour of the formal entrance into Aix-en-Provence of the Princess de Conti and her 13-year-old son was disrupted by artisans. According to authorities, the disturbances had been caused by rivalry between two guilds for precedence in the procession. Such conflicts were not uncommon in the struggle for privilege and precedence in eighteenth-century France,¹ yet authorities labelled the events as “*séditions*” and “*mutineries*” in the ceremonial records of the city.² In their testimony to the magistrates of the *Grand' Chambre*, the highest court in Provence, city Consuls underlined the artisans' serious challenge to authority, and sought the court's endorsement of the punitive measures they had imposed.³

The communal nature of the event, and the involvement of the guilds of trades and crafts, present an opportunity to undertake a study of prevailing attitudes towards authority among artisans in an urban setting. The objective is to contribute to an understanding of relations of authority in Aix-en-Provence, and of the attitudes they engendered in artisans. The study establishes linkages between the manner in which the ceremonial procession was

¹

David Garrioch, *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie, 1690-1830* (Cambridge, 1996), 50.

²A.M., AA 55, F 71. Trans.: “seditions” and “mutinies”.

³

The *Grand' Chambre* was the highest court of Parlement. The role of the *Consuls* and their position on city government may be found in Chapter I, Figure 20, page 50.

disrupted and events affecting artisans, more specifically the guild of shoemakers.

The following chapters will explore the formal structure of relations between artisans and the elite in the urban context of Aix-en-Provence and Provence more generally, the nature of precedence and processions in the community and, lastly, the experience of authority as it would have been felt by artisans. The argumentation will be modelled to demonstrate that artisans did conform to standards of deference and authority within the social hierarchy⁴ of Aix-en-Provence. In greater part, relationships rested on mutually-accepted barriers of deference and authority, within a communal understanding of roles and reciprocal obligations.

The manner in which the ceremonial procession was disrupted provides evidence at the micro-level that artisans operated with some independence within a vital subordinate culture. The ruling feudal principle held that as the elite fulfilled its duties according to the code of “*noblesse oblige*,” so the common people outwardly rendered the charges they imposed. This premise implies a clear acceptance of *quid pro quo* in the rites of the urban community. A link will be established between the behaviour and actions of the protesting artisans during the ceremonial procession and alterations to the physical and societal fabric of their neighbourhood.

It will be argued that as the artisans’ urban environment changed so did the adherence to this commonly understood set of accommodations of deference and authority within the *mentalité* of artisans. The ceremonial procession served as a theatre of protest for artisans,

4

Elinor G. Barber, *The Bourgeoisie in 18th century France* (Princeton, 1955), 15-31.

ensuring that their message was clearly understood by authorities. Their bold challenge to authority led to an alliance between municipal and provincial officials. This theme will be developed in the concluding chapter based on the aggregated evidence drawn from the social context in which artisans coped with such power relationships.

The study suggests that the artisans' protest was intended as a proportionate response to perceived transgressions by authorities of a mutually accepted code of precedence and privilege. The nature of relations between artisans and different levels of authority reflect frustrations in the short and long terms that contributed to the disturbance that authorities were unable to control.⁵ Disruptions of ceremonial processions have been largely overlooked by historians of eighteenth-century protest movements in France.⁶ In a subsidiary thesis it is argued that the result of this case study demonstrates that such disturbances, and the cultural attitudes they reveal, constitute a promising approach for the study of *mentalités*.

The disrupted ceremonial entry of the Princess de Conti into Aix-en-Provence is considered on three levels. The first establishes the formal authority structure of Aix-en-Provence, the subordination it implied, and the limitations on the agency of artisans. The second outlines the role of ceremonial processions in the community as a vehicle for public demonstrations of precedence. The third demonstrates that, cognizant of the repercussions,

5

Roland Mousnier, "Les Concepts d'Ordres, d'états de fidélité et de monarchie absolue en France de la fin du XVe siècle à la fin du XVIIe." *Revue Historique* 247 (1972), 289-312.

6

Maurice Pezet, *La Provence des rebelles. Révoltes populaires du XVIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris, 1980); and René Pillorget, *Les mouvements insurrectionnels de Provence entre 1596 et 1715* (Paris, 1975), 1003; Boris Porchnev, *Les soulèvements populaires en France de 1623 à 1648* (Paris, 1963), 261.

artisans exercised a limited agency in the public domain through the disruption of the procession, in order to signal their dissatisfaction with authority. More significantly, the artisans were motivated by a sense of commitment to the traditional values and mores of the Ancien Régime, and acted to sustain rather than to challenge the status quo. The artisans' protest was proportional to their perceived loss of status at the hands of authorities, suggesting that the disruption of the ceremonial *entrée* was about relationships of power within the community of Aix-en-Provence.⁷

The original manuscript recounting the disruption of the ceremonial procession was discovered among routine ceremonial protocols. The text remains a fascinating narrative, with bewildering passages and “opaque” gestures⁸ that hint at an underlying malaise that went beyond the immediate event and its judicial sequel. In otherwise complete records, no further mention of the incident could be found to validate the official version of events, with the exception of brief entries in the records of the two guilds involved: a vote to approve payment of a fine and a vote to approve payment of compensation to the *Viguier*.⁹ At this period, newspapers would not have carried reports or communications about current events,¹⁰ and no local newspaper was published in Aix-en-Provence until the 1735-1740 period so that

7

William Beik, *Urban protest in seventeenth-century France* (New York, 1997), 1.

8

Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1985), 5.

9

A.M., HH 42, F 112; and HH 15, F 72. The *Viguier* was a local policeman.

10

J. Godechot, *Histoire générale de la presse française* (Paris, 1969); and H. Coulet (ed.), *Les publications à la Méjanes: Mémoires de lettres classiques*. Undated. Méjanes facsimile.

confirmation could not be obtained through this avenue.¹¹

The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris holds extensive documentation from Intendant Cardin de LeBret. Archival research in his correspondence and in his official reports to Paris yielded no mention of a disturbance involving either a princess of royal blood or artisans. Intendant de LeBret was influential and well respected at Court and in the Parlement of Paris¹² so that his correspondence is regular and diverse. He was a model administrator, in whose employ some 60 officials ensured that dossiers were fully documented.¹³ The 1720-21 plague serves as an example. Intendant de LeBret and his sub-delegate Rigord ensured that data were gathered regularly on the spread of the epidemic and on the survival rate of the victims, providing comprehensive baseline information on the efficacy of the measures undertaken to fight the disease. As a result, Provence is one of the rare locales to be a reliable source of historical information on the effects and impacts of the plague.¹⁴ In a similar vein, comprehensive manuscript files contained personal and formal material but no particulars relating to a disturbance on 24 May 1730. This gap seemed to indicate that the

¹¹

Bibliothèque *Méjanes Fonds Anciens*, Aix-en-Provence, listings in inventory and confirmation of archivist. Interviews with Chekarna Attika, *Musée du Vieil Aix*, (February 1999) and Jean-François Maurel, *Musée Arbaud*, (June 1999), to confirm that no unofficial diary or correspondence might be available for this period.

¹²

F.X. Emmanuelli, et al., *La Provence moderne 1481-1800* (Rennes, 1991), 62.

¹³

A.N., H1/1284. Letters and documents addressed by Intendant de LeBret to the Comptroller General of France from 1722 to 1733 on various matters; B.N., Ms. Fr. 11380, Na. Fr. 8820 and 8962, Na. Fr. 8939, Na. Fr. 8954, Na. Fr. 8956, Na. Fr. 8961.

¹⁴

Jean-Noël Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens* (Paris, 1975), I, 292 and 298.

disruption had been a minor altercation between guilds where, despite a few bruised protagonists, no extreme damage nor loss of life had resulted. The disturbance seemed typical of a minor provençal protest, as categorized in René Pillorget's study,¹⁵ wherein the Provençaux typically acted out their frustrations by shouts and threats but in fact rarely resorted to physical attacks and pillage.

The counterbalance was that the communal nature of eighteenth-century processions in France meant that the challenge to authority had been quite public: "The procession penetrated every part of the city, and no one could remain unaware of the celebration." As well, within and outside city walls, "a huge number of people gathered along the route."¹⁶ There had thus been many witnesses to the seizure of the Princess' carriage and the seditious behaviour of artisans towards authorities, her Most Serene Highness, and her son. The incident would not have been made to pass unnoticed. Cases of *lèse-majesté*, an offence against the interests of the king, members of his family, and his government, would have been reported to Versailles by the Intendant, if only to put the matter in a perspective that would be less damaging to officials of Aix-en-Provence, responsible for the Princess' safety during her visit. In addition, the offence had not only been to the authority of leaders of Aix-en-Provence, but also had threatened the potential privileges of officials because letters of ennoblement could be granted to mayors and civic officers "as a mark of royal gratitude when

¹⁵

René Pillorget, *Les mouvements insurrectionnels en Provence entre 1596 et 1715* (Paris, 1975), 989.

¹⁶

David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris 1740-1790* (Cambridge, 1985), 156-157.

a member of the royal family visited their town during their term of office.”¹⁷ The *séditions* had occurred on a market day, an indicator that the event would have been attended by a large crowd from surrounding areas as well as residents of Aix-en-Provence.¹⁸ This brought the disruption of the ceremonial procession into a wider circle of the public sphere than would otherwise have been the case.

The carriage of a close relative of the monarch¹⁹ and her 13-year-old son, had been seized in the *mêlée*, and their apartments disturbed by a company of the bourgeois guard later that day. The incident should have merited mention in the Intendant’s papers. Moreover, the significant amount of the fine imposed, 300 *livres*, and weeks of imprisonment for those who had engaged in physical violence, indicate that the matter had been considered by the Parlement as an incident of some importance.

Manuscripts revealed that the Intendant had communicated with a confidant in Orange²⁰ to solicit information on the actions of the Princess during her stay in the Principality shortly before her arrival in Aix-en-Provence on the 24 May 1730. The informant

¹⁷

Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, *The French Nobility in the eighteenth century* (Cambridge: 1985), 36.

¹⁸

René Pillorget, “The Cascaveux: The Insurrection at Aix,” in *State and Society in Seventeenth-Century France*, Raymond F. Kierstead, ed., trans., Marilyn Kierstead, (New York, 1975), 104.

¹⁹

Please refer to the genealogical chart attached as Appendix A.

²⁰

The Principality of Orange was feudal land that had become the domain of the 13-year-old Louis-François I (1717-1776) sole surviving son of Louise-Elisabeth de Conti, since the death of the father (Louis Armand II, 1695-1727) three years earlier. The Princess de Conti also lost an eight-year old son in 1730.

reported that on 10 May 1730, in her role as Guardian of her 13 year old son, the Princess de Conti had taken decisive steps to have her son confirmed as “*seigneur foncier en directe universel*.”²¹ On 10 May 1730, the Princess had arranged for the Estates to be convened and had secured their support for an initiative to reclaim her son’s feudal rights in the Principality of Orange by having these same rights acknowledged formally. Through the years, predecessors had entered into various arrangements with bourgeois of the area whereby the inherent (*foncier*) feudal rights, tied to the land and title, had been eroded. Under her son’s name, the Princess had then issued an ordinance reclaiming customary rights, and reinstated free access to water flowing from Conti lands.²² Her intervention on behalf of the common people had extended to the imprisonment of bourgeois who had opposed her.

The informant later forwarded a copy of the related ordinance in support of his report.²³ The Princess de Conti’s position against the elite on behalf of the common people, and evidence of the Intendant’s interest in her actions before her arrival in Aix-en-Provence, provide an indication that the Princess’ visit might have had special connotations for the elite of Aix-en-Provence, and for the common people. Indeed, in Aix-en-Provence as in Orange,

²¹

B.N., Ms. Fr.8939, F. 33. In April, the Princess had sent a list of individuals she requested be appointed to the political Council of the Principality of Orange. In her presence and that of her son, on 10 May 1730, she required that the Council formally recognize her son’s rights as “*seigneur foncier en directe universel*,” that is his inherent, absolute rights as seigneur of the land, entitled to act as he wished with respect to those rights. The Intendant’s informant submits that this was achieved only because members were chosen from the list supplied by the Princess and that the Council was “*intimidé*” by the Princess’ presence.

²²

B.N., Na. Fr. 8939.

²³

B.N., Na. Fr. 8939, F. 19 and 29.

there was evidence of similar tensions between the people and officials of the Parlement and city government. A 1727-30 initiative by Parlement and city Consuls to build costly military barracks was contrary to the customary privileges of the city, because Aix-en-Provence had the rare legal right to be exempted from such a military presence.²⁴ Also, authorities had decided in Aix-en-Provence's highest court to deny traditional precedence to the guild of shoemakers. This appeared as a potential cause of unrest, one that would have influenced artisans' attitudes to authority during the ceremonial procession.

A bottom-up methodology has been adopted to consider the issue of attitudes to authority as expressed by the manner in which the procession was disrupted, including the seizure of the Princess' carriage, the seizure of the drums, attacks on law enforcement officials, and disrespect to members of the elite within such enclaves as the Intendant's residence and a fashionable avenue of the city.²⁵ Given such a context, Robert Schneider's thesis that ceremonial processions were "expressive life," has reinforced a methodological orientation of this study to look at the procession as cultural text in terms: "(. . .) that these are formative elements of people's worldviews, particular interests, and collective identities, and not merely reflections of material or social realities."²⁶ Thus the bottom-up investigation began with the dual issues of the significance and symbolism of this ceremonial *entrée*. The

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A.M., BB 108, F 224 and 232.

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René Pillorget, *Les mouvements insurrectionnels en Provence entre 1596 et 1715* (Paris, 1975), 174.

²⁶

Robert A. Schneider, *The Ceremonial City - Toulouse observed 1738-1780* (Princeton, 1995), 4.

work of historians who have retrieved key elements of processions of earlier centuries has pointed the way to the interpretation of the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti.²⁷ A study of the imagery of the ceremonial procession in England in the Tudor period, and its concurrence to an institutional establishment, has proved helpful in relating the symbolism of the ceremonial entry in Aix-en-Provence to key institutions such as the Parlement and Consulat²⁸. The process has underlined elements of the procession that did not reflect the formal hierarchy and power relationships of the community, including the deference normally accorded the *Assesneur*, *Syndics* and *Capitaines de quartier*. This approach has pointed also to the importance of precedence in determining attitudes to authority within the artisan community, and to the value artisans placed on their own rank and precedence within the bourgeois guard.

The evolution of the imagery of the ceremonial procession in Aix-en-Provence, profiled by Claire Dolan,²⁹ indicates that communal identity had evolved among the elite. The military identification prevalent in the sixteenth century had receded in favour of civic symbolism in this third decade of the eighteenth century. In addition, the profile of the artisans appears to have been more significant in contemporary ceremonial processions than

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David Dean, "Image and ritual in the Tudor parliaments," in *Tudor Political Culture*, Dale Hoak, ed., (Cambridge, 1995), 243-271; and Robert A. Schneider, *The Ceremonial City* (Princeton, 1995).

²⁸Refer to Chapter I, Figure 23, page 60; and Figure 20, page 50.

²⁹

Claire Dolan, "Liturgies urbaines et rapports sociaux en France au XVI^e siècle: fascination militaire, quartiers et corporations de métiers," *Journal of the CHA/Revue de la SHC* 5 (1994), 87-110.

had been the case in the sixteenth century. The change in the nature of the participation of artisans in ceremonial processions has led to a comparative review of ceremonial protocols followed in Aix-en-Provence from the time of Charles IX in 1564.³⁰ From this material, it has not been possible to establish specifically when the change occurred but only to confirm that it reflected the increased importance given to the creation of guilds in the seventeenth century, as a means of identifying artisans for fiscal purposes. The comparison has also revealed indicators of the significance of ceremonial *entrées* in this locale in 1730.

To identify the significance of ceremonial *entrées* for the common people of Aix-en-Provence in 1730, events related in the Book of Ceremonies from the turn of the century and prior to 1730 have been linked to minutes of the guilds of artisans of Aix-en-Provence. A wealth of evidence has underlined the importance of precedence in the *mentalité* of the artisans and pointed the way towards a bottom-up methodology to consider also attitudes towards authority in the artisan community. From this review has come the first indications that relationships of authority appear to have been mutually constructed in Aix-en-Provence, with a characteristic propensity for officials to seek confirmation of their authority from superiors.³¹ Similarly, artisans operated within reciprocal relations of power within their

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Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson. *The Paris Entries of Charles IX and Elizabeth of Austria* (Toronto, 1974); and Jean Boutier, Alain Dewerpe, Daniel Nordman. *Un Tour de France royal. Le voyage de Charles IX (1564-1566)* (Paris, 1984).

³¹

At first this propensity seemed to be normal. The apparently consistent nature of citizens' challenges to authority then raised the question of whether there were other factors involved to explain this approach to the exercise of authority. As a result, the study of attitudes to authority was extended to include consideration of this dimension of actual practice in Aix-en-Provence.

guilds and with city officials that, at first, appear to have been highly democratic. However, when placed in the context of the formal structures of power, the artisan community can be seen to have been marginalised by the elite, without a formal or informal consultation process, nor voice in civic or provincial matters. Yet guild minutes indicate that artisan guilds were operating within a vibrant subculture of Aix-en-Provence. The explanation of how relations of power functioned in practice, through cultural and institutional features that can be posited to have influenced relations between artisans and aristocrats, has been drawn from the official narrative of the ceremonial procession and is explored in the first chapter of this case study.

William Beik has underlined the importance of relating archival narratives to several perspectives that are well-documented and set in the broader context of a community.³² The empirical studies of the social institutions of Aix-en-Provence, while they are of a more positivist mode,³³ have been helpful in this respect. In their aggregate, these works³⁴ have focussed on specific dimensions of the authority structures of Aix-en-Provence, particularly its elite parlementaires and a small cohort of bourgeois. While the dynamic tension of urban

³²

William Beik, *Urban protest in seventeenth century France* (Cambridge, 1997), 9.

³³

The term is used in the sense of a factual, objective approach to history based on empirical data to support a non-interpretative re-construction of the past. *Mentalité* as text must be explored with but also outside of these boundaries.

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Jacqueline Carrière, "La population d'Aix à la fin du XVIIIe siècle," *Publications des annales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1958); Jean Paul Coste, *La ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), I and II; Monique Cubells, *La Provence des Lumières* (Paris, 1984); Jacqueline Dumoulin, *Le Consulat d'Aix-en-Provence* (Dijon, 1992); and Michel Vovelle, et al., *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1978).

historical methodologies is not reflected in most of these studies,³⁵ they bring empirical evidence in support of the thesis that artisans had few avenues in which to address issues of concern to their social group. Three distinctive aspects have been particularly relevant to this study: baseline information on the population of Aix-en-Provence, the social profile of the community, and the nature of privilege in this, the capital of Provence.

The *capitation* data from 1695 have proven to be the only reliable source of information on the population distribution of Aix-en-Provence in this period. It is the universal measure used by historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for this locale.³⁶ Also, the demographic distribution of artisans across sectors of the city has been taken from the *capitation* records, since it is unlikely to have altered substantially in the intervening period between 1695 and 1730.³⁷ However, the size of the population did change significantly as a result of the plague that devastated Aix-en-Provence in 1720-21, killing an estimated third of its population. By 1730, the population had climbed from 16,800 back to

³⁵

Claire Dolan, "Liturgies urbaines et rapports sociaux en France au XVIIe siècle: fascination militaire, quartiers et corporations de métiers," *Journal of the CHA/Revue de la SHC* 5 (1994), 87-110. Dolan has made a similar observation in this article.

³⁶

F.X. Emmanuelli, et al., *La Provence moderne* (Rennes, 1991), 125-135 provides a succinct and complete review of other sources and of the advantages of the 1695 *capitation* records. In addition, William Beik, *Urban protest in seventeenth century France* (Cambridge, 1997), 19, 20 and 21 has commented on the reliability of this information: "The figures for Aix, developed by Jean Paul Coste and Jacqueline Carrière, are somewhat more satisfying because they derive from the capitation survey of 1695 which encompassed almost everybody."

³⁷

Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence* (Baltimore, 1976), 79. The author underlines that because of "the slow-moving nature of Aix's economic life" it is unlikely that occupational patterns for the town as a whole changed radically between the end of the seventeenth and the middle of the eighteenth century.

18,000 inhabitants within city walls but this did not re-establish the pre-plague population level of over 28,000 at the turn of the century.³⁸ Where adjustments from 1695 figures to 1730 were possible because information was retrievable from archival records, it has been specifically noted and its significance underlined. However, this is the exception. To allow for comparison of same information, the 1695 *capitation* figures have not been adjusted, since this approach proved too speculative.³⁹ The less affluent in the artisan community and the poor, the aged and the young within city walls, would have been the most vulnerable during the epidemic and would have had the highest incidence of deaths from the plague.⁴⁰ A strong de-stabilizing factor, the impact of the plague on the population of Aix-en-Provence, influenced *mentalité* to the extent that any individual who had reached the age of 25 would have experienced the plague at least once in his or her lifetime.⁴¹ Given this universal

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The population figure of 30,600 is the figure normally quoted as including the population outside city walls. To preserve compatibility of data bases and because the focus here is the artisans, the population base has been limited to *Aixoïis* having their residence inside city walls. Please refer to Chapter I, Figure 21 page 53 for population fluctuations from 1700 to the end of the century.

³⁹

Jean-Noël Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens* (Paris, 1975), I, 311-332. The adaptive reactions of demographic groups include increased fecundity following episodes of the plague. Other variables that affect demographic profiles are post-plague relocations and polarization in age groups within the community. This chapter of Biraben's study demonstrates the complexity of the issue of demographic profile.

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Jean-Noël Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens* (Paris, 1976), II, 29 and 129.

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Jacqueline Dumoulin, "La difficile gestion d'une ville pendant la peste Aix-en-Provence au XVIIe siècle," *M.S.M.D.B.* 53 (1996), 199-245. Dumoulin notes that Aix-en-Provence suffered through 18 epidemics of the plague between 1348 and 1720; and Jean-Noël Biraben,

experience, the plague has been included as a long-term factor to be considered in this study.

The works of William Beik, James Farr, and William H. Sewell constitute a rich source on the development of the artisan communities from the eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Their investigative methodologies are compatible in that they consider authority structures *in situ* and then look for social effects and impacts. Conflicts involving artisans do not fit neatly into existing historical perspectives of defining classes or orders for the world of the artisan was a “fragile” one.⁴² The methodological approach taken by these three historians provides a more accessible approach in that they relate artisans to institutional frameworks that are seen in actuality to be dynamic rather than theoretically static.

Comparative histories of insurrectional movements and revolts⁴³ in Provence have methodological approaches that vary widely, but their historical findings are remarkably compatible and cohesive. Boris Porchnev’s marxist-based interpretation of insurrectional movements traces the roots of provençal insurrections to customary rights. Also, this historian has been less inclined to see the common people as pawns of contemporaries. In the *longue durée*, Porchnev attributes the stifling of an emerging bourgeois consciousness to the fact that leaders were co-opted by the Ancien Régime. René Pillorget interprets the same

Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens (Paris, 1976), II, 184.

⁴²

William Beik, *Urban Protest in seventeenth-century France* (Cambridge, 1997), 187.

⁴³

Yves-Marie Bercé, *Révoltes et Révolutions dans l'Europe moderne: XVI^{ième} - XVIII^{ième} Siècles* (Paris, 1980); Arlette Jouanna, *Le Devoir de Révolte* (Paris, 1989); Maurice Pezet, *La Provence des Rebelles* (Paris, 1980); René Pillorget, *Les mouvements insurrectionnels en Provence entre 1596-1715* (Paris, 1975) and Boris Porchnev, *Les soulèvements populaires en France de 1623 à 1648* (Paris, 1963).

historical *évènements* in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, but in a social framework of *corps* rather than *ordres* (Mousnier) or *classes* (Porchnev). As with Boris Porchnev, through a different methodology, Pillorget reaches a similar conclusion: consciousness of a distinct identity was emerging but was stifled by top-down elements of society and by environmental factors.

Maurice Pezet's approach to rebellions in Provence is *évènementielle*, and provides a helpful narrative if placed within the context of Pillorget's analysis. Through Pezet's narrative and the analytical context provided by Pillorget, rebellions become indicators of the effects of marginalization upon the people. Yves-Marie Bercé and Arlette Jouanna consider this dimension of revolts from opposite poles: Jouanna from a top-down study of the role of the French nobility in revolts in the seventeenth century, while Bercé investigates popular *mentalités* from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. In both of their longitudinal studies, the focus is on manifestations of relationships. In Arlette Jouanna's study, evidence of links of friendships, clientèle, and dependance confirm that a mutation was occurring within a society of orders. As a technocracy emerged, individuals and groups were released from a common identification within the "body" of the King. With the weakening of this linkage, Jouanna suggests that the way became open for a new construction of identity.

In a longitudinal approach, Yves-Marie Bercé has developed a social study of popular thinking as manifested through celebrations and revolts. By tracing social occasions between officialdom and the common people, Bercé proposes that while celebrations allowed for "cohabitation," the shared terrain is not indicative of common attitudes but rather provides evidence of a disassociation between the dominant and subservient groups, each developing

their own consciousness of identity. This is a concept that would explain why the elite of Aix-en-Provence appeared so unprepared for the disturbances that occurred during the ceremonial *entrée* and why they would have perceived the disruption as seditious.

Arlette Farge has remarked that “la séduction de l’archive, dit-on, risque de fausser, gauchir l’objet de l’étude (. . .).”⁴⁴ Indeed, approaching history from below implies that the burden of proof is not easily defined by rules of evidence.⁴⁵ Robert Darnton and his critics have shown that in researching *mentalité*, issues of consciousness and identity, cultural symbols and context, pose particular challenges to the historian. The twofold methodological risks are perhaps inevitable given that such elements as consciousness and identity, cultural symbols and context, remain ill-defined by traditional approaches, yet govern the workings of societies.

Conceptually, David Garrioch’s work is exceptional in the manner in which complex individual and contextual factors are reconciled to recover social history. In *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790*⁴⁶ and *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie 1690-1830*,⁴⁷ Garrioch has explored the components of life in Paris where the artisans and

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Arlette Farge, *La vie fragile. Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1986), 9.

⁴⁵

Harold Mah, “Suppressing the Text: The Metaphysics of Ethnographic History in Darnton’s Great Cat Massacre,” *History Workshop Journal* 25 (1991), 31-2; and “Contextual elements from the macro-level deemed relevant to Darnton’s Great Cat Massacre,” *History Workshop Journal* 25 (1991), 1-17.

⁴⁶

David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and community in Paris, 1740-1790* (Cambridge, 1986).

⁴⁷

David Garrioch, *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie* (Cambridge, 1996).

the bourgeois built respective power bases within a common social network. Garrioch presents a continuum of analyses which look at attitudinal and behavioural change.

Within the evolving socio-political context of Paris, elements of *mentalité* are considered as integral parts of the whole. Power bases are found within the family unit, neighbourhood identity, parish adherence, and occupational associations. In exploring these spheres of communal life, Garrioch's methodological approach introduces a dynamic element to historical research: the reconstruction of cross-sections of a community across common values, behaviours and loyalties. This approach contrasts with prevalent methodological approaches where historians isolate segments of the population within a community and focus their study on selected components of their lives.⁴⁸ The living composition of this methodology, (including elements of history from below, history from above and consideration of linkages from the margins of society to the core) present a compelling model upon which to structure this study of the disruption of the ceremonial procession in Aix-en-Provence.

To the adaptable model inspired by the works of David Garrioch, a number of specific characteristics contributed to the methodology of this study. To ascertain the significance of the disruption of the ceremonial entry, the stature of the visitor and the explicit nature of the occasion itself became intrinsic factors for analysis. A benefit in this respect were the

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Examples are to be found in Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth Century France* (Princeton, 1978); Robert R. Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite: The Provincial Governors of Early Modern France* (New Haven, 1978); Robert Forster, *Merchants, Landlords, Magistrates: the Depont family in eighteenth-century France* (Baltimore, 1980), and *The Nobility of Toulouse in the eighteenth century: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore, 1960).

rigid protocols observed in Ancien Régime France. The detailed ceremonies and etiquette duly entered in ceremonial records⁴⁹ have provided a valuable barometer of the prestige attributed to the ceremonial entry under review. The eighteen-page account of the disruption of the ceremonial procession itself included specific allusions to prevailing attitudes towards authority among artisans in Aix-en-Provence, a richly textured community of provincial France.

A preliminary review of historiography revealed that a number of local studies, relating to similar upheavals, have focussed on agrarian revolts or, at the other end of the spectrum, on significant disturbances in large urban centres such as Paris, Lyon or Dijon.⁵⁰ In juxtaposition, Aix-en-Provence presented a middle-ground: the context of a capital city but, with a relatively small population,⁵¹ one conceptually in the median of communities in French historiography. Because it was positioned on the margins of the core of power in Paris and Versailles, the capital had maintained a unique character within the distinctive cultural environment of Provence, a *pays d'état*.⁵² The perspective of the *longue durée* could

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A.M., AA 55; and A.M.C., AA 4.

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A list of local studies has been appended for reference in the Selected References under the title Consulted References.

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Please refer to Population Fluctuation Chart in Chapter I, Figure 21, page 53. The population of Aix-en-Provence in 1730 was 18,000.

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B.N., Ms. Fr. 16756 and 16759, 22212, *Pierre Cardin de LeBret: Recollections de Provence*; Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 336; Michel Vovelle, et al., *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1978).

therefore serve to gauge the intensity of fractional pressures between the common people and the elite along a simplified template of the model proposed in Garrioch's comprehensive study, *The Parisian Bourgeoisie 1680-1830*.⁵³ This dimension has also allowed relations of deference and authority to be studied in terms of the clearly defined open-caste system profiled by Elinor Barber.⁵⁴

In addition to the two elements, a clearly defined conceptual space and a well-established and researched social structure in historiography,⁵⁵ a third attribute has proven to be advantageous for this study. This is the limited time frame of the event itself, that is one working day with its judicial sequels. This has meant that potential linkages of *conjoncture* and *éventualité* have been manageable in the context of this local study, and could be researched both in the *courte* and *longue durée*.

Thus the locus of a middle-size urban centre, on the margins of the societal hierarchy of Ancien Régime France, distinguishable as a singular social pool because of its historical antecedents, provide dimensions that contribute to a relatively new domain of historiography

53

David Garrioch, *The Parisian Bourgeoisie, 1690-1830* (Cambridge, 1996).

54

Elinor Barber, *The Bourgeoisie in 18th century France* (Princeton, 1955), 16. This element is explored in the next chapter entitled Artisans and Aristocrats.

55

Donna Bohanan, *Old and new nobility in Aix-en-Provence 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge, 1992); Monique Cubells, *La Provence des Lumières* (Paris, 1984); Christiane Derobert-Ratel, *Institutions et vie municipale d'Aix-en-Provence au XVIII^e siècle* (Aix-en-Provence, 1981); Jacqueline Dumoulin, *Le Consulat d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1981); Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix, 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976); Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978); and Michel Vovelle, et al., *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1978).

relating to Aix-en-Provence, the common people:

Reste le “peuple”, ce monde laborieux des artisans, des revendeurs, des travailleurs, des domestiques: le quotidien de leur vie s’inscrit dans la longue durée, il ne diffère que médiocrement d’un siècle à l’autre; vie faite d’efforts, de peines, de petites joies et de brusques colères qui ne laissent guère de trace dans l’histoire d’une ville, risquant de les faire oublier. Leur histoire comme souterraines ne peut se percevoir qu’indirectement à travers le témoignage des procès, des contrats, des testaments; elle reste à faire.⁵⁶

56

Michel Vovelle, et al., *Histoire d’Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1978), 213. Trans., “There remains the “people”, the working world of the artisans, the retailers, the employees, the servants: the every day fabric of such lives is written in the *longue durée*, with little difference from one age to another; lives built from struggles, sorrows, small joys and sudden anger that leave few traces in the annals of a city, a risk that they will be forgotten. Their history is subterranean, and can be detected but indirectly, through the testimony of trials, contracts, wills: it has yet to be written.”

CHAPTER I - ARTISANS AND ARISTOCRATS

Three social dimensions of Aix-en-Provence that are pertinent to the ceremonial procession and its disruption will be explored in this chapter: the character of the *aixois* community,¹ the nature of the authority establishment, and the conjunction of previous and current frictions between artisans and officials in 1730. More specifically, it will be argued that the artisans were increasingly marginalised by a privileged Ancien Régime aristocracy that controlled municipal and provincial institutions. It will be shown that the actions of officials, in the near and longer term, compounded pre-existing tensions between artisans and authorities. A climate of dissatisfaction developed among artisans as the elite strengthened its hold on power and increasingly distanced itself from customary patterns of life in Aix-en-Provence. When the shoemakers' guild was denied precedence in the ceremonial entry of the Princess de Conti, the decision became symbolic of the greater transition occurring within the community.

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Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 11, categorized the community as a “historically *unique* society”. Cissie Fairchild, in *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence* (Baltimore, 1976) repeatedly described the *unique* approach to charity in Aix-en-Provence; and René Pillorget, *Les mouvements insurrectionnels de Provence entre 1596 et 1715* (Paris, 1975), 1008: “Une province don’t les institutions, les usages et la vie politique sont demeurés marqués, à quelque niveau que l’on se situe, par une très grande liberté à l’égard du pouvoir et par la longue pratique d’une gestion autonome des affaires locales. Seules d’autres études régionales pourront dire si la Provence ne constitue pas, en ce sens, un pays plus singulier qu’exemplaire.”

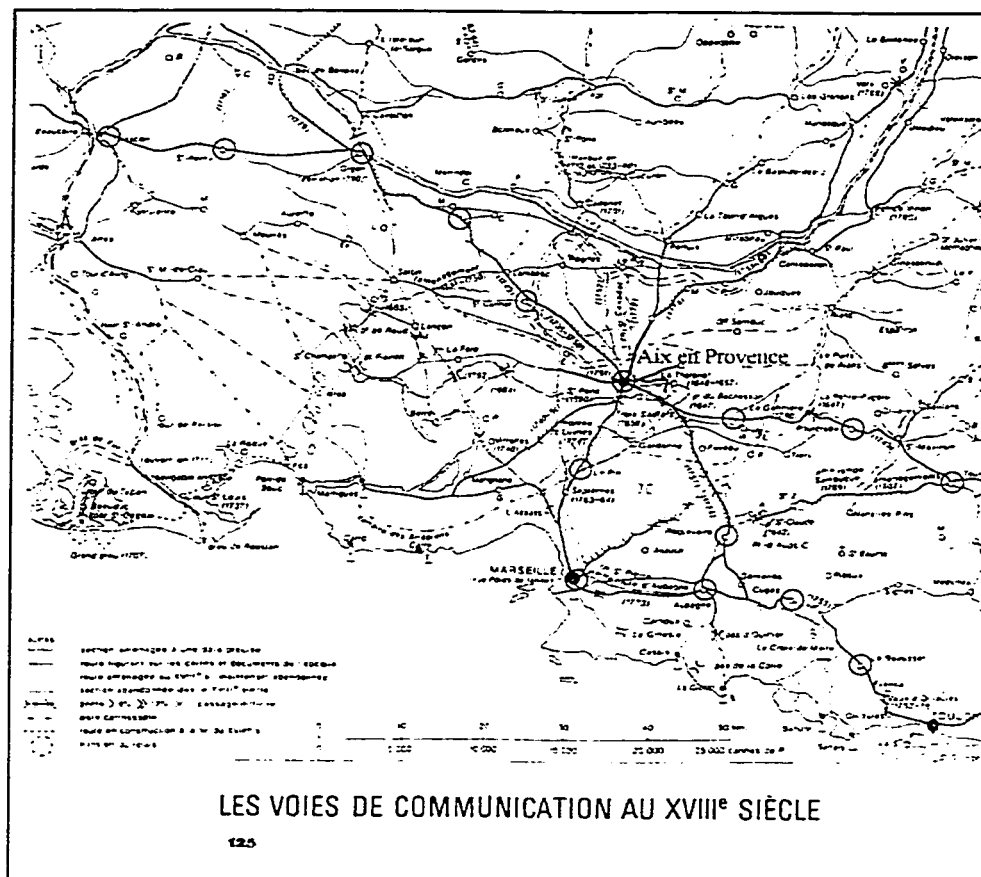


Figure 7 - Aix-en-Provence on Communication Routes. Source: Adapted from Edouard Baratier, *Atlas historique* (Paris, 1969), 125.

It is important to situate Aix-en-Provence in relation to other urban centres to put in perspective the limited opportunities it offered common people. While it was located on busy communication routes, the city nevertheless remained one of the least populous of the middle-sized cities in France.² As the capital of Provence, it was an administrative centre with an

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Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), I, 36; and Edouard Baratier, *Atlas historique* (Paris, 1969), 125. B.N., Ge. Af. 28 (62) Guillaume Dellisle, Map of Provence and Surrounding Territories. Please refer to Appendix E, back cover, for this detailed map of Provence and the location of Aix-en-Provence at the centre of communication routes in south-eastern France.



Figure 8 - The walled city of Aix-en-Provence by Pierre Aveline Le Vieu 1654-1722. Source: Bibliothèque Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence.

overall population of 28,700 citizens in 1695, exclusive of those who lived outside the city walls. By comparison, Marseille, the neighbouring port and thriving commercial centre,³ ranked as a large city with over 50,000 citizens. Toulouse and Bordeaux with populations of 40,000 to 50,000, were much larger than Aix-en-Provence so that the profile of the community was unlike the urban setting usually found in a capital city.

Life in Aix-en-Provence was lived in concentric circles wherein artisans and aristocrats shared residential areas, conversed in Provençal and in French, and generally seemed to identify with the standards and values of Ancien Régime France. However, *Aixois* were undergoing transitions that undermined existing accommodations and heightened the common

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B.N., Ge. AF. 28 (62) Guillaume Dellisle, Map of Provence and Surrounding Territories. Appendix E, located in back cover pocket.

people's consciousness of changing relations between themselves and the elites. One of the factors that contributed to this awareness was the fact that Aix-en-Provence was a city of stark contrasts in its social structure.

Indeed population figures of 1695 through to 1730 indicate that Aix-en-Provence⁴ had become "a

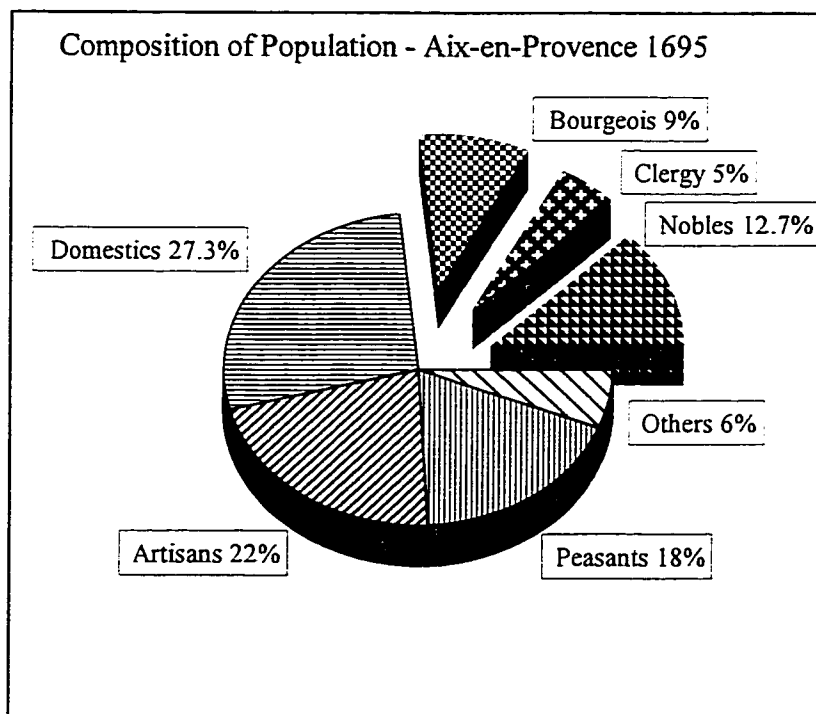


Figure 9 - Composition of the Population

Source: Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), I. (The category "Others" includes beggars, widows and orphans, non-artisan trades, and the unmarried non-dependent group.)

town of the wealthy and the poor and very little else. The entrepreneurial elements accounted for only 9.1 percent of the population and were sandwiched between the nobility and those who served the nobility."⁵ In 1695, small shopkeepers numbered 175, and there were only 58 merchants and 3 bankers in Aix-en-Provence.⁶ This limited enterprising middle class was

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Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence* (Baltimore, 1976), 9. Cissie Fairchilds underlines that "In sum, the middle classes of Aix were neither numerous, rich, nor powerful."

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Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 20.

⁶

Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 20.

a consequence of the attraction of neighbouring Marseille as a more profitable city in which to engage in commerce.

The core of the middle class were the 451 lawyers who were drawn to the capital as a judicial centre. In addition, professors at the university of Aix-en-Provence and schoolmasters numbered 26. Other occupational groups that could be included as members of the liberal professions, were doctors (30), surgeons (63), and apothecaries (28). The bourgeois establishment in Aix-en-Provence in 1695 included a maximum of 1,033 individuals and their families.⁷ Master artisans, and particularly *syndics*, the more affluent master artisans elected to the executive of guilds, identified with this middle layer of the hierarchy. However, such individuals were the exceptions since artisan groups in Aix-en-Provence were rarely prosperous.

For the most part, the common people of Aix-en-Provence lived a marginal existence. Almost half the population was on the verge of destitution and a further twenty per cent of the population of the capital “survived only with charity.”⁸ The significance of this percentage can only be appreciated if one considers the overall demographic profile of the community. Since this study will focus on the role played by artisans in the disruption of the ceremonial

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As could be expected *capitation* records clearly delineate the extreme poor and the nobility, as well as the artisan class. However within the middle class some interpretation is required. For example it is not clear if a number of small shopkeepers are not in some cases the same individuals as artisan-shopkeepers. The issue is clearly where one chooses to draw the line between the marginal and non-marginal bourgeois. The challenge is that not all historians of this locale have chosen comparable demarcation lines. For clarity this petite bourgeoisie, representing approximately 3.5 % of the population has been included in the category Bourgeois (5.5%) in Figure 9, page 25, for a total percentage of 9% of the population.

8

Cissie Fairchild, *Poverty and Charity in Aix 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 127.

procession and more specifically the guilds of shoemakers and wig-makers. consideration will be given also to the position and proportionate representation of these two trades.

The spatial arrangement of Aix-en-Provence is of interest also in the context of geographic distribution of artisans because Aix-en-Provence had developed particularly integrated neighbourhoods. Traditionally, in most districts, the destitute cohabited with the elite thereby increasing their mutual awareness of one another's condition within the community. In turn this proximity promoted neighbourhood ties so that the more affluent assumed communal obligations towards more disadvantaged neighbours.⁹ The origins of the Bourg¹⁰ (A) could be traced from the fifth to the thirteenth centuries and the district was the site of the Cathedral St-Sauveur where were held the city's reputed religious processions. The highest concentration of artisans was in the district Cordeliers (G) adjoining the Bourg, but artisans could be found throughout the city with fewer residing south of the Cours. In practice, trades had too many artisans in proportion to the population and commoners in Aix-en-Provence were far from prosperous.¹¹ Thus, in this shared neighbourhood, the counterpoint to the communal nature of daily life meant that an affluent aristocracy and administrative elite

9

This shared responsibility took various forms, at different levels of the hierarchy. Indicators of this communal responsibility is that beggars on the street received regular financial donations equivalent to a labourer's wages, institutionalized *Aixois* were supported by wealthy benefactors, while guilds would sponsor the participation of orphans in processions.

¹⁰Please refer to Figure 10, page 28.

11

Jean-Noël Biraben, trans. Patricia Cumming, "Certain Demographic Characteristics of the Plague Epidemic in France, 1720-1722," *Daedalus* 97:2 (1968), 538; and Cissie Fairchild, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 79. As an example, in 1720 the ratio of shoemakers in Marseille was one to 450 citizens but it was one to 169 in Aix-en-Provence in 1695. Similar overcrowding existed in most other trades.

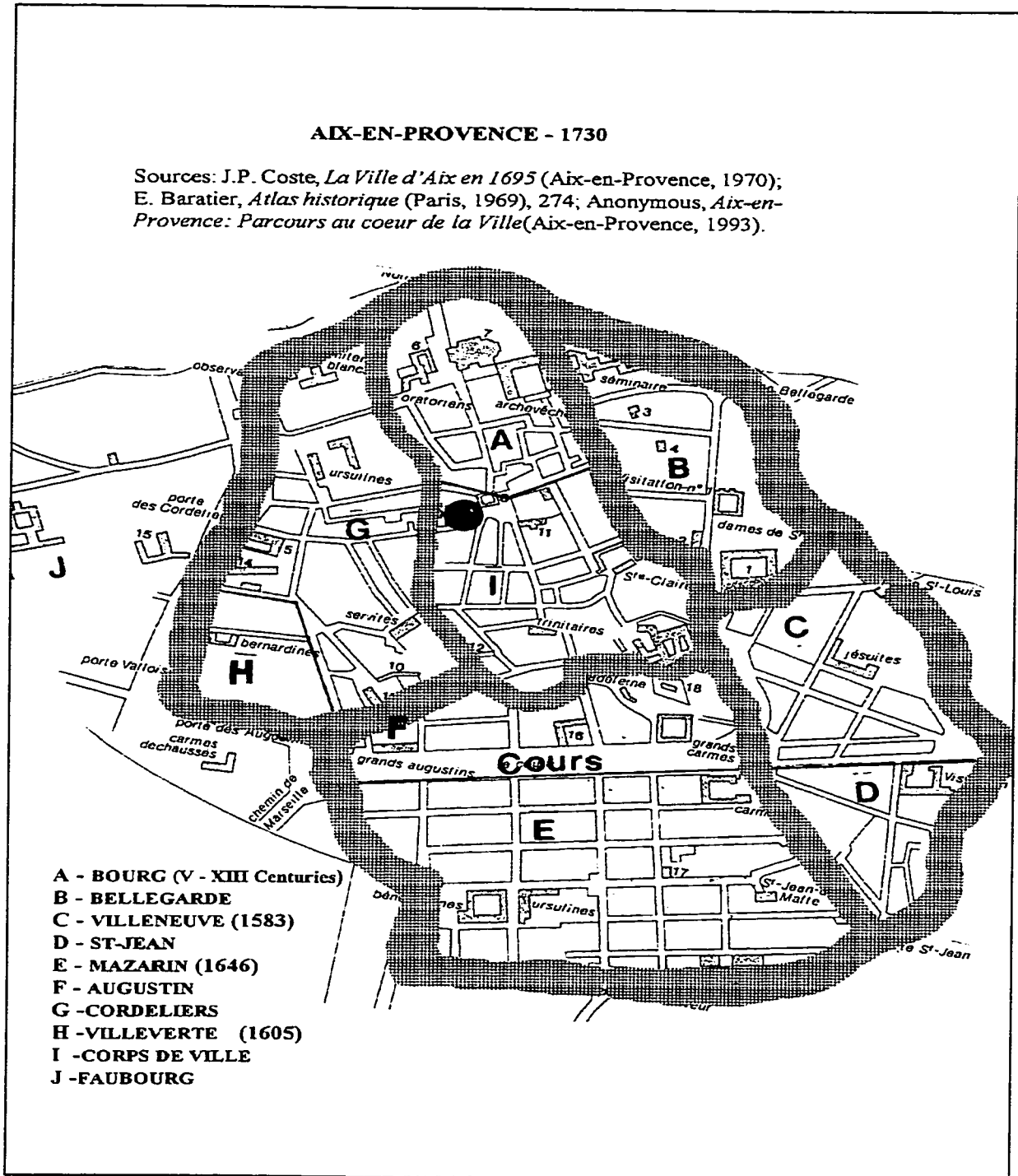


Figure 10 - The five main districts of Aix-en-Provence in 1730.

The area (E) adjoining and south of the Cours was considered as the better residential district of the capital. As a point of reference, the black circle marks the location of City Hall.

contrasted visibly with the material situation of artisan guilds. More significantly, it was starkly revealing of the plight of most of the commoners of the city who comprised the greater part of the population.

Traditionally, artisans and commoners were employed in the service of others, and counting their dependents and employees, constituted half of the population of Aix-en-Provence.¹² In 1695, according to the *capitation* survey, there were 2,495 artisans in the Arts and Crafts, and together with their families they represented 22.3 percent of the population who earned a precarious living through trade. This was not the largest occupational group: there were 3,063 servants, of which 2,500 were domestics. With their families, they represented 27.3 percent of the population. This significant percentage provides an indication of the economic consequence of the parlementaires' presence in Aix-en-Provence.

In addition, one should include as non-elites, the population of 1,998 peasants who resided within city walls and went out in the surrounding countryside during the working day. For the most part, the working population of some 7,556 citizens was illiterate¹³ and we know that at the time of the 1695 *capitation*, less than 10 percent of commoners could sign their

¹²

Michel Vovelle, et al., *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix, 1978), 390.

¹³

Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen* (Stanford, 1976), 494-495: "Literacy or illiteracy made little difference to people's understanding of the condition of man, his purpose and his means. (. . .) In the seventeenth century, things changed. Natural science and rationalism with its particular logic created a separate culture of the literate, while the illiterate clung to the old ways."

name.¹⁴

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the national rate of literacy was 21 percent but in Provence it remained at the 10 percent level. As the national rate improved over the century to 37 percent and 47 percent, in most of Provence the rate still lagged behind by as much as 7 to 10 percent.¹⁵ Thus, shoemakers and other artisans of Aix-en-Provence who could keep guild minutes and sign their names were quite exceptional in their milieu.¹⁶

In the daily patterns of life, literacy was another gauge of the growing contrast between the elites and the commoners of Aix-en-Provence. This was a significant factor because nobles in Aix-en-Provence had gravitated to the urban core to participate in the administrative life of the city, where their occupations brought close identification with the French language, rather than Provençal. In turn, literacy and contacts with Paris and Versailles expanded their horizons outside of the provincial capital and towards the core

¹⁴

Michel Vovelle, "Y a-t-il eu une révolution culturelle au XVIIIe siècle? A propos de l'éducation populaire en Provence," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 22 (1975), 89-141; and Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 25 and 135. After 1740, 50 to 70 % of men who prepared wills in Aix-en-Provence could sign their name.

¹⁵

Edouard Baratier, *La Démographie provençale du XIIIe au XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1961), 380-381.

¹⁶

Jean Queniart, "Les apprentissages scolaires élémentaires au XVIIIe siècle: faut-il réformer Maggiolo?," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* XXIV (1977), 3-27. Queniart addresses the level of literacy among artisans in urban settings in north-western France. He demonstrates the high level of literacy among artisans, with master shoemakers progressing from 30% in the middle of the reign of Louis XIV to 45% by the eighteenth century. Wig-makers achieved a literacy rate of 60% in the same period. Queniart attributes this difference to the exposure of such trades as wig-makers to the influences of the elite with whom they associated.

standards and values of French society.¹⁷ The attitudinal change had taken concrete form in the public sphere. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the beautiful Cours had been developed as Aix-en-Provence's main avenue, a reflection of exposure to the influences of the French Court. The districts adjoining the Cours had acquired a profile as upscale residential areas where nobles tended to relocate from the narrower congested districts they had shared with

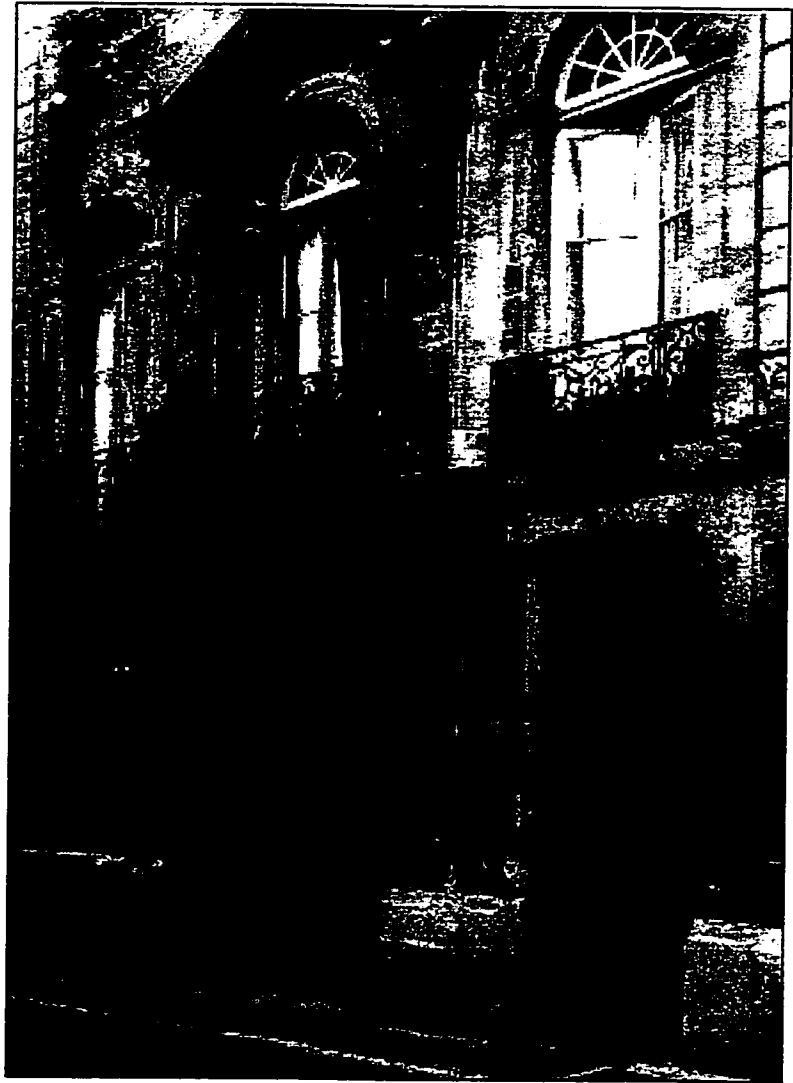


Figure 11 - Elite residence of Aix-en-Provence.

commoners. Thus established patterns of relationships were in transition in Aix-en-Provence so that physically, in terms of the topography of the city, the elites were growing more distant from the rest of the community. In turn, this gradual phenomenon may have dulled the elites awareness of the pulse of neighbourhood reactions to their initiatives. It may also have entrenched decision-makers in the conviction that they were inured from the repercussions

¹⁷Eugen Weber. *Peasants into Frenchmen* (Stanford, 1976), 494-495.

of their decisions as these affected the common people of Aix-en-Provence.

The daily life of the common people of Aix-en-Provence focussed on their immediate neighbourhoods, in widely diversified activities. Of the less representative occupations that would have been involved in the ceremonial procession and in its preparations were the four trumpeters who lived at City Hall as civic employees, one postman, a town crier and one messenger. The wide variation of occupations within the community reflected the fact that Aix-en-Provence, unlike centres such as Lyon and Marseille, had no core enterprises where workers were concentrated, so that the common ground of the wide variety of artisan-trades and non-artisan workers was their life in the same districts.¹⁸

The artisan community itself was broadly dispersed across the city in 1695, and this was still the case in 1730. There were areas of artisan concentration, specifically in the Augustins, Saint-Jean and Cordeliers districts. A few artisans practiced their trade in the new aristocratic area

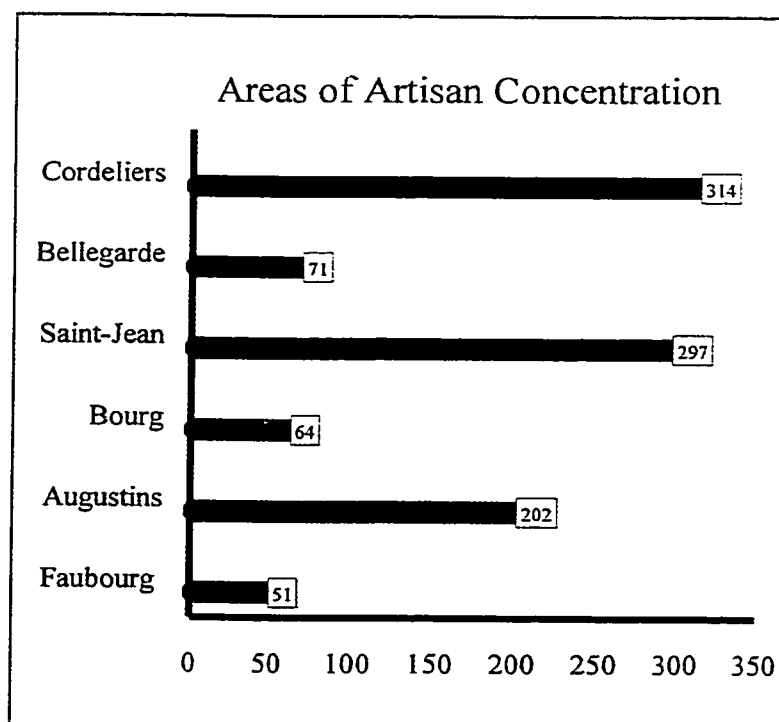


Figure 12 - Artisans by Quartiers. Source: Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), 82.

south of the Cours, but they were the exception. The disruption of the ceremonial procession

¹⁸Jean Paul Coste, *La ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), 85.

was attributed by officials to the rivalry between wig-makers and shoemakers of Aix-en-Provence. A closer look at the composition of their respective guild is of interest in understanding the potential causes of this perceived rivalry.

According to the most reliable census, the shoemakers' guild numbered 170 members, of whom 67 had attained the status of master. Within this group, 56 were master artisans while another 11 owned their own businesses and hired shoemakers. Unlike most of the trades in

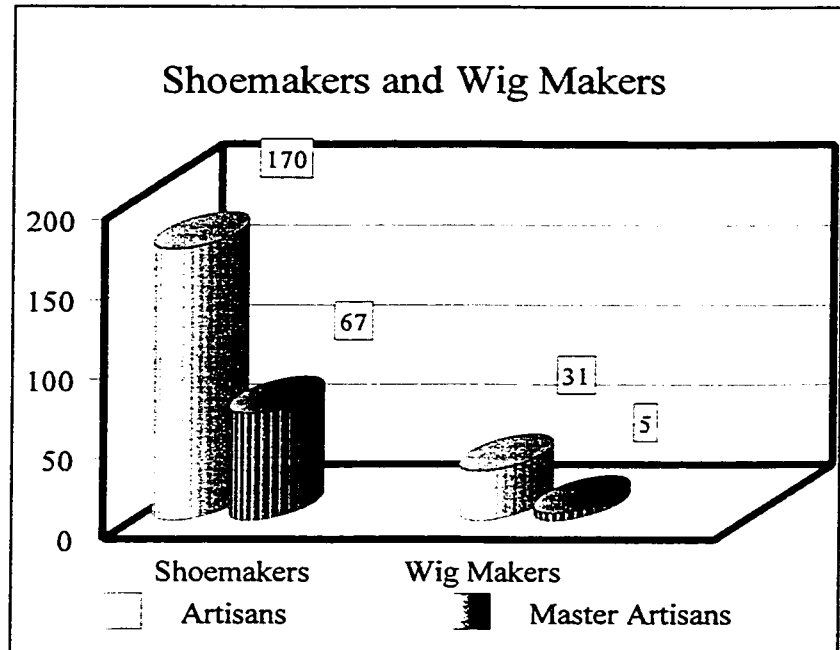


Figure 13 - Shoemakers Compared to Wig-makers.

Source: Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), 513-2 and 907.

Aix-en-Provence, of the 47 apprentices, only one lived under the roof of his master.¹⁹ This may provide anecdotal evidence of the difficult financial situation of most shoemakers. Another indication of the financial status of the guild is the fact that despite their greater numbers, the guild of shoemakers was routinely assessed by city officials at a lower rate than wig-makers when special levies were imposed on guilds.²⁰

¹⁹

Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), 907.

²⁰

An example is the levy imposed relating to military barracks as discussed later in this chapter.

Given their numbers, the shoemakers were more widely distributed across the city's districts, but it is of interest that fewer resided in the better areas of the city.

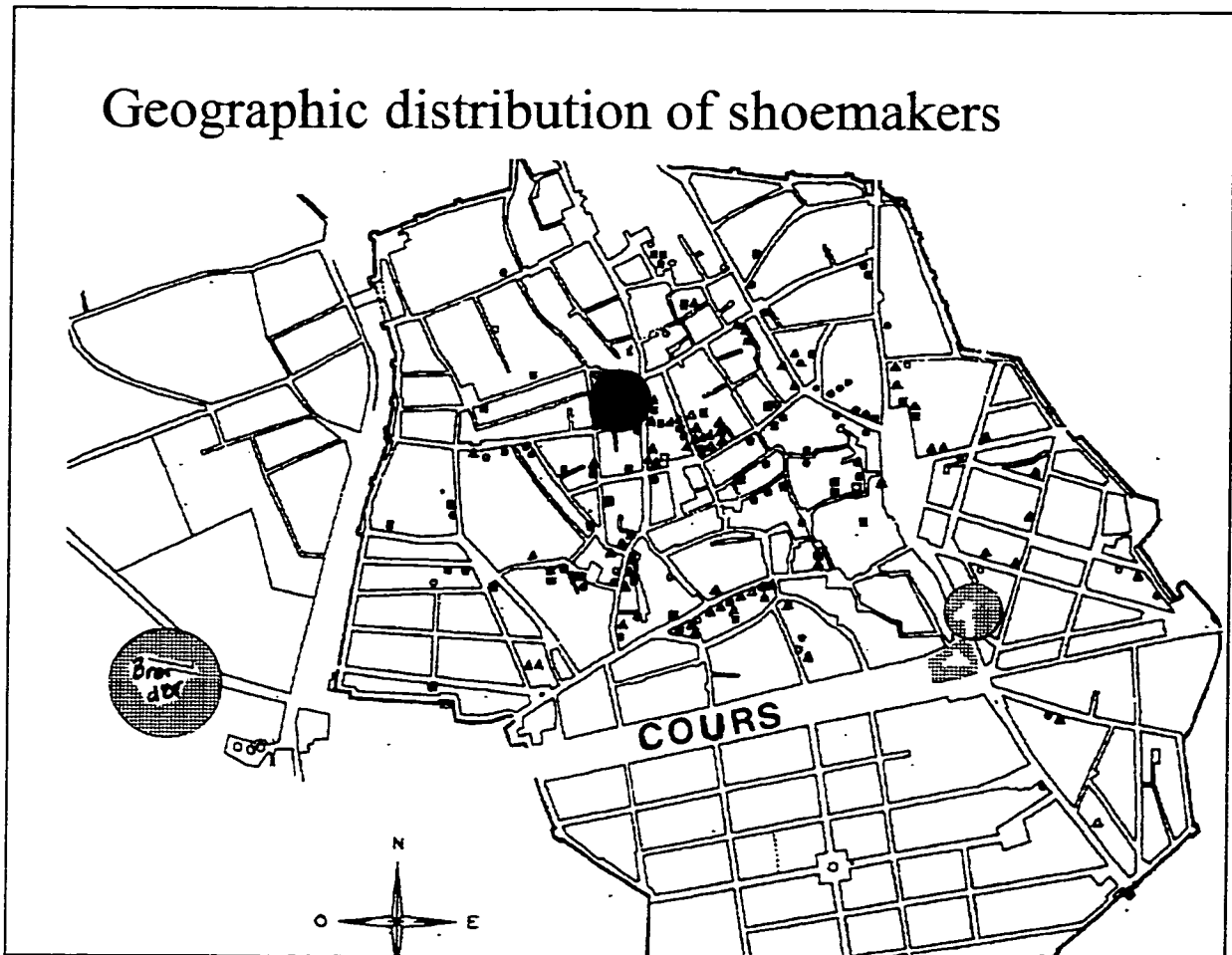


Figure 14 - Geographic Distribution of Shoemakers.

The Logis du Bras d'Or and City Hall (in black) are marked as reference points. Number 1 marks the location of D'Ambrun's residence, said to be "the most seditious shoemaker." Note the absence of shoemakers south of the main Cours, the better residential area of the city. Source: Jean Paul Coste. *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), SP-513-2.

As may be seen in the map above (Figure 14), the geographic distribution of shoemakers meant that they were present in every district except for the new residential area on the south side of the Cours. This distribution gains added significance when considered

in the context of the observation of historians that in the history of urban revolts in France and elsewhere, shoemakers have played an important role as leaders of the common people, as they have in “*cérémonies de la vie quotidienne*.”²¹ In part, this profile in urban unrest may explain the reaction of the officials of Aix-en-Provence who did not hesitate to categorize the disruption of the ceremonial procession as a “*sédition*.” A counterpoint to this argument is that the nature of the shoemakers’ trade often required that their benches be located in the street. As they observed the neighbourhood, they acquired a general reputation as spies, or police informers. This would have implied a privileged relationship between shoemakers of Aix-en-Provence and the *capitaines de quartier* and lessened officials’ fears of the artisans.

In contrast to the 170 shoemakers, wig-makers were but a small group numbering 31. Five wig-makers had attained the rank of master, four of whom were themselves master artisans. Of their six apprentices, none lived under the same roof as his employer. Most of the wig-makers had their residence in the better districts of Aix-en-Provence. By the nature of their trade and their apparent material affluence, wig-makers may be seen to have had greater social access to the authority structure of Aix-en-Provence.

At the base of the authority structure, were the *capitaines de quartier*. The position of *capitaine de quartier*, of which there were five in Aix-en-Provence, was an elected municipal office held for a period of one year. Duties and privileges were defined by municipal regulations, amended at times, to ensure that incumbents were worthy of the responsibility. Indicative of the care given to the selection of these individuals, the name of

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Robert Mandrou, *De la Culture populaire aux 17e et 18e siècles* (Paris, 1999), 139: “ceremonies of daily life.”

a candidate proposed for closed election was submitted by each of the serving municipal councillors.²² Usually, a former municipal councillor would be selected to be thus entrusted with the storage and maintenance of the city's firearms, mostly muskets and rifles. While such a responsibility may seem minor in the everyday administration of Aix-en-Provence, the role of custodian of arms was key in times of civil unrest and war. One had to be at least 27 years of age, literate, and of sufficient social standing to merit the privilege of carrying arms.²³ The parameters of city administration reflected a well-ordered and cohesive hierarchy of authority, in spite of overlapping mandates in policing activities. At its base, the office of *capitaine de quartier* fulfilled a pivotal role in the implementation of authority within the community.

Capitaines de quartier provided city officials with a precise control mechanism over the residents of the five districts at two levels. They did so through a top-down imposition of order and security on the street and as an upward source of prompt information on disturbances in the neighbourhoods. Living as they did within the confines of the neighbourhood, *capitaines de quartier* were the pulse in the administration of authority in Aix-en-Provence: the first to sense the discontent of its citizens, and the first line of defence against the common people's expressions of dissatisfaction. With respect to ceremonial processions, *capitaines de quartier* had the burden of being responsible for preserving civic

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The *capitaines de quartier* in 1730, involved in the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti were Sieurs Bru(e)ys, Concorde, Court, Restolan and Reynaud.

²³

A.M., AA 55, F 31; and Jacqueline Dumoulin, *Le Consulat d'Aix-en-Provence* (Dijon, 1992), 41, 97, 128 and 87.

pride by ensuring that the *garde bourgeoise* presented a well-ordered troop, in proper formation and able to march in step.²⁴

The *capitaines de quartier* became vital links in the ceremonial procession, as they led each of the companies of artisans. It may be posited that the reason that there was a delay in alerting officials to the spiralling exchanges at the Fontaine des Minimes was that the *capitaines de quartier* had some sympathy with the bruised honour of the shoemakers, given that it also affected their own rank in the order of the *garde bourgeoise*.

The city's five *capitaines de quartier* were each paid some 15 *livres* per month, with possible bonuses of as much as 400 *livres* and extra musket powder, when called upon to perform additional services such as those required during the visit of nobility. Thus, in a ceremonial *entrée* of the importance of the Princess de Conti's, the *capitaines de quartier* Court and Concorde had every reason to take very seriously their duty as leaders of the company of wig-makers and the company of shoemakers in the *garde bourgeoise*. This may explain why a first line of defence against apprehended unrest at the Fontaine des Minimes was to reason and cajole the artisans, to try to avert further conflict that would signal the unrest to higher authorities and to the population at large. The risk that a gathering of the populace would degenerate into urban protests was a consideration for officials of Aix-en-Provence, who were familiar with the difficult living conditions of most of the artisan community. These living conditions will be explored next.

²⁴

Claire Dolan, "Liturgies urbaines et rapports sociaux en France au XVI^e siècle: fascination militaire, districts et corporations de métiers," *Journal of the CHA /Revue de la SHC* 5 (1994), 106.

Not only were there too many artisans in most trades for the size of the population, but the city of Aix-en-Provence was economically depressed, and has been described as “an urban milieu in crisis.”²⁵ In periods of economic slowdowns the shoemakers experienced difficulties because their trade was one where there was overcrowding in their ranks. Not all the shoemakers could support their families.²⁶ Shoemakers then had to turn to charity, and this included begging in the streets of the city, where they and members of their family might be subjected to harassment by law enforcement officers since idleness was equated with asocial attitudes and a threat to social order.²⁷ It can be posited that this state of constant pressure to earn a living made all the more frustrating the ascendance of the more prosperous wig-makers’ guild to the first rank of the *garde bourgeoise*.

Shoemakers were not the only artisans forced into the ranks of beggary and thus their frustrations may have been shared by the carpenters and metalworkers who joined in the disturbances at the time of the procession. Typically in the eighteenth century 9 percent of the city’s artisans had to turn to public assistance to survive. In 1724, 151 beggars were interned in the local hospital, the average rate of internment since a municipal requirement that beggars be subject to arrest by the city’s *archers*.²⁸ In addition to routine arrests,

²⁵

Michel Vovelle, as quoted in Cissie Fairchild, *Poverty and Charity in Aix, 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 13.

²⁶

Cissie Fairchild, *Poverty and Charity in Aix, 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 79.

²⁷

Steven Kaplan, “Réflexions sur la police du monde du travail, 1700-1815,” *Revue Historique* CCLXI (1979), 30.

²⁸

Cissie Fairchild, *Poverty and Charity in Aix, 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 102.

periodic exercises to control their presence in the city would be carried out, so that all beggars would be rounded up and expelled from Aix-en-Provence. The city had a core group of 350 permanent beggars but the average number of local beggars was closer to 400. They were distributed almost

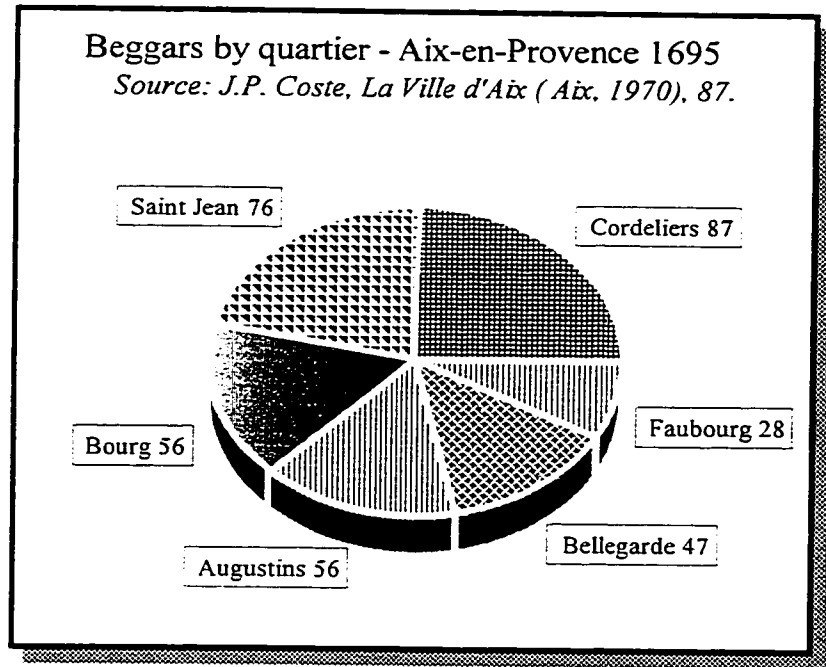


Figure 15 - Beggars by Quartiers.

The quartier Faubourg is included in this diagram for comparative purposes but it should be noted that the area was outside the city walls of Aix-en-Provence.

evenly across the different districts of the city, with the exception of the Faubourg. Beggars could earn between 10 and 12 sous a day, an average journeyman's wage, and when they became skilled, they could earn as much as 30 to 40 sous a day. At all times it was forbidden for citizens to support beggars. The threat of a fine of 100 *livres* to anyone who gave alms to a pauper on the street was meant to ensure that those in need were in the full control of the state.²⁹

The poor who could not provide for themselves were interned in hospitals, and when this option was not practicable, law enforcement officials arrested them and banished beggars

²⁹

Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix, 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 101-103.

from the city. It is evident from the amounts that beggars could earn in a day that the local citizenry disregarded official policy, an indication of their attitude towards authority when it came to solidarity between neighbours among the artisan community.

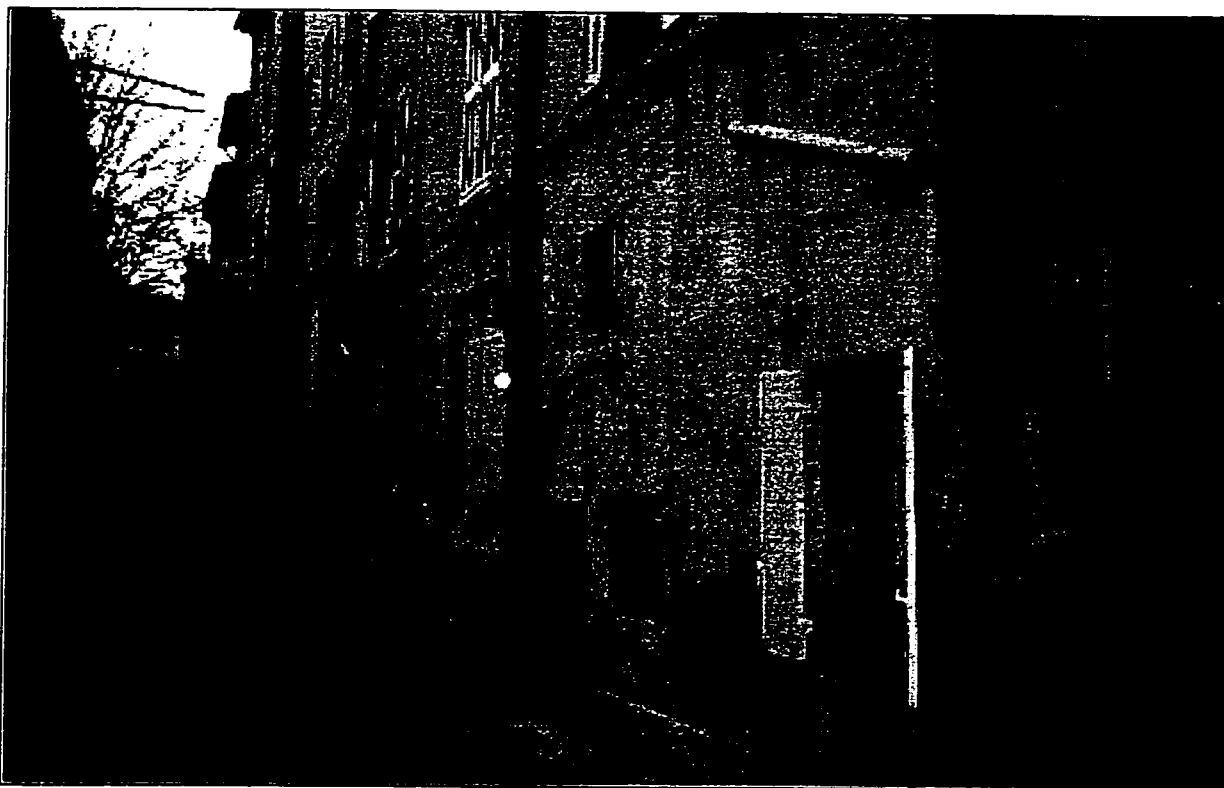


Figure 16 - Rue des Eyguesiers (Eyguisiers), an example of a better commoners' street. At the far end was located the carpenter shop of Routier the Elder. Sieur Besson, syndic of the wig-makers' guild and the *Viguier* also lived on this street.

Police authorities were very much in evidence in the daily life of the artisans of Aix-en-Provence. Common sights would have been the *Viguier*, one of whom lived on the Rue des Eyguesiers,³⁰ on the same street as the wig-maker Besson. The carpenter Routier, who was involved in the assault of Besson's apprentice, had a shop at the end of this same street.

³⁰

B.M., Roux-Alpheran, *Les Rues d'Aix ou Recherche Historique sur l'Ancienne Capitale de la Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1848), 375-376. Some sources refer to Rue des Eyguisiers.

The local police officer, a neighbour, would have been well-acquainted with both the carpenter and the wig-maker, providing insight into the entwined nature of law enforcement, neighbourhood relations, and communal living conditions.

In addition, the municipal police and the criminal lieutenant of the *sénéchal* court, all had a say in the manner of artisan life in Aix-en-Provence. As will be discussed in a later chapter, the influence of law enforcement officials was considerable and resulted in daily frustrations for the artisans. In fact, municipal police powers were of such importance that they periodically provoked jurisdictional conflicts with the Intendant and with the Parlement.³¹ Thus in the constellation of the population of Aix-en-Provence, the artisans may be seen to have been subsumed to restrictions and economic pressures that they were helpless to influence.

When the common people perceived that the elites of Aix-en-Provence had failed in their duty towards the standards and values of the community, such pressures were to lead to retaliations through the disruption of the ceremonial *entrée*. Part of the reason for this public expression of their frustrations was that artisans and other commoners had few avenues in which to signal their displeasure and seek redress.

The administrative complexity of the Ancien Régime meant that the daily concerns of artisans were largely tangential to the mainstream life of officialdom. Despite the significant numerical advantage of the artisans over other social groups in Aix-en-Provence, they were marginalised through the institutions of the Ancien Régime. As an example of some

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Donna Bohanan, *Old and new nobility in Aix-en-Provence 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 82.

significance, the interests of the common people were not represented within the administrative or the political governance of the city.³² Artisans were to demand participation in 1789. Then, they submitted an argument based on equity, pointing out that with 1,200 artisan families they constituted a substantial proportion of the population subjected to the burden of taxes and levies. While Councillors at that time did recognize the validity of the artisans' case, and while some councillors did speak with empathy to the motion, artisans did not succeed in obtaining representation on municipal council.³³ This provides us with an appreciation of the insularity of institutions and of the inability of artisans to gain a legitimate foothold in the political arena. This institutional entrenchment, when considered in the context of the disruption of the ceremonial procession, provides supporting evidence that the common people were marginalised when the elites did not concur with the commoners' views on issues of equity and customary law.

Power relationships were at the heart of such public confrontations between the common people and officials in Ancien Régime France.³⁴ Because issues of power were tied to the acquisition and defence of privileges, privilege became a significant force in community relations.³⁵

³²

Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 45.

³³

Christiane Derobert-Ratel, *Institutions et vie municipale d'Aix-en-Provence sous la Révolution 1789 - An VIII* (Aix-en-Provence, 1981), 16.

³⁴

William Beik, *Urban protest in seventeenth-century France* (Cambridge, 1997), 1.

³⁵

Olwen H. Hufton, *Europe: Privilege and Protest 1730-1789* (Brighton, 1980), 47.

As will become apparent in this study, the stark contrast between the elite and the common people was highly visible in every day interactions of the urban milieu. The standard and values of the times required that an aristocrat demonstrate overtly that he lived a noble life,³⁶ while the common man's daily existence was most often a challenge for survival.

In Aix-en-Provence, the phenomenon may have been accentuated since there was a concentration of nobles in the city because it was the provincial capital and the seat of the Parlement. In most European cities, 2 to 3 percent of the population was noble.³⁷ Aix-en-Provence, with a population of 28,700 in 1695, maintained a

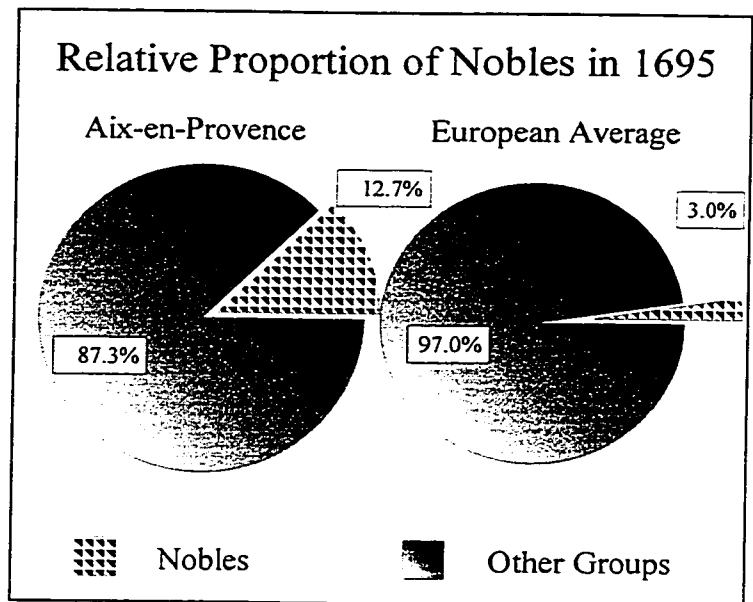


Figure 17 - Relative Proportion of Nobles
Sources: Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 20; Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), 75.

proportion of nobles to the general population estimated to be as high as 12.75 percent. By

³⁶

Two studies by Robert Forster are particularly interesting in this respect. *The House of Saulx-Tavanes - Versailles and Burgundy 1700-1830* (Baltimore, 1971) and *The Nobility of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore, 1960). It should be noted that the latter work profiles a community that is significantly more frugal than was the case in Aix-en-Provence during the same period.

³⁷

Olwen H. Hufton, *Europe: Privilege and Protest 1730-1789* (Brighton, 1980), 47.

1715, the population had fallen to 24,500 inhabitants and nobles represented 10 percent of that population when one included clerics of noble status.³⁸

Nobles were visible in Aix-en-Provence because they were entitled to privileges of a symbolic nature and to more practical rights. They could add turrets and dovecotes to their residences, sit in separate pews and, most valued of privileges, wear a sword. By contrast the commoners of Aix-en-Provence shared close

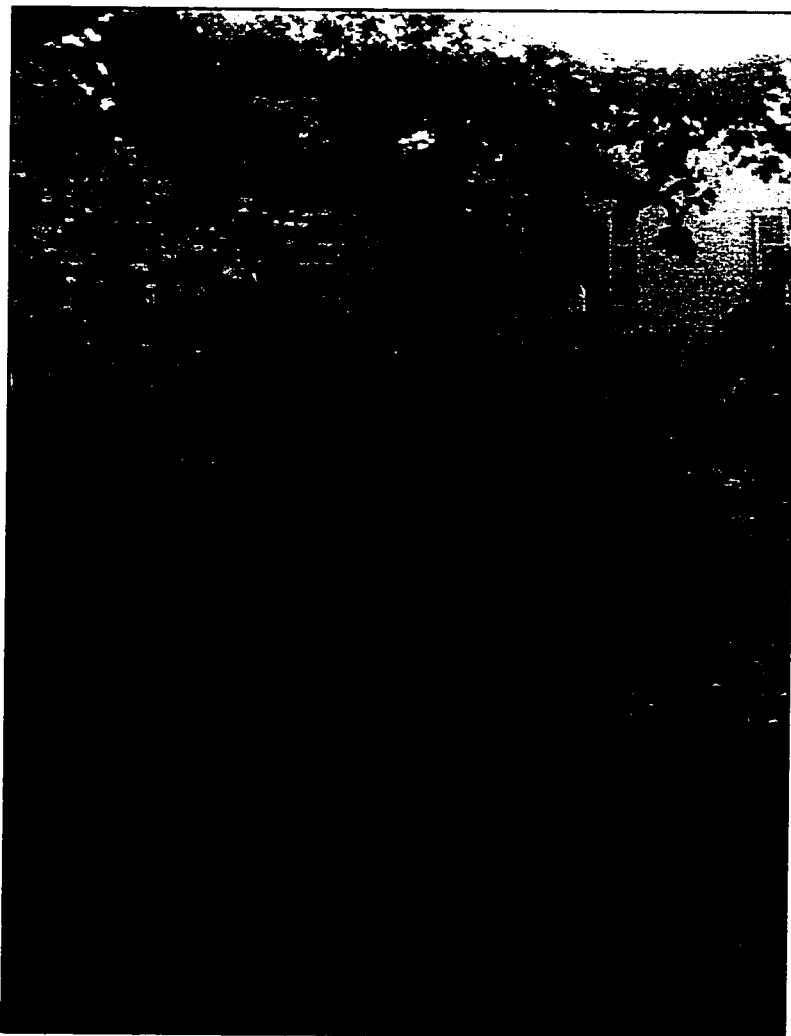


Figure 18 - Commoners' Dwelling.

Located in part of the city walls and backing on lanes, living areas were single narrow rooms extending from front to back, without glass windows, giving little privacy.

quarters in multi-storeyed buildings with few windows yet little privacy because of narrow

³⁸

Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 20; and Michel Vovelle, *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1978), 390. Note that reliable 1715 figures are used in this comparison rather than data closer to 1730 which are less dependable in that they are constituted of figures that combine data relating to ownership of land and relating to individuals.

streets.

Nobles also had the rare privilege of carrying arms, hunting and keeping arms in their homes. In this context, artisans in the *garde bourgeoise* may be seen to have prized their own entitlement to the 'noble' privilege of carrying arms during the ceremonial procession. In turn, the privilege of participating in the ceremonial procession gained importance because it did allow artisans to carry arms in the manner of the aristocracy. In the normal course of affairs, nobles were entitled to overt recognition of their status.

As a matter of course in daily life, nobles preceded citizens of the third estate, unless these commoners were magistrates. This deference of nobles towards magistrates provides an indication of the prestige attached to magistrate positions and gives an intimation of the importance of precedence in the society of Aix-en-Provence. It also underlines the extreme concern of the shoemakers' guild in losing their precedence in the *garde bourgeoise*, despite their perceived entitlement to the honour as the first guild to receive royal seal and statutes. Surely the shoemakers' anger was shared by other guilds, including the metalworkers, who participated in the disruptions.

Similarly, from the opposite point of view of the aristocrats, the prestige of magistrates was such that they must have been quite disturbed that artisans would disrupt the 1730 ceremonial procession in which several hundred magistrates, both active and retired, were participants. While the underlying cause of the disruption lay in more profound differences of attitudes, standards and values, the issue of privilege and concordant precedence may be seen to have acted as a catalyst in confrontations between elites and artisans.

Other elements of privilege inherently affected relations between artisans and aristocrats, by the very nature of the advantages they conferred on nobles. Exemptions from taxation and personal servitude were significant privileges accorded nobility. As may be appreciated, both of these dimensions of noble privileges weighed heavily on artisans who bore the burden of taxation in Aix-en-Provence through the importance of their numbers. They were also subject to *corvées* that drew them away from earning a livelihood. By contrast, while they were obliged to pay the *afflorinement*,³⁹ nobles were exempt from royal *corvées*, and most other obligations.⁴⁰

Not all privileges were of a financial nature and cultural privileges were perhaps a greater source of prestige for nobles. These were also the privileges that increasingly distanced the elites of Aix-en-Provence from the standards and values of the commoners with whom they had maintained close rapport in their common neighbourhoods. Some privileges related to another world, one in which commoners may generally be assumed to have taken little interest and thus not to have begrudged the related advantages they conferred on the elites of Aix-en-Provence. For example, when studying at university, nobles were given special consideration as to the length of their studies, and places in the royal military college were reserved for aristocrats. However, other privileges may have inspired resentment.

39

A tax on nobles, by members of the nobility.

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Nobles could own fiefs and seigneurial lands at will, while *roturiers* were merely tolerated through special dispensation. In 1695, of the 600 heads of noble families, 50 owned fiefs. It should be noted however that in Provence both the clergy and the nobility paid the *taille* (the royal tax) on non-noble land.

Significant legal rights were guaranteed nobles in comparison to commoners, not the least of which was that they were entitled to be judged by peers in the *Grand'Chambre* or appear before the *Cours Tournelle*. Both were prestigious institutions that would have been filled with the peers of the elites subject to their judgements. While this would have been an accepted norm within the community of Aix-en-Provence, the decision of the *Grand'Chambre* in favour of the wig-makers in the matter of precedence in the *garde bourgeoise* would have triggered resentments among shoemakers and other artisans who practiced trades less likely to bring them into privileged relationships with nobles, as was the case with wig-makers.

Wig-makers would have valued their relations with the elites of Aix-en-Provence, particularly its significant population of aristocrats. Aristocrats had a place of importance in the administrative life of Aix-en-Provence and enjoyed privileged access to positions of influence and power. In fact, the importance of Aix-en-Provence's administrative role as the capital of the province may be seen in the socio-professional profile of the entire community. In 1695, 1,172 citizens held administrative positions. Of this number, 286 were noble *Aixoïis*, underlining the propensity among the aristocracy to enter public service.⁴¹

In 1695, of a population of 591 nobles and their families, there were an estimated 398 sword nobles, inclusive of noble clerics,⁴² members of 108 separate families whose noble

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Cissie Fairchild, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence* (Baltimore, 1976), 6; and Monique Cubells, *La Provence des Lumières* (Paris, 1984), 28. For the two-thirds who were not noble, administrative positions offered opportunity towards upward mobility.

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Jean Paul Coste, *La ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), 75; and Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 27.

roots dated from medieval times.⁴³ Eighty-six nobles had acquired noble rank, ⁴⁴ many through judicial or military careers, combined with financial success. The more prevalent way of gaining noble status in Aix-en-Provence was by purchasing a fief, exempted from taxation in the Midi. By the same token, the privilege of owning a fief brought annual revenues per fief of between 850 and 1,300 *livres tournois*, depending on the size of the property. If they were also parlementaires, noble owners of fiefs were not subject to the *gabelle* (tax on salt), so that this privilege, together with exemption from convocation for military service,⁴⁵ shielded the aristocracy from the incessant royal and civic obligations that plagued the common people, including all artisans no matter their wealth.

While noble rank gave entitlement to a number of further privileges, in principle privileges such as the judicial review in front of peers, and entitlement to hold office in sovereign courts, were the true *marques de noblesse*. Not financially rewarding, public service was nevertheless highly valued in Aix-en-Provence aristocracy as a measure of *noblesse oblige*.⁴⁶

As a result of the value placed by aristocrats on the principle of *noblesse oblige*, there was an oligarchic hold on offices in Parlement and to a lesser level in the municipal

⁴³Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 25.

⁴⁴Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 25.

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The *ban* and *arrière ban*: convocation for military service. By extension, municipal regulation fixing the date of certain activities such as bringing in crops.

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Monique Cubells, *La Provence des Lumières* (Paris, 1984), 49.



Figure 19 - City Hall. In theory, the executive at City Hall consisted of the First Consul who was a noble with a fief, the Assessor who was a lawyer and bourgeois, the Second Consul, a noble without a fief and the Third Consul who was a bourgeois. In practice all three Consuls were noble. Source: Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 82.

Council.⁴⁷ Fees were paid to nobles for general legal services rendered, but privileged exemptions were considered as the significant advantages of such positions. The price paid for holding office was considered to be a worthwhile investment, the value fluctuating certainly with the demand, but on the whole maintaining its worth until the later years of the eighteenth century.⁴⁸

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Monique Cubells, *La Provence des Lumières* (Paris, 1984), 51-53; and Jacqueline Dumoulin, *Le Consulat d'Aix-en-Provence* (Dijon, 1992).69.

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Monique Cubells, *La Provence des Lumières* (Paris, 1984).

As may be seen from the graphic representation, Figure 20, the mandate and responsibilities of city government in Aix-en-Provence were extensive. They also could be costly to artisans. In 1730 the charges of new barracks for the military was 4,000 *livres* by

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT - AIX-EN-PROVENCE 1730		
EXECUTIVE	DUTIES	COUNCIL & OTHERS
1st Consul Noble with fief	<input type="checkbox"/> Apply Council decisions	<input type="checkbox"/> 60 Conseillers serve for 2 years
Assesseur Bourgeois Lawyer Public orator	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>Procureurs du pays</u> Apply Estates decisions	<input type="checkbox"/> 30 change every year
2nd Consul Local nobility	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>Managers of Provence</u> Police powers Ordinances	<input type="checkbox"/> Nominations from each of 5 districts Age: 27 Native of Aix or 10 years residency
3rd Consul Bourgeois	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>Police morals</u> Cabaret, gambling vagrancy	<hr/> <input type="checkbox"/> 5 Capitaines de quartier
<input type="checkbox"/> Age: 30	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>Material security</u> health, public peace, fire, roads, public works	<input type="checkbox"/> Maintain order
<input type="checkbox"/> Pay: 120 <i>livres</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>Economic</u> trade, markets, commerce, weight & measures, entry of merchandise into the city	<input type="checkbox"/> Organize festivities
		<input type="checkbox"/> Maintain arms
		<input type="checkbox"/> Age: 27
		<input type="checkbox"/> Pay: 400 <i>livres</i> for special services
		<hr/> <input type="checkbox"/> Greffiers
		<input type="checkbox"/> Pay: 60 <i>livres</i>
		<input type="checkbox"/> Supplement: 775 <i>livres</i>

Figure 20 - Sources: A.M., AA 27-32; D. Bohanan, *Old and new nobility in Aix 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 80-86; Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix, 1970), I-933; C. Derobert-Ratel, *Institutions et vie municipale d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix, 1981), 15-18; J. Dumoulin, *Le Consulat d'Aix-en-Provence* (Dijon, 1992), 127-8, 145; S. Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 31-44.

loan allocation and 4,000 *livres* by taxation to cover the cost of sleeping accommodations. The assessment for the guild of shoemakers was 200 *livres*.⁴⁹ and for the guild of wig-makers, 348 *livres*.⁵⁰ *Corvées*⁵¹ for peasants were to provide for the digging of foundations, and transportation of sand and stones. As may be seen, the decisions taken by municipal officials were quite invasive of the daily life of the people of Aix-en-Provence, including that of the artisans. The financial charges were a source of particular resentment as evidenced by the records of the guilds.⁵²

The acculturation of Provençaux to the administrative framework of French bureaucracy, remarked upon by other historians as “the softening of attitudes”⁵³ in the eighteenth century, was a matter of relative degree in Aix-en-Provence.⁵⁴ Conditions were

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A.M., HH 42, F 72.

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A.M., HH 15 F 7.

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Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie, *The Ancien Régime* (Oxford, 1996), 553: “Although the royal corvée was not unknown in the later seventeenth century, it was around 1730 that it was extended throughout the realm. It consisted of an obligation placed upon the local population to spend a number of days each year in the maintenance and construction of the major highways. Frequently criticized from various quarters, it nevertheless ensured the construction of a remarkable set of roads in eighteenth-century France.”

⁵²A.M., BB 108 F 232.

⁵³

Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie, *The Ancien Régime* (Oxford, 1996), 487: “Discontented villagers made greater use of legal chicanery themselves, and with greater effectiveness, rather than have recourse to the violence of the micro-revolts or major rebellions of the past. All this formed part of a more general process of acculturation, and equally a softening of attitudes, which took place in the last century of the Ancien Régime,(42) a softening process (. . .). ”

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Please refer to footnote 57. In addition, René Pillorget, *Les mouvements insurrectionnels en Provence entre 1596 et 1715* (Paris, 1975), 1003. Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in*

not as clearly defined at street level, causing frustrations for the artisan who had woven the threads of his daily life despite financial constraints. Examples may be found of certain unfortunate initiatives taken by the Consuls on behalf of artisans and the community.

A constant in the life of the community was the unreliability of basic food supply. Because Provence imported its grain, it had weathered the 1725 famine caused by summer floods, but the 1729 grain shortage had been more threatening. The aggravating dimension for Aix-en-Provence's citizens was that the Consuls had misjudged the crisis and purchased too much wheat in March and April. When the surplus had to be re-sold, the loss was allocated by levy by city.⁵⁵ Undoubtedly, some resentment at the ineptitude of authorities remained among the *artisan-syndics* who had to pay their share of the shortfall.⁵⁶

Aix-en-Provence (Baltimore, 1976), 79, reflect the consensus that the profile had not changed sensibly by 1730. Jean-Noël Biraben, trans. Patricia Cumming, "Certain Demographic Characteristics of the Plague Epidemic in France, 1720-1722," *Daedalus* 97:2 (1968), 538, states that the 1764 census data are valid to 1720 a period of 34 years. However, the demographic profile for Aix-en-Provence contained in the 1695 *Capitation* records, although gathered 35 years earlier than the 1730 time frame of this study, was found to be more pertinent and more complete. Dialogue between historians continue as to corps, or class, identification. In my opinion, R. Pillorget comes closest to an identification applicable to artisans. "A proprement parler, il n'existe pas de classes dans la Provence du XVIIe siècle. Les personnes ou les familles ayant des revenus d'un même ordre de grandeur et d'une même origine, n'ont conscience que d'une manière épisodique de leurs intérêts communs. Et ce sont les corps qui constituent, à notre avis, les groupes sociaux les plus vivants, ceux qui avec leur famille, comptent le plus pour les Provençaux. Corps fondés sur la vie en commun: les villes et les villages, les communautés. Corps fondés sur la fonction: les compagnies d'officiers, et aussi les ordres."

⁵⁵A.M., BB 3, F 36.

⁵⁶

Syndics: an official elected to conduct the affairs of a body; former name for the Consuls of Aix-en-Provence. By extension, the elected inspectors of each guild charged with the administration and monitoring of guild regulations and levies.

There are indications that the crowd attending the ceremonial procession would have been largely local, and cognizant of such civic matters between artisans and authorities.

Capitation figures indicate that only 12 non-residents were present within Aix-en-

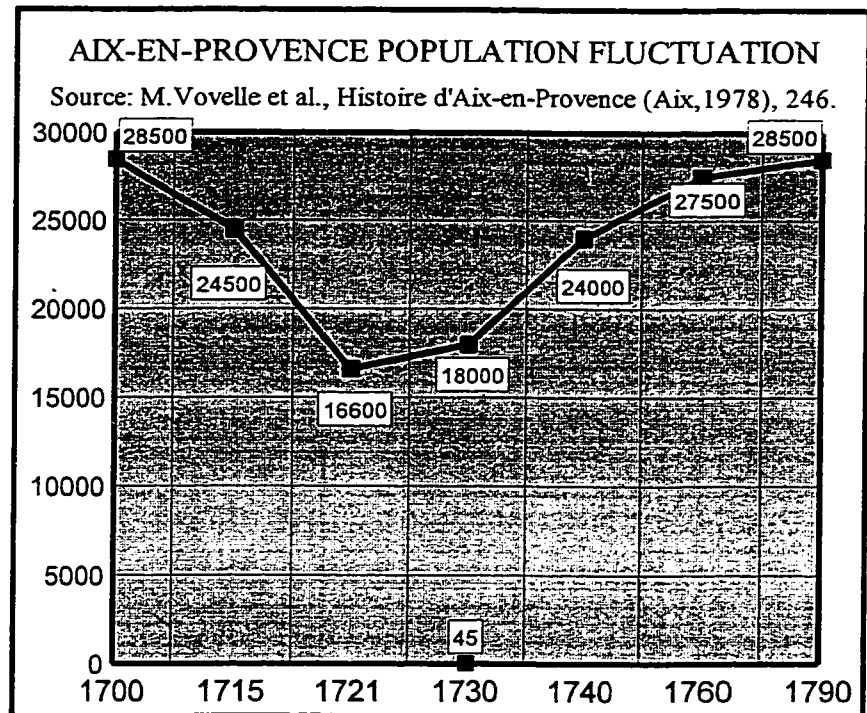


Figure 21 - Aix-en-Provence Population Fluctuation

Provence at the time of the census.⁵⁷ Based on a population at the turn of the century of 28,700 within city walls in the year 1695, and 30,504 inhabitants in a geographic area that

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F.X. Emmanuelli et al., *La Provence moderne 1481-1800* (Rennes, 1991), 126. A new tax calculated by "head" was in theory universal and based on income. Accordingly, a list of citizens was collated and included information as to the marital standing of the individual, his occupation and estimated earning for the year. Only the total number of citizens and a global income was forwarded to Paris. For Aix-en-Provence, historians have found the 1695 *capitation* to be the most reliable of data available, as evidenced by the fact that it is universally quoted by all authors cited herein and as evidenced by the observations of William Beik, *Urban protest in seventeenth-century France* (Cambridge, 1997), 19: "The figures for Aix, developed by Jean Paul Coste and Jacqueline Carrière, are somewhat more satisfying because they derive from the *capitation* survey of 1695 which encompassed almost everybody."

included surrounding territories,⁵⁸ it is probable that the crowd present at the ceremonial entry of the Princess de Conti consisted largely of citizens of Aix-en-Provence and the surrounding area, visiting the city for market-day and the ceremonial procession. This may explain why the crowd appeared to protect the shoemakers when the *capitaines de quartier* tried to arrest them. It would also explain why, given the pervasive hold of the elites within the community, the crowd had prevented further assaults on the *capitaines de quartier*, during the disruption of the ceremonial procession.

Factors that may have influenced the behaviour of commoners at the time of the ceremonial *entrée*, in addition to general issues of rank and status within the community, also relate to a particularly devastating experience in the lives of *Aixoïis*. As was noted in the population chart, the city's population had been drastically reduced by 1730. The 25 May 1730 would mark 10 years since the plague had struck Provence, beginning in Marseille and spreading along communication routes. It had been one of the worst epidemics ever to hit Aix-en-Provence.⁵⁹ Before the plague was spent, it had taken the lives of over seven thousand souls, mostly commoners. Although the relative demographic distribution between elites and commoners would be maintained, the size of the population would not return to its pre-plague level during the remainder of the Ancien Régime.⁶⁰

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Jacqueline Carrière, *La Population d'Aix-en-Provence à la fin du XVIIe siècle* (Aix, 1958), 33.

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Jean-Noël Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France* (Paris, 1976), I, 298-308.

⁶⁰

Michel Vovelle, *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1978), 246.

Indeed, the scars that a natural disaster had left on the population of commoners and elites alike in 1720-21 remained 10 years later. For the people of 1730, a visible reminder of the plague of 1720-21 was the reality of a decimated capital where they had difficulty earning a living. And there were additional repercussions that were not so visible but as significant. These related to the manner in which officials, in 1720-21, had once again underlined their privileged positions and appeared to abandon the citizens of Aix-en-Provence to their fate.

Marseille was struck with the plague in May but it was not until August that the community of Aix-en-Provence had a full scale epidemic on its hands. Measures implemented were effective but unduly severe, to the point of cruelty. Prevented from leaving their districts, and with reported cases of neighbourhood streets being walled up to prevent cases of infection from spreading, the common people's sufferings were made all the more bitter when, by October, parlementaires decided to flee.⁶¹ Against all emergency regulations they left the citizens of Aix-en-Provence to their fate, provisionally relocating Parlement in Saint-Remy and then, no longer feeling quite safe, seeking refuge in the hills within the fortified convent of Saint-Michel de Frigolet.⁶² The common people would not have forgotten how they had been left behind to cope with a mounting death toll. To his credit, Intendant Cardin de LeBret did not leave his post, a decision that would have garnered him the respect of the population.

In the intervening years, most aspects of life in the capital remained affected by the experience. City officials traditionally operated city government with a deficit, a situation that

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Michel Vovelle, et al., *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1978), 248.

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Raoul Busquet, *Histoire de la Provence* (Monaco, 1954), 300.

was aggravated by the crisis. Local tax revenues fell as people failed to pay their taxes, at a time when officials needed to borrow to meet increased expenditures related to the plague.⁶³ Financial encumbrances added to the burden of survivors for years to come, compounded by the loss of citizens in the tax base to shoulder the city's financial debt. The population base did not regain the pre-plague level until the end of the century with serious longer term impacts upon the daily life of the citizens of Aix-en-Provence.

The elites of the city would have been aware of the extent of the struggle of the common people as they strove to earn their living. Contrary to the affinity of northern nobility for the countryside, nobles in Aix-en-Provence were concentrated in the city itself.⁶⁴ Their life was one of close association since, it will be recalled, commoners traditionally had lived in the same neighbourhood as aristocrats in Aix-en-Provence. Despite the fact that by 1730 there was a growing concentration of aristocrats in the segregated, affluent Mazarin district of the city, local nobles could still be found throughout the other districts of Aix-en-Provence. Thus

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Jacqueline Dumoulin, "La difficile gestion d'une ville pendant la peste," *Mémoires de la Société pour l'Histoire du Droit et des institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois et romands* 53 (1996), 236-241. Between 1652 and 1679 the typical tax income of the city was 126,052 livres, (1680-91, 126,052 livres) but in times of plague this total would fall to an average tax income of 68, 609 livres (1650-1652).

⁶⁴

The pattern of nobles settling in surrounding countryside has also been investigated by Robert Forster in *The Nobility of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1960). The research and analysis methodology rest on longitudinal data gathered on specific family members. Subtle but meaningful shifts in interpretation of social stratification result. The elite of Toulouse identified with bourgeois values of industry and thrift more than they did with noble values. Frugal mores resulted in a higher standard of living for those not in urbanized settings.

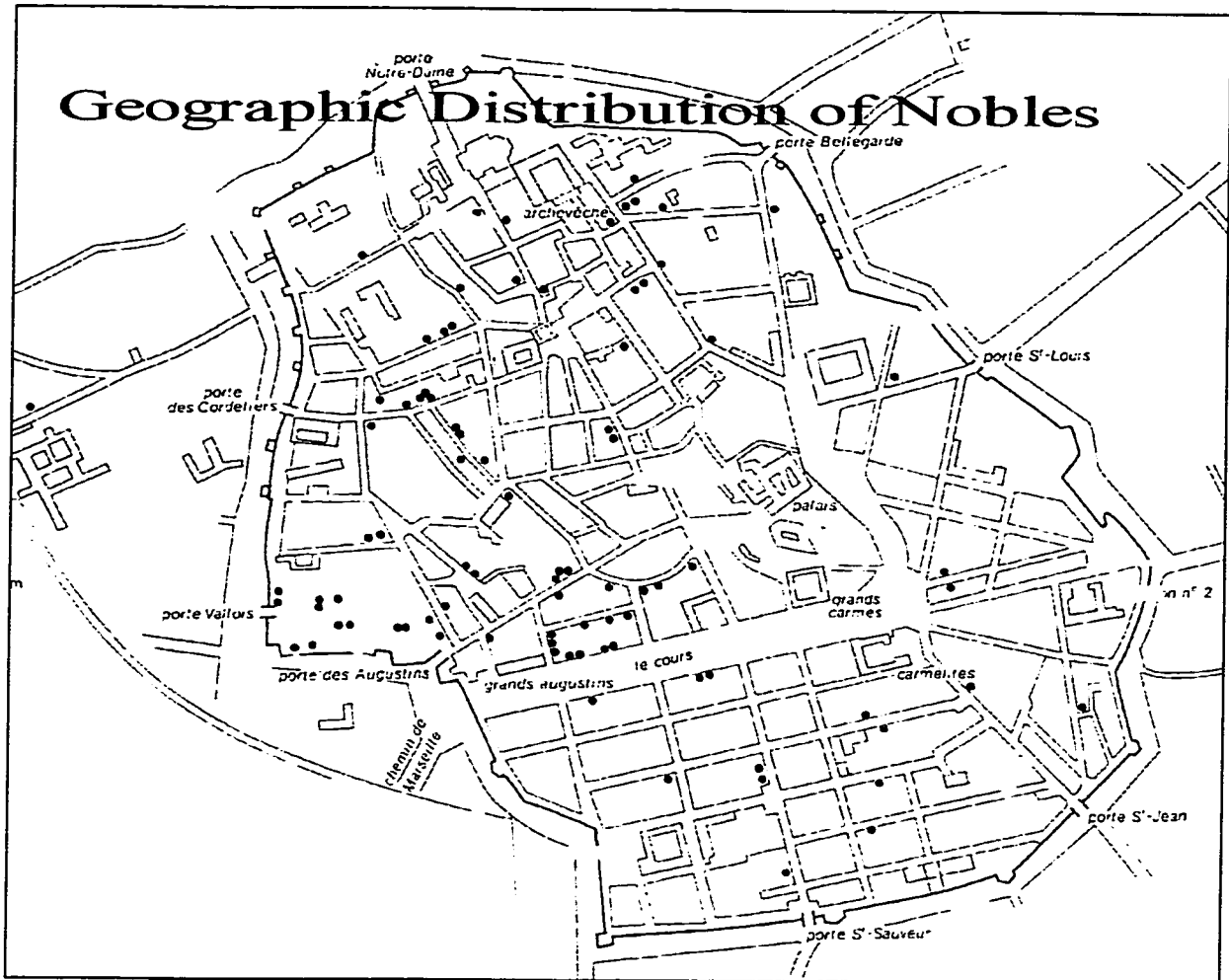


Figure 22 - Geographic distribution of nobles in 1695. Adapted from Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), SP-210; and Edouard Baratier, *Atlas historique* (Paris, 1969), 274. As is demonstrated by this general representation, the residences of nobles could be found throughout the city, but the Quartier Mazarin to the south of the Cours was becoming the preferred residential area of the elites of Aix-en-Provence. Each dot represents a residence where, in some instances, more than one noble family would be living.

nobles lived in a social and residential pattern “unique to the region”⁶⁵ and distinctly *aixoise*.

In Aix-en-Provence, the complexities of privilege and precedence were closely aligned with those of royal administrative offices. A motivating force was the hierarchy of privileged

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Donna Bohanan, *Old and new nobility in Aix-en-Provence 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 10.

positions available in Aix-en-Provence in its role as capital of the province. This was a defining factor that contributed to the spiral of antagonism that erupted in the disruption of the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti in May 1730. The influence of the Intendant, Parlement and the *capitaine de quartier* should now be considered in the context of formal authority in Aix-en-Provence and the manner in which they would have interrelated within the community.

While the Governor of Provence held a post that was ceremonial in nature, the “manager” of Provence was the Intendant. Assisted by a core group of 60 bureaucrats, Intendant de LeBret’s⁶⁶ powers extended to most of the sectors of administration and justice in Provence. Intendant⁶⁷ Cardin de LeBret was following in his father’s footsteps and had become a respected superior administrator, gifted with good common sense.⁶⁸ Contrary to the pattern of conflicts between Parlement and city government that dominated the seventeenth century in Aix-en-Provence,⁶⁹ archival evidence indicates that by 1730, a *modus vivendi* had

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François-Xavier Emmanuelli, et al., *La Provence moderne (1481-1800)* (Rennes, 1991), 161.

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A.N., H/1/1271 folio 44. The income level of the Intendant was in the order of 59,600 *livres*. To gain an appreciation of Intendant de LeBret’s affluence and consequent standing in the community it is of interest that the yearly salary of more than fifty per cent of the population would have been approximately 300 to 500 *livres* in a year.

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Richard J. Bonney, *The Intendants of Richelieu and Mazarin* (Oxford, 1973); and Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 85-98.

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As outlined in Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 13-50.

been arrived at between Intendant de LeBret, who was also First President of the Parlement, and civic authorities. Indeed, among such indications one may point to the proclamation announcing the building of the barracks as an example of collaboration between the King's representative and Consuls whose duty as Provençaux might have led them to organize a movement in opposition to the initiative. A second instance of reciprocal service is indicated by the findings of magistrates of the Parlement, in support of the decision of Consuls, that whatever guild the Consuls designated would lead the *garde bourgeoise* in the ceremonial procession. As the ultimate authority on matters of precedence, the magistrates' endorsement of the Consuls' decision was significant. In the public domain their concurrence gave absolute legitimacy to the Consuls' decision in the matter of the status of the shoemakers' guild. This departure from accepted provençal standards of the maintenance of customary rights and concomitant privileges provides evidence of the changing nature of rapports between the elites and the commoners of Aix-en-Provence. Whether through their exposure to the centralizing influences of the core administrative functions in Versailles, or through the widening of their horizons through increased literacy, the nobles and other elites of Aix-en-Provence were distancing themselves from the experiences, standards and values they had traditionally shared with the common people. The decision regarding the precedence of shoemakers in the *garde bourgeoise* would have been perceived as another confirming testimony of such transitions in the life of the community.

Indeed, the contrast to the pre-existing antipathy between Parlement and municipal governmental officials that was widely reported to have existed in the late seventeenth century, would have provided evidence that the commoners' customary reliance on civic authorities to

defend its rights and privileges was at an end. In the past, when civic government had been the author of the common people's misfortunes, citizens would have sought redress from the Parlement since both institutional groups were traditionally on opposite sides of issues. But now that distance had been bridged, so that the common people were effectively harnessed by the collaboration of Consuls and parlementaires.

Le Parlement de Provence - 1730	
Highest Civil and Criminal Appellate Court in Provence [Edict of Lyon 1501, Letters Patent 1502, Edict 1693]	
Source: Monique Cubells, <i>La Provence des Lumières</i> (Paris, 1984), 13-16.	
<i>GRAND' CHAMBRE</i> Intendant 1st President 9 Présidents à Mortier. 57 Counsellors	<input type="checkbox"/> Registered legislation and papal legislation. <input type="checkbox"/> Regulated lower royal courts <input type="checkbox"/> <u>Civil jurisdiction over nobles, royal officers, higher clergy who had right to trial before Parlement.</u>
<i>CHAMBRE TOURNELLE</i> [jurisdiction at times challenged by Intendants/Governor]	<input type="checkbox"/> Heard municipal police court appeals. <input type="checkbox"/> <u>Shared jurisdiction over privileged persons.</u> <input type="checkbox"/> Heard provincial cases of treason, sedition, libel heresy, sacrilege and blasphemy.
<i>CHAMBRE DES REQUETES</i> [1574: jurisdiction carved from two chambers above]	<input type="checkbox"/> Appeal court for non-privileged persons <input type="checkbox"/> Civil cases less than 100 livres. <input type="checkbox"/> Appeal of criminal cases with no corporal punishment. <input type="checkbox"/> Court of Inquiry for above two chambers.
<i>CHAMBRE DES VACATIONS</i> [15 Judges in Session from July to October]	<input type="checkbox"/> Lesser criminal cases and civil cases (1,200 livres) <input type="checkbox"/> Did not register royal legislation. <input type="checkbox"/> Did not assign death sentences nor judge extraordinary cases.
Parlement of 98 persons, addressed rebellions, offenses to the King, corps or privileged communities and the surveillance of artisans' guilds.	

Figure 23 - Parlement's Jurisdiction over Artisans and Aristocrats

More specifically, it is apparent that a working accommodation had been reached between levels of government by 1730 with respect to dealing with artisans. Intendant Cardin de LeBret may have been able to accomplish this feat because of his hold on the Parlement as First President, thus ensuring control of the key administrative structure in Provence. Indeed the matter of the discipline of artisans involved in the disruption did not go to the 98 parlementaires, as would have been indicated by mandates,⁷⁰ but rather to the *Grand' Chambre* presided over by Cardin de LeBret, author of the initial decision in support of Consuls. This more controlled approach would have ensured a prompt and acceptable result from deliberations on the actions of the Consuls.

In addition to Parlement, other jurisdictions thrust restrictions upon the population of Aix-en-Provence. Under the Intendant, the administration of justice was the purview of a constellation of mandated bodies: the provincial governor, the provincial Estates, the *cours souveraines*, the *cours subalternes*, town council and police forces at the level of the *Viguiers*, *maréchaussée*, *sénéchaussée*, and municipal police.

As may be appreciated, a major weakness in the practical institutionalization of the law was the overwhelming number of legal restrictions. They would be contained in a number of codes, including Roman law, ordinances of medieval courts, royal legislation after the union with France, ordinances by the various governors, decisions of the sovereign courts and seigneurial courts, decrees of municipal governments and police authorities, as well as provincial and local privileges, written and unwritten. Moreover, as a consequence of shared and overlapping jurisdictions, rivalries developed that, in turn, meant endless territorial

⁷⁰ Please refer to Figure 23 on page 60.

disputes.

From the point of view of the citizens, the inherent weakness of the administration of justice was the nature of enforcement agencies. While Aix-en-Provence had various corps of police officers, citizens were routinely forced to serve as policemen. Enforcement responsibilities were wide-ranging and subject to the whim of authorities, and could include the patrol of forests and roadways to keep them safe for travellers, the arrest and punishment of vagrants and deserters, the prevention of rebellions and popular seditions, assistance to taxation agents in collections, submission to the orders of the marshals of France and the control of soldiers within and outside city walls.⁷¹ Citizens would routinely be drafted in support of these functions.

As will be seen in the next chapters, the effects and impacts of this morass of regulations could be felt in the lives of the artisans at the most basic level of daily activities. Moreover, they were compounded by changes within the fabric of the Ancien Régime that may have de-stabilized the artisans' milieu. As an example, one of the most significant developments of recent years to influence *Aixois*, was the stability given to the value of the *livre*.

On June 15, 1726, the fluctuating silver content of the *livres tournois* was set at 5.25 grams,⁷² a symbolic indicator of moral and financial stability that would endure for two

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Richard J. Bonney, *The Intendants of Richelieu and Mazarin* (Oxford, 1976), 20-25; Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 49.

⁷²

Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, trans. Mark Greengrass, *The Ancien Régime: A History of France, 1610-1774* (Oxford, 1996), 336.

centuries. The effect in Aix-en-Provence was to entrench the oligarchic elite in their traditional wealth. Bourgeois loans to the community for various ends, including the costs for ceremonial processions,⁷³ could be extended with new-found confidence that such investments would retain their value. By the same token, borrowers such as the artisan guilds, who were forever resorting to credit to fund ceremonial processions and their other community endeavours, could not hope for a depreciation of their financial obligations. As may be seen, the community of Aix-en-Provence was undergoing a transition. The nature of relations between aristocrats and artisans was also evolving as the elite strengthened its hold on power. As the introduction of the *livre tournois* had entrenched its financial interests, widening the distance between commoners and elites, so had collaboration between Parlement and Consuls concentrated the effectiveness of their respective authority over the common people. The interlocking components of authority and power within the community were coalescing in a milieu that had not experienced such cohesion before.

The attitudinal climate of Aix-en-Provence was also undergoing transition, and this was surely the most critical of the transitional changes that the commoner was to experience. It could be perceived in the willingness of parlementaires to allow the construction of military barracks within city walls, contrary to customary privileges. Another reflection of the growing identification of the elite with the dominant values emanating from Versailles was the development of social infrastructures to control their environment. Not only would military

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A.M.C., CC 346; A.M. HH 15 F 159. Credit was commonly used to obtain funds for costs associated with ceremonial processions within the artisan community as in these examples from two locales.

barracks ensure the controlled presence of soldiers within the city, but control of beggars was no longer only through policing activities but by internment in the local hospital. The Cours, Aix-en-Provence's main avenue, now separated the elite from the commoner, the affluent neighbourhood from the integrated districts that had become the distinguishing trait of Aix-en-Provence's strong communal identity, one that had been inclusive of the elites, the artisans and the poor. Each of these developments signalled a distancing between commoners and elites, between aristocrats and artisans.

In the background was the spectre of the devastating experience of the plague that had so markedly signalled to the common people the chasm between their existence and that of the elites of Aix-en-Provence. How did this elite perceive the provençal people? What did they feel was the Provençaux' attitude towards their authority? By their actions during the disruption of the ceremonial procession, some artisans may be perceived to be bold and lacking in deference towards figures of authority. There is anecdotal evidence that this was a perception that was shared by outsiders and members of the more aristocratic circles of Aix-en-Provence.

This propensity to characterize the nature of the common people of Provence as difficult becomes an important consideration when reviewing factors that influenced artisans' attitudes towards authority. Was there an element of pre-ordained retaliation in the disturbances provoked by the artisans? They and other commoners of Provence are described by the elite who become acquainted with them, in terms that are congruent with officials' version of the disruption of the ceremonial *entrée*. There may have been an expectation, if not an apprehension of a sedition, amongst officialdom as a result of their pronouncement in the

matter of precedence in the ceremonial procession. Some of this expectation may have been the result of a growing prejudice within elite circles towards people who spoke *patois* and who were for the most part illiterate. Certainly, despite a linguistic accommodation between the French-speaking elites and the provençal-speaking commoners, there was a perception that the Provençaux were difficult people. A sampling of impressions drawn from the reports of Intendants of Provence and visitors to the province provides anecdotal evidence of an attitudinal distance between French-speaking elites and commoners in Aix-en-Provence.

Originally from Normandy, the de LeBrets, father and son, were to become Intendants of Provence for a period lasting over 43 years, from 1691 to 1734. In September 1715, the son, Intendant Cardin de LeBret,⁷⁴ began his report to central authorities with the comment: “Vous connoissés le caractère vif, imprudent et difficile, en toutes manières des gens de ce pais cy; (. . .).”⁷⁵ His words were more categorical than the impression conveyed by his father some 20 years earlier, but the sense of the stubborn independence of the people was the same. Considered one of the leading political theorists of his time⁷⁶ Intendant Pierre Cardin LeBret, had penned an engagingly candid profile of the Provençal in 1698:

Les provençaux ont une merveilleuse disposition. Ils sont extrêmement sobres surtout lorsqu'ils vivent à leurs dépens assez vaillans, mais inconstant, doubles;

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Pierre Cardin de LeBret, Intendant 1704-1734 and first President of the Parlement 1710-1734. Source: François-Xavier Emmanuelli, et al., *La Provence moderne, 1481-1800* (Rennes, 1991), 62.

⁷⁵

B.N., Fr. 11380 F 8. “You know the character of the people of this land, prompt, reckless and difficult in every way (. . .).” 11 September, 1715.

⁷⁶

R.J. Bonney, *The Intendants of Richelieu and Mazarin* (Doctoral Thesis, Oxford, 1973), 344.

on ne peut le rien affirmer sur leur bonne foy; ils sont trop grands parleurs se plaisant a faire des comptes qu'ils composent d'eux même [...] Ils s'estiment au possible, arrogant plus qu'on ne peut dire dans leur païs principalement. Ils n'ont point de respect pour leur Seigneur et ceux qui sont élever en dignité au dessus d'eux; (. . .).⁷⁷

In 1639, a travelling Parisian commented that the Provençaux distrusted “all other nations. and above all those whom they call Frenchmen, called derisively *Francimants*, who are those from the Loire, and pass in this *pays* for foreigners (. . .).”⁷⁸ A 1728 travel guide refers to the common people of Provence as “un peu rude; mais il est spirituel et porté au bien.” The author’s comments are so reminiscent of those of the first Intendant de LeBret, that they could have been inspired by reading his report. Certainly, appellations of “*arrogant*” and “*inconstants*” are shared, as well as impressions of hardworking, imaginative and quick-witted Provençaux:

Les peuples de cette Province, se plaisent beaucoup au trafic & au travail; ils sont spirituels et pleins de courage; mais dissimulés & de peu de foi; avarés, inconstans. & grands parleurs; qui se plaisent des contes d'eux memes. & qui croient etre les plus accomplis de tout le monde. Il sont arrogant dans leur païs. & le Paisans y est le plus spirituel de France; aussi n'a-t'il pas besoin d'Avocat pour dire ses raisons (. . .)⁷⁹

77

B.N., Fr. 16759 Microfilm 7257 F 379: “The *provençaux* have a marvellous disposition. They are extremely sober particularly when they earn their own living, quite hardworking but fickle, double-sided; one cannot count on their good faith; they are too great talkers enjoying tales that they make up on their own; they think a lot of themselves, are arrogant more than one can say particularly when in their own countryside. They have no respect whatsoever for their *Seigneur* and those that are higher in dignity than they are (. . .)”.

78

Jean-Jacques Bouchard, *Les confessions de Jean-Jacques Bouchard, parisien, suivis de son voyage de Paris à Rome en 1630* (Paris, 1881), 123 as quoted in Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 15.

79

B.N., Ge FF 2429: A. Leide., *Les Délices de la France ou Descriptions des Provinces, Villes*

These views are a representative sample of countless others made over a period of a century. It is an image that should be balanced with the demonstrated sociability of the Provençaux whose love of pageantry is to be found in the archival records of artisan guilds, and in the exasperated remarks of law enforcement officers who were helpless in the face of the Provençaux' gleeful propensity for gambling and imbibing.⁸⁰ As will be seen, the life of the Provençal of Aix-en-Provence appears to have been a mixture of circumscribed adhesion to dominant mores, and a determined undercurrent of individuality and attachment to tradition.⁸¹

Provençal was widely spoken and surely contributed to a sense of solidarity among the common people of the community, including artisans. Anecdotal evidence indicates that the language was still a vital element of life in Aix-en-Provence in 1730. A catechism, authored by the Bishop of Aix-en-Provence, was translated from French into Provençal as late as 1757,

principales, Maisons royales, Chateaux, & autres Lieux remarquables de ce beau Royaume (Paris, 1728), 42 and 143. "(. . .) its people are a bit rough; but they are spiritual and inclined to do good." and "The people of this Province, enjoy trade and work very much; they are spiritual and full of courage; but hard to trust and of little faith; miserly, changing and boastful; who enjoy talking about themselves and who think they are the most accomplished people of everyone. They are arrogant in their land, and the peasant is the brightest in France; for this reason, he has no need of lawyers to state his thinking (. . .)."

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A.D., B 3596, B 4422 to 4430; A.M., HH Inventory.

⁸¹

Donna Bohanan, *Old and new nobility in Aix-en-Provence 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 10; and Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 15.

and re-edited in the nineteenth century.⁸² In 1790 an English traveller could not converse with a peasant from whom he wanted to obtain mules because he spoke only French and the man only Provençal.⁸³ Across social strata, French was the language of formal interaction, and a determinant of social status, but informal life was filled with the lilt of Provençal.⁸⁴ The rudimentary level of French spoken by the population in the early seventeenth century had improved to the point where historians have stated that French was used by all levels of the community in Aix-en-Provence in the 1700's with varying fluency.⁸⁵ Exchanges between artisans at the Fontaine des Minimes, and at the corner of La Mule Blanche, a neighbourhood cabaret,⁸⁶ most likely occurred in Provençal.

The administrative influence of the French language is reflected in the documentation left behind by artisans and elite alike. Guild minutes and official documentation do not provide evidence of a great cleavage based on linguistic facility. Rather, one finds the expected differentiation between a working man's language and an elite's bureaucratic reports prepared for a Parisian audience. The one indicator of coexistence of the two languages was inferred

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François-Xavier Emmanuelli, et al., *La Provence moderne 1481-1800* (Rennes, 1991), 194; J.P. de Brancas was Bishop of Aix-en-Provence from 1729-1770.

⁸³

Arthur Young, *Travels in France during the Years, 1787, 1788, and 1789* (Cambridge, 1929), 237-238 as quoted in Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 16.

⁸⁴

Michel Vovelle, et al., *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1978), 226.

⁸⁵

André Boulaya d'Arnaud, *Evocation du vieil Aix-en-Provence* (Paris, 1964), 20-21.

⁸⁶

Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 124.

by the routine combination of two versions of a name when referring to an individual.⁸⁷ Specifically, in court records, a defendant was called by his provençal name and French equivalent, irrespective of the context. Language accommodations in Aix-en-Provence do not apply to Cavaillon, the Princess de Conti's previous stop on her way to the capital. Artisans of Cavaillon wrote phonetically using provençal cadence and phraseology.⁸⁸ This would indicate that there was indeed a level of acculturation in the more sophisticated city of Aix-en-Provence. Its citizens would have had more exposure to the core values of the central government in Versailles.⁸⁹

There is not sufficient evidence to pursue the hypothesis of possible antipathy between groups in the procession on the basis of language. This is not to say that it may not have contributed to a climate of social distance between artisans and the officials involved in the procession, or between wig-makers and shoemakers. The imagery of the artisans' gestures and postures, combined with rude diphthongs in an otherwise lyrical speech pattern would have signalled the spiralling of hostilities between the two guilds. Similarly, the more sophisticated language of the aristocracy would have created distance between their numbers

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Fernand Benoit, *La Provence et le Comtat Venaissin: Arts et traditions populaires* (Avignon, 1975), 192. In the community, each individual received a nickname, a sign of his abstraction from the family and of his integration into the social group."

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Fernand Benoit, *La Provence et le Comtat Venaissin: Arts et traditions populaires* (Avignon, 1975); and Auguste Brin, *La Langue française en Provence de Louis XIV au Felibrige* (Genève, 1972).

⁸⁹

Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (Stanford 1976), 90-92.

and the common artisan whose opaque expressions⁹⁰ were shaped by life experiences rather than decorum. On the basis of current evidence language does not appear as a moving force that can be identified with artisans' gestures, nor reported exchanges between officials and artisans during the disruption of the ceremonial *entrée*.

The nature of change within the community as it affected the common people of Aix-en-Provence extended to the influence of religion, a core value of neighbourhood relationships in the past. However, by 1730, the potential influence of religion provides additional evidence that the people were undergoing deep-seated transitions in standards and values that would have affected their attitudes towards authority. Indeed, "The eighteenth century was perhaps, throughout France a period of lukewarm religious fervour with frequent slippage in practice and very gradually changing attitudes towards death and devotion."⁹¹

In this respect, Aix-en-Provence fit the general pattern in France. Yet, unlike other areas of southern France that had seen bloody religious conflicts that had entrenched segments of the community, the common people of Aix-en-Provence had always maintained a more

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Fernand Benoit, *La Provence et le Comtat Venaissin: Arts et traditions populaires* (Avignon, 1975), 190-192: As examples, a conversation would be referred to as an exchange of polite formulas "*salamalèc.*" *Ho! de l'ousteau.*" trans. "Hola, ceux de la maison." The author underlines the solidarity implied by distinctive vocabularies, pronunciations and appellations in Provence. Trans. "Each city, each village, each district or each clan had a sense of community, and formed restricted societies, on the scale of daily relations of the past, each of the groups making it a point of honour to differentiate itself from the neighbour. This trait was apparent in the different pronunciations and in the very way of speaking that varied from village to village. (. . .) communities, at times district and clans used pseudonyms that created geographic relations (. . .) giving marked differentiations towards a collective opposition of social groups and a strengthening of neighbourhood ties. (. . .)."

⁹¹

Olwen H. Hufton, "Attitudes Towards Authority," *Social History* 3:3 (1978), 301.

relaxed attitude towards religion. Their fondness was for superstition, love of the celebratory aspects of religious office, and a casual acceptance of more formal religious dogma. Catholicism was a matter of course, but there was not the fervour that would create societal conflicts in other parts of France.

By the eighteenth century there remained perhaps 100 Protestants in Aix-en-Provence, so that religious conformity to Catholicism was almost universal. Anecdotal evidence demonstrates that the Provençaux were casual attendants of formal religious observance. In January 1700, the archbishop of Aix-en-Provence found it necessary to berate the congregation, referring to an indifference towards God, and a lack of Christian humility.⁹² In 1730 a *curé* complained of the poor attendance at Sunday Mass of parishioners who were receiving assistance. More significantly, he was indignant that they did not even meet the most basic requirement of the Church, that they take communion at Easter.⁹³ Indeed, historians of Aix-en-Provence have noted a transition in *mentalité* from religious to more secular attitudes,

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Michel Vovelle, et al., *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence au 18e siècle* (Aix-en-Provence, 1978), 193.

⁹³

Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 123; and Olwen H. Hufton, "Attitudes towards authority," *Social History* 3: 3 (Oct., 1978), 294: "Un très grand nombre de paroissiens ne se présentent pas a Pâques au mépris des lois de l'Eglise." This comment was made by a curate in Lodeve in 1739-40 as reported by E. Applis, ADH G 1063. Moreover, Hufton notes that "Aguilhon has noted that the failure of the provençal clergy to shape popular religion and to rob the populace of its processions (. . .) which progressively assumed a lay character and offended the jansenist ethics." 282. Michel Vovelle, *Piété baroque et déchristianisation en Provence au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1973), 265-300; and Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence, 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 131.



Figure 24 - Commoners and elites lived in concentric circles in their neighbourhoods.

characterized as “*déchristianisation*” in this period. It was part of a wider “mutation”⁹⁴ that profoundly reflected the changing vision of common people and of their place in their community, one that could be observed in the changing patterns of life within their close-knit neighbourhoods. As has been demonstrated, while they shared residential areas, artisans lived an economically fragile existence within such neighbourhoods, underlining the evident distance between the common people and the establishment. Yet, that distance was an integral dimension of standards and values that appeared to be widely accepted. Moreover, in the early decades of the eighteenth century neither individuals nor families had consciousness of sharing common interests on a continuing basis. Rather, it was daily activities and social contacts that

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Michel Vovelle, *Piété baroque et déchristianisation en Provence au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1973), 281-283 and 614.

created concentric patterns that deepened bonds of community life.⁹⁵

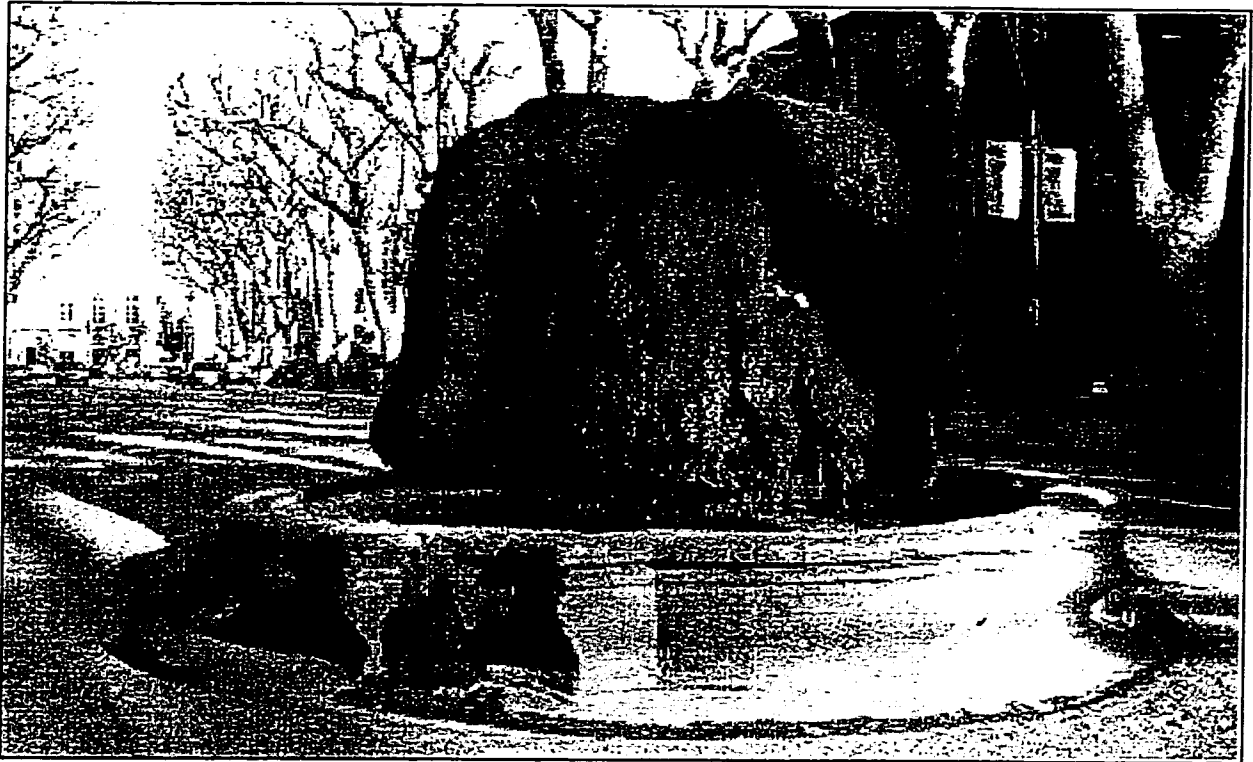


Figure 25 - Fontaine Chaude on the Cours (originally named Triton - 1667).

Source: Lucie Schmeltzer, *Promenades autour des fontaines d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1993), 10. Evidence of the changing nature of neighbourhood life in Aix-en-Provence could be found in its many fountains. From practical centres of daily activities fountains assumed decorative roles in the elite areas of the city. This warm spring fountain was one of four located on the Cours, an avenue that was 440 m long by 42 m wide.

In the second half of the seventeenth century there had been subtle alterations to the character of the local community when elegant homes and boulevards were introduced to the city landscape.⁹⁶ As well, the 36 fountains that had served as functional spaces in every district were now being enlarged to become visual buffers for the wealthier citizens in the

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David Garrioch, *The Parisian Bourgeoisie 1690-1830* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁹⁶

Cissie Fairchilds, *Charity and Poverty in Aix-en-Provence* (Baltimore, 1976), 6-7.

community.⁹⁷

Urbanization had brought expansion of the state, expansion of the police, and the beginnings of the withdrawal of the elite from neighbourhood life. The artisans of Aix-en-Provence had witnessed each of these constraining forces at work. As will be seen, changes surely contributed to more than a topographical distancing within the community, but also to distancing between the common people and the aristocracy of Aix-en-Provence.⁹⁸ Their marginal role in the power structures of Aix-en-Provence may be posited to have acerbated such predispositions.

Ceremonial processions were one instance where little had changed, including the people's anticipation of celebrations. If there was a common governing principle in the lives of the citizens of Aix-en-Provence, it was preoccupation with precedence and privilege, whether by the artisan or the aristocrat. The next chapter will explore how the pervasive influence of precedence and privilege in the lives of *Aixois* heightened the dynamic tensions of the ceremonial procession. It will be demonstrated that the ceremonial *entrée* brought together dimensions of artisan unrest and frustrations produced by the marginalised existence of artisans in Aix-en-Provence. It will be argued that evidence of their *mentalité* may be found in the manner in which the ceremonial procession was disrupted.

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Lucie Schmeltzer, *Promenades autour des fontaines d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1995), 7, 11, 14 and 18.

⁹⁸

Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence* (Baltimore, 1976), 7; and David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790* (Cambridge, 1986).

CHAPTER II - PROCESSION AND PRECEDENCE

To appreciate the ceremonial procession as it was constituted for the *entrée* of the Princess de Conti, and the manner of its disruption by the shoemaker's guild, one must first consider the nature of precedence in Aix-en-Provence in 1730 and related privileges. In this highly regulated society of the Ancien Régime, the position of precedence in ceremonial processions provided an important indicator of the status and power of an individual or group within the community, reflecting prestige and privileges.¹ Built around the subtle manifestations of intrinsic respect and *honneur*, such indicators had vital consequences for maintaining one's continuing precedence within the orders of the Ancien Régime, and its concomitant privileges.

In this chapter, it will be argued that an intentional injustice was done to the shoemakers' guild by officials of Aix-en-Provence, through the revocation of their precedence in the *garde bourgeoise*. In turn, the shoemakers disrupted the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti in a calculated stratagem to repair their public humiliation through commensurate acts aimed at officials' privileges. In addition it will be shown that their attitudes to authority, and their expression of these attitudes through the disruptions, were derived from the dominant elite. In redressing the damage done to their profile in the community, shoemakers confirmed their adherence to established values and standards of the

¹ Robert A. Schneider, *The Ceremonial City* (Princeton, 1995).

Ancien Régime.

This chapter will consider three dimensions of the procession and its disruption. First, that the ceremonial procession in honour of the Princess de Conti was an exceptional occasion, as evidenced by its imagery and comparative rituals. Second, that precedence in a ceremonial procession was highly valued in Aix-en-Provence, and an accepted gauge of status to which shoemakers and their social superiors were committed. Third, that the disruption of the ceremonial procession involved not only guild rivalry but extended beyond it to encompass retaliations against the highest level of officialdom in Aix-en-Provence.

Issues of precedence often gave rise to contention as an individual or a group struggled to maintain or improve status.² To lose ground was to face humiliation and embarrassment on a personal, professional and collective level within the community. To diminish potential conflicts, protocols on precedence governed all aspects of ceremonial life.³ Because importance was given to such protocol in the preparation of processions, ceremonial entries - when royal symbolism connected with local conditions and susceptibilities - could be particularly revealing of the *mentalité* of a people.⁴ The hierarchy of ceremonial rituals will

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William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-century France* (New York, 1997), 7; Arlette Farge. *La vie fragile. Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1986), 151.

³

B.N., K/1712; A.M. AA 55 F 27 are examples.

⁴

Robert A. Schneider, *The Ceremonial City* (Princeton, 1995), 151: "In the eighteenth-century city political culture was rich in ritual expressions, from royal entries, coronations, funeral processions and lits de justice, each an important element of the monarchy's symbology of power."; and B.M., Pierre Joseph de Haitze, *Histoire de la Ville d'Aix - capitale de Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1889), VI, 3-4, 291, 1084.

be considered to assess the relative importance given by officials to the visit of the Princess de Conti.

In the second part of this chapter, the issue of precedence in ceremonial processions will be explored through instances of related conflicts within the community of Aix-en-Provence. This approach will provide a background against which to consider the attitude of artisans participating in the *garde bourgeoise*. More specifically, the situation of the shoemakers' guild, one of the largest and most established in Aix-en-Provence, will serve as an exemplar of the significance of precedence and privilege in the context of ceremonial *entrées*.

Ceremonial *entrées* into the capital of Provence were defined by custom.⁵ Tradition delineated the relative importance of the visiting dignitary in specific ways: the distance outside of city gates that officials would travel to meet the distinguished visitor;⁶ the *harangue* (speech) of welcome by the *Assesneur*;⁷ the composition of the procession that would wait by the designated gate to cross into the city; the choice of specific gate from the nine gates giving entrance into Aix-en-Provence; and the relative decoration of the gates.

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A.M., BB inventory.

6

B.M., Fonds Anciens, Pierre Joseph de Haitze, as quoted by Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), II, 1079: "Il est intéressant de noter les étapes d'accueil préparatoires à cette entrée (on les retrouvera avec des variantes mineures dans d'autres entrées); Cavaillon, les amis du président, Lambesc, les consuls, comme procureurs du pays, Lignane les mêmes, comme consuls d'Aix, le pont St-Louis de la Calade, le Parlement."

7

A.M., AA 55, F 77; and Christiane Derobert-Ratel, *Institutions et vie municipale à Aix-en-Provence sous la Révolution* (Aix-en-Provence, 1981), 22: The *Assesneur* was official spokesperson as *procureur du pays de Provence*.

devised specifically for the visiting dignitary.⁸

Once within city walls, the dignitaries would march along a prescribed route decorated with the banners provided by the city and myriad displays fashioned by enthusiastic *Aixoïis*.⁹ Spectators would be alert to discriminating indicators of status within the procession. As an example, within the merchant class, individuals who had seniority and wealth would ride their best horse whereas the majority of merchants would walk.¹⁰ The procession did not advance directly to its destination but meandered along the preordained route, usually by way of the Cours and the Place des Prêcheurs, for as much as four to five hours.¹¹ Determining the itinerary was occasionally a point of contention as residents tried to secure the honour for their street. Altering the traditional path of the procession was rare, but it did happen. Residents along the chosen route thus made a special effort to demonstrate that they were

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Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The Paris Entries of Charles IX and Elizabeth of Austria* (Toronto, 1974), 24: The fee paid to an artisan by the name of Ronsard in Paris for the preparation of an entry gate was in the amount of 270 *livres tournois*. The ceremonial record in Aix-en-Provence specifically states that the gate prepared for the Princess was simple, most likely as a result of the short notice given officials of her imminent arrival. The cost would be less.

9

Jean Boutier, Alain Dewerpe, Daniel Nordman, *Un Tour de France royal. Le voyage de Charles IX (1564-1566)* (Paris, 1984), 302-304: It should be noted that in a symbolic show of unity on this occasion, participants in the procession had worn the royal colours, ruby, blue and white, as well as the colours of the queen or the princes of the blood accompanying Charles IX. We have no indication if this was the case for the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti.

10

Jean Boutier, Alain Dewerpe, Daniel Nordman, *Un Tour de France royal. Le voyage de Charles IX (1564-1566)* (Paris, 1984), 304;

11

André Bouyala d'Arnaud, *Evocation du Vieil Aix-en-Provence* (Paris, 1964), 53.

worthy of the honour, through colourful embellishments of flowers, pennants and banderoles. On every occasion, it would take many hours for the ceremonial procession to wind its way to the designated residence where the guests could recover from their journey.¹²

The protocol then called for a further token of welcome, the presentation by city dignitaries of a ceremonial gift. Such gifts provide interesting clues as to the personality of various visitors as perceived by host officials in Aix-en-Provence: “[...] les présents que la ville est en coutume de faire en ces sortes d’occasions, qui consistent en confitures, en flambeaux de cire blanche et en vins [...]”¹³

In the case of the Princess de Conti, three books were added to her package, wrapped in ribbon in the red and yellow colours of Aix-en-Provence.¹⁴ Books were a valuable commodity in the Midi.¹⁵ This token of esteem provides us with another indication that the Princess was highly considered by the elite of Aix-en-Provence. The nature of such variations also indicate that ceremonial *entrées* were tailored to the individual. The focus was the person rather than an occasion to celebrate the power of the state as had been the case at the

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A.M., AA 55 F 77 verso; André Bouyala d’Arnaud, *Evocation du vieil Aix-en-Provence* (Paris, 1964), 18.

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B.M., Fonds Anciens, Pierre Joseph de Haitze, *Histoire de la Ville d’Aix - capitale de Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1889), VI, 3-4.

¹⁴

A.M., AA 55 F 77 verso; and Christiane Derobert-Ratel, *Institutions et vie municipale à Aix-en-Provence sous la Révolution* (Aix-en-Provence, 1981), 11: “rouge et jaune, couleurs de la ville.” *Aixoïs* refer to the colours as *sang et or* that is, blood and gold.

¹⁵

Edouard Baratier, *Histoire de Provence* (Toulouse, 1969), 380-381.

time of the visit of Charles IX (1564) and Louis XIV (1660).¹⁶

Some aspects of the protocol were common to all ceremonial *entrées*. The sequence of the ceremonial ritual never altered, nor did the number of companies of artisans in the *garde bourgeoise* that constituted part of the procession in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁷ At this time the *garde bourgeoise* represented, by the number of artisans in a company, a substantial part of the procession. This may be seen as evidence of their improved position in the social hierarchy of Aix-en-Provence, since artisan guilds were not included as part of ceremonial processions before that time.¹⁸

The most humble citizens of the city had first place in the ceremonial procession, in most cases this being the *compagnies de la garde bourgeoise*. The various corps of the city would follow. The King's appointed officials had preeminence over the city's highest representatives,¹⁹ so that it is of interest that there is but one passing reference to their

¹⁶

David, "Image and ritual in the Tudor parliaments." in *Tudor Political Culture*, Dale Hoak, ed., (Cambridge, 1995), 245.

¹⁷

The *garde bourgeoise* included five companies. The composition of a company might vary by 10 going from 40 to 50, depending on the guild, based on its membership. Consequently, the *garde bourgeoise* included 200 to 250 artisans.

¹⁸

Claire Dolan, "Liturgies urbaines et rapport sociaux en France au XVI^e siècle: fascination militaire, quartiers et corporations de métiers," *Journal of the CHA/Revue de la SHC* 5 (1994), 109: "La position des notables dans cet encadrement (au conseil municipal, comme dans les quartiers) montre à quel point l'image que la ville veut donner d'elle-même se confond avec son élite."

¹⁹

A.M. 55 and Jean Boutier, Alain Dewerpe, Daniel Nordman, *Un Tour de France royal. Le voyage de Charles IX (1564-1566)* (Paris, 1984), 304.

participation in the description contained in Aix-en-Provence's Book of Ceremonies.²⁰ This may reflect the municipal authorities' consideration towards provincial officials in wanting to spare them the embarrassment of being associated with the disrupted ceremonial procession. It may also reflect a rivalry for precedence between city and provincial officialdom, a consideration in the recovery of the actual circumstances of the disturbances.²¹ It is very unlikely that provincial officials did not participate fully in the welcome extended to the Princess de Conti. The First President and Intendant, Cardin de LeBret, was well considered at court and had been on friendly terms with the late husband of the Princess, as evidenced by their correspondence.²² Also, Governor de Villars was a close friend of *Monseigneur* Fleury, influential at court and well known to the House of Bourbon Condé-Conti,²³ so that the Governor's presence would have been required.

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A.M., AA 55 F 77 recto: "Lequels estants suivys des officiers de la province (. . .)"

²¹

William Beik. *Urban protest in seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 1997), 11: "A perfect illustration of the problem of interpretation is the *procès-verbal*, one of the principal sources of documentation about popular protest. (. . .) a blow by blow description designed to justify the conduct of the narrator, to incriminate those who had committed illegal acts, or to certify that certain legal steps had been taken (. . .)."

²²

B.N., Fr 8954 F 78. F 82. *Lettres de la part de Louis Armand de Bourbon-Conti*; and Jacqueline Carrière, *La Population d'Aix en Provence à la fin du XVIIe Siècle - Etude démographique historique d'après le registre de capitation de 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1958), 25: Moreover, Cardin de LeBret benefited from the prestige of his father who had previously held the position of Intendant in Provence until 1714. As Intendant he was considered to be the true master of Provence: "S'il est le vrai maître de la Provence, Pierre Cardin LeBret est aussi un homme compétent qui fit ses preuves successivement en Dauphiné, puis en Provence."

²³

B.N., Fr.8939 F 29.

The common people might appear to have been largely excluded in the social hierarchy of participants in the procession,²⁴ but on the stage of this urban theatre the crowd held the vital role of spectator. Its enthusiastic presence along the ceremonial route provided validation of the image projected by civic authorities through the spectacle of the ceremonial procession. In the month of May, under the heat of Provence's Midi sun, the excited crowds must have engorged the narrow cobblestoned streets, their cheers resounding between the five-tiered walls of adjoining residences.²⁵ The crowd's enthusiasm further confirmed the importance of the visiting dignitaries and lent credibility to the prestige of the occasion.

A repertoire of gestures characterized ceremonial *entrées* and involved the whole of the urban community. The day of the arrival of a dignitary was declared a holiday by officials of Aix-en-Provence so that shops and artisan boutiques would be closed for the occasion. Official activities, including the courts of Provence, would come to a halt in recognition of the visit.²⁶ Significantly, as on the occasion of the arrival of the Princess de Conti, if the *entrée* fell on a Tuesday or a Saturday, the customary market days, that most vital hub of urban life would be cancelled. The generality of these halts in the cyclical daily patterns of *aixois* life provide evidence of the importance attributed to the *entrées* by authorities, and of

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Jean Boutier, Alain Dewerpe, Daniel Nordman, *Un tour de France royal, Le voyage de Charles IX (1564-1566)* (Paris, 1984), 303.

²⁵

Because of the narrowness of streets in Aix-en-Provence, through time, additional storeys had been added to most houses. The new constructions were tiered so that the roof of one became the balcony of the next level, giving a distinct outline to the city scape.

²⁶

Jean Boutier, Alain Dewerpe, Daniel Nordman, *Un Tour de France, Le voyage de Charles IX (1564-1566)* (Paris, 1984), 298.

the excitement they engendered in the common people. Such festivity was rare, outside of a religious occasion.

Ceremonial entries themselves were quite uncommon,²⁷ and generated a level of higher expectation, a heightened pitch of gaiety.²⁸ Feverish activities would begin at dawn, with the ringing of bells from the city hall belfry. In a time when few could read, four city trumpeters²⁹ would proceed into the neighbourhood with formal announcements of the anticipated time of arrival of the dignitary. The proud self-image of Aix-en-Provence was reflected in the assemblage that followed such summons.

Urban elites appeared dressed in full regalia. The Intendant and First President of the Parlement wore a round hat of black velvet trimmed with gold, his red robe with lace at the throat, covered by a mantle trimmed with ermine. The magistrates and councillors wore crimson robes without mantle, the latter distinctive in black velvet bonnets.³⁰ The Consuls' distinguished appearance included traditional *chaperons* of red and black worn over their left

²⁷

A.M., AA 55. In a period of fifty years (1650-1750) there were approximately one dozen. The last similar occasion had occurred when the Princesse de Modène had visited Aix-en-Provence in 1720.

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Yves-Marie Bercé, *Fête et révolte. Des mentalités populaires du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1994), 13.

²⁹

André de Bouyala d'Arnaud, *Evocation du Vieil Aix-en-Provence* (Paris, 1964), 97. The Vallier family had an oligarchic hold on the positions of trumpeters in Aix-en-Provence for two hundred and seventy-four years, from 1572-1846.

³⁰

Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt* (Princeton, 1970), 43.

shoulder.³¹ while the *Assesseur* wore the distinctive black robe, emblem of his role as *procureur* of the people. Each adornment was an acknowledged symbol of the respective status of the incumbent and of the prestige of his office. Each symbol clearly indicated the *honneur* due to the individual by those in his milieu and this applied to the *garde bourgeoise*.

In the *garde bourgeoise*, five companies of artisans wore clothing typifying their guilds and bore muskets, a token of their privileged role as defenders of the city and of its authorities. Following the ceremonial *entrée* of Louis XIII in 1622, the King had confirmed the privilege of the *garde bourgeoise* to carry arms on such resplendent occasions.³²

The beat of the drums ensured that the *garde bourgeoise* marched in unison, with the dignitaries keeping step, as the procession wound its way into the heart of the city. This too was customary and symbolic.³³ In the past, drums had sounded the call to rebellion and glory

³¹

A measure of the prized symbolism of the colours of the *chaperons* may be derived from the punishment imposed by the King upon officials of Aix-en-Provence following the Cascaveux rebellion. Officials were forced to wear purple *chaperons* as a sign of penance and submission to the King. The visible sign of their reinstatement had been the King's permission to return to the red and black colours. This may explain why many accounts of ceremonial processions underline the colour of the *chaperons*.

³²

A.C., BB 99, F. 38; as quoted in Claire Dolan: "Liturgies urbaines et rapports sociaux en France au XVIe siècle: fascination militaire, quartiers et corporations de métiers," *Journal of the CHA/ Revue de la SHC* 5 (1994), 107-110. Professor Dolan notes that the royal entry disappears with the reign of Louis XIV. She further notes that in the XVIth century, artisans were not represented by trade in ceremonial processions. At that time, the procession was ordered according to the power structure rather than the social structure. This in turn gave ceremonial processions a political rather than a social visage. When Provence adopted the general mode of guilds in the XVII century, artisans re-appeared in civic ceremonies.

³³

Maurice Agulhon, *La sociabilité méridionale, confrérie et associations dans la vie collective en Provence orientale à la fin du 18e siècle* (Aix-en-Provence, 1966), 175.

for the common people,³⁴ so that during this procession the sound of drums may have recalled the centennial of a proud episode in provençal history. In 1630, one hundred years earlier, the noble Seigneur Chateauneuf had become leader of the historic Cascaveoux rebellion. At the request of the authorities of Provence, drums had signalled his alliance with the common people. It had marked a heroic moment in Aix-en-Provence's annals, as artisans and peasants had answered the call of the drums³⁵ and, joined by high nobility, had risen in defence of their traditional privileges.³⁶ The drums may also have had a more lusty significance to Provençaux as evidenced by this statement from an infuriated cleric:

They do not believe in God in this area unless they can see him with their very eyes; and, since they have turned the drum into a sort of divinity, there is no use in wondering whether this instrument of the Devil will join the procession. It has never failed to do so. The drum has more friends and protectors here

³⁴

James A. Farr, *Hands of Honor: Artisans and their world in Dijon, 1550-1650* (Ithaca, 1988), 203. The cultural gesture of resorting to drums for protests was universal in the Midi as may be seen in two other anecdotes: "At 5:30 on the morning of 28 February 1630, the tocsin rang out from the bell towers of St-Michel and St. Philibert parish churches, but no magistrate had sounded the call to arms. With four drummers beating the rhythm of rebellion, an organized band of about seventy common people, [. . .] set off for the mansion of Nicolas Gagne, trésorier général de France in Burgundy. [. . .]"; and 204. "Led by the drummers and strutting *roy machas*, singing the popular festal song "Lanturelu," the crowd marched to the home of Antoine Joly, greffier en chef au Parlement and set it ablaze."

³⁵

Maurice Pezet, *La Provence des rebelles: Révoltes populaires du XVII siècle à nos jours* (Paris, 1980), 22. "Le lendemain, lundi 8 novembre des heurts se produisent, des blessés jonchent les carrefours. A la demande des autorités, Châteauneuf, l'un des responsable de ces journées révolutionnaires et chef des Cascaveú, fait battre le tambour, symbole de son alliance avec le peuple. A son appel, les paysans et artisans quittent la cité [. . .]."

³⁶

André Bouyala d'Arnaud, *Evocation du Vieil Aix-en-Provence* (Paris, 1984), 25: These traditional rights were to be confirmed by Louis XIV at the time of his visit to Aix-en-Provence in 1660: "il promet aux consuls de garder et d'observer les privilèges de leur cité."

than the King of Kings and Lord of Lords.³⁷

A comparison of ceremonial entries into the city, as described in the “Book of Ceremonies of Aix-en-Provence”³⁸ provides a number of indicators that this event ranked amongst the most prestigious and noteworthy in the history of the capital. The formality of a ceremonial entry was extended by officials of Aix-en-Provence according to set precedents established on the basis of the status of the visitor.

The definitive ceremonial *entrée* upon which consequent ceremonial processions may be assessed had been the visit of Charles IX to Aix-en-Provence in 1564. Accompanied by his whole court, the King had engaged in a ceremonial procession of 27 months across France. This “government by voyage”³⁹ had included a four-day stay⁴⁰ in the capital of Provence at a time when parlementaires were in disgrace and had been replaced by delegates from Versailles. The protocol as it was described,⁴¹ reveals the inherent magnetism of the procession and the long tradition underlying the ritual followed on the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti in 1730.

³⁷

Maurice Agulhon and Noël Coulet, *Histoire de la Provence* (Paris, 1996), 339.

³⁸

A.M. AA 55.

³⁹

Jean Bouthier, Alain Dewerpe, Daniel Nordman, *Un Tour de France royal. Le voyage de Charles IX (1564-1566)* (Paris, 1984), 8.

⁴⁰

André Bouyala d’Arnaud, *Evocation du Vieil Aix-en-Provence* (Paris, 1984), 18.

⁴¹

André Bouyala d’Arnaud, *Evocation du Vieil Aix-en-Provence* (Paris, 1984), 18; and Jean Bouthier, Alain Dewerpe, Daniel Nordman, *Un Tour de France royal. Le voyage de Charles IX. (1564-1566)* (Paris, 1984), 8.

Upon Charles IX's journey to Aix-en-Provence, municipal officials, dignitaries of the city, and the principal corps of the capital, anticipated the arrival of the monarch and travelled outside the city to rendez-vous with his following. At the royal gate, fireworks and a gun salute marked the King's entry into the city. This same ritual would signal the Princess de Conti's entry into the capital of Provence. Once within city walls, Charles IX had first acknowledged the magistrates of the *Cour des comptes*. That judicial body had been the earliest established sovereign court in Provence, and thus the *droit d'ancienneté* that prevailed in the Ancien Régime was recognized. The shoemakers, in a less prestigious context of the *garde bourgeoise*, would invoke this same customary right to protect their precedence in 1730.

On this rare occasion of Charles IX's sovereign visit, it was the First President of the Parlement who had pronounced the welcome address, an indication of the prestige of the privilege. In normal circumstances, the ceremonial greeting would have devolved upon the *Assesneur* of the city, whose mandate it was to be spokesperson for the citizens.⁴² The rituals that followed would be part of the welcome extended to the Princess de Conti in 1730.⁴³

⁴²

Jean Bouthier, Alain Dewerpe, Daniel Nordman. *Un Tour de France royal. Le voyage de Charles IX (1564-1566)* (Paris, 1984), 294: at the Sovereign's next stage of the journey he was received with all due honours in Marseille. On this occasion, it was Pierre Vento, *Assesneur*, who had given the welcome address, an indication that Aix-en-Provence's address by the First President was indeed an exception to the rule. Further ceremonial *entrées* name the *Assesneur* as spokesperson.

⁴³

André de Bouyala d'Arnaud, *Evocation du Vieil Aix-en-Provence* (Paris, 1984), 18: "vinrent, les uns après les autres, embrasser les cuisses de sa majesté," and Jean Boutier, Alain Dewerpe, Daniel Nordman, *Un Tour de France royal. Le voyage de Charles IX (1564-1566)* (Paris, 1984), 294. The protocol may account for Louis XIV's posture on *tableaux* that depict the majesty of the Sun King, where he is seen extending his leg and displaying the

As the royal procession had gradually begun to make its way towards the city, the dignitaries of Aix-en-Provence had taken their place, in a ritual adopted during the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti and her son, more than 150 years later. This practice may explain why the *garde bourgeoise* was positioned along the wall of the Fontaine des Minimes for the approximately two hours before the arrival of the royal visitors in 1730. It is probable that established practice called for the companies to be aligned so that they could fall in and take their place at the head of the procession in an orderly manner. An unintended outcome in 1730 was that the shoemakers threatened to shoot the wig-makers as they walked by in their new hats.

At the time of the visit of Charles IX, parlementaires had recently fallen from grace so that, in turn, the Parisian elite, then consuls and the *Assesneur* of the city had taken place of honour in the ceremonial procession. They were followed by the bourgeoisie and merchants, relatives and members of their household.⁴⁴

Given the detailed description recovered from the occasion of the ceremonial *entrée* of Charles IX in 1564 and Louis XIV in 1660, one may compare the ceremonial protocol followed on the occasion of different *entrées* of distinguished visitors to Aix-en-Provence. As an example, the Duc de Richelieu had stopped in Aix-en-Provence on a return trip from

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Jean Boutier, Alain Dewerpe, Daniel Nordman, *Un Tour de France royal. Le voyage de Charles IX (1564-1566)* (Paris, 1984), 294. Of interest, as an indicator of the magnetism of such occasions, is the fact that disgraced parlementaires could be seen catching a glimpse of all this splendour from hiding places in the forest adjoining the processional route.

an ambassadorial journey to the Habsburg court. It bears noting that he had not been tendered the courtesy of a ceremonial entry by the Consuls of Aix.⁴⁵ A number of similar instances where ceremonial entry was not forthcoming, despite the seemingly high rank of a traveller, is confirmed by an explicit statement entered against the Duc de Richelieu's visit. Tradition dictated that such an honour be given only to princes and *maréchaux* of France. As a consequence, over a period of some 50 years, the privilege was to be extended on fewer than a dozen occasions.⁴⁶

How elaborate the procession may also provide an indication of the prestige attached to the ceremonial entry. At the time of the visit of Louis XIV, the ceremonial procession featured five companies of *garde bourgeoise*, the same number convened to serve on the occasion of the visit of Don Carlos of Spain, in December 1731. The prestige accorded the visit of the Princess de Conti and her son, in this respect, appears to be concomitant with that accorded the highest ranking nobility.

Records clearly state that 200 artisans were to parade as *garde bourgeoise*, that officials from the municipal and Parlement levels were to be in attendance, but further participation is not explicitly described. Nevertheless, from the formalities that precede and follow the ceremonial procession it is possible to establish that the full complement of municipal and provincial dignitaries took part in the procession. In addition to current

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A.M., A 55 F 70.

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A.M., A 55, the Book of Ceremonies of Aix-en-Provence. Aix-en-Provence was situated on the main travel route from Italy and the Habsburg Empire to the east so that it received a greater number of dignitaries than would otherwise have been the case.

officials, who would have numbered close to 200, former magistrates had the privilege of participating in ceremonial entries.⁴⁷

Another indicator of the importance of the Princess de Conti's *entrée* may be ascertained by the official designation of which city gate would be used for the ceremonial entry of official visitors to the capital of Provence. The ceremonial entry of the Princess de Conti and her son was directed through the Porte des Augustins. Of the nine gates into the capital of Provence,⁴⁸ this entrance was the only one to be designated as '*la royale*'.⁴⁹ This was the gate used for the visit of Louis XIV in 1660, and for that of Christina of Sweden in 1653.⁵⁰ While the daughter of Gaston d'Orléans, betrothed to the Duke of Toscane, was shown due "*honneur*" at the time of her visit to Aix-en-Provence, the ceremonial *entrée* was arranged through the Porte Bellegarde.

⁴⁷

Monique Cubells, *La Provence des Lumières* (Paris, 1984); Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978) and Jacqueline Dumoulin, *Le Consulat d'Aix-en-Provence* (Dijon, 1992). It should be noted that this constituted a potential representation of over 500 former officials.

⁴⁸

Michel Vovelle, et al., *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1978), 190: Porte des Augustins, Porte Bellegarde, Porte des Cordeliers, Porte Notre-Dame, Porte d'Orbitelle ou Saint-Sauveur, Porte de la Plate-forme (Villeneuve), Porte Saint-Jean, Porte Saint-Louis, et Porte Vallois.

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André Bouyala d'Arnaud. *Evocation du Vieil Aix-en-Provence* (Paris, 1984), 18.

⁵⁰

Pierre Joseph de Haitze, *Histoire de la ville d'Aix - capitale de la Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1889), VI, 2 and V, 358; as quoted in Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), 1079.

DISTINGUISHED VISITOR	DATE	GATE FOR CEREMONIAL ENTRY
Christine de Suède	1653	Porte des Augustins
Président Oppède	1655	Porte St-Jean
Louis XIV	1660	Porte des Augustins
La Grande Mademoiselle	1660	Porte Bellegarde
Countess de Melgar	1687	Porte Orbitelle
Duchess de Modène	1720	Porte des Augustins
Princess de Conti	1730	Porte des Augustins

Figure 26 - Gates for Ceremonial Entries

The repeated incidence of such adjustments of the ceremonial entry from Augustins to one of the other gates, as stated throughout the ceremonial records of Ancien Régime Aix-en-Provence, supports the premise that the Princess de Conti and her son were accorded the highest level of protocol ⁵¹ compared to other ceremonial entries in the capital.

Another constant associated with ceremonial *entrées* was the competition for relative position within the order of the procession, a concern that gave rise to rivalries within the community and often resulted in appearances before the courts of Aix-en-Provence. This chapter will conclude with an overview of such disputes.

The order of precedence was of great social importance both to individuals and organizations. Rank in the relative order of the procession was a visible mark of preeminence. Clashes between rivals, in full view of dignitaries, did lead to physical brawls and the

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B.M., Fonds Anciens, Pierre Joseph de Haitze, *Histoire de la ville d'Aix-capitale de la Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1889), VI, 22. As quoted in Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), 1079.

intervention of Parlement.⁵² Indeed, acrimonious wrangling, often adjudicated by the courts of Provence, involved every strata of provençal society.

The public nature of such disputes and the example of the outraged behaviour of civic and religious leaders on the issue of precedence, could not but serve to have its effect upon the consciousness of artisans' guilds towards their own status and precedence. Significantly, when issues of precedence did arise and were adjudicated in Aix-en-Provence's courts of justice, civic and religious authorities did not necessarily conform to the verdict on precedence. Socially-prominent Provençaux then engaged in disruptive behaviours to reaffirm their original claim to privileges, in innovative ways. Resistance by those who had obtained satisfaction from the courts could be fierce. The consequent public strife reached into every facet of Aix-en-Provence's ceremonial life.

One widely known instance, where there was recourse to physical action to secure precedence, occurred during a ceremonial entry on the occasion of the *Fête-Dieu* in about 1697.⁵³ It began somewhat understandably when the Viguiier,⁵⁴ wanting to imitate his

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Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 15.

⁵³

B.M. Fonds Anciens, Pierre Joseph de Haitze, *Histoire de la Ville d'Aix - capitale de Provence* (Aix, 1889), XLIX, 379. From contextual information it is probable that this incident occurred around 1697.

⁵⁴

Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 58, 59: The magistrate responsible for the municipal administration of Aix-en-Provence; and Michel Legrain et al., *Le Petit Robert* (Paris, 1993 and 1996), 2391 and 1777.

superiors, the Consuls,⁵⁵ sought to include his family⁵⁶ and administrative staff in the prestigious procession. Carrying torches, their participation would have heightened his own position and visibility in religious ceremonies, scheduled over an eight-day period. However, the increase in the number of laymen (as distinct from religious participants) under the canopy in the procession, led to protests by clergymen. The higher rank and precedence of the *Viguiers*'s family, they argued, meant that the clergy's own position was relegated further back, away from the holy sacrament and the canopy, the locus of highest status. Recognizing the religious duties and privileges of the clergy during the ceremonies of the *Fête-Dieu*, the Parlement's magistrates found in favour of the clerics and reinstated them by the canopy.

Encouraged by their new stature, the clergy widened their campaign for greater privileges by challenging the Consuls' right to have higher precedence in the ceremonial procession. The emotional tone of the pleadings may be discerned by the characterization of the Consuls' precedence over the religious orders as "*une indécence intolérable*".⁵⁷ However impassioned, this direct admonition to the municipal Consuls was not as successful as had been the formal submission to the courts. The Consuls, satisfied that their position

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Please refer to the outline of the municipal hierarchy in Chapter I, Figure 20, page 50.

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André Boulaya d'Arnaud, *Evocation du vieil Aix-en-Provence* (Paris, 1964), 83. In this context the *Viguiers*'s family refers to the ten *archers* (modern-day police officers) under his jurisdiction.

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B.M., Fonds Anciens, Pierre Joseph de Haitze. *Histoire de la Ville d'Aix - capitale de Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1889), XLIX, 379.

had been sanctioned by “*possession immémoriale*.”⁵⁸ firmly refused to yield their own precedence in favour of the clerics. It is of interest that traditional rights were invoked by the Consuls on this occasion. The shoemakers would invoke similar customary law in their representations to Consuls and the courts, unsuccessfully, to retain the lead of the *garde bourgeoise* in 1730. In the case at hand,⁵⁹ despite their inability to move Consuls, the clergymen nevertheless determined to take action and displace these civic dignitaries at the next opportunity. The clerics’ next stratagem was to resort to the age-old technique of closing ranks against the upstart.

On the occasion of a subsequent procession, members of the clergy stood shoulder to shoulder, under the canopy, making it impossible for the Consuls to place themselves in their usual position of preeminence. By physically jostling for elbow room, the priests then forced the Consuls to move back and completely cede the area around the sacrament. From that time on, the clergy was given precedence over the Consuls in religious ceremonial processions. This physical struggle for precedence occurred in the cathedral of Saint-Sauveur. It was witnessed by the congregation, including one of its largest constituents, the

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B. M., Fonds Anciens, Pierre Joseph de Haitze, *Histoire de la Ville d’Aix - capitale de Provence* (Aix, 1889), XLIX, 379.

⁵⁹

B.M., Fonds Anciens, Pierre Joseph de Haitze, *Histoire de la Ville d’Aix- capitale de Provence* (Aix, 1889), XLIX, 379. The anecdote on the conflict between clergy and Consuls was reported by de Haitze as correcting the protocol for the future, and from the context this would have occurred after 1645 when a visiting dignitary criticized the lay character of religious ceremonials in Aix-en-Provence, and before 1697.

artisan community, residents in adjoining streets.⁶⁰ The clergy's impulsive reaction against an attempt to dislodge it from a position of honour underlines the significance of precedence within the community. This same motivation surely led to the shoemakers' similar manoeuvre to displace wig-makers from the area around the Princess' carriage some years later.

As we know, at the time of the ceremonial entry of the Princess de Conti, in affirmation of their own claims of precedence, the shoemakers would adopt a similar strategy to displace the wig-makers from around the Princess's carriage. Shoemakers overtook the wig-makers, closed ranks around the carriage, and effectively displaced wig-makers from their position of precedence. From this perspective, the shoemakers' behaviour appears less like rebellion than it does imitation of the behaviour of the elite of Aix-en-Provence, based on a shared set of convictions relating to precedence.

Defence of acquired privilege and precedence was a common cause of discord in Aix-en-Provence. Although proud of its cultural autonomy from France, provençal society was nonetheless a society governed by a hierarchy of precedence.⁶¹ One's position in this tight-knit community was also predicated on one's ability to conform to the code of conduct, rules and values of the milieu. Once lost, one's place in an unforgiving social order would not be regained easily, in spite of earnest striving. It has been widely recognized by historians that

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Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), SP 512-2 amended to underline rue des Eyguesiers (Eyguisiers), and rue du Mouton.

⁶¹

As evidenced by A.D., B 3589; A.M., AA 55 F 27, F 51, F 67, F 70; AA 56; AA 57; HH 15 F 8; HH 41 F 1.

the burden dominated the lives of the higher bourgeoisie and noble classes.⁶²

Appearance defined social positioning through myriad subtle signals: commoners might only wear black and grey while the elite enjoyed the luxury of coloured clothing, so that a slight bit of colour was meaningful.⁶³ Speech and manners defined status, from the knock on the door (one scratched at a door in Versailles but knocked once or three times elsewhere), to the mode of address. Bourgeois wives assumed the appellation “*Madame*” in late seventeenth century, a designation that had hereto drawn the demarcation line between nobility and wealthy wives of non-nobles, including the spouses of wealthy artisans.⁶⁴ Large shopkeepers and affluent master artisans would be called “*Sieurs*”, a form of address that was, in Aix-en-Provence, recognition of their standing above the petty shopkeepers and artisan journeymen.⁶⁵

Similar standards of comportment applied to the spatial arrangement of Ancien Régime capitals, and Aix-en-Provence followed suit. It will be recalled that, at the time of

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Donna Bohanna, *Old and new nobility in Aix-en-Provence 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge, 1992); Monique Cubells, *La Provence des Lumières* (Paris, 1984); Robert Forster, *Merchants, Landlords, Magistrates: the Depont family in eighteenth-century France* (Baltimore, 1980) and *The Nobility of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1960); Boris Porchnev, *Les soulèvements populaires en France de 1623 à 1648* (Paris, 1963); Robert Schneider, *The Ceremonial City* (Princeton, 1995).

⁶³

This would explain why artisans took such pride in their ceremonial dress for processions, as evidenced by the costs they were prepared to assume for such hints of colour as red collars, cords or coloured ribbons.

⁶⁴

Boris Porchnev, *Les soulèvements populaires en France de 1623 à 1648* (Paris, 1963), 550-551.

⁶⁵Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence* (Baltimore, 1976), 172.

the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti, a group of metalworkers had absconded with the fife and drums of the guild of locksmiths and carpenters under their *capitaine de quartier*, Sieur Concorde.⁶⁶ On his way back from the residence of Intendant and First President Cardin de LeBret, Sieur Concorde was to find his missing artisans, with fife and drums, at the heart of the Cours. The beautiful Cours was a sphere for public ‘theatre’, a prestigious residential street where noble families and members of the Parlement could be admired as they promenaded, often in carriages that singularly marked their status above the commonality of other Provençaux.⁶⁷ As impressive was the wide avenue itself, lined with trees and stately private residences. Since the middle of the previous century these homes, graced with wide vestibules and spiralling staircases, had risen along the Cours, giving a cohesive elegance to the capital of Provence.⁶⁸

As if to confirm the pride of place as the centerpiece of Aix-en-Provence, four fountains were interspersed with benches along the length of the Cours, providing refreshing oases from the provençal heat. Yet the peaceful Cours was the product of strict municipal controls and an intense social vigilance. When strolling on foot, the elite of Aix was careful not to mix with the bourgeois who could also be seen on the avenue, themselves careful to

⁶⁶Please refer to the Prologue, pages xxv and xxvi.

⁶⁷

A. Grellet-Dumazeau, *La Société Bordelaise sous Louis XV* (Bordeaux, 1997), 181: “Durant le cours du XVIII^e siècle, tout gentilhomme, tout parlementaire, tout bourgeois de marque ne sort qu’ en voiture.”

⁶⁸

Jean Paul Coste, *La ville d’Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), 851. As pointed out by John Taylor, urban historian at Carleton University, the empty public space says as much about the societal context as does the public square filled with activity. Interview, December 1999.

avoid the wealthy merchants who might be enjoying this pleasure. Artisans did not presume to be seen in the Cours during the day. Only in late evening would commoners come along the silent avenue, or as on the occasion of the ceremonial entry of the Princess, on rare occasions when the whole of the city held official celebrations.⁶⁹

In the context of Aix-en-Provence's symbiotic life patterns between the common people and the elites in all other neighbourhoods, the ostracism of artisans from the Cours would have been particularly grating to the people as a whole, but more so to the artisans who bore the brunt of municipal assessments. Indeed, the segregated character of the avenue had just recently, yet again, been reaffirmed when a windmill worker, pulling his mules, had had the temerity to use one of the alleys adjoining the Cours. Summarily, authorities had levied a substantial fine of 12 *livres* to punish the trespasser.⁷⁰ Moreover, the Cours served as a demarcation line for the new *quartier* Mazarin.⁷¹ It was a district where no shoemaker resided.⁷²

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Christiane Derobert-Ratel, *Institutions et vie municipale à Aix-en-Provence sous la Révolution* (Aix-en-Provence, 1981), 32.

⁷⁰

B.M., Fonds Anciens, Pierre de Haitze, *Histoire de la Ville d'Aix - capitale de Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1889), XLIX, 379.

⁷¹

F.X. Emmanuelli, et al., *Histoire de la Provence moderne, 1481-1800* (Rennes, 1991), 194. Upon his arrival to the capital city of Provence, the archbishop had exuded Parisian prestige, but his private life and personal ambitions had been the object of criticism (1644-1685). Nevertheless the new neighbourhood on the right bank of the *Cours*, was named in honour of this brother of the famous Mazarin of courtly fame.

⁷²

Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), II, 909. Please refer to Chapter I, Figure 14, page 34.

Thirty-four families of parlementaires⁷³ sought the social prestige of the newest neighbourhood in Aix-en-Provence. The oligarchic nature of their office gave the residential area a traditional cachet of elitism⁷⁴ warranted by an average income, among these citizens, varying from 5,000 *livres* to 15,000 *livres*.⁷⁵ This was perhaps the most visible sign that Aix-en-Provence was changing: social segregation was emerging. It was an unusual phenomenon in a city where the intense life of crowded neighbourhoods included the presence of wealthier neighbours.⁷⁶

With the creation of the more spacious new *quartier* of the capital,⁷⁷ Aix-en-Provence was undergoing alteration in its spirit as well as in its physical development. The privileged, residential nature of the Cours was such that not until 1748, more than a century after its creation, did officials allow a café to carry on business there.⁷⁸ The sociable *Aixoïis* of other districts would have felt the heavy hand of authority in such a restriction. The Cours

⁷³Monique Cubells. *La Provence des Lumières*, (Paris, 1984), 314.

⁷⁴

Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth Century France*, (Princeton, 1978), 247. The oligarchic nature of their office is apparent since of the 11 members whose residence is known (of 130), 43 had inherited their position from their parent.

⁷⁵

F.X. Emmanuelli, et al., *Histoire de la Provence moderne, 1481-1800* (Rennes, 1991), 91.

⁷⁶

A. Grellet-Dumazeau, *La Société Bordelaise sous Louis XV* (Bordeaux, 1897), 332. A *conseiller* would earn between 2,000 and 3,000 *livres* while a general prosecutor would earn 6,000 *livres*.

⁷⁷

Michel Vovelle, *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1978), 224.

⁷⁸

Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), II, 1068.

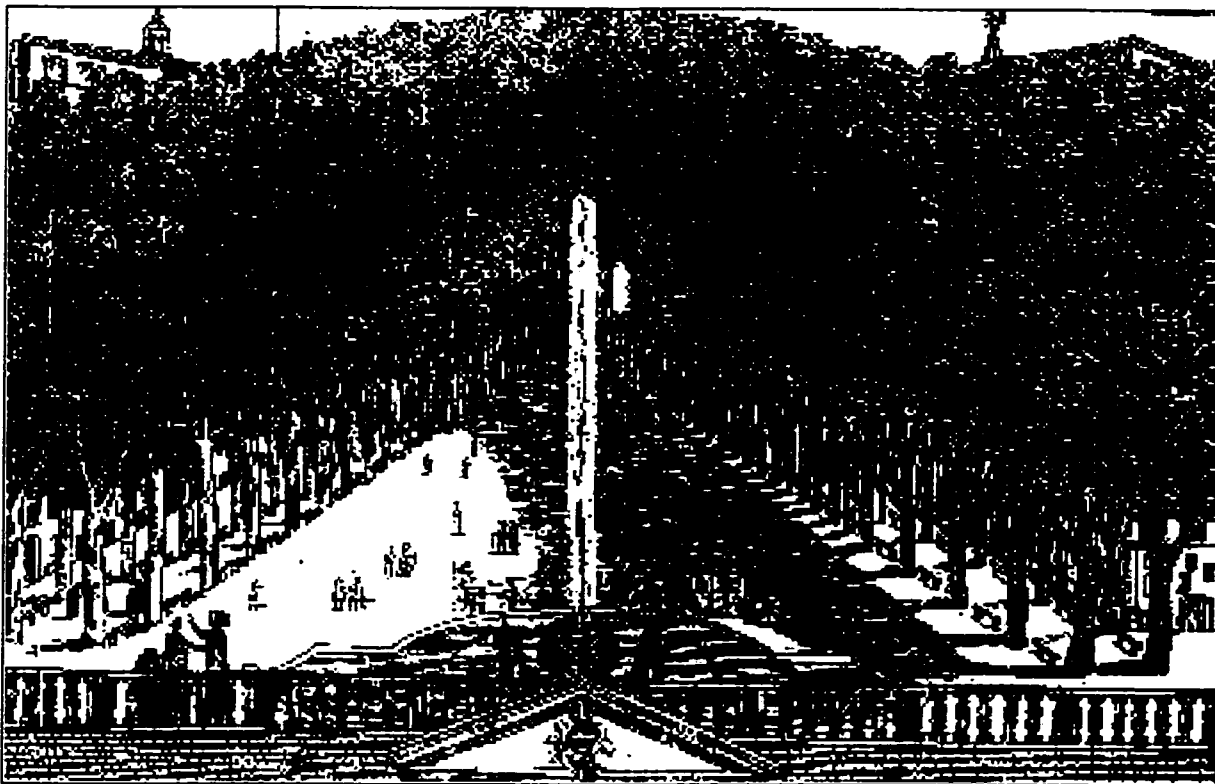


Figure 27 - The Cours in 1730

Source: B.N., Ge B 338.

was an acknowledged place of prestige in their city, and so it may not have been coincidental that Sieur Concorde, *capitaine de quartier*, was to come upon the company of mutinous metalworkers, and the absconded drums, parading in the heart of the Cours. It was a pleasure normally denied them given their artisan status. *Capitaine* Concorde was obviously anxious to direct the artisans off the Cours, as he ordered them to march towards the rue de la Miséricorde, the nearest exit.⁷⁹ The metalworkers responded by turning around and heading towards the Pont Moreau, a direction that would have taken them down the remainder of the Cours, so that they would have then paraded along the complete length of the avenue. The

⁷⁹

B.N., Ge.B.338: Appendix D, back cover pocket. Please refer to number 146 to identify this street location.

formal limitation of the use of common city-space surely contributed to the level of tensions that culminated in the altercation with the *Assesneur*, and the subsequent defiance of his authority.

In the order of authority of Aix-en-Provence, no official was perceived to be as disinterested and honourable as the *Assesneur*,⁸⁰ whose role may be seen to have been in the nature of a modern-day ombudsman. Rising above partisanship, the *Assesneur* was the defender of the public good, the official who gave voice to the will of his fellow citizens. The incumbent of this position had a moral standing and reputation that garnered him the habitual respect and obedience of all of the citizens of Aix-en-Provence, no matter their status.⁸¹ It is all the more astounding that the metalworkers should have behaved with such disrespect in his presence. The incident serves as an indicator of the level of feelings that lay under the veneer of privilege and precedence within the artisan community. In some measure this was surely in reaction to new demarcation lines in their community, a development that they had little power to influence.

A pervasive bias dominated the routine lives of the common people and is reflected in sundry documents, including census records. The spouse of a member of the elite would be listed as “*épouse*” in municipal records, while the petty bourgeois and common man’s wife would be referred to as “*femme*.” Subtle reminders of entitlement, such small courtesies,

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Christiane Derobert-Ratel, *Institutions et vie municipale à Aix en Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1981), 24.

⁸¹

Christiane Derobert-Ratel, *Institutions et vie municipale à Aix en Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1981), 22.

in their aggregate, defined one's life.⁸² It is in this context of everyday confirmation of one's status that the loss of social prestige, however limited, became a matter of the greatest import to the shoemakers' community of Aix-en-Provence.

The official account of the disrupted ceremonial procession attributes the upheaval to a dispute between the shoemakers and the wig-makers, over the position that they would take in the procession of artisans as part of the "*garde d'honneur*." ⁸³ The shoemakers' guild provides an exemplar of a middle-ranked artisan group in the social hierarchy of the common people.⁸⁴ In Aix-en-Provence the reality of the shoemakers' lot meant that a constant vigilance needed to be exercised to retain existing status, and there is evidence that shoemakers were hampered by value judgements, outside of their sphere of control. These judgements related to the prestige of their trade.

A relative positioning of trades within the five ranks of master artisans had been devised by officials in Paris in 1582. This is of interest in the context of the challenge to the status of the shoemakers' guild, within the artisan establishment of Aix-en-Provence in 1730, because the 150-year-old reference guide placed the trade of wig-makers before that of shoemakers. In an order of prestige ranked from the "best" to "lowly", the wig-makers outranked shoemakers from the "best and mediocre" category. The shoemakers were

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A.M., CC 51: CC 63.

83

A.M., HH 15 F 71.

84

Roland Mousnier, *Les institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue 1598-1789* (Paris, 1996), 191.

relegated to the lower third position as a “mediocre” trade. Their standing was followed only by “mediocre to lowly” and “lowly” categories, both status given to trades that called for little training.

Associated with the tanners and cobblers, the shoemakers were held in low esteem because their trade was identified with the bloodletting of their raw material.⁸⁵ The dogma of social aspersion on a person based on the fact that one was working with one’s hands, was compounded when that individual happened to be an artisan working with animal skins. The bias pervaded the artisan community itself,⁸⁶ so that the guild of shoemakers was continually before the courts trying to distance itself from the lowly cobblers whose work was limited to the rougher work of simply mending shoes. Shoemakers as a group, within the artisan trade of Aix-en-Provence, appear to have been particularly alert to this public image and the onus it placed on their position within the guilds of Arts and Crafts.

Shoemakers, with the possible exception of master artisans, were a nomadic lot, required by their trade to move about the countryside. When stopping in urban centres to ply their trade, shoemakers could often be found working in narrow streets and often, at street-corners. As previously mentioned, the nature of daily life in Aix-en-Provence meant that much of it spilled into the public domain, so that their broad exposure meant that shoemakers were particularly well-suited to become paid informers for the local *Viguiers*. While this may

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Roland Mousnier, *Les institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue 1598-1789* (Paris, 1996), 203.

⁸⁶

Roland Mousnier, *Les institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue 1598-1789* (Paris, 1996), 191.

have created relationships between the artisans and the police, shoemakers, as a group, were generally looked upon by locals with mistrust.⁸⁷

As protagonists in the context of the ceremonial entry, the cohorts of shoemakers and wig-makers that lived in Aix-en-Provence in 1730 seemed to have harbored guild rivalries that overflowed during the event. Significantly, the two groups were not equally matched in representation within the artisan community, with more than five times the number of shoemakers to that of wig-makers.

While the urban topography of Aix-en-Provence changed little through time, there had been subtle alterations to the character of the community, from the widening of the fountain squares, such as the one by rue de la Miséricorde, to the gradual shifting away from the duties and self-regulation of the *voisinage*. Given the stigma attached to the image of shoemakers in the social context of eighteenth-century urban life, it is all the more significant that in Aix-en-Provence, shoemakers had achieved some prominence in the hierarchy of artisans' guilds.

Evidence of the status of the shoemakers may be found in the order of precedence for ceremonial processions listed in the official records of the municipality.⁸⁸ Traditionally, the shoemakers held place of honour, first in the order of the *garde bourgeoise* in ceremonial processions, based on the criterion that theirs was the oldest guild in Aix-en-Provence,

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Robert Mandrou, *De la culture populaire au 17e et 18e siècles* (Paris, 1999), 138-139: "les cordonniers jouent le rôle d'indicateurs de police (. . .) Avec leur échoppes ambulantes, ils "surveillent" tout un quartier, connaissant les désordres domestiques, signalent ceux qui négligent la messe dominicale (. . .)."

88

A.M., AA 55.

having received royal accreditation in 1453.⁸⁹ This distinction was prized by shoemakers, as may be seen by the guilds' constant vigilance to maintain documented evidence of its antecedents. Repeatedly, the guild's *syndics* would rise in defence of this precedence whenever other guilds aspired to higher status at the shoemakers' expense. Just such a dispossession was now threatening their guild before the ceremonial procession in honour of the Princess de Conti, the most significant ceremonial *entrée* to take place in Aix-en-Provence in over ten years.⁹⁰

The shoemakers' *syndics* must have been convinced that the merit of their case, before the magistrates of Parlement, was irrefutably based on customary law. Ostensibly tracing its origins to 1453, the corporation of shoemakers had been one of the first to confirm its privileges and register the *corps*' statutes under the reign of Henry III, in July 1584.⁹¹ The royal seal was of great pride to the shoemakers, as evidenced by the zeal with which they renewed the royal endorsement at regular intervals, whenever a new heir assumed the throne. At regular intervals, guild officials further sought confirmation of both the statutes and related privileges, the most recent having been under Louis XIII, in November 1622.⁹² Shoemakers focussed on the formalities of documentation to affirm their credentials. An entry in guild minutes would attest, periodically, that shoemakers took pride in keeping detailed records of

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A.M., HH 42 F 25.

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The Princess of Modena had visited Aix-en-Provence in 1720.

⁹¹

A.M., HH 41 F 1 and HH 41 F 3.

⁹²

A.M., HH 41 F 288.

all levels of accreditations.⁹³ This trait may be seen as a measure of the guild's acculturation to the Ancien Régime administrative system that surrounded shoemakers in Aix-en-Provence, to a greater extent than was the case for wig-makers, as evidence by guild minutes. The concern for such documentation may reflect the shoemakers' guild's insecurity with respect to their continuing status within the artisan community, as symbolized by their presence in the *garde bourgeoise*.

The corporation's sterling credentials were symbolically represented by their position in first place of the *garde bourgeoise*. The honour guard would normally include 200 artisans constituted into five companies drawn from the various guilds. Evidence of the import of this public duty, in the lead of the *garde bourgeoise*, may be inferred from the thorough records kept by the shoemakers' guild. Shoemakers participated in every ceremonial procession. Indeed while other guilds, more affluent and with as large a membership as the shoemakers corps, might vary their involvement, guild records indicate that the shoemakers assiduously delegated 40 to 50 members to participate in every procession.⁹⁴

Traditionally, the delegation of 50 shoemakers took place of honour, in the lead of the corps, dressed in green vests and uniform black pants. The whole of the company was provided with buttons and collars as well as some red trim.⁹⁵ The touch of red was a triumph

⁹³

A.M., HH 41 F 148: "*Lettres de maîtrise délivrées par le Roi.*"

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A.M., HH 41 F 24, F 123, F 131; HH 42 F 24, F 28, F 123; HH 43 F 158.

⁹⁵

A.M., HH 43 F 158.

for people who could only wear grey and black in their daily work, as close as the shoemakers could come to the crimson robes reserved for the elite magistrates of Aix-en-Provence. However, the costs could be significant, as indicated by one treasurer's accounts:⁹⁶

COSTS OF CEREMONIAL PROCESSION

3 *livres* for the oboe player
 3 *livres* 13 s. to the carpenter for decorations;
 12 *livres* for firecrackers
 23 *livres* 8 sous for ribbon and cords;
 26 *livres* for a meal for the master-shoemakers
 41 *livres* for the wax candles

Figure 28 - Incidental Costs to the Shoemakers' Guild of a Ceremonial Procession. Source: A.M. HH 14 F 16.

In contrast to the 23 *livres* 8 *sous* paid by shoemakers for the decorative ribbon and cord of their uniforms, the wig-makers paid over 176 *livres* for the uniform hat bands proudly worn for the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti.⁹⁷ The guild of wig-makers would spend as much as 800 *livres* on such celebrations.⁹⁸

Generous with the disbursements for adornment of their uniform, the wig-makers were not as enthusiastic as to their public obligation to appear as part of the *garde*

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A.M., HH 14 F 16.

⁹⁷

A.M., HH 15 F 97.

⁹⁸

A.M., HH 15 F 159. This amount refers to expenditures on 10 June 1736.

bourgeoise. For the visit of the Princess of Modena, wig-makers' *syndics* had reluctantly delegated their full complement of master artisans, but only after protest and after claiming compensation "parce qu'il ne seront pas justes qu'ils quittassent leur travail."⁹⁹ This reluctance to participate in ceremonial processions may have been due in part to their ranking in the *garde bourgeoise*, below that of the shoemakers.

Wig-makers appear, by place of residence and income, as well as rudimentary indicators of their level of literacy, to have had higher social prestige in the overall context of the trades, inspiring some dissatisfaction at their place in the procession. This dimension of privilege and precedence in the universe of the artisans may have contributed to the municipal authorities' decision to raise the wig-makers to first rank. It may further have influenced the magistrates who pronounced the supportive verdict that eventually confirmed wig-makers in the lead of the *garde bourgeoise*.

It is significant that wig-makers rendered very personal services to the elite of Aix-en-Provence, including magistrates. Those services pertained to the outward evidence of status and precedence that was attributed to the wearing of a wig. Wig-makers' expertise was undoubtedly valued in the administrative circles of Aix-en-Provence, as evidenced by the elaborate wigs worn by the Intendant and the Governor.¹⁰⁰ Wigs were also a symbol of affluence among the wider bourgeoisie, so that the purchase of a new wig would be cause for

⁹⁹

A.M., HH 42 F 28 (3 May 1720): "for it would not be fair that they should have to leave their work."

¹⁰⁰

Please refer to Appendix C.

a celebratory dinner with friends.¹⁰¹

The rapprochement occasioned by the business relationships of wig-makers and members of the elite of Aix-en-Provence may have been seen by shoemakers as a factor in the Consuls' preference for wig-makers in the lead of the *garde bourgeoise*. Moreover, the magistrates' verdict in this instance, stood in opposition to identical court cases that had been decided on the basis of the customary rights and privileges of the shoemakers' guild.

Periodically, the position of precedence the guild of shoemakers held in the honour guard would be challenged by other guilds. Any such presumption was meticulously reported in the minutes of the corporation and clearly interpreted as an "*insolens*" attack on the shoemakers' s privileges.¹⁰² Again, such instances of challenges before the courts must have reinforced the conviction of the shoemakers' *syndics* that the courts would once again confirm their precedence on the basis of the origins of the guild :

que le corps de maîtres cordonniers est plus anciens que ceux des tailleurs pour que leur statut date de 1453 Es que dans toutes les occasions les corps des maîtres cordonniers a eu la préséance a ceux des tailleurs [...] Requête unanimement délibérée.¹⁰³

The records¹⁰⁴ of the meetings of the *syndicat* of shoemakers are revealing of the level

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E.G. Léonard, *Mon Village sous Louis XV* (Paris, 1984), 91.

¹⁰²

A.M., HH 41 F 24; HH 42 F 28.

¹⁰³

A.M., HH 42 F 25: "that the corps of master shoemakers is older than that of the tailors because their statutes date from 1453. And that on all occasions the corps of shoemakers has had precedence over those of the tailors. The case was unanimously approved."

¹⁰⁴

A.M., HH 41 and 42 series.

of corporate correctness their officials strove to attain. Less sophisticated in their discussions than similar records for the period of meetings of wig-makers, a number of aspects are relevant to the determination of the attitude of shoemakers towards authority. Meetings were carefully convened by written notification, yet the evidence of signatures would indicate that the membership was near illiterate but for a dozen to twenty shoemakers. In comparison to the wig-makers, formulations that conformed to the writings of social superiors were more often inappropriate to the context. The *procès-verbaux* were systematically written in patterns of expression revealing of a determination to do justice to the occasion, but with little substance behind the formulation. Wanting to leave for posterity a record of correct administration, shoemakers were demonstrably model citizens in assuming their guild responsibilities. In this manner various entries serve as indicators of the *mentalité* of the shoemakers who sought to conform to accepted patterns of how guilds should conform administratively. They were a responsible group of citizens, who in their daily lives adhered to the code of behaviour of their milieu, paid their taxes, and followed public policy. If shoemakers were reliable in such respects, what reasons could have motivated their disruptive behaviour during the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti?

An indication may be found in the manner of responses to the formal authority of *capitaines de quartier* and *syndics* during the disruption of the ceremonial procession. What was the proportion of challenges to authority directed against formal and less formal representatives of authority? What was the nature of the challenge: physical, verbal, defiant or abusive? Traditionally in Provence the large majority of insurrectional actions resulted in neither fatalities, injury nor material loss: in this instance there was such injury, and from

records it appears that nine fifes were lost.¹⁰⁵ It is of interest that compensation for the loss of the instruments was paid by artisans involved in the disturbance although it is not possible to establish whether this compensation was given freely, or whether the payment was part of the sentences imposed.

The following summary of challenges to authority (Figure 29, page 112) underlines the fact that it was not only shoemakers who defied authority, but also artisans from other guilds. This would indicate that there was a more generalized antagonism at play than that involving only the guild of shoemakers and that of the wig-makers. It further demonstrates that artisans did not fear challenging authority during the ceremonial procession. The disturbance during the ceremonial *entrée* may have been opportunistic in nature, provoked by the celebratory character of the event where spirits were high. It may also be attributable to a shared sense of grievance among common people against relations of power in Aix-en-Provence. Indeed, the crowd was also a participant in the events surrounding the disruption, particularly during violent attacks on protagonists, and seemingly without partisanship: the crowd prevented authorities from seizing shoemakers, and then prevented harm to the *capitaines de quartier*. While the crowd may be seen not to have been neutral, it also did not appear to be emotionally involved in the different protests. On this basis, the sedition does appear to have been one that was initiated and fuelled by artisan guilds. However, the overall disturbance hints at a wider issue of relations with authority, and certainly indicates some neighbourhood rivalry among artisans living on rue des Eyguesiers.

105

René Pillorget, *Les mouvements insurrectionnels de Provence* (Paris, 1975), 989.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY DURING PROCESSION

Source: A.M., AA 55 F 78-82 verso

I - Challenges to Authority - Artisans Towards Artisans

- Shoemakers threatened to shoot wig-makers by La Fontaine des Minimes.
- Shoemakers displaced wig-makers from carriage. Assaulted with rifles.
- Wig-maker Besson's garçon insulted and hit with rifle barrel by Père Routier.
- Metalworkers seized drumsticks from drummers as they obeyed Assesseur.
- Shoemakers joined peers and insulted wig-makers by Princess' apartments.

II - Challenges to Authority - Artisans Towards Authority of the Voisinage

- Saurin, syndic/wig-maker, tried to stop Père Routier's assault on garçon.
- Saurin hit about head with Routier's rifle barrel; Saurin wounded, fell to the ground.

III - Challenges to Authority - Artisans Towards Formal Authority

- Shoemakers seized phaeton, disobeying Sr. Saint Louis Ecuyer: "insolences".
- Shoemakers turned guns on Srs Court/Saint Louis - crowd protected artisans.
- Sr. Court intervened : seized by collar, assaulted by Routier Son: saved by crowd.
- Court's wig-maker guards locked out by shoemakers at Princess' apartments.
- Saint Louis used force to remove shoemakers.
- In Cours: Metalworkers refused to release drums and join Concorde company.
- Assesseur's orders to metalworkers ignored.
- Assesseur's orders again resisted by metalworkers.
- Metalworkers turn rifles upside down in front of Concorde and Assesseur.

Figure 29 - Challenges to Authority

If authorities thought the threat of “*séditions*” unlikely, what significance should be placed on the actions of the artisans, and on their potentially symbolic gestures during the disruptions? First, both commoners and the elite had a common understanding of certain values attached to elements of the procession. In the case of the *garde bourgeoise*, privilege was lent by their military attire, their banners, and their fifes and drums. The latter were recognized instruments of war that could not be played without the express permission of the municipal authorities. The seizure of the drums can be posited to have been an act of defiance against the authority of the Consuls. Were specific gestures by artisans designed to respond in kind to accumulated frustrations? The collar, worn by *capitaines de quartier*, was a badge of authority, evocative of the city’s Roman heritage. Esperit Routier assaulted the *capitaine* in charge of the company of wig-makers by hitting him on the collar, surely an attack on his status as well as on his person.

Were the artisans’ gestures opportunistic in nature? It would appear that the most violent acts were also the most impromptu and rooted in neighbourhood interactions. However, the greater number of acts of protest and challenges to authority were aimed at official authority figures. More significantly, a number of gestures appear to have had symbolic meaning in the public sphere of Aix-en-Provence. The threat of shooting the hats of wig-makers would likely have been understood by the community as a response by shoemakers to the rival guild’s prestige and comparative affluence. The fact that the hats were somewhat analogous to wigs made it all the more appropriate. The higher profile of wig-makers among the elite they served, was a probable cause of the displacement of the shoemakers’ guild in the *garde bourgeoise*. The seizure of the carriage, combined with that

of the drums, would have evoked the Cascaveoux rebellion. So it is that relating the incidents that occurred during the ceremonial entry to aspects of the social context of Aix-en-Provence in the *longue durée* yield potential insights into the *mentalité* of the artisans of Aix-en-Provence.

It has been shown that the attitude and behaviour of the artisans differed depending on the level of authority of officials. Disobedience to the *Assesneur*'s orders were not overt aggressive confrontations as they were with *capitaines de quartier*, nor was the city's *Ecuyer*, Sieur de Saint Louis, physically attacked as were *Syndic* Saurin and the *capitaines de quartier*. In fact, during the procession artisans were observed to be manifestly less violent and offensive the higher the level of authority and the status of the intervener.¹⁰⁶

The litigious propensity characteristic of Ancien Régime France was to be found also within the echelon of the artisan community in Aix-en-Provence. The disruption of the ceremonial procession provides indicators that when the artisans' expectations of fair play within the justice system were disappointed, a proportionate response was found outside of established authority structures, and directed towards the elite. This strategy to obtain layman's justice became a motivating force in the disruption of the ceremonial procession and may be observed in a number of the artisans' actions. While a spiral of actions and reactions were undoubtedly unplanned, customary laws were broken with intent, and symbolic gestures made, as part of a strategy of retaliation.

The visit itself would have been perceived as a rare privilege by officials, and the

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As outlined in Figure 29, page 112.

importance of the personage too great for artisans to attempt a disturbance. It had been ten years since the city had received a princess of the royal blood.¹⁰⁷ While conflicts were not an unusual occurrence during ceremonial processions,¹⁰⁸ leaders of Aix-en-Provence may have assumed that an offence in the presence of the Princess de Conti was unthinkable.¹⁰⁹ It will be recalled that letters of ennoblement could be granted to civic officials as a token of appreciation when a member of the royal family visited the municipality during their term of office. Such a consideration thus may have enticed authorities into focusing upon the rituals of the ceremonial procession, rather than on potential revolts.

Actions taken by artisans formed a cohesive pattern that would have been clearly deciphered by their provençal audience. Through such gestures, the artisans were using the dynamic tensions available to them through the ceremonial *entrée* to redress a grievance based on favouritism, but also to address, in the public domain, a greater issue of law and equity: the traditional privileges of Provence. Thus the contributory catalyst to the behaviour of the shoemakers' guild during the disruptions of the ceremonial procession may be found in their sense of identity within the community of artisans, their identification with the values and standards of the dominant group in Aix-en-Provence, and their sense of entitlement to justice. As will be explored in the next chapter, further evidence may be found in the artisans' *voisinage*.

¹⁰⁷

In 1720 with the ceremonial entry of the Princess of Modena.

¹⁰⁸

David Garrioch, *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie* (Cambridge, 1996), 50.

¹⁰⁹

A.M., BB 108 F 37.

CHAPTER III - ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY IN THE VOISINAGE

The *voisinage* was the terrain where artisans contended with authorities for economic and personal survival. It has been demonstrated that a mentality of privilege and precedence governing the mores of the community in the dominant group had been assumed by the subservient group of artisans. This chapter will argue that attitudes to authority in the everyday lives of the artisans testify to a mutually constructed standard of authority between officialdom and the people, more specifically within the artisans guilds. This acceptance of authority was extended to civic officials, *syndics*, and *capitaines de quartier*. It will be further argued that this standard was built upon an understanding of reciprocal obligations.

When officials failed to live up to the artisans' standard of equity and justice, based on accepted principles of tradition and customary rights regarding precedence, the artisans reacted. They did so through a proportionate response delivered in the context of the ceremonial *entrée*. This would be the forum that would provide the public theatre commensurate with the public nature of the humiliation suffered by the shoemakers. In this manner, artisans avenged themselves and did so in a manner that would be clearly understood by their peers, the public, and the aristocracy.

First, the artisans' *voisinage* will be retrieved through three cases of artisan interaction with authority figures. The contrasting reactions of the guild of shoemakers and wig-makers to their obligations, with respect to the building of military barracks within city walls, will be

explored in the context of the magistrates' ruling on the order of rank and precedence in the *garde bourgeoise*. It will be argued that the shoemakers felt betrayed by judicial officials, and by the Consuls of Aix-en-Provence, and suffered public humiliation as a result of officials' departure from a mutually accepted standard of social value. The exploration begins in the streets of the *voisinage*.

The streets of Aix-en-Provence in which artisans lived were seldom wide enough to accommodate a ceremonial procession. The majority of these streets were cobblestoned meandering paths, the width of alleys, yet they were the centres of family life and trade-related activities. Files from the police bureau indicate that, by 1728, authorities had taken measures to forbid the practice of using the street as an extension of one's workshop. Incidents drawn from archival records around the second

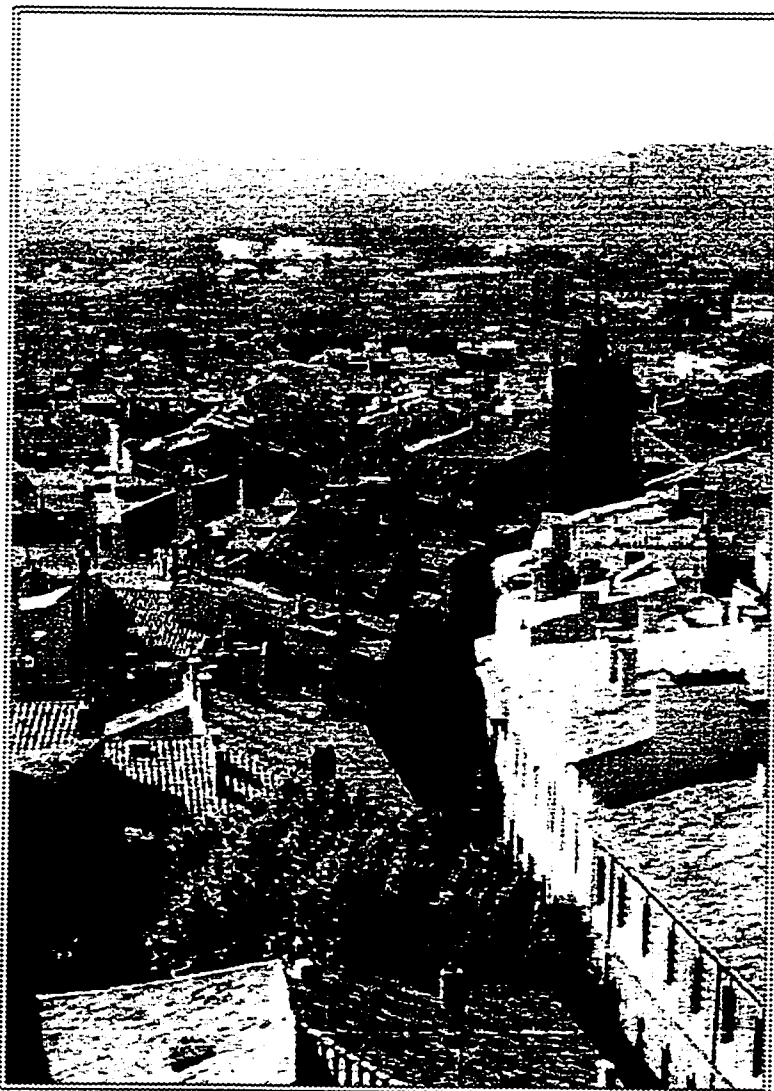


Figure 30 - Aix-en-Provence. Source: Lucie Schmeltzer, *Promenades autour des fontaines d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1995), 1.

decade of the eighteenth century provide us with a sense of the pervasive presence of authority figures in the artisans' *voisinage*. From the police, to the *capitaine de quartier*, to the *syndic* and the *maître*, the commoner was bound by the chain of authority within Aix-en-Provence's formal authority structures.

On the 27 July 1728, Jean Baptiste Brunache, a carpenter, was sentenced to a fine of 200 *livres* and was strictly forbidden, as well as any other artisan, from leaving anything in the street or public areas under the threat of an additional fine of 300 *livres*. This severe sanction, equivalent to a year's wages, was imposed following a tragic accident in which a young child was killed and another seriously injured. Brunache had left his carpenter's bench on the street in violation of a city ordinance strictly forbidding this practice by artisans. With plain logic, Brunache and his wife denied responsibility. The couple pointed out that the children would not have been hurt had they not played on the bench, for they would not have fallen as they upset it. The running nature of the record of Madame Brunache's testimony conveys the fervor of her intervention and her distress, whether at the tragedy or at the unfairness of the trial.

The police report¹ reflects how categorically artisans and authorities dealt with one another and it is clear that they, and those around them, had reached a stalemate. From the artisans' perspective, the legitimate need to carry on their trade, despite the confines of their living and working quarters, forced Brunache to work outside his doorway. The carpenter's bench needed to be in the street. The authorities were similarly frustrated in their efforts to

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A.M., FF 78 F 234.

prevent “malheurs qui arriverens fréquemment,”² as city ordinances intended to ensure public safety, were clearly disregarded by artisans. Thus the spiral of frustrations with authority, surely engendered defiant attitudes on the part of artisans towards authorities that, in turn, generated the antipathy and frustrations of officials.

Such drama was played in the street a place where life experiences were shared, willingly or not, in the heart of the *voisinage*. The narrowness of the cobblestone street, and the rampart-like walls of open-windowed houses, rising as they did for four and five storeys, ensured that everyone was drawn into the dispute with authorities. The carpenters’ *syndic*, responsible for policing the trade, the *capitaine de quartier*, and the *écuyer*, battled for authority over Brunache, links in

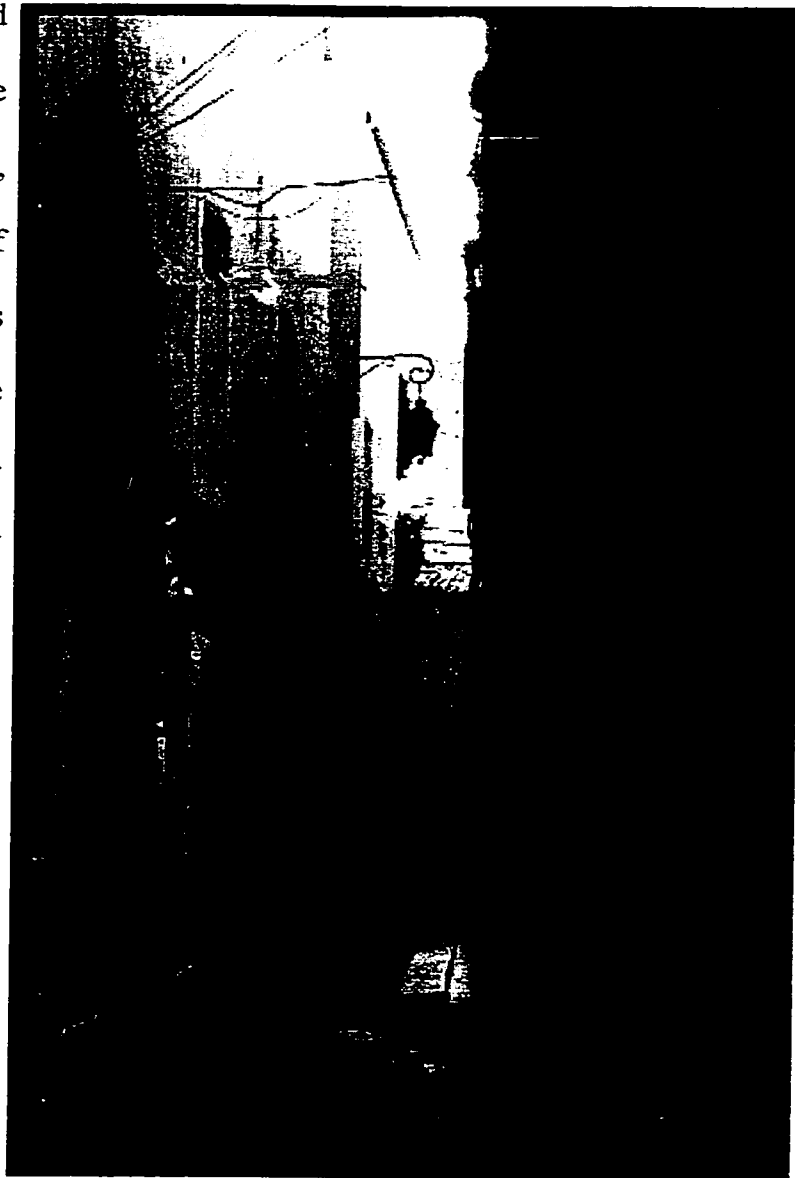


Figure 31 - Narrow streets of Aix-en-Provence.

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A.M., FF 78 F 234. Trans. “Accidents, mishaps that occur frequently”.

the chain of authority that bound the most insignificant of commoners to the other, through the trade guild, the *voisinage* and local government.³ The uproars guaranteed that neighbours' opinions built solidarities and dissent. Among them would be fellow carpenters, defending, excusing, explaining, everyone taking sides. This was the texture of their *voisinage*, skirmishes with authority they did not leave behind, as they marched behind their *capitaine de quartier* in the *garde bourgeoise*.

The public spectacle was but one iteration of similar experiences that filled the life of the artisan. It also marked the reality he lived as head of a family, perhaps the one whose child had climbed on the carpenter's bench. This accident, that at first may seem only to oppose the practical artisan to controlling city officials, deepens when one considers the demographic profile of the *voisinage*. Once again we observe the seismic effects of the plague of 1720-21 when an estimated 7,534 *Aixoïses* had lost their lives, more than 30 percent of the population.⁴ Ten years later, and continuing well into the 1760s, the average number of marriages dropped to fewer than 200 annually, and fell as low as 180 in some years.⁵ The trauma to the population was still being felt in Aix-en-Provence in 1730, as evidenced by the

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Arlette Farge, *La vie fragile. Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1986), 142.

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Jean-Noël Biraben, trans., Patricia Cumming, "Demographic Characteristics of the Plague Epidemic in France, 1720-22," *Daedalus* 97:2 (1968), 536-545. The exact percentage is stated as 30.4%.

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Michel Vovelle, et al., *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix, 1978), 244-247. It should be noted that to avoid being drafted in the militia, young people routinely married since the draft applied to single men and widowers without children. E.G. Léonard, *Mon village sous Louis XV* (Paris, 1984), 222-223.

correspondence of the Intendant.⁶

The plague had arrived in Marseille aboard a vessel from Syria on 25 May 1720, (ten years earlier) reaching Aix-en-Provence on 1 August 1720. When the *Chambre des Vacations* had finally stepped in and imposed a blockade, it had been too late for the citizens. Within months, 94,184 cases were reported in Provence alone.⁷ The plague divided the population and “conflicts became rooted,” as people resented authorities and their demands for money.⁸ In the wake of the plague, a third of the population of Aix-en-Provence had been lost. In 1730 on the entry of the Princess the Conti, as the elites of the capital paraded in their streets,

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A.N., H/1/1285 - 1730. Cardin de LeBret requested a reduction in taxes to be levied on land in Provence and a similar reduction of impositions on wine because of the continuing effects on local economy stemming from the plague. In addition, there is mention that there is an inability to pay back the funds that had been extended by the central government at that time.

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Jean-Noël Biraben, trans., Patricia Cumming, “Demographic Characteristics of the Plague Epidemic in France, 1720-22,” *Daedalus* 97:2 (1968), 539.

8

J. Gallet, “Research on the Popular Movements at Amiens,” in *State and Society in Seventeenth-Century France*, Raymond F. Kierstead, ed., trans., Marilyn N.J. Kierstead, (New York, 1975), 138; and Jacqueline Dumoulin, “Le financement de la peste à Aix-en-Provence au XVIIe siècle,” *Provence historique* 189 (1997), 444 - 447. Dumoulin underlines that civic leaders lacked vigilance and, with the exception of the plague of 1629-30, systematically borrowed excessively during times of plague, specifically in 1631-32, and 1649-59. Funds were directed toward routine expenses unrelated to the plague. For 1649-59 the financial mismanagement appeared totally unjustified. This dimension of civic life may have been known to the more affluent master artisans, versed in the continuous financial negotiations between authorities and the guilds, and contributed to a distrust of authorities in times of such crises.

did the common people not recall the desperation and resentments of ten years earlier when the Parlement had left them behind with their dead? Such a *conjoncture* may well have contributed to heightened tensions in the community, and thus influenced reactions to the more immediate frustrations among artisans.

The continuum of effects and impacts of the plague most affected the children, a part of the population that already had a poor chance of survival at the turn of the seventeenth to the eighteenth century in France. Between 1695 and 1715, there was an average of 1,225 births each year in Aix-en-Provence.⁹ *Capitation* figures of 1695 show that, for every 188 births, 100 children did not survive the birth and the immediate aftermath. Half of the survivors would live to the age of ten. One could count 54.5 percent families who had only one and two children, and 27 percent had three. It was a rare phenomenon to see a large family in Aix-en-Provence: only seven could boast of ten children or more.¹⁰ The death of the child killed by the carpenter's infraction may have been a passing matter for many in the *voisinage*. For others, the life of a child, lost through an accident due to an artisan's bench, may have had more resonance in the unforgiving years following the plague of a decade earlier.

In 1730, the artisan's *voisinage* was a composite of such forces: a legacy of past struggles incarnate in daily realities. The yearly lease of housing cost between 10 to 15 *livres*. Basic necessities for a family of three cost in the range of 336 *livres* per year. A newborn

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Nathalie M. Ostroot, *Les filles mères à Aix-en-Provence 1695-1715. Une Etude du Contrôle Social* (Aix-en-Provence, 1998), 2.

¹⁰

A.D., B 3596; and Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), 28.

child would cost the parents 66 *livres* over the course of its first year of life. The balance was precarious: in the *voisinage*, 20 percent needed some sort of charity to survive.

Nearly a century earlier, in 1637, an apprentice would have been paid 5 *sous* for a pair of finely crafted shoes, 4 *sous* for a common pair of shoes and 12 *sous* for boots: a meagre income from which to provide for the necessities of life. The situation had not altered in any substantial way by the early eighteenth century. For an eight-hour day, a male wage earner would be paid 10 *sous* in the wintertime, and as the workday lengthened with the seasons, he could earn 12 *sous* for a ten-hour day. Women and children would earn half of that amount, although in Aix-en-Provence there was little cottage industry compared to other regions of France.¹¹

Many artisans could expect little else in their old age but charity. Daily food and shelter took most of what they could earn in a year. In their seventies, Pierre *dit* Larose, a shoemaker and his wife were blind and without children: they were beggars. Each week, 12 pounds of bread were set aside for them by a local charity. They were more fortunate than most. Because of the nature of their infirmities, Pierre and his wife could beg on the steps of the local church: blindness and being crippled were associated with the destitute of the Gospel and this authorization to approach parishioners was extended as a reminder of the value placed on the handicapped in religious teachings.¹² In a society built on privilege, Pierre

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A.M., HH 41 F 290; and Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt* (Princeton, 1978), 26.

¹²

Roland Mousnier, *Les Institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue 1598-1789* (Paris, 1996), 218.

stood above others who were obliged to beg for alms in less favourable locations. Indeed, the Laroses were only two of many in the *voisinage* who depended on charity.¹³

Three hundred individuals required charity to survive, including 95 men who were in extreme poverty. For the most part, these men were the head of a household, while seven were widowers, including one man who was handicapped. There were more women in need than there were men, in part because of their dependence on their husband's income during their lifetime. One hundred and fifty widows were listed in the official records of Aix-en-Provence, as requiring charity to survive, and 23 married women. Children were the most vulnerable and their numbers included 33 orphaned girls, and 3 boys.¹⁴ Some artisans found niches in the elite structure of Aix-en-Provence where they could earn a steady income and benefit from some privileges. As an example, shoemakers employed by charitable institutions as craftsmen, able to train orphaned inmates, would earn between 50 to 300 *livres* for the term of their contract.¹⁵ If they remained in the employ of the institution for six years, the artisan could obtain his *maîtrise*, one of the few avenues open for certification to those who could not be trained by the guilds. Yet again, one can see the difficulties this would present for the artisan who availed himself of this privilege. Undoubtedly, he would encounter the grumbling of fellow craftsmen who worked in more traditional settings for the

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Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence, 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 94.

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Jean Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), 87.

¹⁵

Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence, 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976), 51.

guilds. Guilds would see this practice as an infringement of their authority over the trade.

Guilds provided a *cadre* for the artisan, but it was one that had its imperfections. While individual members may have tended towards the provision of a security net for the weaker members of the trades, their main occupation was protecting and regulating professional standards and related privileges. The fraternity of the guild did not fulfill this role without inciting resentments

in Aix-en-Provence, as may be seen by the experience of *voisinage* on the rue des Eyguesiers,¹⁶ the street where Besson the wig-maker and Routier the carpenter, who attacked Besson's apprentice, were neighbours. Rue des Eyguesiers dated from the middle ages and had known

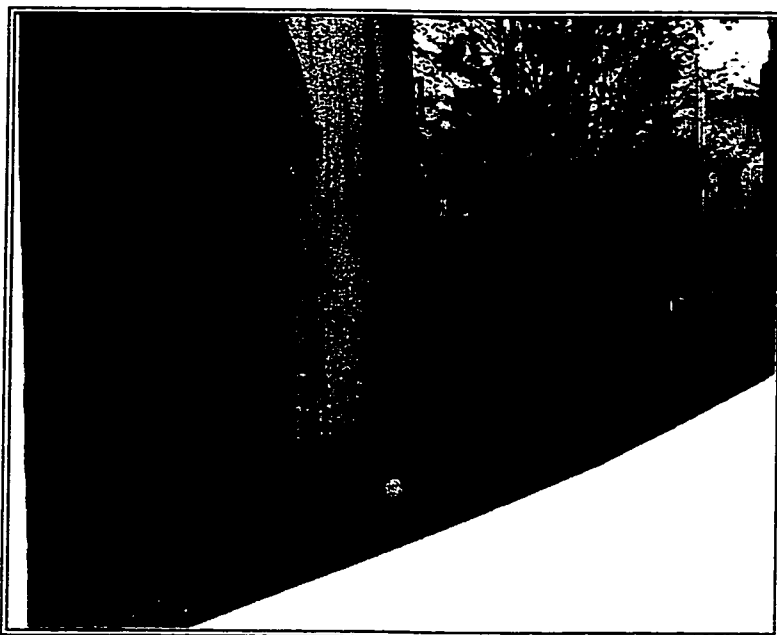


Figure 32 - Rue des Eyguesiers (Eyguisiers) was a short, dead end street adjoining the gardens of the residence of the Bishop of Aix-en-Provence, providing residents with rare open space along the street.

its period of affluence with residents of the elite. The most recent notables were the Thomassins, *seigneurs* of the guards who had a tradition of holding the post of *Viguier*, a

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B.N., Ge. B. 338. Aix 1769. New plan of the city and the old as depicted in its three divisions by Esprit Devoux (Aix) H. Cousin. Rue des Eyguesiers (Eyguisiers) is indicated as number 104. The map may be found as Appendix D, in the back cover.

position of some prestige, since one commanded ten *archers*.¹⁷ On this day, the 20 June 1730, the *syndics* of the wig-makers' guild, Sieurs Besson and Vigaud, proceeded to seize the assets of Besson's neighbour, who also resided on rue des Eyguesiers. The individual was named Coques and leased his premises. He had in his possession a new wig and an old one. Both wigs were confiscated by Besson, we do not know for what infraction. It is likely that Coques was a client who had not paid his account. His name does not appear in the listing of wig-makers so that we know that he was not a member of the guild, subjected to the enforcement of regulations by his peers. The end result was that the wigs, placed at auction, were purchased by a Sieur Rimbaud for 12 *livres*.¹⁸

The incident reminds us of the authority of the *syndics*. Elected by peers within their trades, *syndics* were officials with status and authority in the *voisinage*. In addition to their disciplinary powers, *syndics* found themselves in unenviable positions at times. They were liable for the debts and unpaid levies of their guilds, and responsible for disciplinary action on behalf of guild members. A man in Besson's position of authority might have had occasion to provoke the animosity of Routier, the father, since they lived in close proximity.

The anecdote of the seizure of wigs further serves to highlight the great difference in earning power between wig-makers and shoemakers. While a pair of fine shoes might bring the apprentice less than a half *livre*, a used wig was worth some six *livres*. The

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Roux-Alphéran, *Les Rues d'Aix ou Recherche Historique sur l'Ancienne Capitale de la Provence* (Aix, 1848), 374-376; and J.P. Coste, *La ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), I, 85. There were a further 13 *archers* tied to the local hospital.

¹⁸

A.M., HH 15 F 72 . The value of the used wig is specified in this account.

difference in living standard between wig-makers and shoemakers presents a potential explanation for the latter's resentment of the wig-makers as expressed during the procession. On a more personal level, Besson's affluence, he is listed in the highest category of ratepayers,¹⁹ provides a second reason for Routier's behaviour. Residing in the same mixed neighbourhood, the carpenter who runs his business from the corner of rue des Eyguesiers, and who is found exchanging blows with Besson's apprentice during the ceremonial procession, may be addressing issues of the *voisinage*. Moreover, there is anecdotal evidence that attitudes defiant of policing authorities, seen in the more affluent artisans able to pay a fine of 200 to 300 *livres*, extended to employees within their shops.

The arrival of passing troops within a city was often, if not always, the cause of civil unrest on the part of unhappy citizens who blamed the *désordres* on the soldiers. On the occasion of the arrival of a regiment of infantry, the *capitaine de quartier*, Monsieur de Saint Louis, *Ecuyer*, was mandated to set up a night patrol to listen to the complaints of the locals and to deal with any trouble spot as it arose.²⁰ Accordingly, de Saint Louis was to order 10 to 12 citizens to report to city hall to be given their instructions for this assignment. Noting that personal interest must give way to the public interest, according to accepted standards of individual responsibility for public order in the community, the *capitaine de quartier* duly called upon the *gans ordre*, the employees of the boutique of Maurice Espanaire, merchant. The *capitaine*'s report underlines that he acted pursuant to the orders of the Consuls of Aix,

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A.M., BB 108 F 232.

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A.M., FF 78 F 15.

and in the context of similar calls to the homes of other citizens required to fulfill their civic duty. Again, one observes the concern in this locale of Aix-en-Provence to draw upon the authority of a higher official to reaffirm one's own status.

Monsieur de Saint Louis' ploy to command the respect of the common people did not go well. One of the apprentices of Maurice Espanaire, by the name of Lambert (later referred to as Lambos), and a second individual named Michel, refused to join the patrol delegated to control the passage of the troops through their city. Other citizens had been told previously to report to City Hall to join the patrol at nine o'clock in the morning. When challenged to report immediately, one apprentice, Lambos, replied that there was a mistake and that it was a second apprentice who had been supposed to join the patrol since his employer, Maurice, had said nothing to him. He further argued that he did not sleep under his boss's roof and that this particular evening he had to go to the home of an aunt who lived out of town for she did not want to spend the night alone. The second *garçon*, Michel Ganoche, said that he could not possibly report without being told to do so by his master, Sieur Espanaire. Quite obviously, both *garçons* were not intimidated by the *capitaine de quartier*, invoking personal considerations to avoid patrol duties.

In the case of Michel Ganoche, it is worth noting that the power of his employer was more relevant to him than that of the civic authorities. His relationship with his master, as evidenced by the fact that they were on a first name basis,²¹ seemed to provide him with

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Arlette Farge, *La vie fragile. Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1986), 142; Arlette Jouanna, *Le devoir de révolte* (Paris, 1989), 78: "S'il y avait conflit entre le service du Roi et celui dû au maître l'abandon du second passait encore bien souvent pour une trahison." Trans. "If there was conflict between service to the King and

adequate prestige to ignore de Saint Louis' instructions. This would have been a rare instance within the artisan community. *Maîtres* and other *patrons* required strict obedience and respect, necessitating a formal, polite language, including the use of the term "vous".²² In social status, *Ecuyer* de Saint Louis stood well above Michel Ganoche's position within a trade establishment. The greater trust in their master thus indicates that Sieur Espanaire had greater authority than did the *capitaine de quartier* in the eyes of the apprentices. Further to a court hearing, both Michel Ganoche and Lambert/Lambos were ordered to pay a fine of 12 *livres* for dereliction of civic duty. In addition, they were cautioned not to disobey further orders relating to city privileges in the future, under the threat of greater fines.

The substantial amount of the fines to apprentices who might earn 10 *sous* per day²³ gives an indication that authorities were not redressing this disobedience to *Ecuyer* de Saint Louis' authority merely in terms of the apprentices' lack of respect, but rather on the basis of the accountability of their employer. This case may provide an indication that subterfuges were not easily tolerated when a citizen did not live up to his duty to the community.

Another dimension of the artisans' *voisinage* relates to the relationship of authority between the master artisan and the *garçons* that worked in their establishments. Relations were meant to be familial, so that living alongside the family under the same roof, the employee would learn not only the skills of the trade but further absorb the values of family

that to the master, the neglect of the latter was often considered to be a betrayal."

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E.G. Léonard, *Mon village sous Louis XV* (Paris, 1984), 138.

²³

Roland Mousnier, *Les Institutions de la France sous la Monarchie Absolue*, I (Paris, 1974), 207.

and community.²⁴ Judicial reports provide indications that the reality of such an accommodation could become an ordeal for the trainee.

A case in point²⁵ may help the modern observer to understand the response of Michel Ganoche, the apprentice who refused to report for patrol duty without the specific permission of his employer. Why would an individual of menial status in the *voisinage* question the orders of the *capitaine de quartier*, an elected official within the bourgeois authority establishment of Aix-en-Provence? Is this an indication of the low prestige of the position of *Ecuyer* at this time in the community, or a reflection of the incumbent's personal prestige in the *voisinage*? During the ceremonial procession, on the Cours the *capitaine de quartier*, Seigneur Concorde, was unsuccessful in ordering the metalworkers to re-integrate the ranks of his company of artisans. Neither did he succeed in convincing the drummers to obey his orders. Also, the authority of one of the highest officials in Aix-en-Provence, the *Assesneur* Gensollen, was equally challenged on the same occasion.

Consideration of the apprentice's status and position in the social order may provide an insight into the *mentalité* of this *voisinage*. Let us consider the dossier of a complaint by Guillaume, an apprentice in the employ of Carmagnolle, himself a master cobbler. Guillaume had joined the shoemaker's household just over two years earlier to become an apprentice. The apprenticeship period had come to an end over two months previously, yet Carmagnolle refused to release Guillaume from his apprenticeship, leaving Guillaume without accreditation.

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Arlette Farge, *La vie fragile. Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1986), 138.

²⁵A.M., FF 76 F 220 [note erratum in Raimbault that indicates folio 218].

Not only did Carmagnolle refuse to release him, but he mistreated Guillaume. He would force him upstairs, where he beat the *garçon* with a lash made from the nerve of a bull. The beatings were so severe that Guillaume still bore scars at the time that he appeared before authorities. In addition, Guillaume was forced to work on Sundays. Carmagnolle's testimony at the trial stated that the beatings were limited to occasional light slaps to correct the apprentice when he did some little thing wrong. Moreover, Carmagnolle insisted that Guillaume had not completed his last six month's apprenticeship.

The Court found in favour of Guillaume and ordered his release. The case provides insight into the difficult situation in which an apprentice could find himself. It is revealing that a lowly member of the *voisinage* had access to the courts, but more so that he would avail himself of this course of action. It is one thing to observe the hierarchical structure of the justice system as defined conceptually with related jurisdictions,²⁶ another to see its impact on the artisan and his family.

Guillaume's experience provides an indicator that the commoner had prompt recourse to the authority of magistrates. There must have existed, then, an expectation of justice and redress. If such is the case for the apprentice of the artisan community, so it must also have been for the shoemaker *syndics* when they appealed their displacement in the order of the *garde bourgeoise*. Having precedence, documented privileges, as well as equity in support of their appeal, the impact of an apparently biased decision by municipal officials, and later by the court, would have had some resonance within the *voisinage*.

Given this insight into the *mentalité* of the common people, the attitude of the crowd

²⁶Please refer to Chapter II, Figure 23 page 60.

that surrounded the shoemakers to prevent their arrest by *capitaines de quartier*. *Seigneurs* Court and Bruys, would indicate a judgemental attitude toward the authority of these officials. As we have seen, at the working level of the authority structure, officers drew upon the prestige of superiors when challenged. It would appear that they suffered a concomitant loss of influence when Provençaux disapproved of the decisions or conduct of higher officials. If this is the case, it would provide an indicator of dynamic tensions in the attitude of the common people towards the administration of justice within the community, one with which they felt involved and concerned.

Justice, in the case of the apprentice to the shoemaker, had real consequences for his livelihood. The corps of Arts and Crafts rigorously controlled the artisan community so that work would have been impossible to find without appropriate credentials attesting to the completion of his apprenticeship with the master cobbler. *Syndics*, elected from the membership of each trade, created an inner circle of authority in the power structure of Aix-en-Provence.

The actions of the *syndics* may not always have appeared to members as being in the best interest of the membership at large. Protecting the interests of the few powerful master artisans found in each trade led to restrictive measures,²⁷ particularly in trades most affected by the devastating plague of 1720 in Aix-en-Provence. As an example, the rank and file of wig-makers had been decimated.²⁸ The demand for wig-makers could not be met.

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Arlette Farge, *La vie fragile. Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1986), 151.

²⁸A.M., HH14 F 214 and F 215.

Magistrates had monopolized the availability of the few wig-makers left in the community to the detriment of the workers required by the master wig-makers and the rest of the public. *Syndics* Sieur Cervas and Michel thus proposed that no more work be given out to wig-makers throughout the city until such time as the workers would be forced to return to the boutique of the masters to obtain work. It was proposed further that no worker be hired unless he was the holder of a document certifying that he had obtained his release from the master of the previous establishment in which he had been employed. Without such a document, it had been agreed, masters would not employ workers. Thus workers were to be forced to return to their original masters to obtain work. Moreover, one reads of the agreement between master wig-makers to regulate competition between one another for available apprentices. The measure provided that a period of three months out of the city was to have elapsed before an employee from the boutique of another master wig-maker could be eligible to be hired by one of the 20 wig-makers providing employment in Aix-en-Provence.²⁹ The daily life of apprentices may be seen to have been circumscribed by various levels of authority, undoubtedly generating resentments that had few outlets in the course of working lives in the community. Master artisans and *syndics* of the wig-makers' guild can be seen to have been skilled at manipulating the marketplace to keep control of the labour force, in spite of the demands of the marketplace. While on the margins of the core hierarchy of authorities, within the dominant culture of public officials in Aix-en-Provence, wig-makers operated effectively to control access to their expertise and to that of their fellow-artisans.

²⁹

AM., HH 14 F 14 and F 15.

In this respect, the artisan may be seen to have exercised power within a vibrant sub-culture at the level of the *voisinage* in matters pertaining to their own hierarchical community. The question arises as to the artisan's attitude to authority within the larger context of Aix-en-Provence's authority establishment. A consideration of the possible and probable causes of the disruption of the ceremonial procession will be undertaken to explore this dimension of attitudes to authority.

A contributing factor leading to the disruption of the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti and reported expressions of attitudes toward authority, may relate to the building of military barracks in Aix-en-Provence in 1730.³⁰ The initiative by local authorities to build barracks for military troops had engendered great unrest within the artisan community of Aix-en-Provence, in part because of the financial burden it would impose on guild members. Matters had escalated over a period of three years, and the wig-makers' independent attitude may have caused tensions to spiral out of control during the procession. The payment and maintenance of troops was a long-standing problem in Provence. While the wider issue of a royal military presence within the city was one of great concern to provençal autonomy,³¹ the refusal of the wig-makers' guild to pay their share of the cost of the barracks fuelled the debate around the issue.

On the frontier of the Habsburg empire, the province had been the locus of a strong military presence. The people of Aix-en-Provence shared a common burden: the billeting and

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B.N., Ge. B. 338. Please refer to the map of Aix-en-Provence provided as Appendix D, for a drawing in ink of the military barracks of 1730 identified as "*Casernes*".

³¹

Donna Bohanan, *Old and new nobility in Aix-en-Provence* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 107.

feeding of the soldiers. In the countryside, and within city walls, the troops' actions destroyed crops, caused sporadic clashes with citizens, and generally led to mutual animosities and public protests.³² Special patrols, instituted whenever soldiers were in the city, failed to ensure public order and in fact resulted in challenges to local policing authorities by citizens, themselves subject to be conscripted to keep order.³³ The resentments and disputes between citizens and soldiers became classic dimensions of civic disobedience.³⁴

General tensions prevailed within the community whenever the military were in the vicinity of the capital of Provence, in part because of the costs, in part possibly, because of the perceived infringement of Provence's rights. Part of an effort to heighten the central authority's presence in Provence, the building of barracks within the city of Aix-en-Provence contravened the spirit of ancient privileges guaranteed by Provence's customary constitution.

Since the 1482 attribution of the province to Louis XI, King of France, each succeeding monarch had ratified Provence's traditional privileges upon assuming the throne. Accordingly, Louis XV governed the province and signed all legislation, as Count of Provence.

In addition, the constitution guaranteed three additional rights: that Aix-en-Provence should retain the status of capital, that the Parlement should have the right to register legislation and that the provincial Estates should have the right of consent before taxation

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Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 98-102.

³³A.M., FF 78 F 15.

³⁴

Yves-Marie Bercé, *Fête et révolte. Des mentalités populaires du XVIe au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1994), 15.

could be imposed. Moreover, the communities of Provence were responsible for tax collection within the province. This last privilege meant that in practice, Provence never contributed its full share of the *capitation*, an eloquent testimonial to its spirit of autonomy from the rest of France.³⁵

As for the military barracks, cost was not necessarily the main issue. Proud and fiercely defensive of their legislative autonomy as were the Provençaux,³⁶ perhaps no traditional privilege was as meaningful as the exemption of Aix, Marseille and Tarascon from billeting troops. It meant that without the approval of their *procureurs du pays* French troops could not be billeted nor payment levied upon the citizens of Aix-en-Provence.³⁷ Thus, it was with understandable unease that the municipal council had debated and taken the decision, on the 31 December 1726, to approve the building of a permanent facility to house as many as 600 soldiers in Aix-en-Provence. It is apparent from the tone of the ordinance that Consuls carefully manoeuvred their way through the minefield of public opinion, perhaps under the

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B.N., Fr. 11380 F 8. (11 September 1715): From Intendant Cardin de LeBret: “Vous connoissés le caractère vif, imprudent et difficile, en toutes manières des gens de ce pais cy; leur extreme aversion pour la capitation avoit obligé envoi, de donner des ordres contre plusieurs particuliers, nonobstant lesquels on a toujours eu des peines infinities pour ce recouvrement qui n’a cependant jamais pu se faire avec exactitude.” Trans. “You are aware of the prompt, imprudent and difficult character, in every way of the people of this area, the extreme aversion they have for the capitation has obliged us to send orders against a number of individuals, despite which we continue to have infinite difficulties in collections that have never been completed in full.”

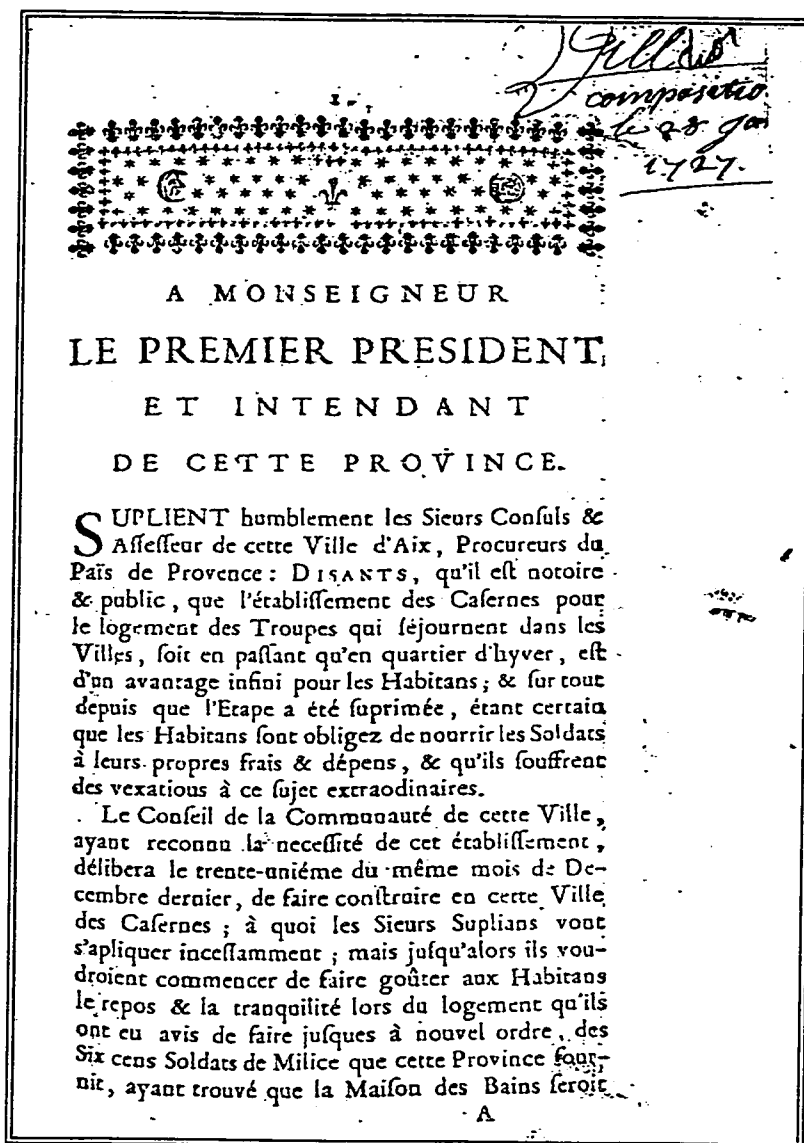
³⁶

Maurice Pezet, *La Provence des rebelles: révoltes populaires du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris, 1980), 16-20.

³⁷

Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth Century France* (Princeton, 1978), 6-7.

guiding hand of First President and Intendant Cardin de LeBret. One apparent strategy was to orchestrate a common front with the Parlement, undoubtedly in order to benefit from the latter's prestige and authority. First, the municipal decision was published as part of the ordinance ³⁸ addressed to the Intendant by civic officials. In conciliatory language it outlined, in some detail, the benefits to the population that justified



their decision. Mention was made of the peace and

Figure 33 - Ordinance announcing the building of barracks in Aix-en-Provence. Source: A.M., BB 108, F. 224.

tranquillity that would accrue to the city's inhabitants. The statement stood somewhat in opposition to the initial paragraph where it was argued that the presence of troops caused

³⁸

A.M., BB 108 F 224.

citizens “qu’ils souffrent des vexations à ce sujet extraordinaires.”³⁹

Reflecting officials’ awareness that the decision would not be popular, an attachment to the ordinance specified that municipal authorities would ensure that no guild ignore the obligations or avoid paying its share of the costs. Specifically, guilds of artisans were required to defray the price of beds, mattresses and linens for the 600 soldiers to be accommodated in the barracks.⁴⁰

The guild of wig-makers reacted with outrage. By the 12 January, two weeks before the formal proclamation of the levy, the guild formally refused to contribute to the sleeping facilities for the soldiers. As well, a court action had been launched by their *syndics* against municipal Consuls, requiring that wig-makers be allowed to withdraw from the corps of Arts and Crafts.⁴¹

When the total assessment relating to the new barracks was made, it reached the significant sum of 4,000 *livres*, re-partitioned on a graduated scale according to class of taxpaying corps of the Arts and Crafts.⁴² Some guilds, such as the shoemakers, responded with typical acquiescence to the notice of assessment. By the 6 February, within a week of the announcement, the shoemakers’ *syndics* had convened a meeting of the guild and a

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A.M., CC 754 F 401. Trans.: “the matter causing them to suffer extraordinary vexations.”

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A.M., CC 754 F 401 and BB 108 F 567.

⁴¹

A.M., HH 15 F 4-5.

⁴²

A.M., BB 108 F 232.

motion had been approved to pay 200 *livres* for the 10 beds they were to subsidize.⁴³ The wig-makers had been advised that they were to be responsible for 12 beds. The guild *syndics* reacted by stating that, until their legal suit against the Consuls had been heard, the guild was not liable for such costs. Moreover, if it was adjudged that they could not withdraw from the corps of Arts and Crafts, the guild of wig-makers had resolved to pay only “a condition que les bourgeois et les paissans et tous les autres fernuy leraisy.”⁴⁴

The confident and assertive attitude of the wig-makers stands in sharp contrast to the ready compliance of other artisans’ guilds. One may deduce that authorities had reached an impasse when one notes that three years later, at the time of the ceremonial procession honouring the visit of the Princess de Conti, neither the issue of the wig-makers’ adhesion to the corps of Arts and Crafts, nor the payment of the assessment for the barracks, appears to have been resolved.⁴⁵

The firm stand taken by the guild of wig-makers, and the apparent procrastination of authorities in resolving the issue of their contribution, opens the door to the possibility that

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A.M., HH 42 F 72.

⁴⁴

A.M., HH 15 F 7. Trans. “on the condition that the bourgeois and peasants and everyone else contribute as well.”

⁴⁵

On the occasion of three research trips, searches of municipal and departmental documentation, extensive and detailed for this time period, indicate that these matters had not been resolved by officials. A subsequent search of the Intendant’s papers at the Bibliothèque nationale, as listed in the Selected Reference section, failed to yield further information. The absence of documentation is in itself revealing, given that a number of similar matters are reported in detail. At this time it would appear that officials dealt slowly with the wig-makers’ suit, although the case may have been handled through negotiation, or withdrawn by the guild.

officials may have used the ceremonial procession to their advantage with respect to this apparent stalemate over the wig-makers' contribution to the barracks.

It does appear that there was collusion between municipal Consuls, who initially chose the wig-makers to lead the *garde bourgeoise*, and the magistrates of Parlement who then affirmed the Consuls' right to do as they saw fit in the matter of the order in the *garde bourgeoise*. The ranking of the wig-makers, in a place of honour before the citizenry of Aix-en-Provence, would have served to impress upon the guild, and specifically upon *syndics*, the advantages to be gleaned through adhesion to the corps of Arts and Crafts. It may also indicate that the guild of wig-makers had finally paid, or was being enticed to pay, the assessment levied against the wig-makers' guild relating to the barracks.

The traditional precedence of the guild of shoemakers, on the basis of the ancient statutes of 1453,⁴⁶ appears to have been adequately proven through documentary evidence submitted to the magistrates by the guild of shoemakers. The merit of the written evidence, and arguments of equity based on traditional position in the lead of the *garde bourgeoise*, appear to have been ineffective in the face of the collaboration between Parlement and the Consuls.

The inability of shoemakers to convince officials to confirm them in their traditional position in the lead of the *garde bourgeoise*, despite the weight of evidence they submitted to the court, must have been galling. That it should be wig-makers who dispossessed their guild of its rightful place must have made it all the more difficult to accept. A pattern of

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A.M., HH 42 F 25.

dutiful collaboration characterized relations of authority between the guild of shoemakers and municipal and provincial authorities. In contrast, habitual challenges to authority by wig-makers are reported in guild minutes and municipal records.⁴⁷ This would have been in the public domain by the very nature of the close-knit lives in the *voisinage*. Wig-makers were financially more secure than most artisans, as indicated by the level of municipal taxes that were imposed by class.⁴⁸ Records indicate that 12 wig-makers were assessed as being in the highest class of taxpayers, 15 in the second class and 18 in the third class. Capitation records also indicate that wig-makers lived in the better residential areas of Aix-en-Provence.⁴⁹

Normal antipathy to wig-makers may have been a pre-existing factor in the rivalry that surfaced between artisans on the occasion of the ceremonial procession. In addition, it may have been particularly grating to shoemakers and other artisan guilds who, records indicate, had paid their “dues,” to have delinquent wig-makers in the lead of their *garde bourgeoise*. The sight of wig-makers in their distinctive hats, ornamented with “a knot of white ribbon of the guild and a border of fine silver”⁵⁰ at the head of the procession of artisans, appears in this context, to have added fuel to the fires of pre-existing artisan rivalries.

The feelings of rivalry of shoemakers towards wig-makers may have been shared by a wider sector of the artisan community based on a feeling of kinship with the downtrodden

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A.M., AA 60.

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A.M., HH 15 F 1-5; and F 7.

⁴⁹

J.P. Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695* (Aix-en-Provence, 1970), SP-517.

⁵⁰

A.M., HH 14 F 70.

shoemakers. Wig-makers were without doubt in a more elitist service than shoemakers and most other trades. For the elite the distinctive sign of their status, giving them the outward entitlement to the appellation of *Monsieur*, was the wig. The wig was symbolic, and the acquisition of one's wig was part of the signals of rank and precedence so pivotal to Ancien Régime society.⁵¹ At an average cost of 15 *livres*, the wig also represented a month's lodgings for the common man, a significant sign of wealth in the closed circles of the *voisinage*. By association, the wig-makers also gained in prestige, given their professional contacts with the dominant elite of Aix-en-Provence society. In contrast, the great majority of shoemakers worked in small shops and on the streets of their quartiers, distrusted by the neighbourhood and producing goods of a fraction of the value of wigs. The shoemakers and wig-makers lived at two poles of the artisan life and this may have generated resentment amongst the shoemakers.

From a sense of cumulative injustices, it may have been but one small step for the shoemakers to resort to the manoeuvre once demonstrated by their clergy. As priests had displaced Consuls during a ceremonial procession by moving in close formation and displacing them, so the shoemakers moved to dislodge wig-makers from their position by the carriage of the distinguished visitors. As their traditional responsibility to lead the *garde bourgeoise* had been usurped by wig-makers, so shoemakers usurped the guard duty of the Princess that evening, the traditional responsibility of wig-makers. The correlation may be coincidental but the action by shoemakers appears more like a deliberate stratagem. The most

51

E.G. Léonard, *Mon village sous Louis XV* (Paris, 1984), 91-92.

sedition acts of the disrupted procession were surely a proportionate response on the part of the shoemakers' guild to protest against transgressions to the order of precedence and privileges of their society.

Combined with the evidence that the shoemakers' guild had adopted the standards of the community with respect to precedence and related privileges, what does the premeditated nature of their disruptive actions imply with respect to these artisans' attitude towards authority? Evidence that the shoemakers' guild did submit to the consequences of their action and pay the substantive fines imposed, testifies to the fact that they resumed their normal pattern of conformity after the events of the 24 May 1730.⁵² In fact, they were to lead the *garde bourgeoise* one year later on the occasion of the *entrée* of the *infanta* of Spain.⁵³ Thus their protest was a deviation from a normal pattern of acquiescence in established protocols. It was also temporary.

In the final analysis, the shoemakers' guild's attitude to authority is coherent: they accepted authority but challenged injustice and attacks on their own honour. The case study outcome falls within the paradigm posited by historians to the effect that:

Le soulèvement, en définitive, n'est peut-être pas, comme on le croit si simplement une rupture ni une brisure définitive dans l'ordre des choses. L'émotion populaire apparaît comme le point de jonction nécessaire entre un ordre qui fait défaut, et un avenir mal assuré. Il y a de l'ordre dans ce désordre, un désir plus grand de justice, d'honneur; (. . .)⁵⁴

⁵²

A.M., HH 42 F 11.

⁵³

A.M., AA 55 F 91; and HH 42 F 123.

⁵⁴

Arlette Farge, *La vie fragile. Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIe siècle*

The upheaval may not be, in the definitive, as we believe so simply, a rupture or a definitive break in the order of things. Popular emotion appears as the point of contact required between the defective order and an uncertain future. There is order in this disorder, a desire for greater justice, for honour; (. . .).



Figure 34 - Artisans' Workshop of the Early Modern Period.
Source: Original etched engraving of unknown provenance.

CONCLUSION: INCIDENT OR INSURRECTION?

Incident or insurrection? This case study of the disruption of the ceremonial entry of the Princess de Conti into Aix-en-Provence points to dominant causes in the *courte durée*, and to underlying motives in the longer term.¹ The evidence suggests that the disruption was deliberately provoked by artisans. The cause was not limited to rivalry between guilds as reported by officials,² but rather to a sense of dissatisfaction with authority and its impact upon the daily life of artisans. When officials divested shoemakers of their precedence in the *garde bourgeoise* in favour of wig-makers, their decision was contrary to a mutually accepted code of precedence and related privileges. Resulting frustrations triggered artisans' actions to embarrass officials during the ceremonial procession. The disruption of the ceremonial *entrée* of 24 May 1730 may not have reached the level of an insurrection, but it was more than a simple incident.

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George Rudé, "The Crowd: The Subject and Its Problems," *The European Past* (New York, 1970), I, 365.

2

A.M., AA 55 folio78 recto; and ADB-R, B 3674: "cependant les cordonniers et quelques autres artisans jaloux de ce que les perruquiers avaient le pas sur eux, firent un espèce de sédition (. . .)." Translation: "however shoemakers and a few other artisans jealous because the wig-makers had been given precedence over them, carried out a type of sedition (. . .)."

The period under review was one of relative calm and cooperation between artisans and officials. The artisans routinely expressed their attitudes to authority through conformity with accepted protocol, or when there was dissent, through controlled resistance to change and through court proceedings. Minutes of artisans' guilds, court records and the actions of artisans during the disrupted procession provide evidence as to the nature of artisans' opposition to authority. The behaviours of protesting individuals and groups of artisans were influenced by the manner in which the elite handled their own conflict resolution.

Three dimensions of the disruption have been outlined. The first was the proposition that authorities had betrayed customary privileges and provoked the disturbances of May 1730. The second was that *conjoncture* may have contributed to the general sense of malaise in the community, since May 1730 was the ten year anniversary of a disastrous plague, and the centennial of a historic insurrection to preserve the customary privileges of *Aixois*. The third dimension was that the manner of protest, (seizure of the carriages, beating of the drums, disobedience in the Cours, occupation of the residence) when related in a framework of cause and effects, indicate that the artisans' actions were directed towards authorities more than towards other artisans. With clear intent, artisans protested and as quickly stopped and returned to their previous compliance to authority, providing evidence that their actions did not constitute an insurrection.

The findings of this case study challenge an existing paradigm that the nature of artisans' groups was emotive, out of control and easily manipulated. Research outcomes further demonstrate that ceremonial processions provide useful indicators of *mentalité*. The following synthesis refines these summary points.

In the *longue durée* three dimensions of Aix-en-Provence's past can be traced to artisans' gestures during the procession: the centennial of the Cascaveoux rebellion; Provence's past links with the House of Bourbon Condé-Conti, and *Aixois*' attachment to their ancient rights. The artisans could reach back in time and reclaim the most famous of insurrections, the Cascaveoux rebellion, through the simple expedient of the seizure of drums. Their beat had then called men to arms and, at the request of civic officials, had heralded the joining of nobility with the common people. The year 1730 marked the centennial of the historic battle that followed and preserved Provence's status as a *pays d'état*. This rare autonomy was one in which Provençaux were known by authorities to take great pride and to which privileges, as they had demonstrated in the past, they were deeply committed.

The ongoing construction of military barracks could be seen as an infringement of one of Aix-en-Provence's traditional privileges. The evidence of the Intendant's and the Consuls' cautious ordinances announcing the initiative, and the resistance of wig-makers to contributing to the barracks, as well as the information that the project had already taken three years to reach fruition, are clues to the fact that, while most guilds paid their assessments promptly, there was resistance to the building of military barracks in Aix-en-Provence. Clearly there was opposition to its significant cost. On principle also, there were grounds for objections. The building of a permanent site to house the military in the capital of Provence was contrary to the spirit and the terms of the province's customary constitution. The arrival among artisans of members of the House of Bourbon Condé-Conti may have been a catalyst since this name had resonance in Provence. In the aftermath of the Cascaveoux rebellion, Provence had rejected the King's nominee for governor of the province. It had

demanded that the Prince de Conti be appointed as the King's representative. In addition, a second member of the House had affected Provence's autonomy. The King had sent the Prince de Condé to punish Provence for the insurrection. Condé had done so, but had formed the opinion that Provence's position in protecting its privileges had merit. Consequently, Condé had advised the King to concede the traditional privileges of Provence as a *pays d'état*. From a provençal perspective the common people had been vindicated thanks to the assistance of the House of Bourbon Condé-Conti.

The Princess de Conti had demonstrated her own respect for customary law. Two weeks earlier, in the Principality of Orange, she had intervened in favour of the common people to enforce her son's rights under feudal law. She had done so despite the opposition of Parlement and local authorities. The consequence had been that a financial burden on the common people had been lifted and they had gained free access to the water flowing through Conti lands. Water was prized by the Provençaux, as liquid gold,³ and the Princess' gesture would have been appreciated by the artisans and would have increased their sense of identification with the Princess. The evidence is anecdotal but the evocative name of Bourbon Condé-Conti and her actions in Orange may have encouraged artisans to air their own differences with officials in Aix-en-Provence on the occasion of her ceremonial entry.

From the perspective of the artisans, there were grounds for dissatisfaction with authorities, in the *courte durée*. The people of Aix-en-Provence had accumulated resentments against officials reaching back a decade. In the years of the plague of 1720-1721, authorities

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“*Eici l'aigo es d'or*,” as quoted by Lucie Schmeltzer, *Promenades autour des fontaines d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1995), 2.

had wielded power with impunity to fight the disease but a third of the population had been lost. Citizens resented the fact that officials had taken refuge outside the city, leaving the common people to cope with a combination of the plague's horrors and measures imposed by authorities that historians have described as cruelly severe.⁴ A second cause of resentment was more recent. In 1729 during an anticipated food crisis, authorities had overreacted, buying more grain than was required. A financial shortfall had resulted. The artisans' guilds of Aix-en-Provence had been obliged to pay the expenditure incurred through the mismanagement of city Consuls,⁵ surely generating resentment among artisans who earned a bare living in a depressed economy.⁶

Immediately before the ceremonial entry, shoemakers, who were the oldest guild in the city and in good standing as artisans, had turned to authorities to confirm their traditional precedence in the *garde bourgeoise*. They invoked arguments of traditional rights similar to those made by civic Consuls themselves in another case of precedence. When magistrates of Parlement sided with Consuls against accepted rules of precedence, the shoemaker's guild had lost status in front of the community. From their perspective, parlementaires and Consuls had ignored traditional rights and privileges to give preferential treatment to wig-makers. The artisans' public humiliation of officials in front of the community on the occasion of the ceremonial procession, had followed.

⁴Michel Vovelle, et al., *Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1978), 248.⁵

A.M., BB 3 F 36.

⁶Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix 1640-1789* (Baltimore, 1976) 127.

From the perspective of the artisans, the disruption of the ceremonial procession was appropriate retaliation for the humiliation they had suffered. Dislodging the wig-makers from the lead of the *garde bourgeoise*, taking their place as *garde de corps* to the Princess, were proportionate responses to the wig-makers' usurpation of the shoemakers' privilege to lead the *garde bourgeoise*. Seizing the drums and detouring away from the ceremonial route, did make a "political" statement that could be interpreted as an invitation to rebel in the manner of Provençaux 100 years earlier: the gesture was most likely only symbolic. The challenge to the *Assesneur*'s authority, battles between Besson and Routier, as well as D'Ambrun's leadership, were the results of accumulated frustrations, some of which may have derived from neighbourhood rivalries.

The incident of the disrupted procession constituted more than a rivalry between two guilds of artisans, as stated in ceremonial records. Accumulated frustrations had been directed against authority by the artisans' defiance of protocol during the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti, the altercation in the Cours, (a restricted area of the city), and during the guard duty sequel at Intendant de LeBret's residence. From the perspective of the artisan, it was controlled retaliation for a long list of complaints that had built resentments towards authority.

From the perspective of authorities, the disturbances were a serious challenge to their prestige and in the nature of a possible insurrection. Contrary to past experiences in Aix-en-Provence, in this case study, no rivalry can be seen in relations between authorities of the Parlement and city government, only mutual support. Magistrates of Parlement supported the Consuls' decision to give the lead of the *garde bourgeoise* to wig-makers, although it

defied established precedents. They also supported the punishments imposed by Consuls following the disrupted procession.

The nature of ceremonial processions in the early modern period provide historians with a significant diagnostic tool to consider *mentalité*. The ceremonial mode was highly valued in the eighteenth century by authorities and the common people alike, thus providing a common terrain from which to observe their comportment. Because processions were in the public domain they were subject to rigorous preparation in terms of their composition.⁷ The rank and order of participants thus provides indicators of the actual power structure within the community, including the role of artisans, as opposed to the formal social structure.⁸

The case study demonstrates how the dynamics of the occasion presented risks for officials that ran counter to the philosophy of order and control that governed the times. In fact there was little that could be done against the periodic outbreak of violence, a cause of dynamic tensions in the community. Perhaps to be feared as much as violence, was the potential for public humiliation. Authority figures had chosen to expose themselves to that risk in order to satisfy another standard of value, the overriding one of *honneur*. In this respect the power rested with the common people, the audience became a participant. The spiral of action, and reaction, may be seen to present the historian with a vibrant insight into

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Yves-Marie Bercé, *Fête et Révolte. Des mentalités populaires du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1994), 11.

8

Claire Dolan, "Liturgie urbaines et rapports sociaux en France au XVIe siècle: fascination militaire, quartiers et corporations de métiers," *Journal of the CHA/Revue de la SHC* 5 (1994), 110.

the mores of the times.

Ceremonial processions were public spectacles closely tied to the infrastructure of precedence and privileges of the Ancien Régime. As such, they were the object of intensive scrutiny. To facilitate a cohesive approach to occasions, processions were therefore well documented. Consequently, it is possible for the historian to undertake a comparison of their composition through time. Symbolic rituals did evolve, as did their form, providing insight into the place of artisans in this society of orders.⁹ In addition, symbolic elements provide cultural clues as to the *mentalité* of artisans against the background of the *mentalité* of the larger community. An example was the seizure of the drums and all that it represented. Similarly, as drums were valued by Provençaux, so too were other ceremonial rituals, (the colour of the *chaperons* are an example), offering cultural clues as to the basic nature of the community.

The financial burden of ceremonial processions and the distribution of their costs provide further indicators of relationships within the community. Artisan guilds supported the participation of orphans in ceremonial processions. A marker of their significance may be found in the willingness of the whole community to incur financial debt to ensure that the celebration was worthy of the occasion. It was a spectacle, but it was “expressive life”¹⁰ in a cohesive form. Individualistic in its articulation of the city’s history (the Roman standards

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J.H.M. Salmon, “Venality of Office and Popular Sedition in Seventeenth-Century France,” *Past and Present* 37 (1997), 21-43.

¹⁰

Robert A. Schneider, *The Ceremonial City - Toulouse observed 1738-1780* (Princeton, 1995), 4.

and collars of the *capitaines de quartier* are an example), the ceremonial procession provides insight as to what dimensions of the community's past were valued by its citizens. This is confirmed by archival descriptions of ceremonial processions and metonymic references. Their informal dimensions may also be discovered through the myriad occasions when some aspect of the processions deviated from the intended effect. As an ironic consequence, manifestations of power through symbolism could suddenly turn into a demonstrated inability to keep control in the community, thus a demonstration of overt inability to aspire to the symbolic message.

The ceremonial *entrée* under review lay forgotten in the annals of Aix-en-Provence. At its origins, this was surely due to the deep-seated communal embarrassment and humiliation incurred on the occasion of the *entrée* of the Princess de Conti. Local historians would comment at different times on ceremonial processions,¹¹ remarking on the appropriateness of their symbolic forms, the comparative importance of their composition, always in terms that underlined Aix-en-Provence's prestige and ability to organize such occasions. No mention of the reception in honour of the Princess de Conti in passages that list all other processions could be found. It is as if the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess had never happened. Only the Book of Ceremonies recounts in full detail, and with some imagery, the unfolding spectacle of that day.

Within the ceremonial procession were gathered the weak and the powerful, the actors and the audience, the mythical and the real: ceremonial *entrées* present a lever to reach within

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B.M., Pierre Joseph de Haitze, *Histoire de la ville d'Aix, capitale de Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1889), II, 1079; and XLIX, 379.

the community at different levels of society, and explore different experiences of time and space. In their rituals, ceremonial processions incorporated beliefs and values, traditions and allusions to communal history. The constellation of indicators allows for the retrieval of cultural values of the elite and actual manifestations of reactions of the common people when the ceremony is disrupted. In their aggregate, ceremonial processions can provide comparative indicators of *mentalité* as it developed in a community, thus allowing for validation of a social and/or political paradigm.

The case study has provided a profile of the *mentalité* of artisans in context. In Aix-en-Provence, at this time, artisans were largely marginalised by the nature of the power structure and social hierarchy typical of Ancien Régime France. Yet artisans, and not officials, were in control as shoemakers and metalworkers resisted authority during the procession. The limits of the violence, and the ease with which artisans had recourse to the courts, demonstrate that shoemakers were not intent on sedition nor on insurrection.¹² The ceremonial procession allows us to retrieve indicators that the shoemakers' guild shared the standards and values of the dominant group. Artisans also imitated the elite in matters of privilege and precedence. Nevertheless, indicators do suggest that resistance to authority existed at every level of the artisan community and was manifested without undue fear, particularly when the elite deviated from traditional standards and values. The *mentalité* of a people cannot be read through one ceremonial procession. But ceremonial processions do provide clues through behaviour, from there to patterns of behaviour, and on to causation of

¹²

René Pillorget, *Les mouvements insurrectionnels en Provence entre 1596 et 1715* (Paris, 1975), 989.

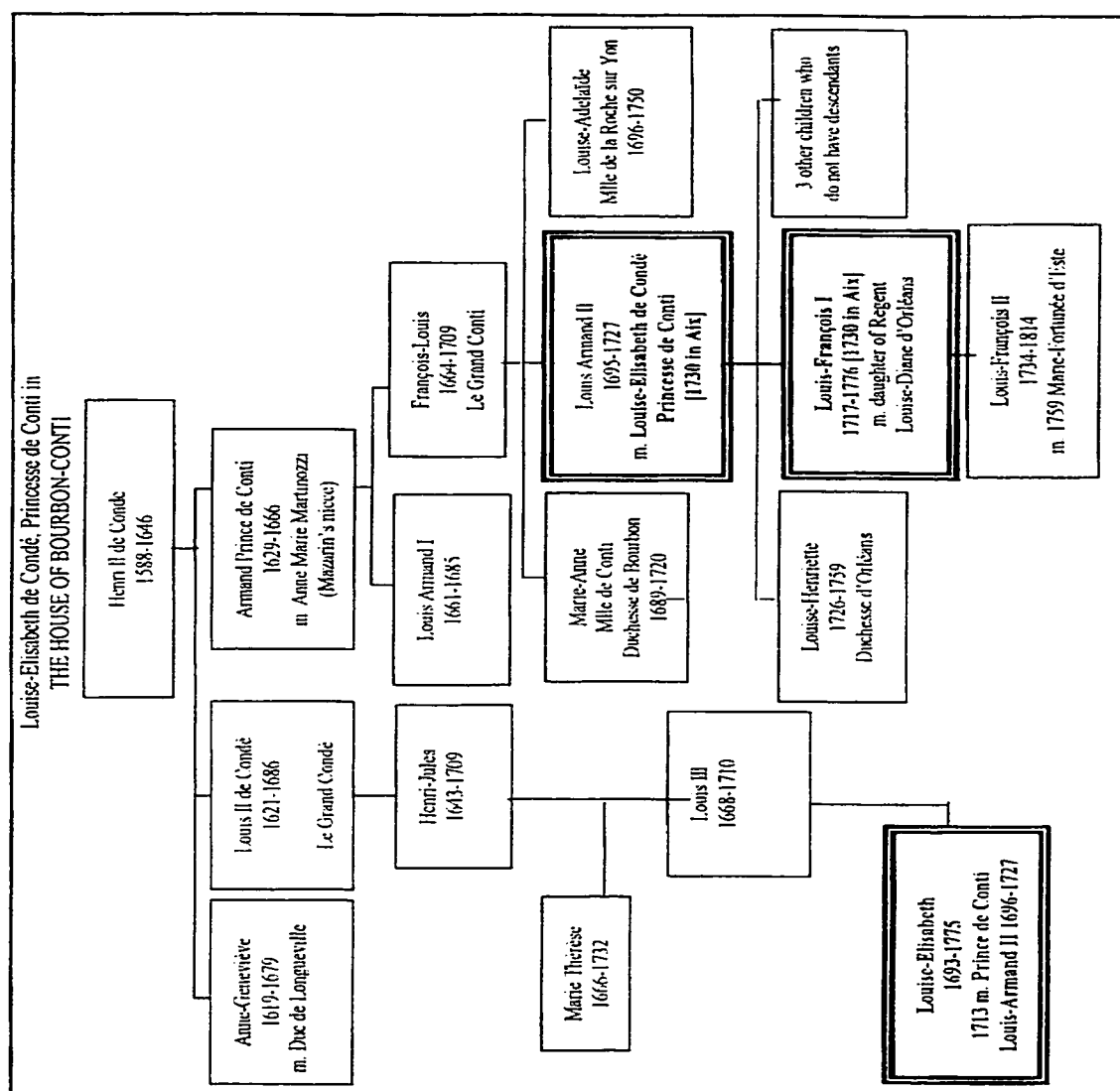
behaviour across the commonality of the experiences under review.

It is sobering to consider that without this dimension of *mentalité*, the disruption of artisans of Aix-en-Provence on the occasion of the ceremonial *entrée* of the Princess de Conti would remain a minor altercation, demonstrating the mindlessness of the artisans and the difficult governance they required of authority figures. In Aix-en-Provence, on the 24 May 1730, far from resigned and accepting of an injustice they perceived, 50 artisans of the guild of shoemakers asserted standards and values they had made their own. Mindful of the consequences, their actions were neither incident, nor insurrection, but a deliberately contained protest. How then to respond to the issues raised by Olwen H. Hufton:

The 'establishment' of the ancien regime was a peculiarly elaborate one, its various and disparate elements interlocked and interdependent in that hierarchical structure which is the very definition of the ancien regime. The common man encountered it as intendant, magistrate, tax collector, seigneur, landlord, bailiff, bishop, priest, each in their various ways demanding submissiveness of him, each expecting acquiescence in their multifarious claims to obedience. How far in fact did they secure submissiveness and acquiescence. How much respect did the common man have for this hierarchy. How resigned and total was his acceptance of it. Was he instinctively obedient and deferential. Or were there elements of the establishment which in his every day life he might ignore or resist or even despise. Were there occasions when he was stronger than those who sought to dictate his course of action? How far did he take his standards and values from his betters? Or how far did he assert opposing standards and values of his own against them?¹³

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Olwen H. Hufton "Attitudes towards authority," *Social History* 3:3 (1978), 281.

APPENDIX A¹Louise-Elisabeth de Condé in the House de Bourbon-Conti²

¹
Appendices D and E have been inserted in the back cover.

²
B.N., Ms. Fr. 22212; and L.de R. de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1909), Genealogical Appendices, not numbered.

APPENDIX B ³

Louise-Elisabeth de Condé, Princess de Conti (1693-1775)



Her son, Louis-François I, Prince de Conti (1717-1776)



³B.N., D 118774 and D 118836.

APPENDIX C

Cardin de LeBret⁴

Intendant (1704-1734) and First President of the Parlement (1710-1734)



⁴F.-X. Emmanuelli, et al., *La Provence moderne 1481-1800* (Rennes, 1991), 62; and Musée Arbaud.

APPENDIX F

ORIGINAL VERSION OF MANUSCRIPT

Verbal¹ fais sur la Reception de
M.. Le duc & la princesse de Conti.

Le vingt quatre

Du Mois De may mil sept cens trante

sur L'avis que Mrs. Les Consuls eurent que

Mad.e La princesse 3.e douïaieres de Conty etc.

Le prince De Conty son fils devoient arrive

en cette ville & de se preparer a se mettre sous

Les armes Le jour de son arrivée a un nombre

De 200, ils envoyerent un Des capp.nes De

quartier pour scavoir precisement Le temps

de son arrivée Lequel ayant veû La princesse

Le 23.e Du present mois Dumay 1730 a

Cavaillon elle Luy dit quelle seroit a aix Le

Lendemain 24.e May. Sur l'heure du Midy

Led s.r Capp.ne de quartier ayant marché toute

¹

A.M., AA 55 F 76 to AA 55 F 89. The transcription is literal.

La nuit il donna a m. vs Les Consuls cet avis Le
matin 24emay a six heures du Matin a
L'instant on donna ordre aux tambours de
Battre Leurs C'aissés pour avertir Les arts
et Metiers de se Mettre sous Les armes Lesquels
se Rendirent a l'hotel de ville aussy Bien
que Msr. Du conseil qui y' avoient esté
invités par Billets par. ers L'heure
Complaitante arrivée M.rs Les consuls partir
De l'hotel desville en chaperon precedés Des
arts et Metiers qu estoient sous Les armes
desquels on avoit formé cinq Compagnies
Commandées chacune par Lun. Des Capp.nes Des
quartier qui avoient un sponton et L'haussecol'
Les tromptettes; estants au Devant chrs. Les
Consuls sonnats de Leur trompettes Lesquels
estants suivys Des officiers de La province
de La ville et de ceux Du Conseil et dans cet
ordre se Rendirent au Logis Du Bras d'or
pour y attendre L'arrivée De La princesse, Les troupes
estant Rangées Depuis Le Logis du Bras d'or
jusques a La fontaine qui est joignant

L'enclos des minimes Les perruquiers estoient
a La teste des troupes ayant chacun un
chapeau Bordé ùniformement; La princesse
estant dans un phaëton Msr. son fils au devant
d'elle d'abord quelle parüt Les tambours Batirent
aux champs et estant arrivée près Le Logis
Du Bras d'or M..rs Les Consuls s'avancerent
Mr. Gensollen L'harangua et dans son Discour
Mr. Le prince de Conty qui estoit agé D'environ
13 années y eut place, appresquoy Les Boites
tirerent, Les trompettes sonnerent elle entra
par La porte des augustins ou on avoit fait une
entrée fort simple avec du Bois avec les armes
de La princesse au milieu, celles de La province
et de La ville a costé, elle fu't Loger chef
M.r De Lebret premier president et
intendant Les compagniy Les suivirent pour y monter la
garde quelle Reffusa; m.rs Les Consuls ayant
envoyé un trompette pour scavoir quand m
Les consuls pouvoit avoir l'honneur de
saluer Leur altesse serenissi,es on Leur
Dit que ce seroit sur Les cinq heures; or laquelle

heure ils se Rendirent avec Les officiers de La
ville ches m.r Le premier president sáluèrent
-mad.e La princesse et Luy offrirent Le
present de La ville composé de 24 Boetes de
confitures, 24 paquets de bougies êt trois
Livres Le paquet ornès de Rubans de La
Couleur de La ville et de La ils furent a
L'appartement de M.r Le prince de Conty
quils eurent l'honneur de saluer et Luy
offrirent un pareil present auquel on
avoit joints 24 bouteilles de vin et se
Retirerent.

Verbal fis sur la desobeissance
des corps de Metiers alors de l'arrivee de
M.r Le prince et la princesse de Conty

Le vingt quatre

may mille sept cent trente, scavoir faisons
nous Consuls D'aix Procureurs De's gens des troits
etats De ce pay's De Provence Lieutenants generaux
de police que sur La Nouvelle De L'arrivée
De Madame La Princesse troisieme Douairieré
De Conty. et De Monseigneur Le Prince De
Conty son fils. Nous aurions Donnê Les
ordres necessaires pour Rendre Les honneurs
du's a Leur altesses serenissimes, pour Raison
De quoy nous aurions ordonnê aTous Les Corps
des arts et Metiers De Prendre Les armes, et
comme ils se seroit elevé une contestation Le
jourdhier' sur La Preseante EntresLe corps des
perruquieres et celuy Des Cordoniérs ceuxcý
auroint présente une Requesté La Cour nous
ayant fait L'honneur denous la communiquer
et nous ayant a ce sujet apellé a La grand
chambre, après nous avoir ouys, elle auroit
fais decret portant que Lad. Requeste seroit

Communiquée aux corps des arts et metiers
et cependant que La marchè seroit Reglée
suivant Le Rang que nous designerions
après quoy Les syndics des cordonieres séroient
venús a L'hotel Deville, ou ils nous auroit
fait prendre Lecture de décret de La Cour en
execution dequoy nous aurions creu Devoir
Mettre Les Perruquiers aupremier Rang
D'autant mieux qu'ayant eü L'honneur
De Dire a La Cour Dans La chambre, que
telle avoit été nostre premiere Resolution
elle ne L'auroit pas D'esaprouvée, cependant
au prejudice des ordres quenous aurions donne
ensuite du décret de La Cour, et Dudroit a
nos charges il est arrivé auhourd'huy a
L'occasion de L'entrée de Leurs altessés
serenissimes plusieurs Rebellions, mutineries
et desobeissance de La part de divers corps
et particuliers.

A Dix heures du matin La garde se
trouvant Rangée en layé sur la venüe De Leurs altesses
serenissimes au chemin qui

Conduit de L'aigle d'or a La fontaine des minimes
Les cordoniers qui estoient après Les perruquiers
auroient Commencé a se mutiner et a Dire
tout haut que quand Les perruquierès passeroit
ils leur tireroient Dessus, et Comme ce
Discours alloit attirer du Desordre on nous
en auroit donné Connoissance dans Le Logis
Du Bras d'or, ou nous aurions pris Retraite
en attendant l'arrivée de Leur altessés
serrenissimes. ce qui nous auroit obligé de
mander Les syndics Des Cordoniers pour Leur
ordonné de nouveau de setenir dans Leur Rang
et de Laisser aux perruquiers Lepas que nous
Leur avions assigné, sauf a eux s'ils pretendoient
d'avoir Des Droits Contraires a Les faire valoir
en soutgenant Les fiers de Leur Requeste
présentée a La Cour, Cependant Lorsque Leur
altessés serenissimes sont arrivées Lesd.
Cordoniers ont causé denouveaux desordes
cequi a donné Lieu a Mr. De S.t Louis ecuyer
major de La ville, et au sr. Court 1.er Capitaine
de quartier qui estoit a La teste des

perruquiers De nous porter La plainte
suivante.

Savoir que La voiture ou estoit Leurs
altèssès serenissimes etant arriveè, Les
cordonniers se sont saisis des environs tant
derriereque des cotes, ayant poussè avec force
plusieurs perruquiers qui Marchoient
suivant Les ordres qui Leur avoient été
donnés a La suite de La voiture pour se
trouver a La tetè et ont obligè Lesd.
Perruquieres de quitter La placé ce qua
aperceù Led. S.r De s.t-Louis, il s'est avancé
pour Leur ordonnér de se Rangér et prendre
Leur place, et s'ouvrir pour Laisser passer
Les perruquiers a quoy Lesd. Cordoniers on
Repondu avec insolence, et ont Refusé
d'obeir, Nayant voulu quitter La place d'ordre
ils s'etoient emparés, et ayant au contraire
Repoussè avec force et violence Les perruquiers
qui s'avancoient, Dont La plus part ont été
Maltraités par Des Coups et des Bourrades
de fulsil, parmy Lesquels Le nommé D'ambrun

cordonier qui Demûre vis avis graîlié
 Droguiste près Les Carmelistes, a parú
 toujours Le plus seditieux; et Comme Lesd. Srs.
 De s.t louis et Court ont veú une désobeissance
 si marquêe et que Leurs ordres et Leurs
 Représentations ne seruoient De Rien
 ayant été nonseulement Repourrés mais
 menacés avec des fusils tournés vers
 eux dont Le s.r Court a Recéu un Coup
 ils ont été obligés Dequitter La place
 D'autant mieux qu'il s'est presenté tout a La
 fois une foule de monde qui a envelopé Les
 cordoniers.

Et un moment après Led. S.r Crout auroit veú
 Dans L'espace Du chemin qui est entre La
 mule Blanche que Le nomé Michel Routier
 pere menuisier qui a sa Boutique vis avis
 La rüe Des eyguesiers, insultoit Le garçon De
 Boutique De Bessón perrùquier et Luy
 Donnoit Des Bourrades et des Coups de crosse
 sur La testé dont il a été si meurtrý quil en
 est actuellément au Lit malade et Comme

saurin perruquier seroit survenu pour
arreter ses emportements, Led. Routier a frappé
de La Crosse Du fusil sur Lateste dud. Saurin
et Luy en a donné un si grand coup quil La
Renversè par terre ce que Led.sr. Court voyant
il s'est aproché pour arrettér ce desordre et a
saisi au colet Led.Routier pour L'amenèr a nous
mais dans Le moment Le fils cadet dud.
Routier nommé esperit Demurant a La rüe
Du mouton est survénu comme un furieux
il a sauté sur Led. sr. Court et La Repoussè
avec violence en Luy Donnant un grand Coup
De poing sur Le Haussecol, et L'ayant obligé
De quitter sonpere il Luy a porté plusieurs
Bourrades que Led. sr. Court a eviteés.
par cequil est survenu Dans Le moment
plusieurs personnes qui ont empeché que
n'ait été Davantage Maltraité.
Dautre part Leur altesses serénissimes
etant arriveés chef m.r Le Premier president
Le sr De S.t Louis auroit Commandé Le s.
Court pour monter La garde avec Les

perruquiers et seroit allé Dans Lépar terre de La princesse pour La Luy offrir, mais au Retour did. Apartement il auroit trouver que Les Cordoniers s'étoient saisis de La premiere porte Des apartements qui est sur Les Callier De La montée, et L'ont fermé a clef pour empecher qu'on n'entrat De maniere que Le sr. court etant arrivé par Déhors pour monter La garde avec Les perruquiers, il a trouvé que Les cordonniers s'étoient saisis du poste et quils etoint par endedans et partie en déhors et attendu que Leur altesses serenissimes avoint refusé La Garde, Led. Sr. de St. Louis a donné ordre aux Cordoniers, D'ouvrir La porte et de se Retirér, Ce que Ceux cy ont Long tems Refusé De faire, de sorte qu'il a été obligé de Leur prendre Les clefs par force et D'ouvrir Luy meme. et La porte ouverté, Ces cordoniers s'estant joints avec Leur Camarades qui etoint en D'ehors, ils ont De nouveau Refusé de se Retirèr et Commencé d'insulter ceux des perruquiers

qui setrouvoient présents, ce quí a Causè sur
 L'escalier et dans La Cour de M Le Premier
 President un tumulte epouvantable auquel
 on ne pouvoit pas Mettre ordre se moquant
 Lesd. Cordoniers avec mepris des ordres dud sr.
 de St-Louis, Ce qui La' obligé de prendre Les
 gardes de M. Le premier president et de Les
 faire sortir avec violence, chose quia esté
 executeé avec Beaucoup de peine et un grand
 tumulte causé dans La maison de M. Le premier
 president, Laquelle plainte cý dessus Lesd. Srs de
 Louis et Court ont affirmé veritable et ont
 signé St. Louis Major, Court.

D'autre partLe Sr. Concorde autre Capitaine
 de quartier qui estoit a La téste d'une Compagnie
 composée Des Menuisiers, serruriers et
 marechaux a forge, nous a porté plainte que
 Lesd. Marechaux a forge vouloínt prende le
 pas sur Lesd. Menuisiers et serrurieers
 Comme il n'a pas voulú Le Leur Donne
 ils n'ont pas voulú Marchér avec Le Reste
 de La Compagnie séstant saisis des Deux

tambours et du fifre ils ont pris un autre chemin; et ont Laissé Led Sr. Concorde sans fifre et sans tambours, allér chef M. Le Premier President seulement avec Les menuisiers et serruriers et comme ils Revénoit de chéf M. Le premier President avec Lesmemes, il a trouvé a La teste du Cours, Lesd marecheaux a forge auxquels ils a ordonné de se Rangèr et de Le suivre avec Les tambours et Le fifre ce que Lesd. Marechaux a forge ont empeché et Refuse et Dans Linstant Le sieur assésseur etant arrivè sur Le Cours, ou La Contestation se passoit il auroit veù La Compagnie separeé en deux, scavoir Led. Sr. Concorde avec Les menuisiers èt serruriers Devant La Maison ou Loge M. D'entrecasteaux con.er en La Cour, L'autre moitié De La Compagnie Composée des maréchaux attroupeé Devant La Maison de Mr. De Pervin qui gardoit Les Tambours et Le fifre avec eux et sur La plainte que Led. Sr. Concorde Luy a porté,

Led. Sr. assesseur s'est avancé vers Lesd.
Marechaux a forgé et Leur a ordonné aussy
Bien qu'aux tambours, et au fifre De suivre
en ordre Leur capitaine de quartier et De
Leur obéir a quoy ils ont Repondu qu'ils
obeiroint; mais a peine Led. sr. assesseur est
il entré dans La Rüe de La monoye qu'ils n'ont
plus voulû Reconoistre Led. sr. Concorde et
tandis qu'il vouloit aller ver's La Rüe de La
Mesiricorde, ils ont commencè de faire battre
La caisse et de Marcher vers Le pont moreau,
avandonnat Le Capitaine De quartier et Le
Resté de La Compagnie, sur quoy Le Capitaine
Dequartier ayant courû après Led. sr. assesseur
pour Luý Rendre Compte de ce qui se passoit
il est Révenu sur ses pas et a obligé en La
presence même Les tambours et Le fifre De
suivre Le Capitaine De quartier, et Les
marechaux a forge De marcher , mais au
Lieu De se Mettre en Rang ils onts saisis
Les tambours enturbe; et même en presence
Dud. Sieur assesseur ils ont affecté De

tourner Leur fusils en Bas et Cela par
une intelligence presque mettant La Crosse
derriere Lépaule, et La Bouche des fusils
en Bas, et cella par une intelligence presque
inanime De tous Les Marèchaux a forgé
L'un Dèsquels voyant que Les tambours
suivoient Le Capitaine Dequartier Lui
arrachè de force Les Colardes qu'ils Leur
avoient Donneés, n'ayant sceù Led. sr.
Concorde nous dire Le nom D'jcelluy et
a signé Concorde.

Et Comme tous Les faits cý Dessu sont
extremement graves, quil y a une
Desobeissance formelle aux ordres Des
officiers de ville, un mepris de L'autorité
Des Consuls, plusieurs insolences,
mutineries, noyés de faïts, et séditions
quil imposie De Reprimer De pareilles
entreprises tant pour Le present que
Les extrêmes consequences que cella pourroit
causer a L'avenir nous nous sommes
assamblés a L'hotel De ville ou nous avons

mandè Les Cordoniers, auxquels nous avons fait scavoir Les plaintes cý Dessùs aux chefs qui Ly Consèrment et comme ils avoint avec eux galon Leur prier a Leur Tèste il nous a Repondu qu'il ne pouvoit Rien Dire sur ce quil s'étoit passè, parcequé Le désordre etoit venû De La queüe et qu'estant a Lateste il n'avoit peú Le Remedier, et comme nous Luy avons Demandé qui estoit ceux de La queüe qui aavoint causé Le Désordre ný Luy ný personne autre, n'ont voulù Les nommés et nous ont Demandé D'entendre Le sr. Bruys capitne. De quartier qui estoit a Leur téste ensuite De quoy nous Luy aurions Demandé Le Rolle De tous ceux De Leur metier qui estoit sous Les armes.

D'autre part avons mandé Les maréchaux a forge Lesquels après Leur avoir fait scavoir toutes Les plaintes Ly consèrment, n'ont Donnè aucune Reponse Legitime et n'ont pas voulù nomér La personne qui a arrachè Les calardes aux tambours, et sur nostre demande

ils nous ont Remis Le Rolle de Ceux de
Leur metier qui estoit sous Les armes.
Sur tout ce que déssus après Les
instructions qui nous ont été Données par
plusieurs personnes non suspectes sur
La verité Des faits cý Dessus, avons ordonné
a L'egard Des cordoniers que Le nommé Dam'brun
Demurant vis a vis Graille Droguiste sera
mis a La charboniere pour y Demurer
jusquês a nouvel ordre et que pour Les ()
il ne seras par nous statué qu'après avoir
entendu Led.sr. Bruy's, que Le nommé michel
Routier pere, et son fils Cadet. Seront aussi
mis a La charbonière pour y Demeurer jusques
anouvel ordre et Le fils jusquês a ce que le
Sr. Court Capitaine De quartier insulté
Consente quil en soit Retire, ce qui ne pour
estre plus Long que De quinzaine et
condamnés a une amande De Douze Livre
chacun, que L'ancien Des jurés et L'ancien
Des prieurs Des maréchaux a forge seront
pareillément mis a La charboniere, pour

y Demurer jusqués a nouvel ordre, et La
jceux que tous Les autres membres de Leur
Corps qui estoit sous Les armes, et Désquels
ils nous ont Donné Le Rolle Condamnés a une
amande de six Livres chacuns a L'effet de quoy
Led. Rolle sera inseré a La suite Du present
procés verbal, ayant été temoins oculaires de
La part plus plart Des faits cý dessus
mentionnes et attendu que nous n'avons peü
entendre Le sr. Bruy's Capitaine de quartier
aujourd'hui; qu'il est deja tard et qui'l y a
Divers autres plaignants, avons Renvoyé a
Demain La Continuation de notre presente
procés verbal attendu que Les nomé D'ambrun
es Le principal [] au payément de
Laquelle ils seront constraints aux formes
ordinaires solidairement meme par Corps
au payement de Laquelle ils seront
constraints aux formes ordinaires solidairement
meme par corps signé gensollen assesseur d'aix
procureur du pays Bonfils d'aix procureur du pays
Grassy D'aix procureur du pays.

Du Lendemain vingt cinquieme

Dud. Mois De may et an, nous nous somes
assemblés au Lieu que Dessus ou Le sieur
assesseur nous a Declaré que sur Les neuf
heures D'hier au soir, Les syndics Des
cordonniers accomppagnés Dequelques
membres De Leur Corps vinrent Luy Remettre
Le Rolle de tous Ceux qui etoint presents e
sous Les armes, en Luy Declarant quils
navoient pas été Les maitres Darrette
Les mutins et Les seditieux et Lesayant
Requis de Luy en marquer Les noms, ils
Refuserent De Le faire Disant quils ne
connoissoint pas.

Et estant survénu Led. sr. Bruys Capitaine
De quartier qui estoit a La tête des
Cordonniers nous auroit exposé, que se
trouvant prés De L'aigle D'or a La Tête
desd. Cordonniers, il se Leva D'abord parmy
un tumulte et une sedition Disant quil
falloit prendre Le pas De force sur les
perruquiers, que pour Les apaiser il Leur

fit Comprendre, que sans Devancer Les
perruquieres il falloit mettre dix pas
D'intervalle et quau moyen De ce Les
perruquiers formoient La Compagnie Des
grènadiers et eux celle De La Colonelle
Cet expediant ayant D;abord parû Calmèr
Les esprits, Le nomé D'ambrun cordonier que
Demure vis avis graille Droguiste. dit tout
haut quil falloit se saisir du tour Du
Carrosse De La princesse. ce qui fût
aprouvé par presque tous Les autres
en effet Leur altèsses serenissimes estant
arriveés, ils se mirent De force autour
De La voiture, saisirent Les tambours et Le
fifre quils obligerent De marcher avec eux
et tout Ce qui peut Leur dire et ordonnér
fût inutile, si Bien qu'il ne Resta qu'avec
Lenomé galon syndic et environnt Dix autre
qui ne Leur quitterent pas, ne pouvant savoir
ce quils firent Depuis et a signé Bruys.

Sur quoy nous d. Consuls, et assesseur D'aix
procurateurs Des gens Des trois estats de cette
province Lieutenants generaux de police du
aix après avoir meurement examiné tous
que Dessus De La sedition et Du Desorde
avons ordonné qu'il sera Refférmé a La
carboniere pour y Demurèr plus Longtemps
qu'il n'auroit fait Condamné a une
amande de trente Livres que Les prieurs
et jurés Du Corps Des Cordonieres autres
que Galon qui ne quitta point Le Capitaine
De quartier, seront mis a La charboniere
pour y Demurér jusqués a nouvel ordre est
Condamné Le Corps desd. Cordonieres attendu
qu'ils ont été prèsque tous delinquants as
une amande de trois Cent Livres, sauf a
se Réglér entre eux, et a ceux qui n'ont
point quitté Leur Capitaine de se faire
Dechargér De La Contribution a Lad. Amende
et a L'égard des autres plaignats qui son
actuellément a L'hotel Deville, pour Des
Corps et autres insultes par eux Recues

Les avons Renvoyé après midy et avons signé
Et attendu L'importance Des faits cý dessus
nous avons estimé qu'il estoit apropos De
faire scavoir a La Cour ce qui s'estoit
passé et Les ord. Ces par nous Randües et
ayant chargé me fêdon greffier De scavoir
si La Cour puvoit nous Donner audience
ce matin il nous auroit Repondu qu'elle estoit
Disposée a nous entendre.

A L'instant nous serions allés en grand
chambre, accompagnés De mr. De St. Louis
major et De trois Capit.nes De quartier et entrés
avons en presence de messieurs Les gens Du
Roy Représenté a La Cour ce qui sétait sétait passé
Le jourd'hier, et La conduite que Nous avons
tenüe. La priant De faire faire Lecture De
nostre procès verbal cý dessus aprêques quoy
estant sortis De La chambre, Nous y avons
été Rapellés, après que La Cour a eu pris
sa Determination, et estants rentrés.

Monsieur Le Premier president a
prononcé que La Cour avoit oüy La Lecture

de nostre procès verbal, qu'elle aprouvoit
La conduite que nous avions tenüe et toutes
Les peines que nous avions prononcées
quelle y trouvoit seulement une trop grande
moderation, mais quellè attribuoit cette
Douceur a celle de peres De La patrie, quelle
nous exhortoit a continuer De prendre Connaissance
de tous Les divers effets D'accusation contre
Les autres delinquants et De Les punir
Comme nous jugerions juste et Legitime
L'intention de La Cour estant De soutenir
nostre autorité après quoy nous nous serions
Retirés a L'hotel De ville. ou nous avons
ajouté L'arrest De La Cour a nostgre present
procès verbal, et ordonné quil sera par
nous continué De prendre Connoissance de
tous Les faits arrivés Le jourdhier fais
a aix L'an et jour que Dessus Signe Gensolen
asesse d'aix procureru du pays, Bonfils c d'aix procureur du
pays. Grassy C. daix procureur du pays.

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- IV. A.M.C. - Archives Municipales à Cavaillon
- V. B.N. - Bibliothèque Nationale de France
- VI. B.M. - Bibliothèque Méjanes à Aix-en-Provence
- VII. M.V.A. - Musée du Vieil Aix
- VIII. M.A. - Musée Arbaud

I. ARCHIVES NATIONALES DE FRANCE

H1/1184
to 1194

Provence: Estates, from 1723 to 1731: instructions and documents relevant to the Estates; documents relating to the *cahiers*. (1690-1732).

H1/1263
and /1264

Troops and militia. (1726-1765).

H1/1271
and /1272

Election of *procureurs du pays et des consuls d'Aix*.

H1/1284

Letters and documents addressed by the Intendant de LeBret to the Comptroller General of France from 1722 to 1733 on various matters.

H1/1300
and /1301

Letters re-establishing the Estates, municipal offices; cities of Marseille, Aix, Manosque, Toulon, etc. (1716-1790).

H1/1307
and /1308

Various matters: navigation between Provence and Corsica. (n.b. The House de Conti assets included property in Corsica. Stopping in Aix, en route to Corsica, presented a potential explanation of the presence in Aix-en-Provence of the Princess de Conti. This proved not to be the case.)

- H1/1643
to /1650 Various matters and procedures: *remonstrances* from various Parlements and responses from the King. (1707-1767).
- K/544 Births and royal marriages. (1713-1732).
- K/692 b Political Bodies: General Estates and Provincial Assemblies: convocations, official records, instructions, *cahiers*, memoirs and correspondence: Provence 1453-1789.
- K/570
to /574 Conti Papers. 1323-1786. /570: Family papers and items pertaining to the rank and privileges of the House de Conti. (1641-1786). /571: Estates. /572 and /573 Titles of the House, XVIII Century. /574: Correspondence.(1664-1771).
- K/724 I-II Requests from the princes to Parlement. 1606-1788. 131 items. (n.b. the prince de Conti had referred a family dispute to Parlement in 1725 with potential effects on the princess's status after his death in 1727.)
- K/1712 Ceremonial: Court etiquette and precedents pertaining to princesses of the blood (11). (1560-1806).
- K/1717 Instances of ceremonial mourning from 1576 to 1732, 8 items.
- Q/1/79 Land Titles: Domains of Provence XVII and XVIII Centuries, 80 items originating from the Council on Royal Finances. (Relevant to ascertain the reason why the Princess de Conti might have been traveling through or to Aix-en-Provence.)
- Q/1/80
to /82 Titles for the surrounding areas of Marseille XVII and XVIII Centuries, 80 items, Aix, 81 and Tarascon XVI-XVIII Centuries, 82 items.
- R/3 The House de Conti, 303 items.
- R/3/83 Succession of Louis-Armand de Bourbon-Conti.
- R/3/98 Succession of the Princess de Conti.
- R/3/116 Information pertaining to the succession of Louise-Elisabeth de Bourbon-Conti. (Accounts for the years 1730-1734).

R/3/119
to 121 Memoirs and titles, inventories pertaining to the persons and possessions of the House de Conti, and prepared on the occasion of court actions or successions. XVIII Century.

R/3/242
/254/255 Registers of decisions taken by various councils of the House de Conti. (1655-1745).

II. ARCHIVES DEPARTEMENTALES DES BOUCHES-DU-RHONE

B 3402 (1728 - F 212). Deliberation of the syndics of the Arts and Crafts of Aix relative to the expenditures of that association for the Fête-Dieu and Saint-Jean. (10 May 1728).

B 3403 (1728 - F 413). Antoine Laurens, merchant of Aix and his debtors: (22 June 1729).

B 3404 (1730 - F 79). Letters patent for the office of usher in Parlement for provision François Caseneuve. (Paris, 7 January 1730).

_____ (1730 - F 102). Cobblers: extraordinary expenditures.

_____ (1730 - F 290).

_____ (1730 - F 369). Deliberations of the corps of shoemakers of Aix relating to taxation, 20 March 1730.

_____ (1730 - F 620). Letters patent for the office of councillor in the sénéchaussée of Aix for François de Laurens de Bruys: (Fontainebleau, 24 May 1730).

_____ (1730 - F 651).

_____ (1730 - F 915). Resignation.

_____ (1730 - F 918).

_____ (1730 - F 950).

B 3405 (1731 - F 79) Right of apprenticeship paid for the purpose of establishing a workshop. (21 January 1731).

_____ (1731 - F 207) Carpenters.

B 3589 Bundle of one item. Conflict between Parliament and the Governor on the issue of rank and precedence. XVIII Century.

- B 3593 Bundle. Information on customs, habits and mores. (1775-1789).
- B 3596 Bundle. 23 items including:
 Admonition of the edicts by the Comte de Grignan on the election of consuls, state prosecutors and other municipal officers of the city of Aix.
 Material on the disruptions which occurred in the province during the contagion (09.1722-10.1723). Note: the plague devastated Aix-en-Provence in August 1721 with long term effects.
 Parliamentary Writ forbidding individuals from gathering at night, creating noise or beating with clubs, and forbidding all boys, travelers, artisans from carrying canes or sticks in the streets of the cities of the province, with the exception of those with infirmities.
 Varia (1708-1781).
- B 3674 Deliberations.
- B 3959 Audiences.
- B 4422
 to 4430 Criminal Hearings.
- B 4461
 bis - ter Varia. (1700-1790).
- Extracts from audiences:
- B 4476* (24 April 1724 - 31 April 1729).
- B 4477* (31 January 1729 - 28 May 1733).
- Extracts from audiences of the Chambre Tournelle:
- B 4486* (7 April 1718 - 2 August 1738).
- B 5292
 & 5493 Arrests re Trial: Wig-makers apply to withdraw from the Guilds of Trades and Crafts. (1727).

Criminal Arrests:

- B 5443* Register including the names of persons condemned by
 B 5599* parliament or *mise hors de cours*, with reasons and date of arrest.
 B 5659* (1719-1741).
 B 5661*
- B 6065* *Arrêts à la Barre*. (18 May 1703 - 26 April 1732).
- B 6271 Bundle of five items. Among the proceedings of this trial is evidence relating to the difficulty in arranging for a *Chambre mixte* to sit in judgement in this case.
- 4 B 14 Royal Letters.(1718-1735).
- 4 B 113 Insinuations.(1729-1735).

Audiences:

- 4 B 453 Submissions. (January-June 1727).
 4 B 454 Submissions. (July-December 1727).
 4 B 455 Appointments. (1727).
 4 B 461 Appointments. (1729).
 4 B 462 (1730 January-June): wig-makers mentioned in context.
 4 B 463 (1730 July-December).
 4 B 464 Submissions. (1730-1731).

Criminal Audiences:

- 4 B 622 (1730).

Sentences:

- 4 B 941 (1727).
 4 B 942 (1728).
 4 B 943 (1729-1730).
 4 B 944 (1729-1749). Submissions, sentences and deficiencies.

Sentences: *Sénéchaussée* of Aix-en-Provence.

- 4 B 1073 (1729-1730).

III. ARCHIVES MUNICIPALES A AIX-EN-PROVENCE

According to the inventory by Maurice Raimbault: Summary inventory of the Municipal Archives of Aix-en-Provence before 1790.

AA - Collection of Edicts. Ordinances on various matters. (1727-1733).

AA 55 F 27 Ceremonial rank and precedence rulings:
 “Cérémonial observé à l’Hôtel de Ville d’Aix pour les élections municipales; les fêtes du Roi; de St-Antoine, de St-Sébastien, de la purification des Rameaux, du Jeudi, du Vendredi et du Samedi Saints; les fêtes de Pâques, de St-Marc, les Rogations, la Pentecôte, la fête de Saint-Maximim; la nomination des officiers pour la Fête-Dieu; les jeux de la Fête-Dieu et de l’Octave; l’élection du Roi des Arquebusiers; les fêtes de la Visitation, de la Transfiguration, de l’Assomption, de St-Roche; la procession du Voeu de la peste; l’ouverture de la session du Parlement; les fêtes de Toussaint, de St-Mitre.”

_____ F 51 Visit of the Consuls to the Princess of Monaco with best wishes upon the forthcoming wedding of her daughter to Monseigneur de Matignon. (13 October 1715). (Statement to the effect that offerings are forthcoming from the Consuls only upon the first visit of dignitaries to the city. This provides an indication that this was the first visit of the Princess de Conti and her son, given that they received official gifts upon their arrival in Aix-en-Provence.)

_____ F 55 Visit to the Archbishop upon his return from Paris where he had been for eight months. (22 mars 1716). Evidence in support of various historians’ statements that holders of religious offices in Aix spent little time in the diocese. (29 December 1715).

_____ F 56 Welcome to the Maréchal de Villars, Governor of the Province. (22 March 1716). Cross-reference to BB 107 F 231 and HH 4 F 131.

_____ F 60 Welcome to the Comte de Médary, Lieutenant-general commander of Provence. (9 June 1719) Provides basis of comparison re gifts, guard duty, representation of members of the Guild of Arts and Crafts.

_____ F 61 Visit to the Chevalier d’Orléans, Grand Prieur de France, arriving from

Malta. (31 October 1719). Provides evidence of the presence of Orléans in Aix, comparison of reception given to this relative of the Conti branch in the House de Bourbon.

_____ F 67 Conflict of precedence between the Consuls and the Treasurers of France on the occasion of the breakfast offered by the Chapter on the feast of the Fête-Dieu. (15 June 1724).

_____ F 69 New conflict relating to the breakfast offered by the Chapter. (31 May 1725).

_____ F 70 Passage of the Duc de Richelieu on his return trip from an ambassadorial visit to the Emperor; and of M. de Villeneuve on his way to assume his ambassadorial duties in Constantinople. The Consuls will not greet them given the tradition that this honour is offered only to princes and Marshals of France.

_____ F 71 Letter from Louis XV advising the Consuls of the birth of the Dauphin. (4 September 1729).
Ceremony upon this occasion. (18 September 1729).

_____ F 73 Reception in honour of the Archbishop Mgr. de Brancas. (17 October 1729).

_____ F 76 Reception in honour of the Dowager Princess de Conti and her son. (24 May 1730).

_____ F 78 Conflict of precedence and fights occurring on that occasion between the corporation of shoemakers and that of the wig-makers, etc. (24 May 1730).

_____ F 88 Celebration of the Fête-Dieu. (8 June 1730). Record of rank and precedence followed on that occasion, in the aftermath of the 24th of May incident.

_____ F 91 Passage of Don Carlos, Infanta of Spain, on his way to take possession of the principalities of Parma and Plaisance. (2 December 1731).

_____ F 93 Reception in honour of the Marquis de Villars, Governor of Provence. (9 March 1734). (Featured five companies of bourgeois guards).

AA 56 Ruling by the Parliament maintaining the Consuls' position behind the dais,

their torch carriers and others in their retinue, assigned to them during the procession of the Fête-Dieu, by the ruling of May 23, 1717, a position of rank and precedence that the *prieurs* of the Corpus Domini claimed for themselves whenever the Cour des Comptes did not attend this ceremony. (27 June 1764).

- AA 57 Trial and conflicts with Parliament. (1627-1739).
- _____ Refusal of the Consuls to enter the Parquet with their retinue “so as not to allow *Messieurs les gens du Roi* to draw some advantage in the future” from such a precedent. (1710-1711).
- _____ Trial against Mr. Bellon, *Premier Huissier du Parlement*, who had surreptitiously followed members of this Court at the adoration of the Cross, on Holy Friday, unduly assuming by so doing, upon the rank and precedence of the Consuls.
- AA 60 (1671-1788).
- _____ Deliberations of the Guilds of Arts and Crafts to allocate among themselves the levy imposed upon them to cover the costs of the Fête-Dieu and the Bravade de Saint-Jean. (25 April 1727).
- _____ Parliamentary ruling on behalf of Joseph Gal, master shoemaker, *abbé*, granting him the *droit de pelote* and exemption from paying communal taxes for himself and his children. (18 June 1732).
- _____ Other ruling obliging the wig-makers to contribute like other guilds to the presentation of subjects for the diverse functions of the Games of the Fête-Dieu and the *Bravade*. (5 May 1736).
- AA 61 (1470-1654) Ceremonial.
- AA 61 Trial against the *économe* of the Chapter of Saint-Sauveur for the rank and precedence that the Consuls sought for themselves in the procession of St-Sebastian. Their request having been denied, one of the Consuls, the Seigneur de Canet, followed by some sixty domestics and persons of low condition, had taken sword in hand and with the cry of “*Vive le Roi*” had disrupted the procession, throwing *chanoines* to the ground and stepping on them.(21 January 1470).
- BB 3 Register.

_____ F 3 6 Allocation across all the communities of the *viguerie*. of the loss caused by the resale of wheat that the Consuls of Aix had bought in March and April 1729 at the time of the famine.

BB 107 (1709-1719).

_____ F 4 Decision stating that the wheat of the city will be distributed only to poor artisans and farmers of the city and of the countryside to the exclusion of *rentiers, megers, grangers* and valets of the countryside. (22 April 1709).

_____ F 1 90 Plan of the Place St-Honoré. Conflict with the Cour des Comptes on the itinerary of the procession of the Petite Fête-Dieu. (1 July 1715).

_____ F 2 31 Welcome reception for the Maréchal de Villars, Governor of Provence, upon his arrival in Provence for the first time. (Cross-reference to AA 55 Folio 56 and HH 4 Folio 131).

BB 108 Deliberations of the Conseil. (May 1719 - October 1731).

_____ F 9 Capitaines de quartiers. (1729).

_____ F 3 7 Passage of the Princess of Modena, daughter of the Regent.

_____ F 4 5 First measures taken against the plague. (31 July 1720).

_____ F 5 0 Order from M. DeCaylers, opening of the city of Aix given that the epidemic has ceased. (10 October 1721).

_____ F 1 3 2 Letter providing for the Office of Lieutenant Governor of the City of Aix, on behalf of the Duc de Villars. (Paris, 8 October 1723).

_____ F 2 2 4 Adoption of the principle of the building of casernes.

_____ F 2 3 2 Laying of the initial stone, by the First President and Intendant, for the Casernes, including a facsimile of the inscription on this stone. (Cross-reference to CC 754).

Measures undertaken to provide for the expense of this construction: corvées of peasants to dig foundations and carry stones and sand; lottery for capital of 4000 livres; taxation of 4,000 livres imposed on the Corps of Arts and Crafts for sleeping accomodation; allocation by class upon every individual subject to military service.

- _____ F 267 Pretention by the wig-makers to be excluded from the corps of Arts and Crafts in order not to have to pay the fees for the Abbé de Jeunesse and the tax for the casernes. (Cross-reference to CC 754 F 401 and HH 15 F 4).
- _____ F 316 Criticism by the Assesseur of the inscriptions carved on the Casernes.
- _____ F 321 Monsieur Bonfils Seigneur de Peiresc.(21 May 1730).
- _____ F 341 Enlargement of the Casernes. (19 November 1730).
- BB 109 F 19 Consideration of the advantages for the city of acquiring the office of Viguiier. Statement of the rights and responsibilities of that office.
- BB 159
- _____ F 130 Acquisition for the amount of 1,445 livres 4 s of a property in the quartier de St-Pierre, belonging to Claire Olivier, widow of Louis Anglesy, for the purpose of the construction of the military barracks. (27 January 1729).
- _____ F 197 Contract with Elizabeth Fregier for the washing of the linen for the military barracks. (19 February 1731).

Serie CC: A - Fiscal documentation: capitation directe, levadour.

- CC 4 Declaration of the King pertaining to the establishment of the capitation together with the rate of tariff for 22 classes. (Versailles, 18 January 1695).
- CC 4 to 73 Base Registers for the years 1695 to 1782.
- CC 7 Inventory: 1. Demography
 2. Socio-professions (complete)
 3. Individuals (partial)
- Register of 641 folios including 568 pertaining to the city and its faubourgs.
- CC 51 1715. Registre de la capitation: état des maisons et familles.
- CC 60 Roll for the quartier St-Augustins.(1719).
- CC 63 Capitation 1720: quartier des Cordeliers.

- CC 65 1741. Register for the capitation: list of the houses and families.
- CC 86 1697. Directe universelle: quartier Cordeliers and Faubourg.
- CC 87 1697. Directe universelle: quartier Bellegarde.
- CC 88 1697. Directe universelle: quartier Augustins. "Raportoire général de tous les propriétaires de maisons et locataires dicelles du cartier concernant les repartitions et règlement faits tant aux propriétaires que locataires pour raison de l'abonnement de la directe universelle déclarée en faveur du Roy."
- CC 754 F 401 Intendant's Ordinance requiring that the Corps of Arts and Crafts provide for the cost of a certain number of military beds in consideration of the advantages that the said Corps will derive from the construction of military barracks. (27 January 1727). Cross-reference to BB 108 F 567.
- _____ F 709 Expenditures for the said construction.
- CC 756 Supporting documentation.
- CC 757 1730-31: Statement of accounts by Jacques Daubergue, Treasurer. (Janvier to 31 December 1730)
- Série FF - Justice, Procedure, Police Matters.
- FF 78 F 218 Sentencing of Carmagnole, master shoemaker requiring that he release Guillaume. retained despite the fact that his apprenticeship was completed and whom he whipped.
- FF 78 F 234 Sentencing to a fine of 200 livres of Jean-Baptiste Brunache, carpenter, for having left his workbench on the street causing the death of a child and serious injury to another.
- FF 140 1730-1768. Registration of the status/privileges of the Corps of Arts and Crafts.
- Série GG: Complete documentation is relevant. Census of the protected sector of Aix under the direction of MM. Jean Sonnier et Jean-Louis Taupin. 2,200 items from this inventory. (1965-1966).
- GG 145 F 4 Bundle. Auberges de l'aigle d'or et des trois juments: bâtiments du collège de la Doctrine. (1697-1710).

Source: J. Sonnier et J.-L. Taupin. Aix-en-Provence. plan de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur, 1969. As quoted by Jean Paul Coste, 1043.

- GG 146 F 4 Bundle. Auberges des trois couronnes et de la croix blanche.(1686-1720).
- GG 483 Collège royal de Bourbon (1710).
 “Prieure de Tourves - Procès contre les marguilliers de la confrérie de St-Honoré au sujet de la place que devaient respectivement occuper dans la procession de St-Maurice les reliques de St-Blaise et de St-Honoré. Les marguilliers soutenus par presque tous les boulangers et regattiers armés de bâtons avaient bousculé la procession et menacé de brûler la chasse de St-Blaise si on lui donnait le pas sur celle de St-Honoré.”
- GG 544 Bundle. 58 Items. Court documents.
- HH 11 F 391 Register. Pages relating to artisans.
- HH 14 Corporation d'Arts et Métiers Barbiers, Perruquiers, Baigneurs, étuvistes.(1673-1726).
 _____ F 4 Letters patent authorizing the creation of the corporation.
 _____ F 12 Twenty positions established in the city of Aix. (March 1643: Edict of the King).
 _____ F 70 “Levée des 20 membres qui sous le commandement de Dubois et Drouart, maîtres, feront partie de la garde d'honneur des ducs de Bourgogne et de Berry attendus à Aix. Ces hommes auront pour insigne au chapeau “un noeud de ruban blanc de l'ordre et un bord d'argent fin” (28 February 1701).
 _____ F 270 “Recensement des enfants des membres du corps, de 16 à 40 ans, célibataires qui devront tirer au sort pour la Milice.” (22 April 1726).
- HH 15 Agriculture, Industrie, Commerce. Corporation of Arts and Crafts. Barbers, wig-makers, bathers and steamers. Deliberations and statements of accounts.(1726-1740).
 _____ F 4 Refusal to contribute to the provision of military beds until the courts have considered the case submitted by the corps against Consuls to withdraw from the Corps of Arts and Crafts given that the masters who are members have been granted letters of the Great Seal. (12 January 1727).
 (Cross-reference to BB 108 F 567 and CC 754 F 401).
- HH 15 F 8 Regulation to the effect that when the guild will take arms, the four Jurés

will walk at the head, the four *Prieurs* behind them, and finally *Maîtres* according to the rank and precedence of their reception. (11 September 1729).

- _____ F 54 Court case against the Prieurs of the Holy Spirit who persisted in choosing one of their numbers among wig-makers despite the findings of Parlement forbidding such a practice.(27 May 1729).
- _____ F 71 Raising of a guard of honour of 50 men for the visit of the Princess de Conti. Three oboes will precede this guard and in the evening, the whole corps will partake of a banquet. (23 May 1730).
- _____ F 159 Loan of 800 livres for the costs of the Fête-Dieu. (10 June 1736).
- _____ F 160 Details of the expenditures for this occasion.
- HH 20 F 165 Daily entries of the expenditures and receipts of the treasurer from 5 August 1686 to 4 September 1738. Catalogue of masters and the date of their confirmation.
- HH 41 Corporation of Arts and Crafts: Shoemakers (1453-1789).
- HH 41 F 1 Confirmation of privileges and statutes granted by Henri III. (Paris, July 1584).
- _____ F 3 Text of these statutes in 16 articles, as submitted to the King.
- _____ F 24 Conflict with the guild of tailors relating to rank and precedence on the occasion of the ceremonial entry of M. de Brancas, lieutenant du Roi. (29 novembre 1719).
- _____ F 123 Placing under arms of 50 men for the ceremonial arrival of Don Carlos. (2 December 1731).
- _____ F 131 *Levée* for the ceremonial entrance of Maréchal de Villars. (3 mars 1734).
- _____ F 148 Letters from the King granting masterships. (1724).
- HH 41 F 216 Acquisition of the offices of Assesneur to which offices the incumbent sought to include the procuracy du pays. (16 April 1693).

- _____ F 288 Confirmation of statutes and privileges by Louis XIII. (Marseille, November 1622).
- _____ F 290 Maximum salary for garçons set at 5 *sous* per pair of delicate shoes; 4 *sous* for common shoes; 12 *sous* for boots. (11 November 1637).
- HH 42 Increase of the salary of garçons in consideration of the high costs of essentials.(20 November 1719).
- HH 42 F 11 New regulations pertaining to levies in order to provide for an equitable allocation across the businesses of each of the masters.(16 November 1718).
- _____ F 24 Conflict of precedence with the corps of tailors on the occasion of the entry of M. de Brancas, the King's lieutenant. (29 November 1719).
Cross-reference to HH 41 F 24.
- _____ F 28 Payment to the officers and soldiers of the corps who will be assisting in the entry of the Princess of Modena. (5 May 1720).
Cross-reference to BB 108 F 37.
- _____ F 51 Lowering of the salary of workers to respond to the will of the King that the price of goods be lowered. (3 May 1724).
- _____ F 72 Allocation of 200 *livres* for 10 beds to be provided for the barracks that are to be built.(6 February 1727).
- _____ F 112 Fine.
- _____ F 123 50 men to be placed under arms for the arrival of Don Carlos. (2 December 1731). (Cross-reference to HH 41 F 123).
- HH 42 F 161 Proclamation of Parlement dated 29 April on the attendance of corporations in processions. (1741).
- _____ F 169 Statements of the pensions paid annually by the corps and other expenditures.
- HH 43 F 40 The traditional order for the march in processions that Prieurs wanted to modify is to be maintained. (20 janvier 1757).
- _____ F 158 Raising of 40 men for the festivities in honour of the birth of the Dauphin. They will be dressed: "d'un drap couleur verdois (sic) collet et

parement rouges, d'une veste.”

VI. ARCHIVES MUNICIPALES A CAVAILLON

- AA - 4 Ceremonies..
- BB 21 F 376 “Registre Délibérations de Conseil de la commune de Cavaillon 21e volume 12 .03. 1724-31-08.1733.: Requestre de l'Ordre de son Excellence au sujet du passage de son Altesse madame la princesse de Conti et monsieur le prince de Conti son fils.”
- CC - 346 “Role des gans queicy balies par ordre des messieurs les consuls eze anciens les ofsiers de la bravalors du passage de madame la princesse de Conti.”

V. BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

Section: Maps and Plans

- Ge. AF. 28 (62) Guillaume Delisle: Map of Provence and surrounding territories.
- Ge. AF. Pf. 203 (463 a-b) Bernard Jaillot. (A.4) Cordier L. Map specific to postal routes of France dated 1689.
- Ge. AF. Pf. 204 (464) Nicolas de fer 1700. The postal routes of France. (Photograph: 92C159517).
- Ge. B. 338 Aix 1769. New plan of the city of Aix and the old as depicted in its three divisions by Esprit Devoux (Aix) H. Cousin.
- Ge. BB. 565 IX(44) Guillaume Delisle. Provence, 1717. ¶
- Ge. C. 1270 France (postal stations). Robert, G. Map of the Kingdom of France with exact depictions of the postal routes by the Seigneur Robert. (1758).
- Ge. CC. 1244 Anonymous. Compendium of maps of France including (124) Provence 1715, a map of Provence and its surrounding area by Guillaume Delisle, Deroziers.
- Ge. DD. 2624 (59) 1667 and Ge DD. 2625 (57). 1667. Counties and governments of

Provence together with the surrounding countryside, the Comtat Venaissin, Principality of Orange, Comtat of Nice. By the Seigneur Samson, Paris: L'Authaun, 166, 1 sheet in colour 460X420.

Ge. FF 2429 Aix 1728: Capital of Provence Folio 42 of *Les Délices de la France*. Paris: Haak, 1728, 8, III.

Ge. EE 3671 bis. G. Arbellot. Autour des routes de postes. Bibliothèque nationale du Musée de la Poste. Les premières cartes routières de la France XVIIe - XIXe siècle. Paris: The National Library - Museum of the Post Office, 1992.

Ge. II II 686 Aix Capital of Provence. A. Leide, Caez Pierre Vander. XVIIIth century PL. 127.

Section: Etchings and Photography

D 066463, 066467 and D066495.

Louise Elizabeth de Bourbon, Princess de Conti, No. 63 - Collection Laruelle 194.

D 118733 Armand de Bourbon, Prince de Conti.

D 118774 Louise de Bourbon, Princess de Conti, by Pierre Gobert, Museum of Versailles.

D 118836 Louis-François de Bourbon, Prince de Conti, 1717-1776.

Section: Manuscripts: Western Division

Ms. Fr. 3481 Legal matters. (1727-1734).

Ms. Fr. 3501 Trades. Items relating to the administration of P. Cardin de LeBret, Intendant of Provence (1704-1734).

Ms. Fr. 3509 Various matters pertaining to the communitites. A-M. 308 items.

Ms. Fr. 8939 F 33. Letters and Ordinances. S.A.S. la princesse de Conti.

Ms. Fr. 8956 Original letters written by ministers, state advisors, archbishops and other prominent individuals in the early XVIIIth century.

Ms. Fr. 8961 Detentions, arrests, translations, orders of lettres de cachet. Manuscript M..

Monteuil.

- Ms. Fr. 11380 Letters from de LeBret, Intendant of Provence. Generalities relating to Provence, Languedoc, and Roussillon.
- Ms. Fr. 16756
/16759/22212 Pierre Cardin de LeBret: Recollections of Provence.
- Ms. Fr. 20561 Pierre Cardin de LeBret: Correspondence.
- Ms. Fr. 21.627 Tailors. (microfilm 6047).
- Ms. Fr. 21792 Folio 255 to 277. Barbers and Wig-makers. (microfilm 9637).
- Ms. Fr. 21793 Shoemakers. (1364-1738).
- Na. Fr. 8820
and 8962 Papers relating to the administration of Cardin de LeBret (1704-1734).
- Na. Fr. 8939 Correspondence and papers of Cardin de LeBret. (May-August 1730) (386 items).
- Na. Fr. 8954 Letters of the ministers addressed to LeBret, Intendant of Provence and relating to different cases before the courts. (1705-1733) (82 items including 33 letters).
- Na. Fr. 8956 Letters relating to the administration of this province. (1705-1734).
- Na. Fr. 8961 Letters from ministers addressed to LeBret relating to police administration. (1705-1733).
- Usuel 524 La Curne de Sainte-Palaye. Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien français in 4 volumes.
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NOTE TO USERS

Oversize maps and charts are microfilmed in sections in the following manner:

**LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM, WITH
SMALL OVERLAPS**

UMI

**ARMOIRIES
DE LA VILLE D'ARLES**



*R. Symond Berenger, Comte
de Provence donna ses Ar-
mes a la Ville d'Arles en
1238. Elles sont tirées de
un ancien bouclier des pè-
lerins dont de longueur qui est
attaché sur son Morelet dans
l'Eglise St Jean ou il fut in-
humé le 27. 8. 1245.*



Vue de la Place des Precheurs, et de la Fontaine R.

**INSCRIPTIONS
ROMAINES
TROUVÉES DANS LES
DECOMBRES DE LA
VILLE**

C. SENTIVS. C. PCN
PRO. COS. DE. LIGURIBUS
VICONTIS SALLUVESQ
ANNO XXVII. HLVI.
IMPERA. TEN. IN. DIE. III.

C. SEX. CALVINVS
HVVS. HVBS. CONDITOR.
HOS. AGROS. MERCVRIO.
CONSECRAVIT.

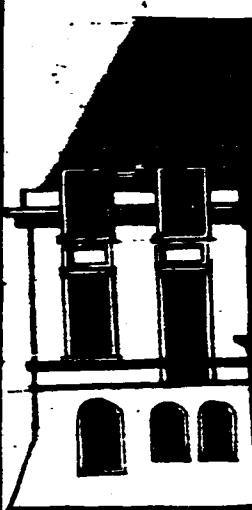
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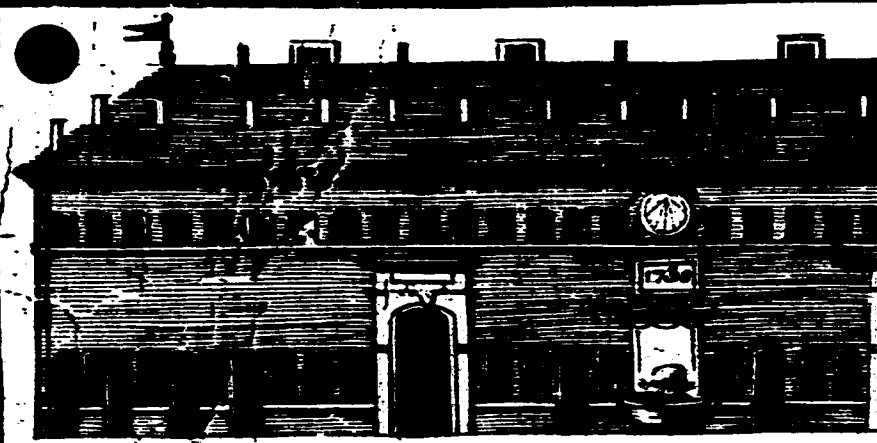
trouvée a l'Acqueduc de Thionville
C. SENTIVS. C. PCN



*L'Université des trois Facultés
Fondée le 31 Décembre 1413.*



*Palais de
Commerce en 1735*



LES CAZERNES BATIES E





NE DE LA
TOUR DE LA VILLE
CONSTRUCTION DE LA V



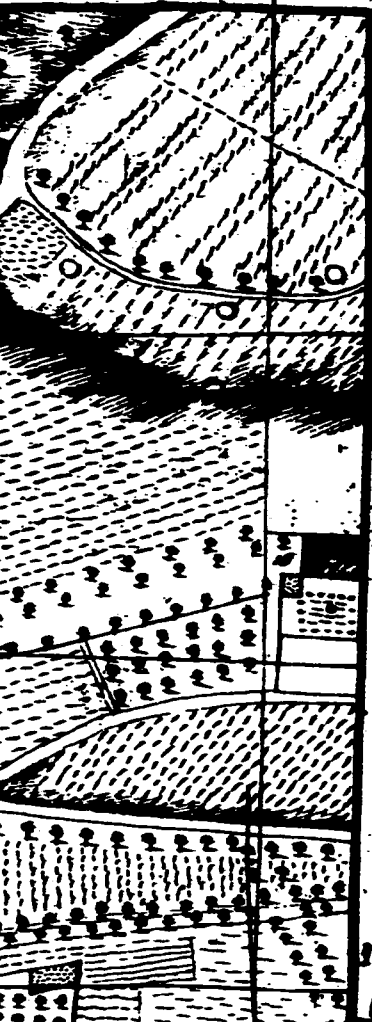
Les Chartreux
Les Carmes dechauffes
La Propagande
Lieu ou se trouvent incorporés dans les marbres les Covenens d'Honoré & de Poiffrenis

**RENOI
DU PLAN MODERNE
DE LA VILLE D'AI**

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| S ^t Sauveur metrop. et Paroisse | 39 les Penitens |
| S ^{te} Madeleine Paroisse | 40 les Penitens blanc |
| les S ^t Esprit Paroisse | 41 les Penitens gris dite Bourras |
| les Peres de la Doctrine Parr. | 42 S ^t Lazare |
| S ^t Jean Prévôt de Malthe | 43 S ^{te} Catherine |
| les Precheurs | 44 S ^t Eustache |
| les Cordeliers | 45 S ^{te} Croix |
| les grands Carmes | 46 S ^{te} Anne |
| les grands Augustins | 47 S ^t Roch |
| les Observantins | 48 l'Hopital S ^t Jacques |
| les Peres Servites | 49 l'Hopital de la Misericorde |
| les Minimes | 50 l'Hopital de la Charite |
| les Capucins | 51 l'Hopital des Incurables |
| les Prêtres de l'Oratoire | 52 les Filles du bon Pasteur |
| les Bénédictins | |

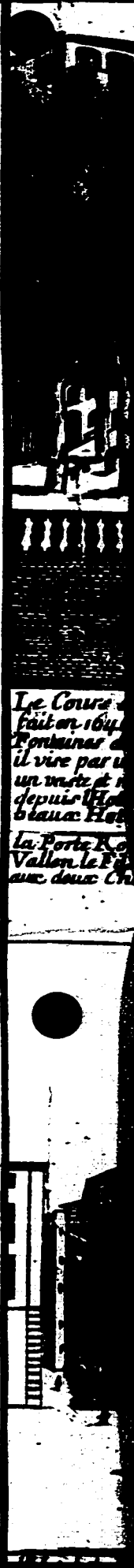
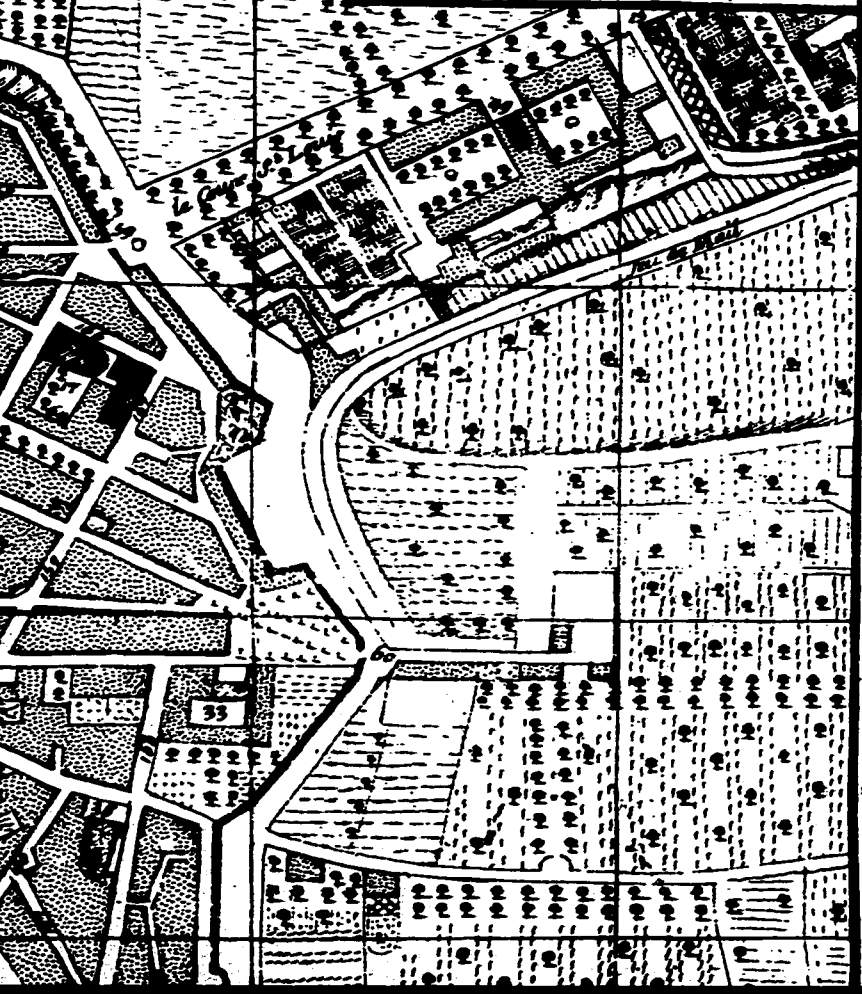
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5 G E S 312

*St Jean de l'Ordre
de Malte Sa Tour
élevée en 1230.*

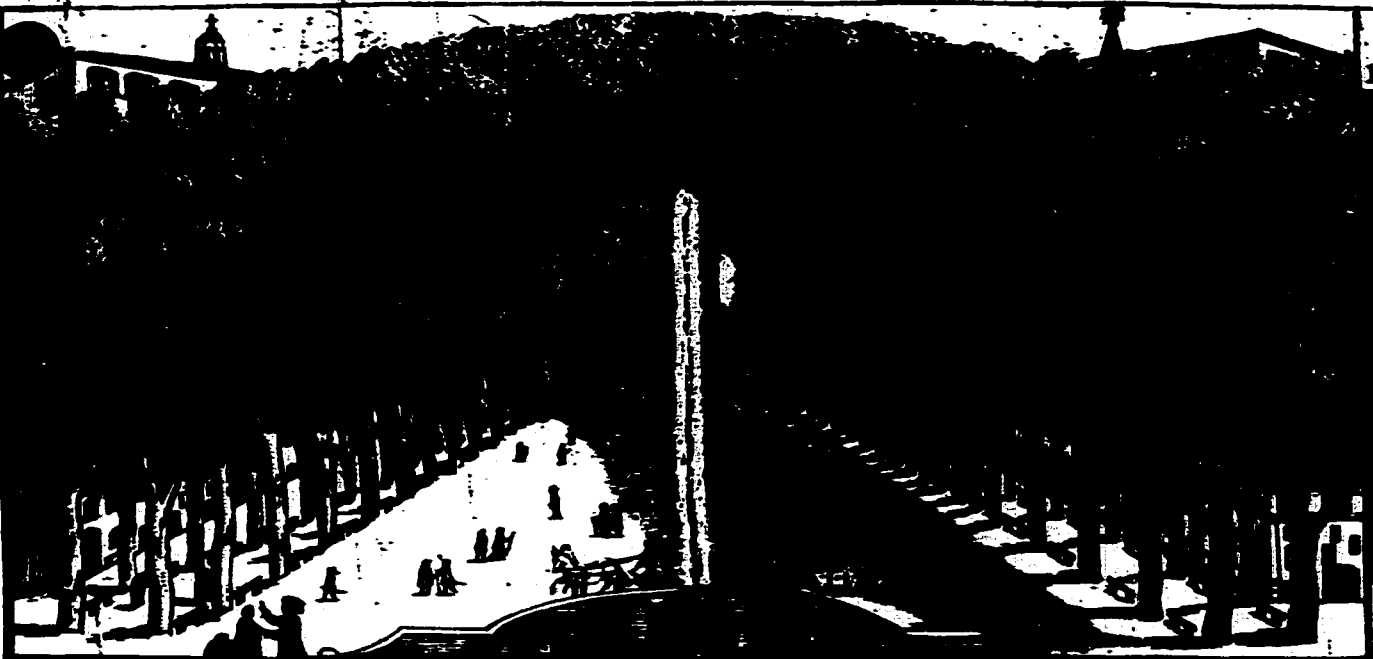


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*Le Cours
fait en 1641
Fontaines de
il vire par un
un mât et n
depuis l'Ho
blancs Fle*

*La Porte de
Vallon le P
aux deux Cr*

in de l'Ordre
de 32 Toises
terminé en 1230.



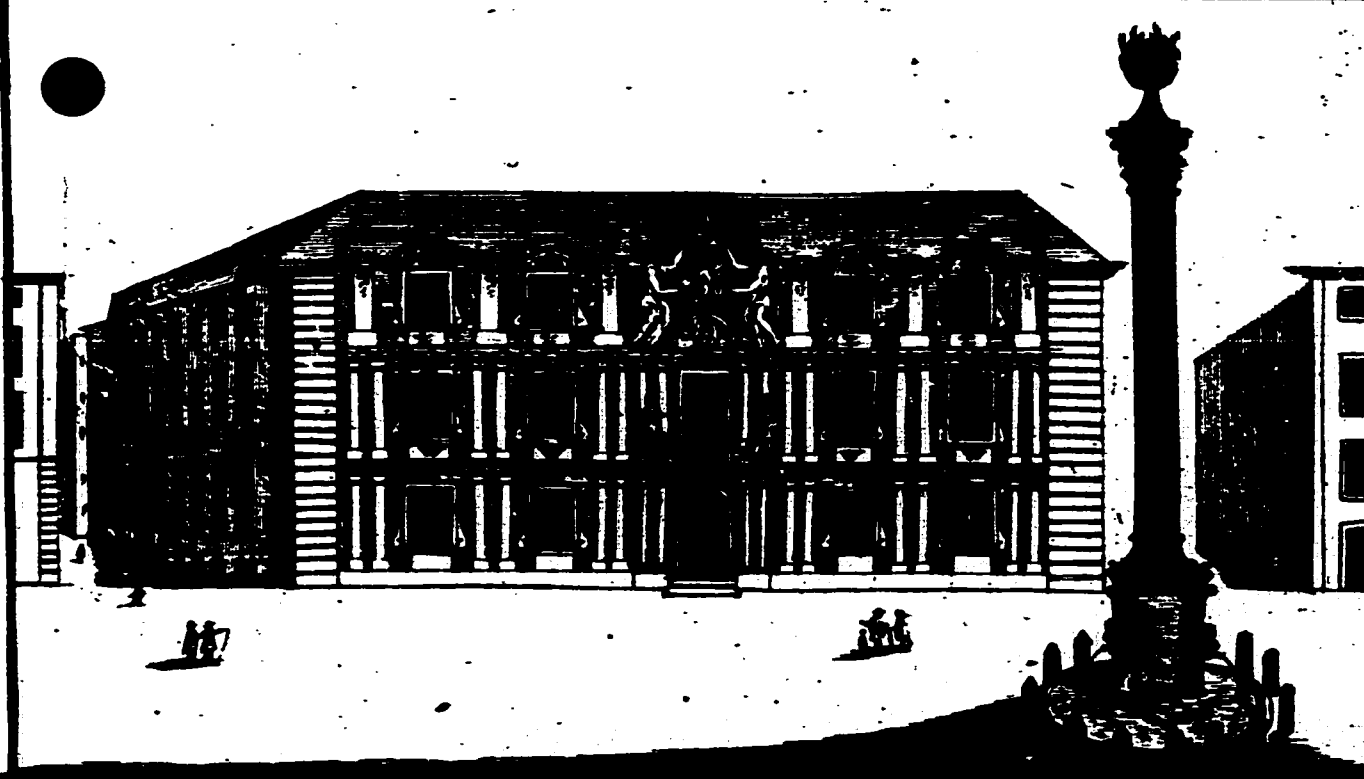
Le Cours de deux cents
fait en 1646. est orné de
Fontaines dont une est
il vire par une haute Ter-
un vaste et magnifique
depuis l'Hotel de Lorraine
blancs Hotels et Mais

La Porte Royale projé
Vallon le P^e Architecte
aux deux Chemins de



vingt huit Toises de long
belle et abondante
d'eau chaude et Minérale
mare en Balustrade sur
Territoire, il est formé
par les Facades de 40
ans et de 4 Monastères

le du chemin du S.^t
de la Province de
l'ans et de Marseille.



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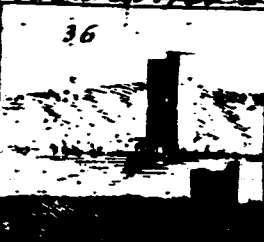


LES CAZERNES BATIES EN 1730.



le nouvel Edifice des Bains chauds et minéraux elevé en 1706 sur les ruines des Bains antiques des Romains par les Aquas septies qui donnerent le nom de leur Fondateur a la Ville d'Aix qui y bati dit jour.

Les 5 Aqueducs anciens qui portent les Eaux de Consernade, de Traconade, de Val d'Ar, de St Antonin, et de la Torre p. l'ancienne Ville, batis par les Ediles Romain.



Aqueduc par St Eutrope

Aqueduc par Remusat

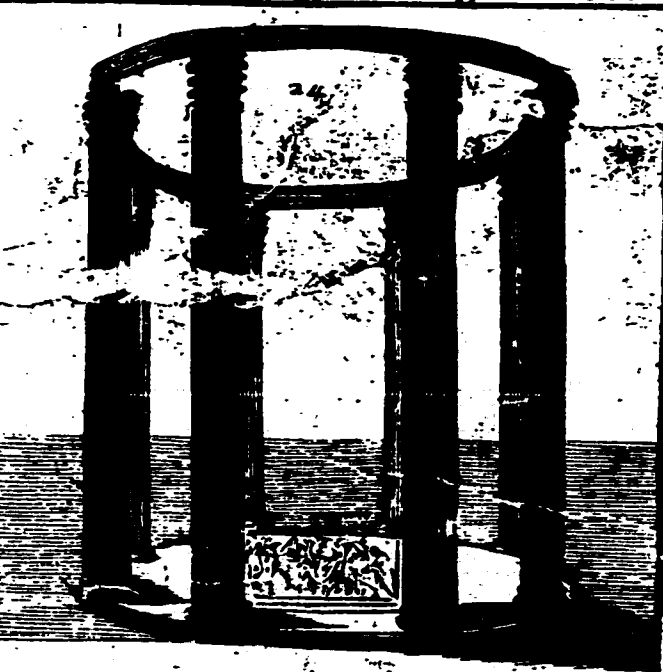
Aqueduc par les Pinchinats

Aqueduc par le Colond

Aqueduc par Meunier



Ruines du Bâtimens des Eaux chaudes de St Julien



Pierre placée par la Rotonde et intitulée au Trajane.



Bas-relief de Marthe place aux quaiement des Bains chauds de St Julien



Bas-relief de 3 pieds leur troux par le Te

Partie de l'ancien Temple dont 6 Colonnes de marbre vert & de granite. Elles ont 16 pieds et demi de hauteur. cette Colonnade apres avoir été démolie par les Romains, étoit de meme il y a trois Siecles sur les registres du Chapitre, et le Tab du temple qui est à costé.

Restes de Belin
de l'Eau chaude
de S. Simeon

Bas-relief de Marbre
trouvés au Belin de
l'Eau chaude de S. Simeon

Pierre placée près
la Rotonde et l'au-
tel du Bas-relief.

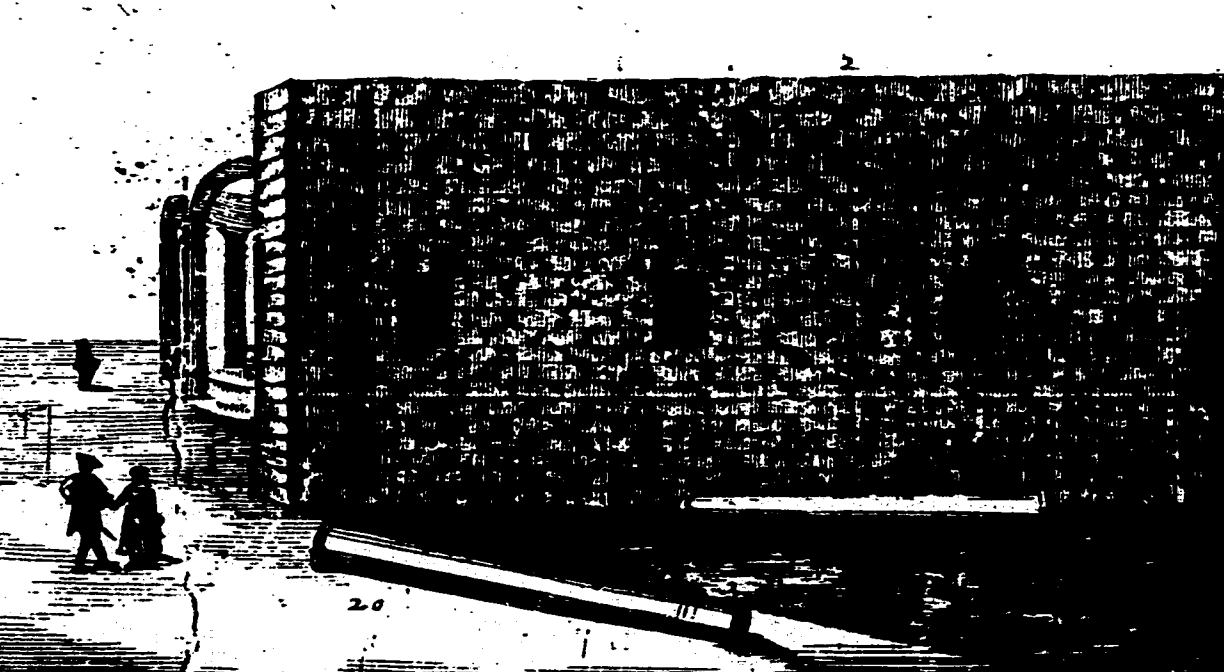
Bas-relief de 3 pieds
trouvé près le Te

Partie de l'ancien Temple dont 6 Colonnes de marbre vert, 2 de granite. Le
moderne, étoit de même il y a trois siècles suivant les registres du Chapitre, et le tal
des temps qui est à côté.



Partie d'un Bas-relief de marbre de 4 pieds de longueur, et de 2. pieds 3. pou-
de hauteur placé auprès de la Rotonde de 8. Colonnes dont il étoit l'A-
que l'on tira pour y substituer les Fontes Baptismaux de la Metropole, le cou-
de 8. pouces qui est à une des extrémités fait supposer que cet Autel avoit quatre

26



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Car Monuments des Romains existent en cet état en y précédant les batiss-
demeurs qui forment la Metropole. S. Sauveur qui y sont adhérentes. 1 Rotonde de 8 Co-
de marbre vert de 16. pieds et demi d'élévation sans le Chapiteau dont 2 de granite d'É-
2 l'Edifice qui renfermoit la Rotonde. 3 une des deux autres Colonnes de gr-
abattue, élevée le 12. Février 17.57. sur la Fontaine de l'Hotel de Ville.

ALGEMINVS SPADICA
FRATRIBVS.



trouée en 1755 dans l'enclos
du S. Martelli placée dans
la Maison de M. de Gaillard
Baron de Lonnumeau.

LOCVS S
AGER & PPOS
SACER S
IN FRON E S P S XI
IN AGRO S P S XII

decouvert en 1755 avec beaucoup
d'autres inscriptions et unes
annonciées dans l'enclos du S.
Martelli qui doit le Champ sacré



Buste en marbre de l'Empereur
Titus. Trouvé en 1719. placé chez
M. le S. de Bruc.



partie d'un pavement mosaïque
de 11 toises de longueur découvert
en 1759 dans la place des greniers

Pierre placée près
la Rotonde et il
est au Bartelief.

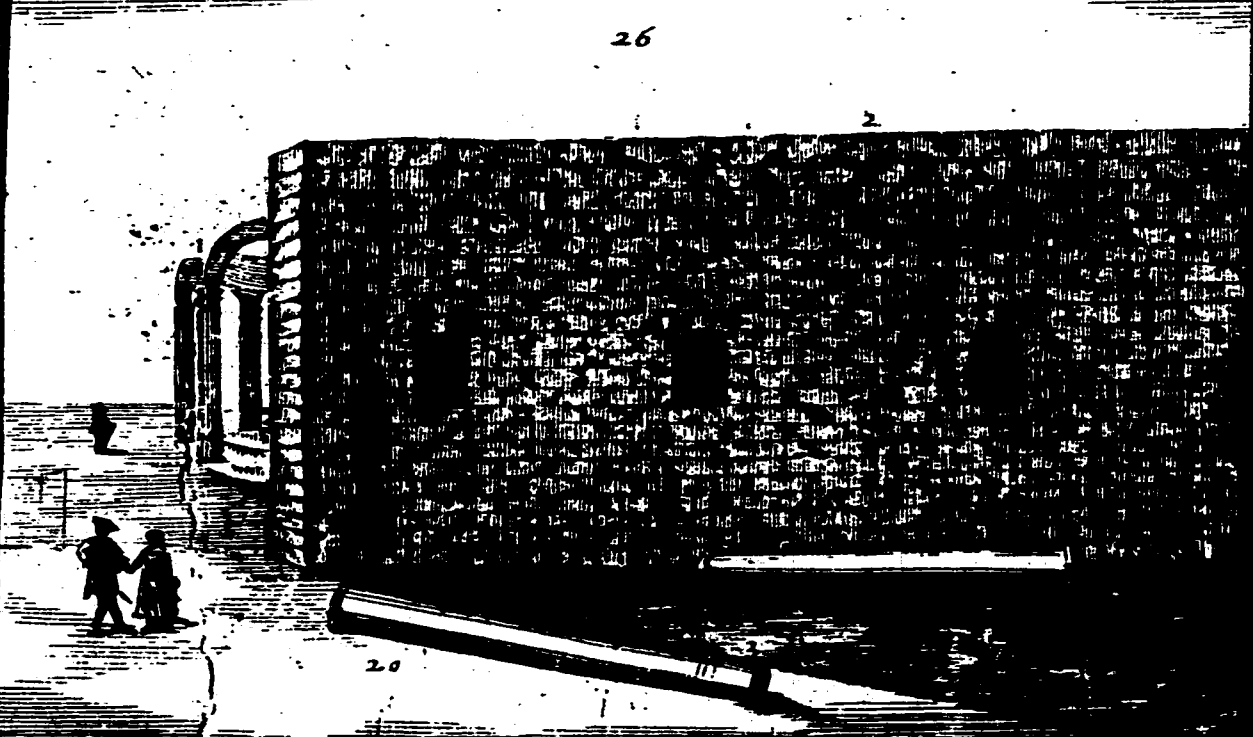
Partie de l'ancien Temple dont 6 Colomnes de marbre vert, 2 de granite. En
ont 16 pieds et demi de hauteur. cette Colonnade a présent couronné d'un D.
moderne, doit de meme il y a trois Siecles suivant les registres du Chapitre, et le tab
du temple qui est a costé.



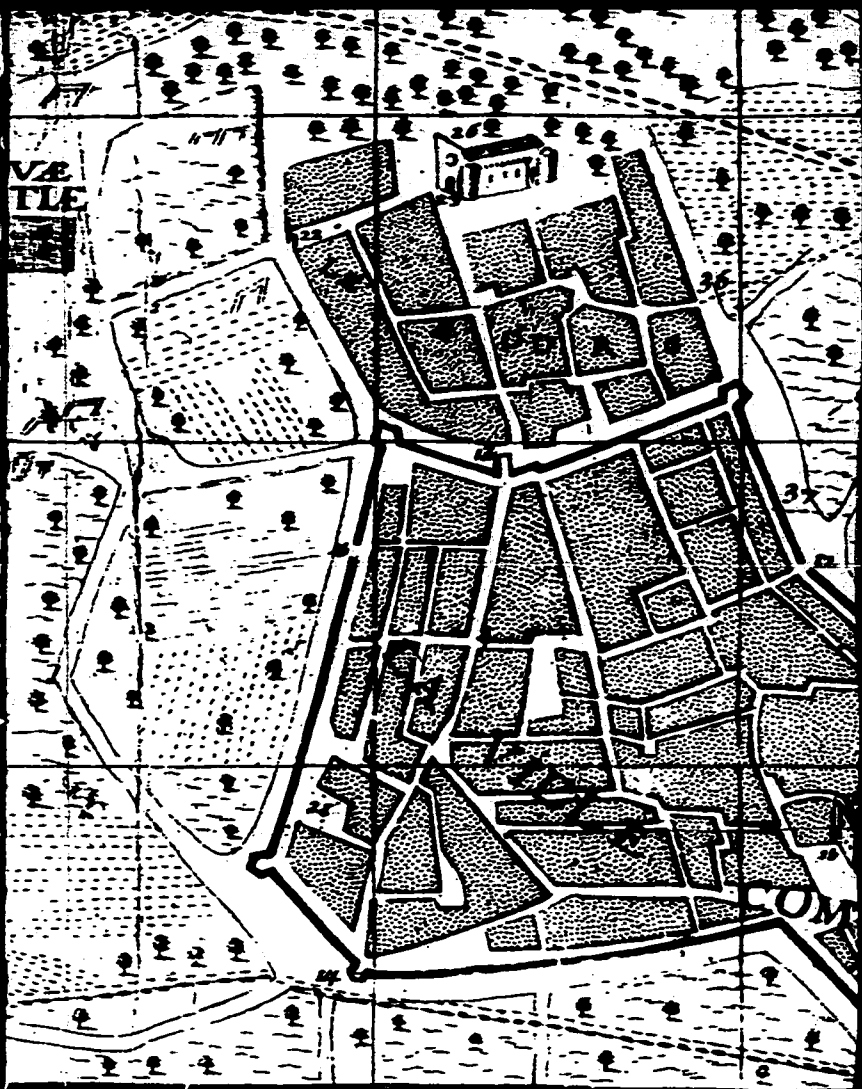
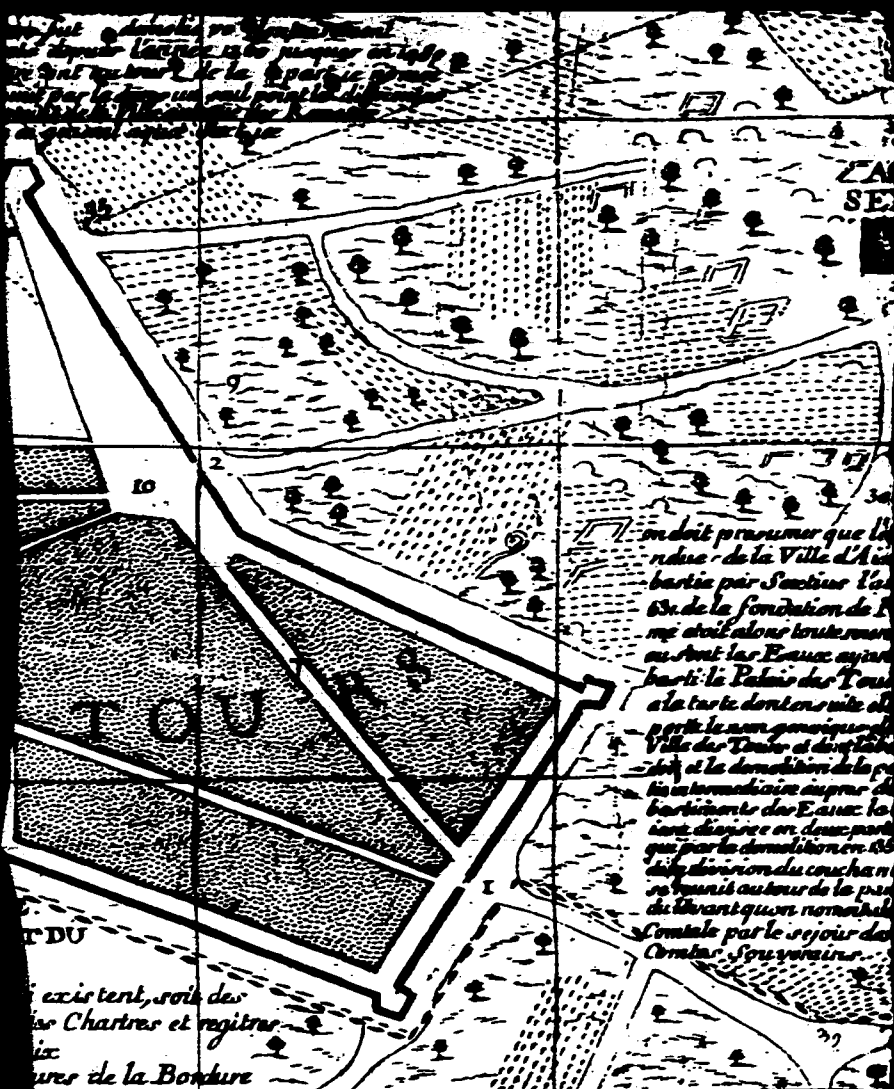
Bartelief de 3 pieds
leur trouée par le T.

Partie d'un Bartelief de marbre de 4 pieds de longueur, et de 2. pieds 3. pou
de hauteur placé auprès de la Rotonde de 8. Colomnes dont il étoit l'Autel
que l'on tira pour y substituer les Font. Baptismaux de la Metropole, le coude
de 8. pouces qui est à une des extremités fait supposer que cet Autel avoit quatre

26



Ces Monuments des Romains existoient en cet état en y prelevant les batiss. et plu
dernes qui forment la Metropole S. Saviour qui y sont adherantes. 1. Rotonde de 8 Col
de marbre vert de 16. pieds et demi d'élévation sans le Chapiteau dont 2. de granite d'ég
2. l'Edifice qui renfermoit la Rotonde. 3. une des deux autres Colomnes de gra
abatie, élevée le 12. Feurier 1757. sur la Fontaine de l'Hotel de Ville.



On doit présumer que l'enceinte de la Ville d'Albi fut bâtie par Sabinus l'an 63 de la fondation de Rome et qu'il avoit toute son enceinte au Sud les Eaux ayant servi le Palais des Tours et la tour dont on verra le port de la non parois de la Ville des Tours et dont l'enceinte fut démolie et la démolition de la partie occidentale au par de l'enceinte des Eaux laissent deviner en deux parties qui par la démolition en 1644 furent dérivées au couchant et réunis autour de la partie du levant qui se nomme Comtale par le séjour des Comtes. S'y voyent

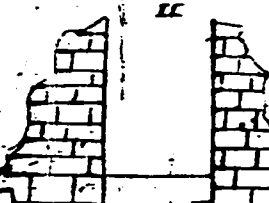
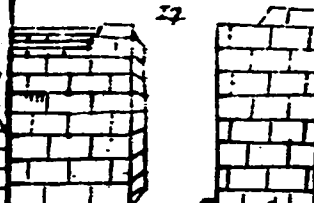


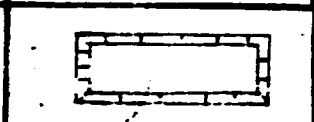




endroit où sont aujourd'hui les Minimes autrement N.D. de la Sa... s'unirent à la Ville Comtale en 1357. le liane rouge de la Maison

- 31 Monument antique des Romains qui servoit en 1132 à la Juiverie d'Albi et qui forme du côté du levant une portion interne de la Maison de M^{le} le Baron de Gaillard, le jeu nouveau
- 32 Temple appelé Bastide de la porte
- 33 Marbre grec trouvé dans la rue du Cag d'argent, ou de Saint
- 34 Bas-relief trouvé au quartier de la porte
- Acqueduc
- 35 de Meingues
- 36 de Pinchinat
- 37 de Vauveingues
- 38 de St-Antoine
- 39 l'ancienne ancieinte du temple des Romains
- 40 l'ancienne et division portière
- 41 lieu sacré à la Famille de Quintus Cornélius

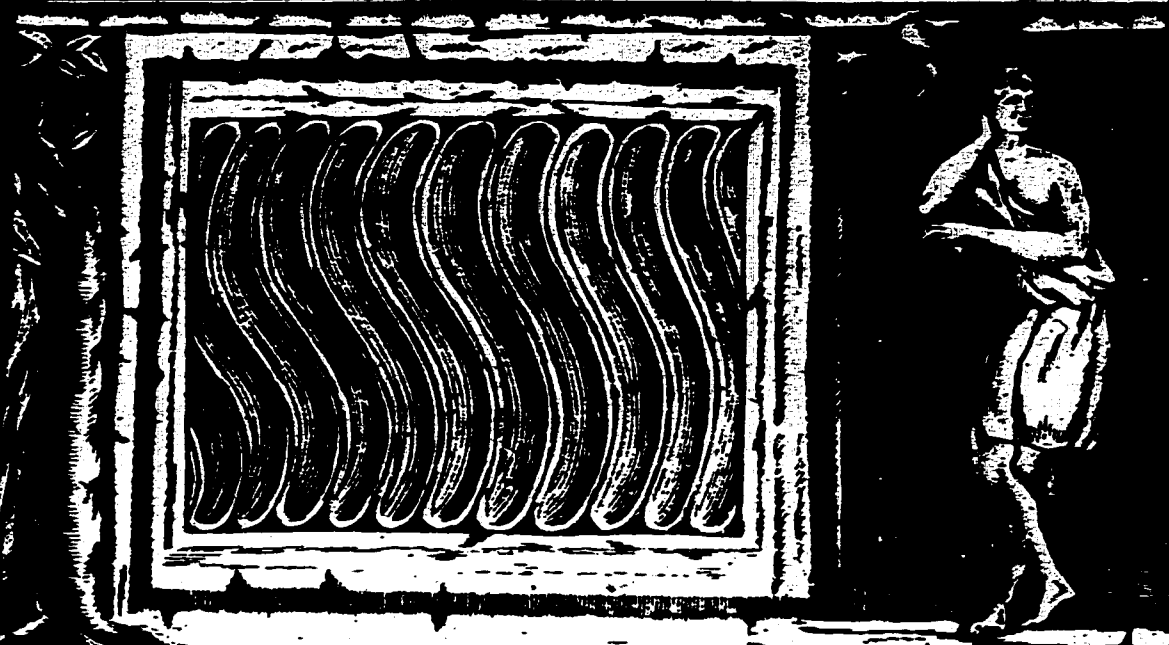
ANO XXIII H. LVD
IMPERANEM IN DIE III
Inscription antique de marbre blanc, grec d'un gouverneur romain trouvée dans le terrain de vigne près la ville de placée dans le château qui se partitione à M^{le} le baron de Gaillard

DECVRIONEM SAPERE
PRIMO AQVIS SEXTIIS
MASSILLÆ ENIMQVE

cette inscription antique fut trouvée dans la fontaine des derniers baigniers

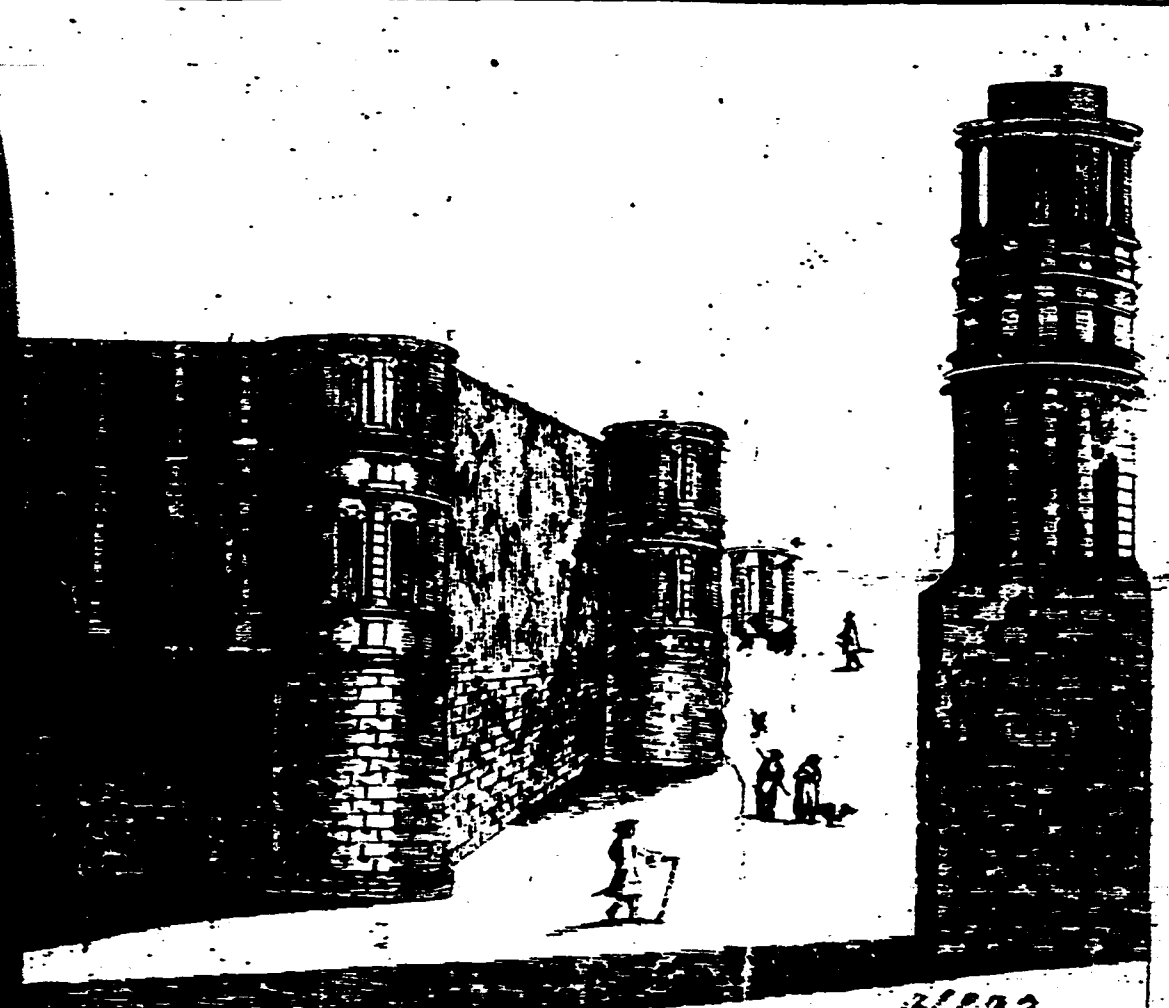
		
Porte de la petite Rue de St-Jean.	Porte des trois Horreaux.	Porte près les Pères de l'Oratoire.
		
Inscription antique de marbre blanc, grec d'un gouverneur romain trouvée dans le terrain de vigne près la ville de placée dans le château qui se partitione à M ^{le} le baron de Gaillard	Bain Antique dans la place des bouchers de la Ville d'Albi, découvert le 28. f. 1760	Bain Antique dans la place des bouchers de la Ville d'Albi, découvert le 28. f. 1760
		
Statue de M ^{le} de Nully, Aqueduc de la Ville d'Albi, découvert le 28. f. 1760	Statue en marbre de couverte trouvée en 1760 dans la rue de la Ville d'Albi	Statue en marbre de couverte trouvée en 1760 dans la rue de la Ville d'Albi

Ge B 338



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arbre grec de 5 pieds de longueur et 4 pieds 1 pouce de hauteur trouve aupres des ruines
 triomphale de l'empereur Marc-Aurèle le long de la Riviere de Larc dans la plaine appelée depuis lors
 qui est aupres de la Ville d'Arce. ce Bas-relief a été place dans la Cour de la Maison de M.
 Gaillard, Longueville, Seig.^r de Ventabren.



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FINES
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Bas-relief en marbre de Darius
 trouve dans le Palais de Sécus

NOTE TO USERS

Oversize maps and charts are microfilmed in sections in the following manner:

**LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM, WITH
SMALL OVERLAPS**

UMI

L'ISLE de l'Acad. R. des Sciences

DIOCESE

Paris Chez l'Auteur sur le Quay



40° 30'



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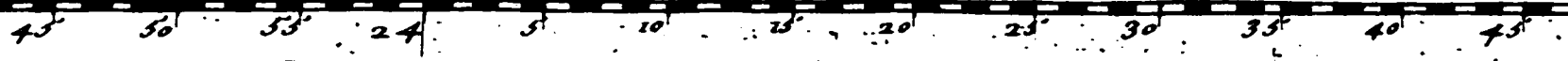
Planis-J

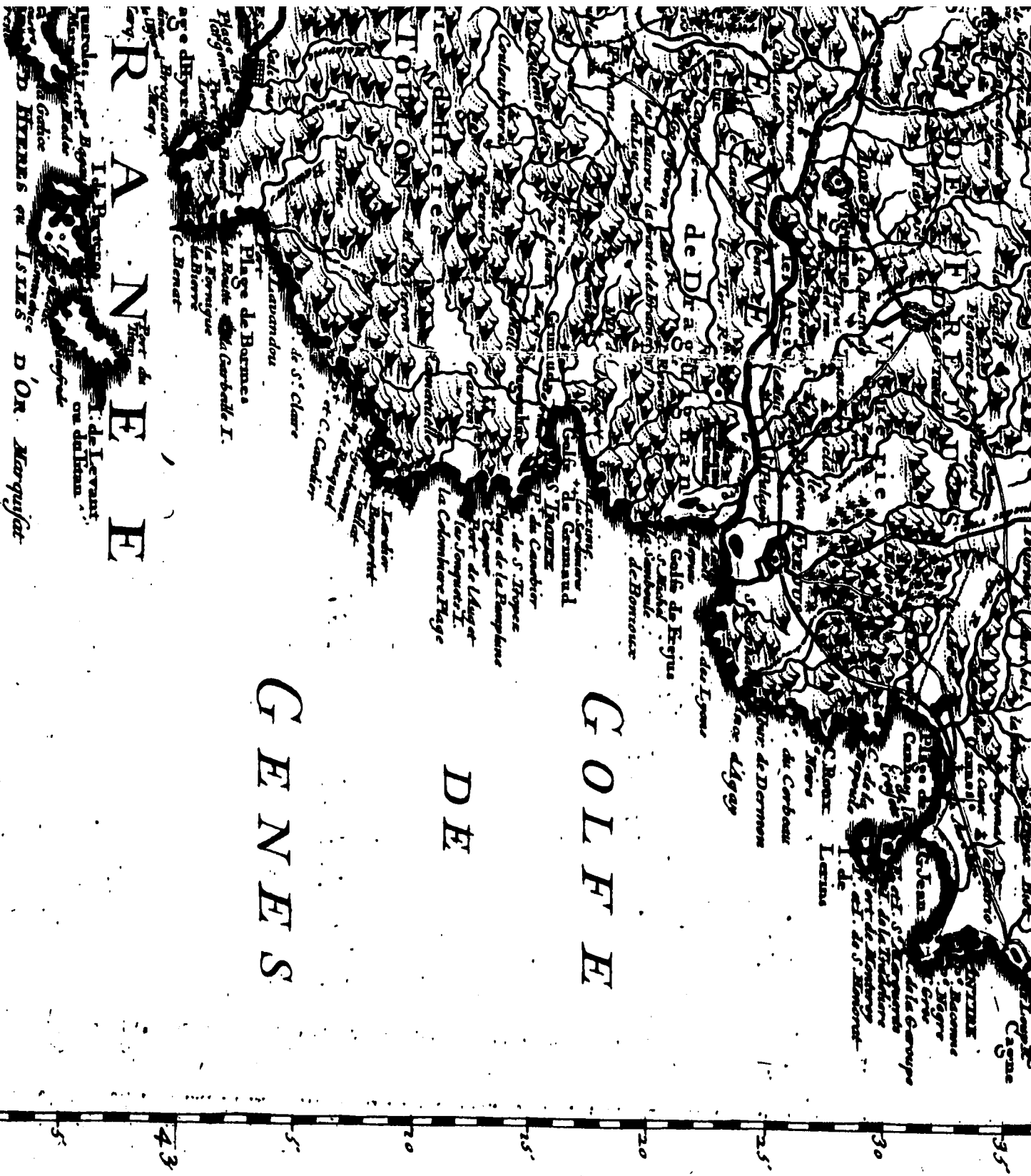
MAR

C. 4



GOLF
DE
GENÈVE





PACIFIC OCEAN

GOLFE DE GENES

GOLFE DES PHILIPPINES

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Iles de la Mer du Sud
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