Introduction

I am the true vine and my Father is the vinegrower. He removes every branch in me that bears no fruit. Every branch that bears fruit he prunes to make it bear more fruit. You have already been cleansed by the word that I have spoken to you. Abide in me as I abide in you. Just as the branch cannot bear fruit by itself unless it abides in the vine, neither can you unless you abide in me. I am the vine, you are the branches. Those who abide in me and I in them bear much fruit, because apart from me you can do nothing. Whoever does not abide in me is thrown away like a branch and withers: such branches are gathered, thrown into the fire, and burned.

John 15: 1–6

Because God, by his divine mercy and goodness, has provided a ready and certain means to men of goodwill to serve together with him, such that they are all made as the bones of his bones, the flesh of his flesh, and the limbs of his limbs, between the two of them [they compose] one same bread and one same body, Him being the vine, vine-shoots, and branches of the same by the high and wonderful sacrament of the altar, which is the spiritual and invisible weapon of all good and virtuous Catholics, by which they defend against the attacks and transgressions of the devil, of the world, and of the flesh. In this holy faith we have promised and do promise that each year on All Saints' Day, after having prepared for confession and being absolved of all our transgressions and sins, we shall present ourselves in church to receive the holy sacrament and communion, the precious body of our savior and redeemer Jesus Christ at the time of the Mass, in order to be fortified and strengthened with the same heart and will against the gates of Hell and the ruses and tricks of Satan and all his minions and every undertaking that the enemies of God's faith and church can make against the said city [of Dijon], and against us, our brothers, allies, and friends. We also promise to conduct and govern ourselves in this world as true and natural-born citizens and soldiers of the city of God and of his armies, and that after having strived to live a godly and steadfast life in his faith and law in the time it has pleased

> him to keep and preserve us here on earth, we shall at last be able to reach his holy kingdom to be placed and counted among the number of the blessed in his church triumphant.
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> Oath of association sworn by the leading citizens of Dijon, January 7, 1571[1]

When the leading inhabitants of the Burgundian capital of Dijon took an oath in January 1571 to join a lay confraternity, they chose to do so in language that explicitly linked together the sacrament of the Eucharist, the salvation of their souls in the next world, their opposition to Protestantism, their loyalty to the French crown, and the material life of so many of the city's inhabitants, the latter indicated by the Biblical metaphor of the grapevine. This melding together of politics, religion, and material life into one homogenous culture forms the methodology of this book. To say that the resulting narrative is cultural history, then, may possibly be true, but hardly adequate to describe the kind of book I have tried to write. It is neither a history of high culture nor a history of exclusively popular culture, but a history of the relations between the elites and the popular classes. Thus, this book is not primarily about texts, discourses, and language representations, a kind of cultural history that tends to limit itself to the educated elites and usually omits material life altogether. If my insistence on including an analysis of material life in this study leads some to suggest that this is more a social history than a cultural history, then this is a criticism I can happily embrace. Though very few historians would still insist that ideas and social practices are derived from or historically determined by social relations and/or material conditions, one of the goals of this book is to demonstrate that they are nevertheless related in some way and are best treated together rather than analyzed independently. Moreover, materiality necessarily includes material objects, whether they be ecclesiastical monuments, a wooden board with Bible verses painted on it used by the city council as a symbol of their authority, or vineyards and vine-pruning hooks. In our constant efforts as historians to valorize texts, manuscripts, and archives over material objects as sources of the past, we need to remember that these texts too are material objects when we encounter them. So, I hope the book can also be in some way an antidote to what Alexandra Walsham and others have referred to as "the

[1] AMD, B 117, fols. 120–125, January 7, 1571 (quote on fols. 123–124): "*Articles de société et fraternité jurez et affermez par plusieurs notables habitans de la ville de Dijon par maintenir la religion catholique, apostolique et romaine et conserver ceste ville de Dijon sous l'auctorité et souverainté du roy.*" The articles of the oath are also printed (with a few minor transcription errors) in Edmond Belle, *La Réforme à Dijon des origins à la fin d ela lieutenance générale de Gaspard de Saulx-Tavanes, 1530–1570* (Dijon: Damidot; Paris: Henri Champion, 1911), 215–219 (quote on 217–218).

denigration, suspicion and distrust of material culture that modern historians have inherited from the post-Reformation era."[2]

Moreover, this book eschews terms such as political culture, religious culture, and material culture, because contemporaries in the premodern world did not and could not experience politics, religion, and material life as independent cultural entities with their own disparate spheres of meanings. Instead, they understood them as melded together through their lived experiences as part of a cultural whole. Thus, I am aiming for a "cultural historical approach that focuses on differentiated practices and contrasted uses."[3] Like Roger Chartier, I fully agree that any model "that has long made the unequal distribution of objects the primary criterion of the cultural hierarchy must be replaced by a different approach that focuses attention on differentiated and contrasting uses of the same goods, the same texts, and the same ideas."[4] I eschew any model that assumes learned culture and folk tradition were normally in opposition in some kind of cultural default setting. The depictions of print culture versus oral culture or of a dominant elite culture suppressing and acculturating a more spontaneous popular culture are simplistic models at best and totally misleading at worst.

What has been called the acculturation thesis was first championed by scholars as diverse as Pierre Chaunu, Jean Delumeau, Robert Muchembled, and Peter Burke over the last 40 years.[5] All of them in various ways tended to see culture as a struggle between the elites and the masses, or to employ Peter Burke's memorable phrase, a culture caught in the battle between Carnival and Lent, with the Carnival culture of the popular classes getting suppressed by the Lenten culture of the learned elites. But the acculturation model has seen its popularity wane of late. Even if in the longer term there is unquestionably a kernel of truth in it, this model tends to underplay both resistance to any top-down cultural

[2] Alexandra Walsham, "The Pope's Merchandise and the Jesuits' Trumpery: Catholic Relics and Protestant Polemic in Post-Reformation England," in Jenifer Spinks and Dagmar Eichberger, eds., *Religion, the Supernatural and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 370–409, quote on p. 400.

[3] Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 13.

[4] Roger Chartier, "Texts, Printing, Readings," in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 171.

[5] See Pierre Chaunu, *Les Temps des Réformes de l'Eglise: L'Eclatement* (Paris: Fayard, 1974); Jean Delumeau, *La Peur en Occident (XIVe–XVIIIe siècles): Une cité assiégée* (Paris: Fayard, 1978); Robert Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France, 1400–1750*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1985); and Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Morris Temple Smith Ltd., 1978).

pressures and the impact of bottom-up cultural contributions to the whole. In fact, Muchembled and Burke themselves soon recognized that the acculturation thesis was too simplistic and ignored the symbiotic interaction between the learned and folk traditions.[6] So, I fully ascribe to Chartier's view that "describing a culture should thus involve the comprehension of its entire system of relations – the totality of the practices that express how it represents the physical world, society, and the sacred."[7] Thus, to claim that the acculturation model is no longer as popular as it once was is to claim something that is so common as to be a historical cliché. What is much more difficult is to offer a convincing example of extended interaction between the learned elites and the masses in the premodern world, one that demonstrates the totality and integrated nature of the political, social, and religious practices that made up that world. I hope this book will be a modest step in that direction.

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This book addresses one principal question. What was the range of relations between the learned elites and the popular classes from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries in Dijon, and how did they change over time? I aim to explore the parameters of these relations in a period in which the incorporation of the duchy of Burgundy into the French crown in 1477, the advent of the Reformation in the 1540s, the outbreak of the French Wars of Religion in 1562, and the rise of absolute monarchy in the early seventeenth century all impacted the relations between the elites and the masses. And more specifically, I want to know how ordinary people, and especially those working in the local wine industry, understood and engaged in the political and religious struggles of the period. Invariably, many ordinary people were the audiences for and often participants with the elites in many different cultural practices, especially in the realm of politics, religion, and material life. While there certainly were areas of premodern life where there was explicit confrontation and opposition between the elites and the masses, as this book will demonstrate, this does not exhaust the entire gamut of their relationships. For a start, neither elites nor ordinary people usually spoke with one

[6] For example, see Muchembled's revision of his own model in his *L'Invention de l'homme moderne: Culture et sensibilités en France du XVe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Pluriel, 1994); and see Burke's revision of his ideas in the introduction to the revised edition of *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, rev. edn. 1994). Also see Burke's *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[7] Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans., Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 11.

common voice, so any oppositional model, such as the acculturation thesis, not only blurs and disguises divisions and tensions arising from within the elites and within the popular classes, but it also makes it next to impossible to see the lively cultural interaction going on between elites and ordinary folk. What this book will demonstrate is that their relationship was often symbiotic, with contributions made by those from above as well as below. Above all, I shall try to show that ordinary people did not always oppose or resist their social betters – that is, they were not always wielding "weapons of the weak" – and politics and religion were two particular areas of Burgundian life where this can easily be demonstrated.[8]

By politics, I mean a very broad spectrum of negotiations about the distribution of power by all those who claimed to have a stake in it. I do not claim that ordinary people ever wielded political power or even claimed to do so. But I take seriously their claims to have a stake in Burgundian society as well as their efforts to negotiate with those who did wield power in order to influence the policing and ordering of their community, whether participating in formal and ritualized political settings such as elections and royal entries, or in less formal settings such as work, home, and the tavern. And by religion, I mean all the religious beliefs and practices that made up the Christian experience for most lay Burgundians, both inside and outside the parish church. Thus, my goal here is not to make some vague and ambiguous claim of agency for ordinary people, but simply to make their voices heard in places where they are not usually heard.

If there is one unifying argument in the book that underscores the significant changes over time in the relations between the elites and popular classes, it is this: Burgundy's incorporation into the kingdom of France in the late fifteenth century as well as the advent of Protestantism in the first half of the sixteenth century opened up new avenues for participation in public life by ordinary Burgundians – especially by the vignerons[9] and others of the popular classes in the period of the Wars of Religion.

[8] See James C. Scott's *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985) as well as his *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990). I fully accept Scott's very useful models, but I am arguing that not all cultural tools wielded by ordinary people were necessarily weapons aimed at resisting the powerful.

[9] The French word *vigneron* has no good English translation. While it is sometimes translated as vinegrower or vinedresser, these terms disguise the fact that in the sixteenth century a vigneron was involved in both viticulture – the growing of the grapes and the tending of the vines – and viniculture – the making of the wine from the harvested grapes. Thus, I have chosen to stick with the French word, which conveys both functions. And since I use it so often, I have normally not italicized it in the text.

Their repertory of actions expanded considerably in this period, which led to even greater interaction between elites and ordinary people. After the civil wars drew to a close, however, especially in the reign of Louis XIII (1610–1643), royal attempts to reduce the level of popular participation in public affairs increased in earnest. These efforts resulted in divisions and tensions within both the elites and the popular classes and transformed the relationship between crown and province that had existed since 1477.

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The book is divided into three chronological sections, with Part I focusing on the period following the murder of the last Valois Duke of Burgundy up to the outbreak of the religious wars following the emergence of Calvinism in the province (1477 to ca. 1560). Chapter 1 examines the political processes and means of wielding political power in Dijon after Burgundy's reincorporation into the French crown after 1477, showing how the evolution of the mayoral elections in the city reflected a growing participation by the vignerons and other non-elites in public affairs. Chapter 2 analyses the religious life of lay Burgundians on the eve of the Reformation. It examines two particular touchstones of Christian belief and practice in this period – the Eucharist and the Virgin Mary – and concludes with an analysis of the religious experiences that mattered most to lay Christians both inside and outside the parish church. The parish of St. Michel, one of seven parishes in Dijon and where so many of the city's vignerons lived and worshipped, takes center stage in this chapter. Chapter 3 examines the material life of the region and especially emphasizes the impact of the local wine industry. The chapter begins with an analysis of the origins of wine production in Burgundy, goes on to analyze the *métier* of a vigneron, and concludes with an analysis of urban life in the parish of St. Michel, examining in some detail the inhabitants on one particular street in the parish, Rue Vannerie, using tax rolls, market prices, and other sources to build up a picture of the structures of material life in the city.

Part II focuses on the period of the Wars of Religion in Burgundy, ca. 1560 to ca. 1595. Chapter 4 examines the advent of Protestantism in Burgundy and how the church, the city council, the sovereign courts, and the lay Catholics of the region responded to this challenge. It suggests that the consistently harsh treatment of Protestants – seizure of property and imprisonment or banishment – resulted in a province relatively free of religious violence. Unlike so many other similar cities such as Rouen, Lyon, Toulouse, and Bordeaux where Calvinism also took firm root,

there was no serious effort by Protestants to seize Dijon by force in the early 1560s, nor was there a St. Bartholomew's massacre in Dijon in 1572. Chapter 5 begins by examining Burgundy's role as a bastion of the Catholic League from 1584 to 1595 and argues for a corrective to the traditional view that the Catholic League was an entirely polarizing and divisive organization run by its most militant members. It concludes by analyzing the ways in which the civil wars impacted the material lives of most Burgundians in the period, with an analysis of how a moral economy was supposed to work to insure stability and availability of foodstuffs as well as equilibrium in the economic sector, as well as another look at the Rue Vannerie and the ways in which the civil wars disrupted the material lives of many despite this moral economy. In Chapter 6 Dijon's parish records suggest that many of the most powerful voices among both the Leaguer and royalist camps were in fact moderates looking for a means of reconciliation and that they maintained the close ties they enjoyed with each other via marriage and god-parentage both before, during, and after the struggle of the early 1590s.

Part III focuses on the period from the end of the Wars of Religion up to the popular uprising known as the Lanturelu Riot of 1630. Chapter 7 addresses how the city of Dijon's generally positive relationship with the crown under Henry IV began to go awry from the very beginning of the reign of the young Louis XIII over the issue of mayoral elections, and how ordinary Burgundians coped with these changes. It also looks at the beginnings of systematic Catholic reform in Burgundy, with particular attention paid to the visit of François de Sales, who preached a series of Lenten sermons in Dijon in 1604, as well as his impact on the daughter of one of the presiding judges in Dijon's Parlement, the recently widowed Jeanne Frémyot, baroness de Chantal. Chapter 8 analyzes the further deterioration of relations between the crown and the city, beginning with the tensions created by Louis XIII's royal entry in January 1629 and ending in the popular uprising known as the Lanturelu riot in February–March 1630, a demonstration aimed specifically against Louis's tax policies and imposts on wine in Burgundy. Finally, I offer some general conclusions about politics, religion, and material life over the previous century and a half in the province, and how ordinary Burgundians' participation in public life – especially the vignerons – expanded rapidly during the Wars of Religion and then contracted sharply in the period immediately afterward.