

RÉSUMÉS

Sylvie STEINBERG, *Épouse de roturier et veuve d'usurpateur. La dérogeance au féminin en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 17-39.

La dérogeance est une forme de déclassement social particulier à la noblesse. Au XVII^e siècle, sa définition juridique s'est peu à peu précisée alors que les autorités royales s'efforçaient, pour des raisons idéologiques et fiscales, de circonscrire plus strictement les contours du groupe nobiliaire et d'en extirper les « faux nobles ». La dérogeance au féminin a aussi retenu l'attention des juristes du XVII^e siècle à travers la résolution de toute une série de questions : comment qualifier la mésalliance d'une femme noble avec un roturier ? Celle-ci est-elle plus ou moins assimilable à une dérogeance ? Cette mésalliance est-elle définitive ou provisoire ? Que se passe-t-il quand la mort vient rompre la vie conjugale ? C'est à partir d'affaires contentieuses, cas de veuves de roturiers voulant recouvrir la noblesse, cas de veuves d'usurpateurs refusant de payer les taxes imposées aux faussaires que ces juristes raisonnaient. Ce sont leurs arguments qui sont exposés dans cet article, en même temps que la gamme des raisons, pragmatiques, sociales et idéologiques évoquées par les plaignantes et requérantes.

Dérogeance (loss of privilege) was a form of losing rank particular to the nobility. In seventeenth-century France, the legal definition was gradually refined, as the royal authorities sought, for both ideological and fiscal reasons, to lay down stricter limits for the group making up the nobility, and to eliminate "false nobles". *Dérogeance* as applied to women also attracted the attention of seventeenth-century jurists, when they had to resolve a series of questions: what was the status of an unequal match (*mésalliance*) between a noblewoman and a commoner? Was it the equivalent of *dérogeance*? Was this unequal match definitive, or provisional? What happened when the marriage ended with the death of a spouse? The jurists based their reasoning on contentious affairs: the cases of widows of commoners who wished to recover their noble rank, or widows of men who had usurped noble titles, now refusing to pay the taxes levied on makers of false claims. This article considers the arguments advanced by lawyers as well as the range of pragmatic, social or ideological reasoning brought to bear by the women in question, as plaintiffs or claimants.

Marine CARCANAGUE, « *Je me meurs deux fois* ». *Le déclassement social au prisme du déshonneur : récits de femmes dans la France du XVIII^e siècle*, p. 41-59.

L'histoire des sentiments et des émotions est un prisme d'analyse pertinent pour aborder les processus de déclassement social au cours de l'époque moderne. En effet, elle permet de se placer du côté de la perception individuelle et de l'expérience de la mobilité sociale descendante. Celle-ci peut résulter d'un appauvrissement soudain, d'une rumeur, ou d'un échange d'insultes. En effet, les plaintes sont le siège de discours des contemporaines sur le déclassement et le déshonneur mais aussi le reflet de leurs actions devant la justice afin de lutter contre la déchéance sociale qu'elles affrontent. Il s'agit donc d'observer les démarches entreprises par les femmes afin de recouvrer leur position sociale.

Emotions represent an interesting point of entry to approach social downgrading in the early modern era by capturing the individual perception. In this respect, court archives bring the cases of women who were downgraded after being insulted or being confronted with a sudden impoverishment. As a matter of fact, complaints also reveal women legal actions to return to their status.

Élie HADDAD, *Cadets, branches cadettes et déclassement social dans la noblesse française d'Ancien Régime*, p. 61-82.

Cet article interroge les effets sociaux de la différence dans les héritages entre aînés et cadets au sein de la noblesse française entre XVI^e et XVIII^e siècles, en prêtant attention aux changements, aux distinctions entre les types de noblesse (notamment robe et épée) et au genre. En partant de quelques familles de la noblesse moyenne prises comme exemples de logiques plus générales, il montre que le fait d'être cadet ne conduit pas nécessairement, au XVI^e siècle, à un déclassement social relatif systémique, et ce en raison de mécanismes de compensation liés aux logiques sociales de la transmission dans le second ordre. En revanche, les transformations de ces dernières au cours du XVII^e siècle, notamment la restriction du nombre de mariages, restreignent les horizons de carrière des cadets et accentuent les différences entre aînés/aînées et cadets/cadettes. L'article confronte cette évolution aux discours du temps afin de mesurer de quelle façon est perçue cette différenciation sociale à une époque où l'on pense un monde ordonné hiérarchiquement et non divisé en classes. Il s'interroge sur les conséquences de cette perception *emic* sur les caractérisations sociales que nous produisons dans notre propre travail d'historien.

This article questions the social effects of the difference in inheritance between first-borns and younger sons within the French nobility between the 16th and 18th centuries, paying attention to changes, distinctions between types of nobility ('robe' and sword) and gender. Starting

from a few families of the middle nobility taken as examples of more general logics, it shows that being a younger son does not necessarily lead to a relative systemic social descent during the 16th century, because of compensation mechanisms linked to the social logics of transmission in the second order. In contrast, the transformations of these logics during the 17th century, notably the decrease of the number of marriages, restricted the career horizons of younger sons and accentuated the differences between first-borns and younger sons and younger daughters. The article confronts this evolution with the discourses of that time in order to measure how this social differentiation is perceived in a world perceived as hierarchically ordered, and not divided into classes. It wonders about the consequences of this perception on the social characterizations that we produce in our own work as historians.

Fanny COSANDEY, *Les ducs et pairs sous Louis XIV : montrer sa puissance ou craindre de déchoir ? La contestation lors de l'entrée solennelle de 1660*, p. 83-99.

L'ordre décidé par Louis XIV à l'entrée solennelle de 1660 place les ducs et pairs derrière les princes étrangers. Cette disposition, jugée comme une atteinte à la première dignité du royaume, entraîne les pairs dans une contestation collective qui tourne rapidement au bras de fer avec la monarchie. S'il s'agit, dans un premier temps, de négocier avec le roi pour obtenir la reconnaissance de leur prééminence, il est rapidement question de renoncer à la cérémonie pour que soient préservés les droits de ces grands nobles. L'événement montre alors comment se construit l'opposition corporative, en une opération de valorisation de la dignité qui mêle aussi les intérêts du royaume, mais derrière se profilent des jeux de pouvoir susceptibles de renforcer ou de fragiliser le groupe social, selon la réponse apportée par la monarchie et la capacité des corps à y faire face. C'est ainsi tout le problème du maintien des privilèges et des positions de dominations face à la volonté royale d'affirmer sa toute-puissance, c'est à dire sa capacité à ordonner, qui est ici abordé.

At the Parisian ceremony of 1660, Louis XIV decided that the peers should be placed behind the foreign princes. This organization, considered as undermining the first dignity of the kingdom, led the peers into a collective protest that quickly turned into a strife against the monarchy. First, they negotiated with the king to obtain recognition of their pre-eminence, but quickly they stand against the king up to abandon the ceremony to preserve their rights as great nobles. This event shows how the corporate opposition emerged, as an operation of dignity valorization using the interests of the kingdom as an argument. In the background, appeared power relations among peers likely to strengthen or weaken their social group, depending on the response of the monarchy and the ability of the bodies to cope with it. The subject of the present paper is thus to examine how the privileges and positions of domination could be maintained in the face of the royal will to assert his omnipotence, i.e. his ability to put the society in order.

Carlo BRROSSI, *Oligarchi ai margini. Declassamento e gerarchie informali nel patriziato genovese, secoli XVI-XVIII*, p. 101-11.

Nell'età moderna il ceto di governo genovese contava una componente significativa di individui e famiglie di modesta fortuna provenienti da entrambe le antiche fazioni dei *populares* e dei *nobiles*. La norma che vietava ai nobili di esercitare arti "meccaniche" ostacolava la risalita sociale dei patrizi decaduti. Alcuni di loro a rischio di declassamento emigrarono dalla città; altri rinunciarono tacitamente all'inclusione nel patriziato; altri, ancora seguirono a farne parte rimanendone però ai margini. Questi ultimi ricorrevano ai lasciti istituiti dagli esponenti più ricchi delle rispettive casate a beneficio dei consanguinei impoveriti, oppure chiedevano soccorso all'Ufficio dei poveri. Il miglior modo di resistere al declassamento consisteva nell'occupare gli incarichi di governo minori: i comandi nella flotta e nell'esercito, alcune magistrature secondarie in Terraferma e in Corsica. Poiché dall'inizio del Seicento le occasioni di ristabilire le fortune diminuirono, il declassamento finiva col diventare irreversibile. I vertici del ceto di governo si rinnovavano cooptando i nuovi ricchi, che scavalcavano i patrizi di antica data impoveriti. Nonostante un momento di crisi a metà Seicento e un altro a metà Settecento, le provvidenze private e pubbliche e l'occupazione di impieghi pubblici impedirono che il declassamento fomentasse la protesta politica e minacciasse la stabilità del governo oligarchico.

Early modern Genoese ruling class included a fringe of low-income individuals and families from both former popular and noble factions. As Genoese rulers were forbidden to practice mechanical arts, social recovering became difficult for poor patricians. Some of them, at risk of social downgrading, left Genoa for good; others silently dropped their noble status; others kept belonging to the ruling class, though on its margins, taking advantage of the charities funded by well-off ancestors for the benefit of poor or impoverished kinsman or applying for relief from the Ufficio dei poveri. The safest way to prevent social downgrading was to obtain minor offices in the military and in the administration of Terraferma and Corsica. Since the beginning of the 17th century the chances of enhancing or recovering their fortune went on diminishing, and the downgrading became irreversible, while the ruling elite renewed itself coopting the new rich. But, notwithstanding a crisis in middle 17th and another in middle 18th centuries, private and public charities and state jobs prevented downgraded patricians from creating political unrest and putting the oligarchs' rule at risk.

Massimo GALTAROSSA, *La Cancelleria ducale a Venezia. Resistenze al declassamento e fine del privilegio*, p. 113-131.

Nella Repubblica di Venezia la Cancelleria ducale fu un'istituzione burocratica destinata a svolgere funzioni delicatissime di "sottogoverno" come: legalizzare i decreti, custodire i segreti di Stato o mantenere i

rapporti diplomatici. Il declassamento sociale non passava per il tradimento perché raramente l'infedeltà poteva compromettere le sorti di una famiglia di Cancelleria. Eppure negli anni ottanta del Cinquecento le suppliche per richieste di grazie, autentici freni privilegiati alla perdita di *status*, ci raccontano storie d'indebitamento per le spese diplomatiche, di doti da pagare o di malattie. Nel secondo Seicento l'apertura del libro d'oro del patriziato veneziano portò alcune famiglie di Cancelleria ad aggregarsi alla nobiltà. Tuttavia in questo modo questi segretari ducali persero la loro identità di ceto e misero a dura prova le loro economie famigliari. Nell'ultimo secolo della Repubblica è il loro ruolo professionale ad essere difeso di fronte al rischio di perdita del monopolio del lavoro cancelleresco. La fine dell'*ordine dei segretari* avvenne tardi, nel primo Ottocento, anche per la capacità di queste famiglie, appartenenti allo strato intermedio della società veneziana, di riproporsi come funzionari nelle nuove amministrazioni.

In the Republic of Venice the ducal Chancellery was a bureaucratic institution destined to develop very delicate functions of "sub-government" such as: legalizing the decrees, keeping the state secrets or maintaining the diplomatic relations. The social declassing did not go through for the betrayal because the infidelity could rarely compromise the fate of a chancellery family. And yet in the eighties age of the sixteenth century the petitions for requests for graces, authentic brakes privileged to the loss of *status*, tell us stories of indebtedness for diplomatic expenses, marriage settlement to pay or diseases. In the second seventeenth century the opening of the *libro d'oro* of the venetian patriciate led some families of chancellery to join in the nobility. However, in this way these ducal secretaries lost their class identity and put their family economy to the test. In the last century of the Republic it is their professional role to be defended in the face of the risk of loss the monopoly of chancery labor. The end of the *order of the secretaries* came late, in the early nineteenth century, also for the ability of these families, belonging to the intermediate layer of the venetian society, to re-propose themselves as officials in the new administrations.

Laurence FONTAINE, *La catégorie de pauvre honteux en débat*, p. 135-159.

À la fin du XVIII^e siècle, la catégorie de « pauvre honteux » ne va plus de soi. Pour éclairer les tensions qui sont à l'œuvre autour du déclassement des groupes privilégiés, l'article étudie les mémoires écrits à la suite d'un concours lancé par l'académie de Châlons-sur-Marne en 1777 qui appelle à réfléchir « sur les moyens de détruire la mendicité en rendant les mendiants utiles à l'État sans les rendre malheureux. » Des quelques 125 mémoires envoyés, les académiciens ont tiré des extraits à partir desquels l'abbé Malvaux a publié un livre censé reproduire les vues de tous les auteurs. L'article analyse ces essais en partant des définitions qu'ils donnent des pauvres honteux. Il les confronte également avec les commentaires des académiciens et le livre tiré du concours. Ainsi, à côté

des textes majoritaires, qui conservent à la catégorie sa référence exclusive aux groupes privilégiés, certains l'étendent à d'autres figures sociales et d'autres la refusent carrément. Ces définitions, qui sous-tendent des projets différents de traitement des pauvres issus des classes privilégiées, portent, avec les définitions élargies, des enjeux de transformation de la société d'ordre.

At the end of the 18th century, the category of «shameful poor» was no longer self-evident. To shed light on the tensions that are at work around the downgrading of privileged groups, the article examines the memoirs written following a contest launched by the Châlons-sur-Marne academy in 1777, which calls for reflection «on ways to destroy begging by making beggars useful to the State without making them unhappy». Of the some 125 memoirs sent, the academicians drew extracts from which Abbé Malvaux published a book intended to reproduce the views of all the authors. The article analyses these essays starting with their definitions of the shameful poor. It also confronts them with the comments of the academicians and the book from the contest. Thus, alongside the majority texts, which retain in the category its exclusive reference to privileged groups, some extend it to other social figures and others reject it outright. These definitions, which imply different projects for the treatment of the poor from the privileged classes, carry, with the extended definitions, challenges of transformation of the society of order.

Giovanni Ricci, *Les tromperies de la pauvreté honteuse dans l'Italie et la France d'Ancien Régime*, p. 159-173.

L'excès d'ordre visible peut engendrer d'invisibles désordres. À la différence de ce qu'en pensait le juriste Pierre Grégoire (« celui qui est gêné de mendier ne vit pas de tromperies comme les mendiants valides »), légions sont les duperies et méprises produites par le droit octroyé aux pauvres honteux de simuler légitimement. Inévitable que la littérature s'appropriât de situations si pétries de théâtralité, dans des textes sis à mi-chemin entre le divertissement et la dénonciation sociale. Face à une idéologie qui faisait du travail une condition infamante, il était plus facile pour les nobles pauvres d'avoir recours à des raccourcis. En plus, pour les femmes (et parfois pour les jeunes-hommes) le spectre de la prostitution secrète était toujours présent : un déshonneur sexuel pour cacher un déshonneur social ; une synthèse sur-le-champ des tensions sous-jacentes aux tromperies de la pauvreté honteuse.

As is often the case in history, the social order can hide a secret disorder. Conversely to what the jurist Pierre Géhoire thought in 16th century («who is ashamed to beg, he doesn't live on tricks like the valid beggars do»), one meet a lot of deceits and mistakes all around the shameful poor and their officially legitimate simulations. Literature also exploited such theatrical opportunities, in order to entertain the audience and/or to express social accusations. Face to an ideology which despised physical work, poor

nobles easily turned to shortcuts. Furthermore, for the women (and for young men) the threat of the prostitution was always lurking: a sexual dishonor for the purpose of concealing a social dishonor; a field testing of tensions underlying the tricks of shameful poverty.

Fabrice BOUDJAABA, *Le déclassé social. Une forme de reproduction familiale réussie ? Des cultivateurs face à l'industrialisation de leur espace (Ivry 1770-1860)*, p. 175-195.

Cet article s'intéresse à la question du déclassé social dans le monde paysan. Il fait le constat que l'historiographie du monde rural attentif aux formes de reproduction sociale « à l'identique » de la paysannerie ou aux effets dévastateurs des crises économiques ou démographiques a fait peu de place à cette question proprement dite. La question du déclassé est abordée ici à travers le cas des petits cultivateurs et vigneron d'un village proche de Paris, Ivry, qui voient leur environnement économique transformé dans la première moitié du 19^e siècle par l'industrialisation. Il étudie la manière dont les vieilles familles paysannes, en cherchant à préserver un mode d'existence et de production finissent par se déclasser. Bien qu'elles bénéficient en début de période un avantage comparatif, notamment en termes de propriété foncière, ses familles ne parviennent pas à saisir les opportunités offertes par le développement du marché urbain (notamment le maraîchage) préférant continuer leurs activités traditionnelles. Le chapitre interroge à la fois les logiques individuelles et collectives de cette évolution sociale, qui ne peut s'analyser uniquement à travers des causes exogènes liées à l'industrialisation et aux transformations de l'environnement.

This paper focuses on the issue of downward social mobility in the farming world. It notes that the historiography of the rural world, attentive to forms of social reproduction "à l'identique" or to the devastating effects of economic or demographic crises, has given little space to this question. The downgrading is questioned here through the case of small farmers and winegrowers in a village near Paris, Ivry, whose economic environment was transformed in the first half of the 19th century by industrialization. It studies the way in which old peasant families, seeking to preserve a way of life and production, end up falling behind. Although they enjoy a comparative advantage at the beginning of the period, particularly in terms of land ownership, these families are unable to seize the opportunities offered by the development of the urban market (particularly market gardening) and prefer to continue their traditional activities. The chapter examines both the individual and collective logics of this social evolution, which cannot be analysed only through exogenous causes linked to industrialization and environmental transformations.

Mathieu MARRAUD, *La faillite marchande, désincorporation et langage du crédit sous l'Ancien Régime*, p. 197-226.

Littéralement, sous l'Ancien Régime, la faillite n'est autre qu'une situation marchande. Elle demande en cela une qualification sociale des gestes et des protagonistes, et demande une résolution au sein de ce même espace dit « marchand », lequel, bien que soumis à la législation royale, reste à bien des égards coutumier. C'est pourquoi les acteurs aptes à se prononcer sur la faillite et sur les parcours commerciaux proviennent de cet espace (corporations, juridictions consulaires), en concurrence avec d'autres (tribunaux ordinaires, Conseil du roi). Ensemble ils font de la faillite un enjeu à la fois social et politique dans la ville, où le problème de sa pénalisation ne peut que recouper des pratiques et des critères issus en grande partie de l'univers traditionnel bourgeois. Le déclassement des faillis, leur désincorporation, en est le signe principal.

In Ancien Regime France, bankruptcy was literally nothing but a merchant situation. Thus, it required a social qualification of both gestures and persons involved, and a resolution within this so-called "merchant" space. The latter remained customary in many regards, although submitted to increasing royal legislation. That's why the agents able to judge on bankruptcy and on commercial careers came from this particular space (guilds, merchant-court jurisdictions), competing with others (regular courts, king's council). Together, they constructed bankruptcy as a social and political issue in the city. There, the problem of its penalization was embedded in habits and criterions forged within the traditional bourgeois milieu. Maybe downgrading of bankrupt persons, with their social disincorporation, was its main sign.

Isabella CECCHINI, *Riflessioni sulla relazione tra procedure fallimentari e declassamento sociale in età moderna (con note a margine sul caso veneziano)*, p. 227-233.

Come prassi riservata agli operatori del mondo mercantile, la procedura fallimentare presentava numerose eccezioni ai principi del diritto civile di origine romana, una sorta di mondo giuridico a sé stante che veniva abitualmente integrato dall'uso dell'arbitrato per rendere più veloci gli sviluppi dei processi. La legislazione fallimentare tendeva a stendere reti di protezione per coloro che si trovavano falliti loro malgrado, a causa delle avverse condizioni congiunturali o per la conseguenza di un comportamento fraudolento altrui; riservava tuttavia pene severe a coloro che attraverso la procedura di fallimento cercavano di ottenere profitti illeciti, spesso dichiarando il proprio dolo con la fuga (falliti fuggitivi). Per entrambe le situazioni, la prospettiva del fallimento coincideva con una perdita dei mezzi di sostentamento, temporanea o duratura, e dunque con l'impossibilità di continuare a presentarsi nel contesto sociale di riferimento: definiva in altri termini un 'prima' e un 'dopo' estremamente diversi. La nuova condizione di emergenza scatenava effetti a catena:

richieste di aiuto e sostentamento, appelli alle autorità, rifugio presso le istituzioni di soccorso, talvolta anche smembramento familiare. Le conseguenze di un fallimento dal punto di vista dell'appartenenza sociale, e della rappresentazione di sé e della propria famiglia, erano in genere assai gravi, e tuttavia risultano molto difficili da ricostruire: i falliti spariscono dai documenti, riemergendo flebilmente nelle suppliche rivolte al governo da parte dei familiari. Tuttavia erano i fuggitivi a essere percepiti come corpi anomali all'interno della comunità mercantile, in quanto disgregatori della buona fama della mercanzia e della reputazione di una piazza.

As a practice reserved for the merchant world, bankruptcy proceedings made several exceptions to the general principles of Roman civil law, and like the developing of commercial law from judgements and customs they made up a separate legal world which was usually supplemented by the use of commercial arbitration to speed up the development of legal actions. Bankruptcy legislation tended to provide protection nets for those who had failed without their fault, due to adverse economic conditions or as a result of fraudulent behaviour on the part of others; however, it reserved severe penalties for those who sought to make illegal profits through bankruptcy proceedings, often by declaring their intent to flee (fugitive failures). In both, the prospect of a bankruptcy coincided with a loss of livelihood, temporary or continuous, and therefore with the impossibility of continuing to present itself in the social context of reference, marking a difference between the situation before the bankruptcy and after it. This situation had knock-on effects on those who went bust: requests for help and support, appeals to the authorities, refuge in relief institutions, sometimes even family dismemberment. The consequences of a failure from the point of view of social belonging, and of the representation of oneself and one's family, were generally very serious, and yet very difficult to reconstruct: the losers disappear from the documents, rarely re-emerging in the petitions addressed to the government by the family members. However, it was the fugitives who were perceived as anomalous bodies within the merchant community, as disruptors of the good reputation of merchandise in general and of the reputation of a merchant place in particular.

Claire CHATELAIN, *La condition de cadet dans des temps difficiles : Jacques de Bérulle († 1704), une expérience de reclassement social ?*, p. 237-261.

Les Bérulle ont constitué un lignage un peu particulier de la noblesse de robe du XVII^e siècle. Leur parcours lignager, centré autour d'un de leurs fils puînés, Jacques, au tournant du siècle, fait l'objet de cette étude. Alors que sa formation sociale connaissait des difficultés liées à la dévalorisation des charges, Jacques épousa des professions multiples. À travers les activités de courtage qu'il poursuivait en fait, dont quelques opérations sont présentées ici, il s'agit de comprendre comment se sont articulées les nécessités de l'économie domestique aux possibilités et aux difficultés suscitées par la dynamique d'emprunts de la monarchie en guerre et quels

ont été les effets comptables et matériels de cette mutation financière. Jacques de Bérulle apparaît comme un caméléon social nouant des solidarités à partir de champs professionnels tels que celui du monde judiciaire, qui reçoivent une traduction matrimoniale : les alliances qui en résultent ont facilité la pénétration de son lignage par le monde des financiers.

Bérulle lineage was a peculiar one. They belong to the seventeenth-century « noblesse de robe » which was very affected by the reforms of Colbert because of their offices devaluation. Jacques de Bérulle was a middle-range son and he practiced a lot of different professions to manage special activities as a financial broker. Some of his complex domestic and financial arrangements have been analyzed to understand what were the implications of financial politics of King State in war over the actors and how the last manage to contain bad effects of Colbert policy on their own familial economy and find some reassurance through new opportunities. In the professional field of justice, Jacques de Bérulle found real solidarities which received a matrimonial transposition. That is how these families saw their inside social composition gradually changed.

Pauline FERRIER-VIAUD, *Le déclassement, une stratégie familiale pour préserver la lignée ? Itinéraire de Paule Payen, épouse de Lionne, accusée d'adultère*, p. 263-282.

Paule Payen épouse Hugues de Lionne en 1645 ; elle est la fille d'un riche financier parisien et apporte une immense dot de 500 000 livres tournois ; d'extraction noble, il entame entame une prometteuse carrière dans le gouvernement de Louis XIV. Les fondations économiques et sociales du couple semblent donc solides. Cependant, l'année 1671 précipite le sort des deux époux : Paule Payen est publiquement accusée d'adultère par Hugues de Lionne. L'itinéraire qu'elle emprunte à partir de cette date est celui d'une déchéance globale, voire totale, au sens où tous les domaines de son existence sont attaqués. En effet, elle connaît un déclassement aux accents multiples : individuel, conjugal, familial, économique et social. Cet article vise à observer l'ampleur et les caractéristiques de cette déchéance, mais également à en comprendre les ressorts profonds. En effet, l'accusation d'adultère interroge puisqu'elle ne repose que sur la parole de l'époux et a pour conséquence directe de priver la dame de sa liberté et de ses droits sur sa dot, au profit de son mari. Or, plusieurs actions de Lionne ont fragilisé la position économique et sociale de sa famille : la lecture du contexte global qui entoure la chute de Paule Payen permet d'envisager l'existence d'une stratégie dont elle serait la victime. En effet, sa déchéance permet à ses héritiers de bâtir un rempart contre leur propre déclassement économique et social par la captation de la dot maternelle. Par conséquent, dans la société d'Ancien Régime, le poids du groupe, du corps, de la famille conjugale et de la lignée peut venir briser les destins individuels et un déclassement personnel peut masquer la crainte d'un déclassement lignager aux conséquences désastreuses.

Paule Payen and Hugues de Lionne are married in 1645; she is the daughter of a wealthy financial expert, he is a nobleman engaged in the Louis XIV's government. Therefore, the couple's economic and social background is favorable. Nevertheless, in 1671 Hugues de Lionne accuses Paule Payen of adultery and her fate is sealed. From there, she knows a deep social decline: she's no longer viewed as a good wife, a good mother, a respectable woman and she lose her liberty and her fortune. The purpose of this paper is to examine the reasons, the expansion and the implications of this social decline. The accusation of adultery is doubtful: it is a very practical way to keep the dowry away from the wife without additional explanations. The de Lionne family knows some financial troubles in the 1670's, so the accusation of adultery looks like a strategy. Paule Payen as individual offers a too little counterweight to the family's interests. In this way, the social decline of an individual seems to be used to prevent the total decline of the family line.

Manuel Rossi, *Una cronaca urbana contro la crisi familiare. Il Sogno di Luigi Navarrette (1679)*, p. 293-302.

Il presente saggio vuole approfondire le reazioni culturali al declassamento attraverso un caso-studio: quello del pisano Luigi Navarrette (1638-1688). In particolare modo ci si soffermerà sul *Sogno*, la cronaca scritta da Navarrette in seguito all'accusa di furto ai danni del Monte Pio di Pisa con il conseguente arresto ed allontanamento dalla vita pubblica. Fu proprio per superare questa situazione di drammatica crisi che Luigi, oltre a difendersi in tribunale, elaborò una cronaca dedicata alla propria città. Tuttavia al centro del *Sogno* non troviamo l'*histoire bataille* della mitica Pisa repubblicana, bensì un «dialogo sopra l'ingratitude dei pisani» ovvero il ritratto di una città soffocata, fiaccata dai suoi stessi cittadini con un evidente parallelismo tra la propria condizione di decadenza e quella dell'intera città. L'idea di utilizzare la cronaca come strumento di riscatto sociale fa del *Sogno* un *unicum* nell'annalistica toscana, offrendo a questa materia nuovi spunti di riflessione che si distaccano dalle osservazioni esclusivamente connesse alla tradizione antiquaria. Il *Sogno* costituisce dunque un'occasione per riflettere sull'utilizzo della cronaca come strumento di riscatto sociale e di capacità di rappresentazione di un'intera comunità urbana.

The present paper aims to analyze the cultural reactions to the downgrade through a study case: that of Pisan Luigi Navarrette (1638-1688). We will focus specifically on the *Sogno (Dream)* the narration written by Navarrette following the charge of theft against Monte Pio of Pisa with the consequent arrest and estrangement from public life. It was just to overcome this dramatic crisis that Luigi, apart from defending himself in court, realized a narration dedicated to his own city. However at the center of the *Dream* we do not find the *histoire bataille* of the mythical republican Pisa, but a «dialogue over the ungratefulness of the Pisans» that is the portrait of a stifled city, tired by its own citizens with an evident

parallelism between its own decadence and the one of the whole city. The idea of using the narration as a tool of social redemption makes of the *Sogno* an *unicum* in the Tuscan annalistic, offering new food for thought that stands out from the observations related to the antiquarian tradition. For this reason, The *Sogno* is an opportunity to reflect on the use of the narration as a social redemption tool and the opportunity to represent a whole urban community.

Maria Luisa FERRARI, *Famiglie che scendono, famiglie che salgono, al tramonto dell'Ancien régime*, p. 303-321.

Il lavoro ricostruisce in parallelo la condizione di due casati nobili veronesi tra la seconda metà del Settecento e la prima metà dell'Ottocento, in ottica comparativa. Si tratta di due casi opposti. I Malaspina tra difficoltà congiunturali, dissennate politiche speculative e indebitamenti giungono al tracollo. I Dionisi attraverso la diversificazione degli investimenti, l'attenta gestione delle proprietà fondiari e dei consumi familiari, quadruplicano il patrimonio immobiliare. Il confronto e il contrappunto tra le vicende delle due casate consentono di evidenziare scelte e circostanze capaci di portare all'incremento patrimoniale e all'innalzamento di status all'interno della classe dirigente o al tracollo. Infatti, particolare rilievo assumono le modalità e le scelte degli investimenti, l'amministrazione e la salvaguardia dell'integrità del patrimonio.

The work reconstructs and draws parallels between the condition of two noble families of Verona between the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. They are two opposite cases. The Malaspina family has to face financial ruin due to economic difficulties, unwise speculative policies and heavy debts. The Dionisi family quadruples their real estate assets thanks to the diversification of investments, the careful management of land ownership and family expenditure. The comparison and counterpoint between the histories of the two families allow us/me to highlight the choices and circumstances that can lead to an increase in wealth and status within the ruling classes or to financial ruin. In fact, the modalities and choices of the investments, the administration and safeguard of the integrity of the patrimony become particularly significant.

Haim BURSTIN, *Dinamiche di declassamento e opportunità di riqualificazione in tempi di crisi. Note a partire dal caso della Rivoluzione francese*, p. 325-339.

Se i processi di declassamento nelle società di antico regime, sono spesso il prodotto di dinamiche lente e progressive, i fenomeni di crisi economica e sociale o politica, sono fattori che contribuiscono a una rapida alterazione di questo ritmo; alcuni processi già in lenta incubazione conoscono una brusca accelerazione, mentre altri si formano a caldo e si

sviluppano secondo una logica nuova. Parallelemente sono questi anche i tempi in cui si aprono delle inattese opportunità di riqualificazione a beneficio di strati precedentemente sottoposti a un processo di declassamento e che ora possono aspirare a posti nella società o nello Stato che erano stati precedentemente loro preclusi. Da questo punto di vista le rivoluzioni sono laboratori di straordinario interesse in cui è possibile studiare come dinamiche di declassamento e di riqualificazione si accavallano in modo spesso complesso e disordinato, ma non per questo meno esplicito. Le carte si rimescolano e i giochi si riaprono, prefigurando nuove dinamiche di riorganizzazione della vita sociale. La Rivoluzione francese non fa difetto a questa caratteristica e Parigi in particolare ci offre un campo di osservazione fin troppo vasto: un grande caleidoscopio in cui la mobilità sociale si riattiva nei sensi più diversi e secondo logiche inedite.

If the downward social mobility in the old regime societies is often the product of slow and progressive dynamics, an economic, social or political crisis can be a factor who contributes to a rapid change of this rhythm. Some processes, already in slow incubation, are subjected to a dramatic acceleration, while others rise up and develop according to a new logic. At the same time, these are also times in which unexpected opportunities arise for people subjected to a downgrading process which can now aspire to play a role previously closed to them in the society or in the state. From this point of view the revolutions are laboratories of extraordinary interest in which it is possible to study how downgrading and upgrading dynamics overlap in a way that is often complex and messy, but not for this reason less evident. The game changes, new chances open up as part of a huge reorganization of social life. The French Revolution fully reflects this feature and Paris in particular offers us a large field of observation and investigation: a complex kaleidoscope in which social mobility is reactivated in the most diverse senses and according to unpredictable patterns.

Guillaume LANCEREAU, *Épreuves révolutionnaires. Lutte des classements et adresses à l'État chez les pédagogues de la Révolution française (1791-1795)*, p. 341-360.

Au gré des bouleversements des premières années de la Révolution, les identités, hiérarchies et autres catégories de l'entendement social admises sous l'Ancien Régime n'ont soudainement plus cours, sans qu'aucun ordre stable et lisible ne vienne immédiatement s'y substituer. Parmi d'autres catégories sociales, les pédagogues de la Révolution présentent un profil spécifique. Les velléités parlementaires de régénération de la nation par le truchement de ses enseignants, dont témoignent de célèbres discours d'assemblée, n'aboutissent qu'à une législation mouvante et contradictoire, abandonnée aussitôt que triomphalement adoptée. L'incertitude généralisée qui en résulte engendre une floraison d'addresses aux assemblées successives ou à leur Comité d'Instruction publique, portées par des citoyens soucieux de négocier leur statut social ou le maintien de leur état. Ces suppliques et pétitions, mobilisant des formes complexes de valorisa-

tion et de mise en récit de soi, traduisent ainsi des demandes explicites ou implicites visant à prémunir leur auteur contre les risques de déclassement ou à justifier une bifurcation de trajectoire, et plongent ainsi l'historien au cœur de l'expérience vécue des bouleversements sociaux de l'ère révolutionnaire.

Under the influence of the revolutionary upheaval, the identities, hierarchies and other categories of the social understanding effective under the Old Regime suddenly ceased to prevail, even though no alternative order managed to emerge and stabilize during those years. Among other professions, the pedagogues of the French Revolution presented a specific profile. Indeed, the parliamentary ambitions of national regeneration through education resulted in a changing and inconsistent legislation, hardly implemented, and abolished as promptly as it was triumphantly adopted. As a consequence of this universal uncertainty, the first years of the Revolution witnessed the flourishing of petitions and demands destined to the successive assemblies, or their Committee of Public Instruction, by citizens determined to negotiate their position or arguing for the preservation of their social status. These petitions, based upon complex methods of self-narration and promotion, conveyed explicit or implicit demands impregnated by the fear of social downgrading, thus providing the historian with a glimpse of the social experiences of the revolutionary era.

Juliette DELOYE, *Écrit et déclassement. Louis Beer et François-René de Chateaubriand secrétaires d'ambassadeur en Italie (début du XIX^e siècle)*, p. 361-380.

Cet article interroge les liens entre écrit et déclassement. S'intéresser aux pratiques de l'écrit d'un individu permet en effet de complexifier une approche qui mesurerait le déclassement dans l'écart entre ce qui est dit et ce qui est vécu. Pour l'historien, le déclassement est d'abord – et peut-être surtout – écrit, mais la pratique qui consiste à écrire son déclassement gagne encore à être reliée à toutes les autres actions (y compris d'écriture) d'un individu. Qu'est-ce qu'écrire son déclassement et qu'est-ce qu'écrire en situation de déclassement, *a fortiori* quand on exerce une fonction, celle de secrétaire, qui consiste à écrire ? Pour esquisser des éléments de réponses, cet article est fondé sur une étude de cas qui touche le milieu diplomatique français en Italie en 1803. Elle prend la forme d'une comparaison entre un écrivain célèbre alors secrétaire d'ambassade à Rome, Chateaubriand, et un inconnu simultanément secrétaire particulier d'ambassadeur à Naples, Louis Beer.

This article questions the relation between writing and social decommissioning. It develops the hypothesis that studying one's writing practices enables to make more complex the approach that would measure the social decommissioning in the difference between what the actors say and live. For historians, the social decommissioning is first – and maybe,

above all – written. The practice, which consists in writing one's decommissioning, benefits from being related to every other actions (including actions by writing) of an individual. What does writing one's decommissioning mean? And what is it to write while being in a social decommissioning situation, especially when one holds the position of secretary, which consists in writing? To sketch out a beginning of an answer, this article is based on a case study related to the French diplomatic environment in Italy in 1803. It takes the form of a comparison between a famous writer, who is then an official secretary of embassy in Rome, Chateaubriand, and an unknown individual, simultaneously private secretary of an ambassador in Naples, called Louis Beer.

Marcella AGLIETTI, *Restare nobili perdendo la nobiltà. Il caso del Granducato di Toscana tra Sette e Ottocento*, p. 381-399.

Il saggio prende in esame gli effetti della legge per regolamento della nobiltà nel granducato di Toscana, introdotta nel 1750, sulle dinamiche di decadenza dalla condizione nobiliare. L'esame della documentazione prodotta nel corso di un secolo al fine di consentire, o respingere, l'iscrizione al ceto, rivela che il temuto declassamento, inteso come la perdita della nobiltà conseguente a un mancato riconoscimento, interessò una esigua minoranza di casi. L'atteggiamento prevalente da parte delle autorità granducali fu piuttosto di concedere deroghe e sanatorie al fine di consentire a quanti fossero privi di sufficienti giustificazioni di provvedere con integrazioni, modifiche o, nella peggiore delle ipotesi, ricorrendo alla grazia derogatoria del granduca.

This essay analyses the effects produced by the law on the Tuscan nobility introduced in 1750 on the local dynamics of decommissioning from the noble condition. The documentation collected for the admission to the nobility rank reveals that the feared downgrading, namely the true loss of nobility, affected a small minority and did not appear significant. On the contrary, the prevailing attitude among the grand-ducal authorities was to grant exemptions and amnesties in order to allow those, who lacked adequate supports, to provide with additions, modifications or, in the worst case, resorting to the derogatory grace of the Grand Duke.

Claude-Isabelle BRELOT, *Nobles français dans la spirale du déclassement (1780-1860)*, p. 401-420.

Dans les rangs de la noblesse provinciale française, le déclassement affecte une minorité, environ 10%. La prosopographie des lignages de la noblesse de Franche-Comté a été dressée pour mesurer et décrire le processus de déclassement. Ses causes sont multiples et conjuguées : pertes révolutionnaires, moins décisives qu'on ne l'a dit ; précarité des noblesse récentes et déficits culturels ; déficit éducatif des enfants et des jeunes gens ; existence débridée et ostentatoire des grands seigneurs ;

libertinage enfin. Parfois, le processus de déclassement est rapide, en une génération, et il affecte la totalité du lignage. La spirale du déclassement est infernale pour cette minorité qui a perdu son statut. Plus fréquemment, le déclassement est individuel et momentané, si bien que le reclassement dans la noblesse est possible. Dans la société post-révolutionnaire, la noblesse apparaît comme une nébuleuse aux contours poreux, mouvants et instables.

Within French provincial nobility, the loss of social status hit a minority, about 10%. A prosopography of the lineages, within the nobility of *Franche-Comté*, has been set to measure and to describe the process of downgrading. There were numerous, combined causes for declassification : the losses of the Revolution, revisited downward ; the precarity of those who were ennobled in the last century of *Ancien Régime* and cultural deficits ; a lack of education among the children and young people ; the unbridled and ostentatious existence of the most aristocratic and wealthiest nobility ; and finally the libertinism. Sometimes, the process of decline was fast – within one generation – and it hit the whole lineage. The spiral of social downgrading was diabolical for this minority which lost its status. More often, downgrading was individual and fleeting, so that repositioning in the nobility was possible. Within the French post-revolutionary society, the nobility appears as a *nébuleuse* whose outlines were porous, instable and shifting.