The Zenith of French Glory; _ The Pinnacle of Liberty.
Religion, Justice, Loyalty, & all the Bugbears of Unenlighten'd Minds, Farewell!

Religion and Violence in France, 1500-2000

Trinity College Dublin

15-16 September 2017

Trinity College Dublin
Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath
The University of Dublin

Trinity Long Room Hub
Arts & Humanities Research Institute

Friday 15 September

1.30 – 2.00   Registration: Room B6002, Arts Faculty Building, TCD

2.00 – 2.15   Introduction

2.15 - 3.45   **1. Religion and Violence in Sixteenth-Century France**

Graeme Murdock (Trinity College Dublin) Chair

Penny Roberts (University of Warwick), 'Religion and Royal Violence during the French Religious Wars'

Stuart Carroll (University of York), 'The Politics of Protestant Violence'

3.45 - 4.15   Tea and Coffee

4.15 – 5.45   **2. Religion and Violence in Revolutionary France**

Charles Walton (University of Warwick) Chair

Francesco Buscemi (University of Warwick), 'The Importance of Being Revolutionary: Oath Taking, Emotional Identities and the Violent Option (1789-1799)'

Joseph Clarke (Trinity College Dublin), '"The Rage of the Fanatics": Religious Fanaticism and the Making of Revolutionary Violence'

7.00   Dinner for Speakers and Chairs

Saturday 16 September

10.00–11.30   **3. Religion and Violence in Modern France**

Molly Pucci (TCD) Chair

Jennifer Sessions (University of Iowa), 'Making Settlers Muslim: Religion, Resistance, and Everyday Life in Colonial Algeria'

Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia (Rutgers University), 'The Utility of Violence: The Contemporary Repertoire of Contentious Identity Politics'

11.30 -12.30   Conclusions

Trinity College Dublin
Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath
The University of Dublin

Trinity Long Room Hub
Arts & Humanities Research Institute

Abstracts

I. Religion and Violence in Sixteenth-Century France

Penny Roberts, 'Religion and Royal Violence during the French Religious Wars'

This paper will make the case for a change in crown policy in the use of judicial violence against the Huguenots post 1572. The historiography of the wars has long argued for a decline in popular confessional violence after the 1572 St Bartholomew's Day massacres. In the mid-1570s there was an apparent shift to the summary official execution of military commanders such as Montgomery (1574) and Montbrun (1575) who might previously have been pardoned. This paper will explore whether this was a bid by the state for a monopoly of violence, or a simple act of revenge directed against specific individuals among the Huguenot leadership. Perhaps the French crown was just acting as all regimes will do when vulnerable or weak and backed into a corner. A change of monarch in 1574 may also have been a factor. How did this violence relate to the crown's ongoing efforts at establishing peace between the faiths? Was this an assertion of royal authority via judicial means which allowed the monarchy control in contrast to the unpredictability of mob violence which was driven by preachers not wedded to the royal policy of appeasement? Or was the mid-1570s simply a brief window of official brutality? All these questions will be addressed by thinking about not only royal violence, but also its intersection with confessional tensions in the provinces and the wider context of the wars.

Stuart Carroll, 'The Politics of Protestant Violence'

There has been a great deal written about the nature and meaning of religious violence over the past 40 years. The debate tended to separate political from religious violence. The view that it is possible and desirable to separate religious and political violence in the sixteenth century has recently been challenged. While the category of the religious has been much debated, the concept of the political has gone largely unquestioned. This paper investigates the parameters of Protestant violence by applying the definition of Carl Schmitt that

enmity is the essence of the political. This was well known to contemporaries. This paper identifies three elements to this:

1. Assassination: this is the best known form of Protestant violence. It discusses a particular case the baron of Fumel to argue that Calvinism offered legitimacy for radical political action.

2. Protestantism and local emnities. This section looks at how the Protestant revolt interesected with feuding in the Agenais in the context of the above.

3. Intra-Protestant violence. This section discusses violence within the Protestant community - a largely neglected topic. Protestants are depicted in the literature as 'disciplined', nobly fighting for recognition of their faith. This is a partial view. I wish to show that Protestants, like Catholics, were divided by all sorts of emnities, and demonstrate the limits of the control exercised by the Consistory during a time of civil war. It demonstrates the pressure that continual conflict brought to bear of social relations.

2. Religion and Violence in Revolutionary France

Francesco Buscemi, 'The Importance of Being Revolutionary: Oath-taking, Emotional Identities and the Violent Option (1789-1799)'

Historians of the French Revolution have identified many cultural and ideological sources of its violence: ideological commitments to virtue (Brunel), the inevitable clashes involved in founding a new order (Lucas), the emotions of fear and anger unleashed by political upheaval (Wahnich, Tackett), and religious commitments to Catholicism (Martin, Mayer). Rarely, however, have they explored how *civic religious practices* gave rise to violence. In this paper, I show how the practice of oath-taking generated "sacred" commitments and a propensity for violence in maintaining them. Given the legal and institutional weaknesses of the new regime, oath-taking helped establish political allegiances, but oaths often came into conflict with other sacred commitments, old and new. The widespread practice of oath-taking during the Revolution offers a revealing vantage point to understand the sacred, civic-religious dimensions of these various political commitments. The imperative to maintain vows, I argue, prompted contemporaries to see violence as extreme but necessary.

Joseph Clarke, '"The Rage of the Fanatics": Religious Fanaticism and the Making of Revolutionary Violence'

Fanaticism, along with its offshoots, fanatic, fanatical and fanaticized, was one of the French Revolution's favourite terms of abuse. As an idea, it has attracted little enough attention in the historiography of the Revolutionary period but, as an insult, it was ubiquitous in Revolutionary political culture. From parliamentary speeches and the press to private letters and diaries, it was used throughout the 1790s to simultaneously define, disparage, and demonize the Revolution's enemies and defend the types of violence the Revolution deployed against them. This paper explores fanaticism's evolution from a key concept in Enlightenment polemic to its emergence into everyday use in Revolutionary politics, but it focuses chiefly on fanaticism's meaning for the Revolution's men in uniform, its paramilitary forces and regular soldiers. These men rarely feature very prominently in histories of Revolutionary violence, but violence was their raison d'être and they have left ample evidence describing how they interpreted and inflicted it. Whether confronting counter-revolution in France, foreign armies abroad or civilian resistance across, and beyond, occupied Europe, these men conceptualised their enemies carefully and calibrated their use of violence accordingly. In this sense, the attribution of religious fanaticism to an adversary marked a critical juncture in any encounter with the enemy because it justified the recourse of extremes of violence that would have been unthinkable in other contexts and against other enemies.

3. Religion and Violence in Modern France

Jennifer Sessions, 'Making Settlers Muslim: Religion, Resistance, and Everyday Life in Colonial Algeria'

On April 26, 1901, members of the Righa tribe of central Algiers overran the French village of Margueritte, seizing the settlement's male colonists and forcing them to convert to Islam by reciting the *shehada* and donning North African clothing. Several Europeans who could not or would not comply were killed before French troops arrived and dispelled the attackers. The Margueritte insurrection has been seen, alternatively, as the end of a nineteenth-century tradition of millenarian revolts against French domination and as an early precursor of twentieth-century Algerian nationalism. While neither of these readings

is incorrect, what made Margueritte unique in the history of Algerian resistance to French colonialism was the forced conversion of European settlers, the insurgents' demand that the Margueritte settlers "make yourselves Muslims." French colonial authorities at the time saw religion as the key to the revolt and almost immediately concluded that its causes lay in "Islamic fanaticism." The administrators and magistrates charged with investigating the revolt focused much of their energy on the religious habits and affiliations of the revolt's leaders. But in their preoccupation with Sufi brotherhoods and pan-Islamist conspiracies, the investigators largely overlooked the more quotidian meanings of the conversion ritual imposed on Margueritte's colonists. Resituating the ritualized transformation of body and soul within the context of everyday life in the settler village opens a new window onto the mundane practices by which social and racial hierarchies were enacted and embodied in French Algeria.

Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia, 'The Utility of Violence: The Contemporary Repertoire of Contentious Identity Politics'

This paper seeks to analyse the framing and meaning of contentious politics in contemporary France. Building on the work of Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow, this study of contention involves two interrelated dimensions. The first one relates to inherited, historical forms of collective action (repertoires). Here, contentious politics varies in connection with political power, institutional regimes, and the dominant culture. In early modern history, agrarian revolts were a direct reflection of feudalism. Religious conflicts were fuelled by dynastic ambition and concerns about the purity of the religious community – whether Catholic or Protestant. Such forms of contention were linked to a traditional repertoire of grievances (about bread, belief, or land). A new repertoire emerged in the 18th century, as well as new forms of contention. Yet, key components of contentious politics remained, such as concerns about the purity of the nation, and grievances fuelled by the threat posed by "Others." As a result, there are significant similarities between past conflicts about religion, and the current debate over the alleged threats to secularism in France.

Participants

Francesco Buscemi	University of Warwick	F.Buscemi@warwick.ac.uk
Stuart Carroll	University of York	stuart.carroll@york.ac.uk
Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia	Rutgers University	arianecd@newark.rutgers.edu
Joseph Clarke	Trinity College Dublin	joseph.clarke@tcd.ie
Graeme Murdock	Trinity College Dublin	murdocg@tcd.ie
Molly Pucci	Trinity College Dublin	puccim@tcd.ie
Penny Roberts	University of Warwick	Penny.Roberts@warwick.ac.uk
Jennifer Sessions	University of Iowa	jennifer-sessions@uiowa.edu
Charles Walton	University of Warwick	Charles.Walton@warwick.ac.uk

Registration

This workshop is open to the public but registration is required in advance. To register please e-mail Joseph Clarke at joseph.clarke@tcd.ie.

Acknowledgements

Trinity College Dublin
Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath
The University of Dublin

Trinity Long Room Hub
Arts & Humanities Research Institute