

#1257

SHARING OUR PERSPECTIVE ON THE WORLD



ISSUE

THE PATHS OF RELIGION

OUR GUEST EDITORS

FLORIAN **MICHEL**

PHILIPPE **BÜTTGEN**

XAVIER **DUPRÉ DE BOULOIS**



PANTHÉON SORBONNE
UNIVERSITÉ PARIS 1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Guest publishers

P. 6

The Paths of Religion

P. 7

**Medieval Christianity:
Religion, Myth and Institution**

P. 10

**The Divine Economy
and Economic Thought
in Thomas Aquinas's works:
When the Moral and Religious
Quest Leads to an Understanding
of the Nature of Exchange**

P. 18

**The Ruins of Theology
during the Revolution**

P. 24

**Forced Migrations and Religion:
Judaism and the rise of Nazism**

P. 30

**"Catch Me if You Can!"
Religion and Political science**

P. 38

**Exploring the Sacredness
of Sound: from the Design
of Sacred Sound to Sound
Therapy**

P. 46

**"The Representatives of our
Delegations, in our French Teams,
Will Not Be Wearing Headscarves
at the 2024 Olympic Games."**

Amélie Oudéa-Castera, Minister
of Sport, 24 September 2023

P. 52

PRESENTATION OF THE TRANSLATOR

NICHOLAS SOWELS

Nicholas Sowels is a Senior Lecturer in English for economics at the Département des langues, where he has taught since the late 1990s. His present research areas include economic and public policy in the United Kingdom, Brexit and finance, as well as poverty and inequality in the UK. He also works as a freelance translator and editor of texts written in English by non-native speakers.





Florian MICHEL

is Professor of Contemporary History at the Sorbonne School of History and a member of the Institut Pierre-Renouvin and the UMR-SIRICE (Sorbonne Identités Relations Internationales et Civilisations de l'Europe). He is a specialist in religious and cultural history and international relations. His publications include *Diplomatie et religion. Au cœur de l'action culturelle de la France au xx^e siècle* (2016, Presses de la Sorbonne), Étienne Gilson. *Une biographie intellectuelle et politique* (2018, Vrin), *À la droite du Père. Les catholiques et les droites de 1945 à nos jours* (Seuil, 2022).

Philippe BÜTTGEN

is Professor of the Philosophy of Religion at the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne and director of the Sorbonne Centre for Contemporary Philosophy (*Institut des sciences juridiques et philosophiques de la Sorbonne, CNRS/Paris 1*). He recently published: *Que m'est-il permis d'affirmer ? Philosophie des confessions*, Paris, Le Cerf, 2024; *Foucault, les Pères, le Sexe. Autour des aveux de la chair*, Paris, Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2021 (in coll.); *Théologie politique et sciences sociales. Autour d'Erik Peterson* (in coll.), Paris, Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2019.

Xavier DUPRÉ DE BOULOIS

has been a Professor of Public Law at the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne since 2014. He is the author and co-author of several teaching books on fundamental rights (*Droit des libertés fondamentales*, PUF, Thémis, 4th ed., 2024; *Grands arrêts du droit des libertés fondamentales*, Dalloz, 4th ed., 2023) and co-editor of the *Revue des droits et libertés fondamentaux* (<https://revuedlf.com>).

"Religion alone remains entirely new religion
Remains as simple as an airport hangar [...]
Behold the Christ who flies higher than aviators
He holds the world record for altitude."
Guillaume Apollinaire, "Zone" in *Alcohols*, 1913.

Translation, Academy of American Poets (<https://poets.org/poem/zone>)



In ancient times, as in modern times, religion has to do with space. It takes the form of paths, quests, journeys, pilgrimage routes, distant missions, crossings – in other words, translations, crossroads, sometimes even shipwrecks – and, in any case, movements and dislocations. This special report sets out to explore such multiple paths of religion, drawing on many of our university's disciplines.

In some ways, religion was not an obvious choice for an issue of #1257. The regulations of the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne ensure that religion is kept at a distance in four ways. Being part of France's public higher education system, the preamble to the University's Rules of Procedure recalls that it is a secular institution, which obeys the principle of neutrality in the public social, political and economic sphere. Its teaching must "take place in compliance with the rules of neutrality, strict separation from any religious authority, and the equal treatment of users" (Art. 5). "All users" are invited to "respect pluralism, the principle of separation from any religious authority, and tolerance" (Art. 8). Lastly, "the behaviour of any person present on the premises of the establishment must not undermine the lay nature of the public higher education system" (Art. 2). These various references to secularism evoke a university space purged of religion, that is as being "a-religious".

This is often referred to as a French specificity, and it is a very real one. But has everything really been said about the University, its history and its missions, once the constitutional principle of separation has been invoked? France's public higher education system is separate from any religious authority and bound by strict neutrality. But does this mean that it is indifferent to matters of religion? How, moreover, should we understand the University's contribution to the implementation of a secularism whose purpose is to ensure freedom of conscience while respecting all beliefs?

“Visitors literally walk over the remains of the medieval religious building and circle the surviving Baroque chapel.”

The very name of our university evokes a dual heritage. It is marked, of course, by the figure of Robert de Sorbon, the son of a peasant who became chaplain to King Saint Louis. He was a professor of theology and founder of the Collège de Sorbonne, the distant ancestor of the Sorbonne as we know it. The surface of the Sorbonne's main courtyard, dominated by a sumptuous, empty and enclosed chapel, containing the tomb of Richelieu, still bears the outline of the first chapel of the University of Paris. Visitors literally walk over the remains of the medieval religious building and circle around the surviving Baroque chapel. Even the hour on the sundial in the courtyard is religious, since the words “Sicut umbra dies nostri” (As a shadow our days), inscribed below the sundial, are taken from the Book of Job (8, 9). But, the name of our university also bears the imprint of the revolutionary secularisation of Mount Sainte-Genève, now crowned by the Panthéon, etymologically the temple of all the gods, which became the temple of the new civil religion of the “Great Men” of the Fatherland.

The medieval and revolutionary heritage has been recast in the heat of modernity to create the present. The Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne may be secular, but it is fully aware of its many heritages, and on this point, it has a dual project: striving for secular intelligence and intelligence renewed of secularism. Without excluding religion, this nevertheless seeks to think about religion, explain it, analyse it and situate it in the long term. In an age of “holy ignorance” (Olivier Roy) and less inculturation of Christianity in Europe (to say the least), it is naturally important for the University to play its social role and for students to be given the elements of a precise lexicon on religious issues. As Régis Debray, the author of a report on religious education in secular schools noted perspicaciously, the contemporary world is “unintelligible without reference to the religious structuring of cultural areas” (*L'enseignement du fait religieux dans l'École laïque*, 2002). He essentially invited secondary schools to do what was already being done at the University: to move from a “secularism of incompetence” (i.e. “religion, by construction, is none of our business”), to a “secularism of intelligence” (i.e. “it is our duty to understand it”). “Would not a calm, methodical examination of religion, refusing to be aligned with any particular denomination, ultimately be the touchstone and litmus test for this intellectual asceticism?” he asked.

As a subject of study, religion is indeed well represented in most of the University's departments and research centres, whether in its traces, images, legacies and interpretations (archaeology, anthropology, history, history of art, philosophy, history of law and economics), in its relations with other institutions (law, sociology and political science), or in its most current manifestations (social and political sciences, demography, development studies, geography and contemporary history, etc.). Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne also offers a university diploma entitled the “Knowledge of Secularism” (*Connaissance de la laïcité*), as part of its continuing education programme. Lastly, the University has a secular contact person, accessible to everyone who attends the establishment.

The question of religion is all the more relevant for the university because most of its partners in the UNA Europa network also have a rich history, marked by religion and varying degrees of de-confessionalisation, including the separation of churches and universities and secularisation; the separation between the Middle Ages and modernity; by religion as a theological discipline and dogmatics, and by aspirations to freedom. The universities of Leuven, Dublin and Edinburgh, to name but a few, were not long ago, or are still, denominational universities, sometimes with theological faculties within them, as in Edinburgh. Some of our partners abroad, in North America for example, do not dissociate freedom of expression and religious freedom, in the spirit of the American constitution. There are also a Divinity School and official chaplains at Harvard, which is a secular university of Puritan origin, as well as at the University of Chicago, founded jointly by John D. Rockefeller and the Baptist Education Society.

This raises the question of how a secular university views its relations with partners whose religious history is quite different. At a time when universities are no longer national, but global, should they not reflect on how they themselves cross the paths of religion?

The following special report is made up of seven contributions. Much is said about history: medieval history to begin with, thanks to the analyses of Florian Mazel, raising the question of the definition of religion as myth, institution or society. Pierre Januard's article on Thomas Aquinas – depicted on the façade of the Sorbonne chapel – highlights the philosophical link between analysis of the divine economy and analysis of the social economy in the Middle Ages. Jean-Luc Chappey describes the pivotal moment of the Revolution, which led both to the ruin of the Sorbonne's theology of the 18th century and the University's institutional reconstruction during the Napoleonic Empire. Laura Hobson Faure's words shed light on how the forced displacement of Jews, especially Jewish children, during the Nazi era resulted in the displacement of Jewish identities themselves. Loïc Le Pape's article looks at the complex relationship between political science, which has long been marked by its principled secularity, and the need to consider religious matters, in order to understand contemporary issues. Amal Msakni opens her study of sound, as sacred and as sound therapy with a fine expression by Schopenhauer that music expresses “what is metaphysical in the physical world”. The special report ends with a contribution by Xavier Dupré de Boulois, who illustrates the continuing relevance of religious issues in the field of law in the run-up to the 23rd Olympic Games, hosted by Paris in the summer of 2024. ●

FLORIAN MICHEL, PHILIPPE BÜTTGEN AND XAVIER DUPRÉ DE BOULOIS

“Religious studies are well represented in most of the University's departments and research centres.”

Medieval Christianity: Religion, Myth and Institution

"The Middle Ages: a time of religion. Speak of it with respect and emotion", Flaubert might have written in his famous *Dictionary of Received Ideas*, so closely are the two terms associated. Such an assimilation is, however, fraught with confusion, as the modern notion of religion does not fit well with medieval Christianity.



Florian Mazel

is professor of medieval history at the Sorbonne School of History and a member of the Laboratoire de médiévisique occidentale de Paris (UMR 8589).

As we know, the Middle Ages is an artificial chrononym imposed by the humanists and modern scholars, many of whom wanted to forget these mediocre times which they saw as having turned their backs on classical Antiquity. Even today, the Middle Ages as a period of academic study are most often given meaning and unity in general parlance by their religion – their Christianity that is. The Middle Ages are even said to have been the era of religion par excellence, of its omnipresence and omnipotence. Indeed, this kind of axiological discourse is used to good effect, to celebrate, from Chateaubroand to Péguy, via Hugo, the “genius of Christianity”, or peoples inhabited by faith in the Age of Cathedrals. Or they are vilified, from Voltaire, to Anatole France, via Michelet, as a time of evil, of obscurantism, of the reign of “infamy” and the persecution of dissidents.

Looking beyond the clichés, historians too are not to be outdone in emphasising to what extent medieval Christianity was “a formidable machine for producing belief” (Jean-Claude Schmitt). After all wasn’t the main monumental legacy of the Middle Ages, its slew of Romanesque and Gothic churches (if not neo-Romanesque or neo-Gothic)? They still fill the horizon of our rural and urban landscapes, and at times embarrassing when burning down, or abandoned by the faithful, and remaining in the hands of municipalities. While this representation may be suggestive, it is nonetheless problematic. Medieval Christianity is often thought of through the prism of religion. But other approaches, more inspired by the social sciences, prefer to distance themselves from the very notion of religion and favour other ways of interpreting the period, as a myth and as an institution.

Medieval Christianity as a religion

From this perspective, religion permeated all medieval beliefs and social practices. The force of “religious feeling” was such that disbelief, and even more so atheism were impossible because they were unthinkable. This is Lucien Febvre’s classic thesis, which continues to hold sway, even though some research suggests the possibility that sceptical attitudes did exist in the Middle Ages, and not just in literate circles.¹ This hold of religion is analysed in terms of its cultural dynamics and geopolitical deployment. It explains the mobilisation of the idea of Christendom, both as a culture and as a space, and underlines the profound otherness of the Middle Ages, as a time of religion, in contrast to a modernity that is marked by the disenchantment of the world. Since the 1960s, this view has been supported by a strong historiographical current – the history of religion – and is sometimes used to justify the idea of the “long Middle Ages”, extending into the 18th century, and only brought to an end by the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution.

As Jacques Le Goff has pointed out, “religious phenomena are par excellence long-term phenomena”.² While such a vision of things may offer a certain didactic convenience, its main limitation is of course to make religion a specific and universal category for apprehending reality. It is true that the de-confessionalisation of religious history in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s enabled it to broaden its scope, moving away from ecclesiastical history and institutional issues to embrace the vast field of “mentalities” and socio-religious practices, often enthusiastically entering into a dialogue with the social sciences. But the history of religion is still rooted in the circumscription of an irreducibly particular subject – religion – even when this subject is redefined as concerning “religious facts” in the light of sociology or anthropology.³ In the final analysis, such a conception remains dependent on the categorisations established in the 18th and 19th centuries, at the time of *The Great Transformation* (Karl Polanyi), which dissociated religion from the economy and politics according to a modern logic, yet which does little to help us understand medieval society in depth.⁴ For, as Jean-Claude Schmitt has pointed out, although the word *religio* exists (to designate a religious order or the monastic profession), “in the Middle Ages, religion did not exist”.⁵

“The Middle Ages were the time par excellence of religion, of the omnipresence and omnipotence of religion.”

1 SCHMITT J.-C., “La croyance au Moyen Âge”, in *Le corps, les rites, les rêves, le temps*, Paris, 2001, pp. 77-96, here pp. 83-84; Pezè W., “Scepticisme, incrédulité et contestation religieuse au haut Moyen Âge (vie - xe siècle)”, *Revue historique*, 704, 2022, p. 753-791.

2 “Introduction” to *Histoire de la France religieuse*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1992, p. 21.

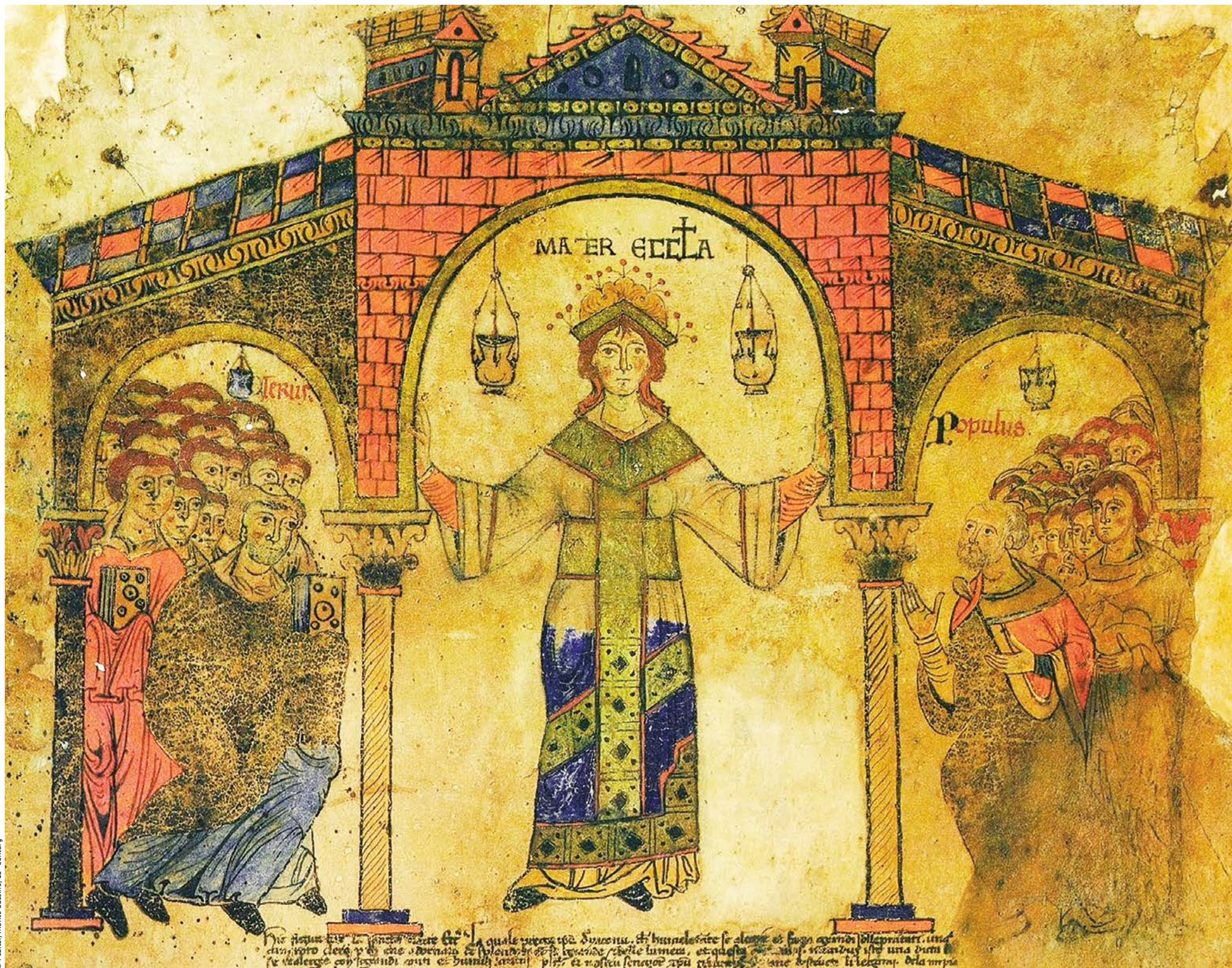
3 LE GOFF J. and Rêmond R., “Preface” to the *Histoire de la France religieuse*, op. cit. pp. 7-20; FOA J., “Histoire du religieux”, in Delacroix C. et alii (dir.), *Historiographies*, Vol. 1, Paris, 2010, p. 268-281.

4 The emergence of religion in the modern sense is sometimes attributed to occurring in the 17th century: STROUMSA G., *A New Science. The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason*, Cambridge (EU), 2010.

5 SCHMITT J.-C., “Une histoire religieuse du Moyen Âge est-elle possible ?” in *Le corps, les rites*, op. cit. pp. 31-41.

The allegorical figure of "Mother Church" (*Mater Ecclesia*), placed in an architectural setting reminiscent of a place of worship, between representatives of the clergy and the lay faithful (*Exultet* of Mont Cassin Abbey, made between 1085 and 1087, ASV, Barberini lat. 592, fol. 1^r).

© Psalter, Monte Cassino, 11th century





Beyond the clichés, historians are not to be outdone in underlining the extent to which medieval Christianity was a formidable machine for producing belief.

Medieval Christianity as a myth

From this second perspective, which stems mainly from anthropology, but also from the philosophy of Cassirer and Bourdieusian sociology, religion is seen above all as a language through which not only all communication, but also all knowledge of the world take place, irrespective of the degree to which faith is appropriated by individuals. Medieval Christianity thus appears as “a common language outside of which no idiom could be uttered for centuries” (Alain Boureau).⁶ This language transmitted the essential truths using stories rather than precepts or dogmas, in this case, the biblical narrative, from Genesis to Apocalypse, all enlightened by the story of the Incarnation, the foundation story, the “original core of Christian myth” (J.-C. Schmitt),⁷ which in a way institutes society. This narrative is constantly being amplified “by the development of new narratives, capable of developing an incomplete message and integrating the concerns of the moment”, which make up the “great Christian legendarium” (A. Boureau).⁸ Hagiography represents the largest part of this myth, and spills over into all narratives, including “profane” ones (heroic chivalry, “folk” narratives, State mystics, etc.).

The emphasis here is on the mythical structure of Christianity, which shapes the relationship not only to time but also to space, to nature and the animal kingdom, to the human person, to social hierarchies and functions, and to symbolic representations, etc. This Christian myth is neither autonomous from society nor a simple reflection of social logic. On the other hand, it confers a major role on the operators of “religious work”, to use Pierre Bourdieu’s expression. They are the “producers [of the myth] or specialised spokespersons, invested with power, institutional or otherwise”, and who carry out a “literate reinterpretation” of the myth.⁹ In this case, they are clerics who claim the exclusive right to mediation of the sacred.

Once again, this perspective supports the idea of a “long Middle Ages” extending right up to the Enlightenment, and its great demystifiers. However, the main limitation of this approach, which focuses on beliefs and representations, is that it second-guesses practices by seeing them as nothing more than the narrative appropriation of representations for non-literate people.¹⁰ We have known, at least since Durkheim, that practices are inseparable from beliefs, even if

6 BOUREAU A., *L'événement sans fin. Récit et christianisme au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1993, p. 9.

7 SCHMITT J.-C., « Problèmes du mythe dans l'Occident médiéval », in *Le corps, les rites*, op. cit. pp. 53-76, here p. 54.

8 BOUREAU A., *L'événement sans fin. Récit et christianisme au Moyen Âge*, op. cit. p. 10 and 18.

9 BOURDIEU P., « Genèse et structure du champ religieux » *Revue française de sociologie*, 12, 1971, pp. 295-334, here pp. 299 and 306.

10 See for example BALZAMO N., *Les deux cathédrales. Mythe et histoire à Chartres (XI^e-XX^e siècle)*, Paris, 2012.

they have their own logic, and this has been confirmed by numerous empirical studies.¹¹

Medieval Christianity as an institution

This third perspective sees medieval society as entirely driven by the dynamics of *ecclesia* – the use of Latin here is intended to distance us from the clergy-church with which we are familiar. This coextension of the social and the ecclesial makes any circumscription of a specific religious field impossible and futile.¹² The *ecclesia-society* or ecclesial society can be described in terms of an institution in the sociological sense, as inclusive, drawing on Durkheim, in which religion is an “essentially social thing” that refers to “the idea that a society creates itself”.¹³

The semantic study of the sources and the discourses of the monastic and clerical actors support this understanding. In this context, although a distinction was made between clerics, monks and laypeople within society, the ecclesiastical institution, in the legal sense of the term, was not conceived of as distinct from society as a whole until the Gregorian reform (in the late 11th and 12th century). Until then, the head of the *ecclesia-society* was the emperor or king, however secular he might be. All “sacred things” (including the churches themselves) and ecclesiastical offices were integrated into aristocratic domination. Ecclesiastical persons were part of family, loyalty or clientele networks, often on a hereditary basis. The practices used to (re)produce the social order, such as the expression of (religious) faith or (vassalage) loyalty. Significantly, these practices were simultaneously social, political, economic and religious, and they were designated by the same word *fides*, or the *memoria* (both remembrance and commemoration) of the dead.¹⁴

At the heart of the Middle Ages, the Gregorian reform turned this landscape upside down, by initiating a process of separation/autonomisation of ecclesiastical institutions from the rest of society. The *ecclesia-society* was then overwhelmed by the emancipation of the *ecclesia-institution* (taken here in its legal and clerical sense), which intended to dominate society from the *outside* in the name

11 DURKHEIM É., “De la définition des phénomènes religieux”, *L'Année sociologique*, 2, 1896, pp. 1-28.

12 GUERREAU-JALABERT A., « L'ecclésiologie médiévale, une institution totale », in OEXLE O.G., SCHMITT J.-C. (eds.), *Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire du Moyen Âge en France et en Allemagne*, Paris, 2002, p. 219-226; LAUWERS M., « Qu'est-ce que le dominium ecclésiastique? Entre traditions historiographiques et bricolage conceptuel », *Le Moyen Âge*, 129, 2023, p. 113-148.

13 DURKHEIM É., *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Paris, 1960 [1st ed. 1912], p. 604-605.

14 WIRTH J., « La naissance du concept de croyance, XIIe-XVIIe siècle » *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 45, 1983, pp. 7-58; BOUREAU A., « L'Église médiévale comme preuve animée de la croyance chrétienne », *Terrain*, 14, 1990, p. 113-118.

Medieval society [was] entirely driven by the dynamics of ecclesia, this coextension of the social and the ecclesial making it impossible to circumscribe a specific religious field.

of its hierocratic authority. This assertion of the Church-clergy as a separating institution conceived more from a sociological, Weberian perspective now, gave rise in turn to competition, resistance and adaptation, starting with the assertion of secular powers in search of new sources of legitimacy and the emergence of vernacular culture. This change is therefore a major key to reading the second Middle Ages (from 11th to 15th centuries).¹⁵

Medieval Christianity can best be defined as an institution, in both the sociological and legal senses of the term. This comes, however, at the cost of making its chronological dynamics more complex, since instead of the long Middle Ages of religion or myth, it would be more appropriate to highlight a “pivotal period” (Reinhart Koselleck) that lies at its heart, and which gives Medieval Christianity its full meaning. ●



At the heart of the Middle Ages, the Gregorian reform turned this landscape upside down, by initiating a process of separation/autonomisation of ecclesiastical institutions from the rest of society.



¹⁵ MAZEL F., “Pour une redéfinition de la réforme ‘grégorienne’”, in *La réforme « grégorienne » dans le Midi (milieu XI^e-début XIII^e s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 48, Toulouse, 2013, p. 9-38.

The Divine Economy and Economic Thought in Thomas Aquinas's works: When the Moral and Religious Quest Leads to an Understanding of the Nature of Exchange

Religious thought has long been a key factor in understanding economic mechanisms. The work by Thomas Aquinas, written in the heart of the Middle Ages, is one of the greatest illustrations of this.



Pierre Januard is a temporary lecturer in economics at the Sorbonne School of Economics (UFR 02).

conomic thought was mainly the work of philosophers, theologians and lawyers, from Antiquity until the discipline became autonomous at the end of the modern era. In the Middle Ages, theologians played a key role in taking such thinking forward. While the contributions of his predecessors and successors should not be underestimated, Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274) was the most outstanding figure in this movement. Although his economic writings were only a small part of his work, they remain the most important in terms of size, posterity and undoubtedly in content during the entire Middle Ages. We can add a more historical note to these scientific motivations, as he took part in the early development of the University of Paris in the middle of the 13th century and, as a Dominican, lived and taught at the Saint-Jacques convent and college – the located exactly between the Sorbonne and the present-day Centre Panthéon.

There are three main dimensions to the interaction between divine economy (taken here in the general meaning of the relationship between God and his creation) and Thomas Aquinas's economic thought. First, Aquinas sought to answer moral questions and, as a theologian, to determine what was sinful in the behaviour of the lender, the borrower, the seller and the buyer. To carry out this normative quest, he had to have a positive understanding of the operations concerned. Secondly, the exchange relations observed in his treatment of theological questions in his early works enabled Aquinas



Saint Thomas d'Aquin, march 7, from the images of *Tous Les Saints et Saintes de l'année* (images of *Tous les Saints et événements religieux de l'année*). Date : 1636. Accession number : 175017-371(77).

nas to forge the conceptual basis of his economic thought, which he would later use in dealing with trade and lending. In return, the use of economic concepts, such as price, in Catholic theology gradually shaped his theological thinking.

A positive economic approach to a normative theological question

Thomas Aquinas's economic thinking was mainly rooted in his moral theology. His two best-known texts, on commercial fraud and usury, are part of his great work at the end of his life, the *Summa theologiae* (1272), as part of his treatise on justice, yet even his earlier texts relate to justice.

Aquinas aimed to find out whether there is sin here. Can the merchants resume their activity if they have confessed and had therefore committed to sinning no more? Is the price charged in exchange fair or is one of the two contracting parties sinning? Is it possible to lend with interest without being guilty of usury? Is the borrower not complicit with the usurer by soliciting him?

To answer these questions, Aquinas set out to understand what constitutes an exchange, carried out for the mutual benefit of both parties. He described the activity of the merchants and discussed the two sources of supply, namely trade and local production. Aquinas's thinking is in line with contemporary economic and ecological concerns, not only by highlighting the advantages of local production, but even more so by retaining the classic meaning of the term *productio*: the source of this production is land, not human activity, which is more responsible for transformation through manufacture, improvement and exchange. Human beings receive the output of land, which is more or less abundant, and which they transform and exchange to satisfy their needs.

To account for exchange activity and its justice, Aquinas specified what price is, which he defines as an equality of value between the things that are exchanged. But he also recognises the need to cover expenses for an exchange to take place. This leads him to consider the costs that the seller can include in the sale price and to exclude those that would result from the merchant's imprudence. He distinguishes between two types of imprudence in the management of a business: negligence and poor anticipation due to lack of competence. He also realises that many transactions are indeed exchanges and not gratuitous gifts, without actually being priced, in the sense that the counterparty is not always equal in value to the thing being exchanged and may simply be a form of participation or compensation. To justify the prohibition of usury in a new way, Aquinas examined money lending by combining an analysis of the nature of money with the *mutuum* of Roman law: an interest-free loan with a transfer of ownership, but which could be circumvented in ways that allowed remuneration through extrinsic titles.

There are two characteristics of Aquinas's thought. Firstly, he was working within a moral framework and was trying to determine whether the behaviour of economic agents was sinful. But he had no access to their intentions. He therefore concentrated his analysis on the objective and visible dimension of exchange, starting with the object of exchange, whose nature dictated the character of the exchange and its conditions, which in turn dictated the right behaviour of the agents. Aquinas then gradually unified his object of study. Although commercial activity and interest-bearing loans appear in a scattered order in his early works, such as the *Commentary on the Sentences* (1254-1256), they are brought together in the *Summa theologiae* (1272), under the heading of voluntary exchanges. Aquinas thus defines an epistemological and moral field that deals with what is neither a gift nor theft or robbery.

From the exchange with God to economic exchange

Before dealing explicitly with economic issues, Aquinas used economic concepts, particularly the notion of price, in his theology. Of the nineteen instances of when he uses the expression "just price", which is emblematic of his thought, the first cases are not used to describe economic situations strictly speaking. Instead, they describe the relationship between God and human beings and how spiritual or sacred goods are conceived.

The expression "just price" is used for the first time in his Biblical commentary of the Book of Isaiah (1252), when God calls human beings to come to him to receive his wisdom fully: "You who have no money, come, buy and eat" (Isaiah, 55, 1). Aquinas goes on to explain "what is less than the right price". For a long time, this verse was understood as expressing an unrequited gift, with human beings simply extending the gift they have received, as Jesus put it: "You have received freely, give freely" (Matthew 10:8). However, the notion of a counterpart was introduced by Aquinas, for whom eloquence and study were owed to God in exchange for his wisdom. It is therefore an exchange and not a gift. However, this exchange is not based on a price, but simply on participation. Indeed, human beings can never return to God something of equal value to what God has given them.

Through the relationship to God, Aquinas introduces metaphorically the idea of a plurality of exchange ratios. This then enables him to deal with borderline cases within the framework of exchange and according to the virtue of justice, and not within the framework of one-sided gifts and the virtue of charity. While most goods and services are exchanged at a price, some are subject to compensation. This may be in the form of pay, as in the case of soldiers or priests, or compensation, as in certain loan situations. Certain services, such as those provided by lawyers and doctors, are subject to complex remuneration arrangements. So we see that by dealing with a spiritual and theological situation, Aquinas is preparing arguments that will enable him to account for the diversity of exchanges.

Thomas Aquinas's economic thinking was mainly rooted in his moral theology.

Human beings receive the more or less abundant output of land, which they transform and exchange to satisfy their needs.

Sacred goods, at the limits of exchange

The second use of the expression “just price” occurs when Aquinas deals with the sacraments, and more specifically with the sin of simony, which, in Catholic theology, consists in selling a sacred good or power that cannot be traded. He points out that there are two types of sin in buying and selling: either because of the price level, by setting a price that is not fair, or by selling what cannot be priced. Through a theological analysis about what is sacred, he provides three economic factors that help to deepen our understanding of commercial exchange.

First, Aquinas distinguishes between justice according to quantity and justice according to object. For a sale price to be fair, the object sold must be capable of being priced and the price must be quantitatively fair. This notion of a “just price”, which aims to verify that there is equality of value between the things being exchanged, is developed in a complex way by Aquinas and has often attracted the attention of economists. However, it has been stressed that not everything for him could be given a price.

Secondly, it is not exchange that is impossible here, but the fact that it takes place on the basis of a price. The essential point, in other words, is that there exists a relationship of equality between things. That said, even the sacraments, sacred objects par excellence on which God confers his grace, may be subject to a counterpart. For Aquinas, the priest who celebrates Mass does not receive the “price” of the Mass, but an allowance to live. The framework is one of exchange and not of gift, but the counterpart does not claim to be of the same value as the service provided and its objective is simply to enable everyone to live and pursue their social mission.

Finally, it is the object itself that determines the type of exchange it can be the subject to. It is not the economic agents, buyers or sellers, who choose how they will exchange a good or service.

We have seen how Aquinas’s theological analysis enabled him to take a number of steps forward in economic thought. Yet, the opposite process can also be observed. Theology, in turn, was influenced by the use of the economic lexicon. To cite only the most emblematic case, Aquinas asserts in his early work, the *Commentary on the Sentences* (1254-1256), that the sacraments cannot be given a price. Fifteen years later, in his great work, the *Summa theologiae* (1272), we can identify a form of lexical commodification. The sacraments are henceforth part of the universe of what can theoretically be priced, but this price is inaccessible. The right price is too high for the sacraments to be exchanged at this price. The greatness of God’s grace is thus expressed in quantitative terms. The explanatory framework of the sin of simony has therefore evolved.

Thinking about the relationship between human beings

The ideas of Thomas Aquinas illustrate the fact that the internal discourse of a religious tradition and economic thought do come together, because thinking about the relationship with God metaphorically allows us to think about the relationship between human beings. Conversely, the lexicon and concepts used to describe these human relationships sometimes guide theological reflection. In addition, religious questioning has led to an understanding of economic mechanisms motivated by the quest for justice, a motivation that has continued to be a part of economic thought, even without any reference to religion. ●

“While most goods and services are exchanged at a price, some lead to compensation, which may be paid, as in the case of soldiers or priests.”

“The thought of Thomas Aquinas illustrates the fact that the internal discourse of a religious tradition and economic thought are brought together.”

The Ruins of Theology during the Revolution

The Faculty of Paris and its various colleges were an essential venue of Catholic Paris. During the French Revolution, they were gradually marginalised: professors and students were forced to leave, new sites embodying the new political, cultural and educational order emerged (the Panthéon, the National Museum of Natural History, etc.), leading to the gradual abandonment of an area that became the target of destruction. It was not until the Napoleonic Restoration and, above all, the Restoration of the Monarchy that the Sorbonne became the central institution for learning in Paris, during the 19th century.



Jean-Luc Chappey

is professor of the history of science and director of the Institut d'histoire moderne et contemporaine.

At the beginning of December 1968, the intrusion of revolution into the Sorbonne caused a stir among the academic authorities. The Dean of the Faculty of Letters at the Sorbonne had strongly condemned the increase in acts of vandalism:

"Over the last ten days or so, acts of vandalism and violence have escalated and multiplied, due to the actions of individuals who it is hard to believe are academics: sordid damage, broken equipment, insulting posters, sudden eruptions into lecture theatres, the disruption of PhD vivas".¹ Despite appeals for calm and reason, the occupations continued throughout January: on Thursday 25, students attacked the portrait of Richelieu by Philippe de Champaigne.² "The students drew two large bubbles on the canvas in the style of a comic strip, stating notably: Let's turn art away from its mortifying function. Art is dead, long live the revolution! According to the specialists, it is more difficult to paint over such a large area than to repair a clean tear."³ The shock was all the greater as this symbolic destruction seemed to be a replay of the destruction suffered by the Sorbonne chapel during the French Revolution: the famous portrait of Louis XIII's minister was one of the objects stolen in December 1793 when the chapel and its crypt (which has housed the tomb of Richelieu since the 17th century) were ransacked by some of the Parisian *sans-culottes*. The portrait of Richelieu was then stolen and replaced by the citizen Cheval, a haberdasher in rue de la Harpe. It was passed from hand to hand, before

1 [https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1968/12/03/les-actes-de-vandalisme-se-multiplient-declare-le-doyen-de-la-sorbonne_2508405_1819218.html].

2 Richelieu played an important role in the history of the Sorbonne, where he was elected prior in 1622. In particular, he was responsible for the major works carried out between 1627 and 1648 under the direction of the architect Jacques LERMERCIER.

3 [https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1969/01/27/un-acte-de-vandalisme_2423772_1819218.html].

© Bibliothèque nationale de France, dept Estampes et photographies, Réserve OB-370(22)-FT4



Bataillon de la Sorbonne : N'obéir qu'à la Loi [estampe] [Paris] : [R.A. Vieilh de Varennes, peintre graveur], [1790]



“
Unlike other
major educational
and scientific
institutions in
Paris, the Sorbonne
was a non-place in
the history of the
French Revolution.”

being returned to Armand-Emmanuel du Plessis, Duke of Richelieu, and Prime Minister, during the Restoration, by Louis XVIII. Unlike other major educational and scientific institutions in Paris (the National Museum of Natural History, the École Polytechnique, and even the Collège de France), the Sorbonne was a non-place in the history of the French Revolution.

The Sorbonne during the turmoil of the Revolution

In 1789, the University of Paris and its various faculties (Theology, Law and Medicine) and colleges (Louis-le-Grand, Navarre, Sorbonne) were the heart of learned Paris, located across the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève. The various works and developments carried out since the 17th century had gradually strengthened its hold on the land, making it a key venue for educational and scientific activities in Paris. Its rich library, which was open to the public, continued to attract many French and European clerics and scholars. The University's House (made up of baccalaureate holders) and the Society (made up of graduates who had taught a philosophy course and had to be admitted in two consecutive ballots) constituted the College. This was a consecrated intellectual elite of theologians, most of whom came from noble families. Despite being criticised for the quality of its teaching and the diplomas it awarded, the institution was able to renew itself and open up to new ideas throughout the 18th century. While the members of the Society of the Sorbonne defended dogma against all types of challenges to royal and religious authority, they were not totally opposed to any idea of reform.⁴ In the 1770s and 1780s, various building extension projects testified to the dynamism of an institution that remained forceful. The first decisions taken by the revolutionary deputies at France's Constituent Assembly were greeted with mixed, but not necessarily hostile, reactions. Not all teachers had the same career as the last rector of studies, Jean-Baptiste Dumouchel (1748-1820), who was elected to the Estates-General and then became a deputy to the Constituent Assembly, before establishing himself as a supporter of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and then being elected Bishop of the Gard. In 1790, a large majority of members of the University refused to take the civic oath required of all members of the Catholic clergy. In order to reduce the influence of the rebellious clergy, the National Assembly decided on 22 March 1791 to suspend the appointment of the rector of the University of Paris. From then on, the University turned its back on the Revolution.

On 17 October 1791, the Paris departmental authorities decided to close the doors of the Navarre and Sorbonne colleges. Despite attempts at resistance, the various colleges were closed between spring

⁴ In the 1750s, members of the Faculty of Theology went on the offensive against what they considered to be subversive works, exercising their right of censorship against the Encyclopédie and Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*.

and summer 1792. The Sorbonne Society was abolished on 18 August 1792 by the law abolishing religious congregations. The transformation of the church of Sainte-Geneviève into Paris's Panthéon in honour of Great Men marked a decentring of the University and a transfer of sacredness: the funeral of Mirabeau (5 April 1791) and the posthumous burial of Voltaire (11 July 1791) in the Panthéon were national ceremonies that ignored the Sorbonne. Many members of the old university guild left Paris, some choosing to emigrate. On 30 September 1793, all the colleges in Paris were forced to close their doors, with the exception of the Collège Louis-le-Grand, which became the Collège de l'Égalité and a meeting place for scholarship holders of the Republic. The partial destruction of the Sorbonne chapel in December 1793 by some of the Parisian *sans-culottes* finally marked the gradual disappearance of the Sorbonne from the geography of scholarly and Catholic Paris. The authorities nevertheless intended to make use of a site which could not be completely abandoned, being located in the heart of the political capital. Disused, the chapel became a temple of Reason where patriotic ceremonies were held: on 20 Nivôse of Year II (9 January 1794), members of the Beaurepaire section organised a ceremony to unveil busts of the Republican martyrs Marat and Lepeletier. Nearby, the Collège de France, which had been the only major institution to continue its activities throughout the Revolution, established itself as a central place for science and education. In June 1793, the creation of the National Museum of Natural History shifted the focus of scientific and educational life even further south. The university buildings were gradually abandoned. Learned societies and new educational institutions (such as the Lycée républicain and the Lycée des arts) created a new geography of teaching in Paris.

The future of the Sorbonne: abandonment or conversion

In order to mark a clean break with the revolutionary government incarnated by Robespierre, whom they stigmatised with the concept of the Terror and accused of having wanted to wipe out the progress of reason, the Thermidorians claimed the heritage of the Enlightenment and presented themselves as the restorers of science, art and literature. Citizenship was no longer considered to be acquired through political commitment, but was henceforth based on a vast educational undertaking symbolised by the creation of the short-lived École normale in Year III (January-May 1795). In the eyes of the new authorities, who intended to govern in the name of reason, citizens had to be reasonable and civilised. In order to accommodate 1,400 students and future teachers from the various departments, major works were planned in the former Sorbonne chapel to create an lecture hall. But the project was abandoned as the authorities preferred to accommodate the students in the Museum's lecture hall, to save money. Yet unfinished work had damaged the various buildings. For several years, the Sorbonne site was reduced to a vast area under construction, giving rise to numerous complaints from local residents. In 1800, when part of the chapel collapsed, the Sorbonne was in a state of abandon-

“
The chapel became
a temple of Reason
where patriotic
ceremonies were
held.”

ment, symbolising the ruins that cluttered Paris's built environment, as illustrated by the artist Hubert Robert (*Vue de la Sorbonne en ruine*, Musée Carnavalet).

In the end, the Sorbonne remained on the sidelines of the vast undertaking to reorganise scientific and educational institutions orchestrated by the French Directory (1795-1799), giving substance to the republican project. The aim was to give impetus to an ambitious project of the moral and physical regeneration of the citizens and, dropping the democratic principles of Year II, to guarantee a return to political and social order. The Louvre, which housed the new Institut national des sciences, arts et lettres and the Bibliothèque nationale, became the new scientific and political centre of Paris on the right bank. For example, courses taught by professors at the École Spéciale des Langues Orientales, were given in the Louvre, which could draw on its collections of manuscripts and objects to provide teaching material. Conversely, the Sorbonne was abandoned. The authorities called in experts who produced a series of alarming reports on the state of disrepair of the buildings.

“
For several years,
the Sorbonne site
was reduced to a
vast area under
construction.”

The Sorbonne and the monarchy: an inseparable link

The French Consulate marked the first stage in the reoccupation of the site. As soon as he came to power, the First Consul, Bonaparte, intended to turn the Louvre into an exclusively political space, far removed from the discourse of scholars and philosophers – those “ideologues” whose influence on his decisions he intended to reduce. Thus, in 1802, he ordered the Sorbonne and the former chapel to be converted into a “colony” of around fifty artists and scholars from the Louvre. In 1803, the Institut National moved from the Louvre to the Collège des Quatre Nations (linked by the first metal footbridge over the Seine, with nine arches, now the Pont des Arts). Scientific and intellectual life had returned to the Left Bank. The signing of the Concordat (April 1802) re-established close links between the State and the Catholic Church, thus reintegrating the Sorbonne into France's national history. In this new geography, the Sorbonne gradually regained a central position. In November 1807, the head of the administration of civil buildings for the Minister of the Interior wrote to his superior that “the Sorbonne district, which is that of the sciences and letters, cannot become a centre of the arts [...] It could serve as a focal point for the University”.⁵

The reconstitution of the university under the Napoleonic Empire (between the Law of 10 May 1806 establishing its creation and the decree of March 1807 organising the university) did not immediately give the Sorbonne a place: three of five faculties (Theology, Literature and Science) were housed at the Collège du Plessis. A number of the

Emperor's advisers then lobbied for the place to be reoccupied: in 1813, the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Maury, proposed that the Faculty of Theology be established at the Sorbonne. However, it was not until the royal decree of 3 January 1821, that the Sorbonne was once again assigned to the Public Education Department and that the various faculties moved into the buildings of the old university: “The former House of the Sorbonne and the buildings belonging to it will be assigned to the Public Education Department. The the Faculty of Theology and the Faculties of Science and Literature of the Académie de Paris will be established there, as well as the École Normale”. After the great demonstration organised in 1823 for the return of the Cardinal Richelieu's mausoleum to the Sorbonne church, the parenthesis of a Revolution, which had bypassed the Sorbonne, came to an end. ●

“
The Sorbonne
district, which is
home to sciences and
literature, could not
become the centre of
the arts.”

Bibliography

CHAPPEY Jean-Luc,
“Héritages. Des Lumières à l'Empire”.

CHARLE Christophe AND JEANPIERRE Laurent,
(eds.), *La vie intellectuelle en France, vol. 1: Des lendemains de la Révolution à 1914*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, Point, 2019 [2016], pp. 27-57.

HOTTIN Christian,
La Sorbonne. Figures de l'architecture universitaire à Paris,
Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015.

⁵ AN F17 1247. *Rapport du chef de la troisième division au ministre de l'Intérieur*,
10 November 1807.

Forced Migrations and Religion: Judaism and the rise of Nazism

The rise of Nazism led to profound changes in Jewish life and even in the practice of Judaism as a religion. To examine the influence of the forced displacements of 1933-1945, it is first important to understand the diversity of Jewish life in contemporary European societies. I will then explore the reconfiguration of identity, using a few examples from my forthcoming book on Jewish children who emigrated alone to France in 1939, on the eve of the Second World War.¹ As we shall see, displacement and persecution have left a lasting mark on the Jewish identities of those who fled Nazi territory to survive the Shoah.

Different forms of Judaism, different ways of being Jewish (or not)

During the 19th century, Jews throughout Europe sought to come to terms with modernity by adapting their religious practices to meet the challenges of the times. Jews in France benefited from political emancipation in 1791, but for those living in the territories that later became Italy and Germany, many obstacles to equality remained, particularly after the fall of the Napoleonic Empire. Consequently, while Judaism had never been uniform or static in earlier periods, new forms of Judaism developed during the 19th century.

On the one hand, there was ultra-Orthodoxy, which considers Jewish law to be of divine origin and therefore immutable, and on the other, liberal Judaism, which took liberties with this law in order to facilitate the integration of Jews into the societies around them. Between the two is the ancestor of the conservative movement (*Massorti*), called historic-positive Judaism, which developed in Breslau from 1854 onwards, and existed in Germany, but not in France. Instead, after Napoleon created the Israelite Central Consistory of France in 1808 to organize Jewish religious life, a new form of Judaism emerged, patriotic and traditional, but open to certain reforms, called Franco-Judaism.

¹ HOBSON FAURE Laura, *Who Will Rescue Us? The Story of the Jewish Children who Fled to France and America during the Holocaust* (forthcoming).

The many branches of Judaism rarely worked together and were usually fiercely opposed to each other. In fact, the only unifying factor in this period was the end of the obligation to be Jewish, in the eyes of the law. As Jews acquired civic rights, their legal status became detached from religion, and being a Jew became a matter of personal choice.

In the first part of the 20th century, Jews across Europe therefore had many options if they wanted to join a synagogue, and some did not. “Yom Kippur Jews” – persons who are not affiliated – celebrate the festivals at home and only go to synagogue once or twice a year, on the most important holy days, Rosh Hashannah and Yom Kippur. Some of them were involved in the development of the secular Jewish political movements that emerged at the end of the 19th century, notably Zionism and Bundism, a Jewish current of socialism.

It would, however, be an oversimplification to confuse these Jews with individuals of Jewish origin, who, marked by their own otherness inscribed over time in European societies, who sought to create a more just world by embracing utopian movements such as socialism and communism. As Yuri Slezkine noted in *The Jewish Century*, their adherence to revolutionary ideals led to an over-representation of individuals of Jewish origin within these political currents. These individuals, referred to as “non-Jewish Jews” in an essay by Isaac Deutscher, do not necessarily identify as Jews. In Central Europe, where income taxes funded religious community institutions, many took steps to officially leave the Jewish community, becoming “*Konfessionlos*”. Nevertheless, not all are indifferent to the Jewish holidays, and some, in rebellion, intentionally eat pork on Yom Kippur – a fast day – thus creating new rituals. Moreover, their opponents continue to identify them as Jews, particularly in periods of heightened anti-Semitism. These attacks sometimes led these persons to identify publicly as Jews, as shown by Léon Blum’s response to an anti-Semitic incident in the Chamber of Deputies in 1923: “[...] *I am in no way offended by being reminded of the race of which I was born, which I have never denied and with respect of which I retain nothing but feelings of gratitude and pride*” (*Journal officiel*, 11 January 1923).

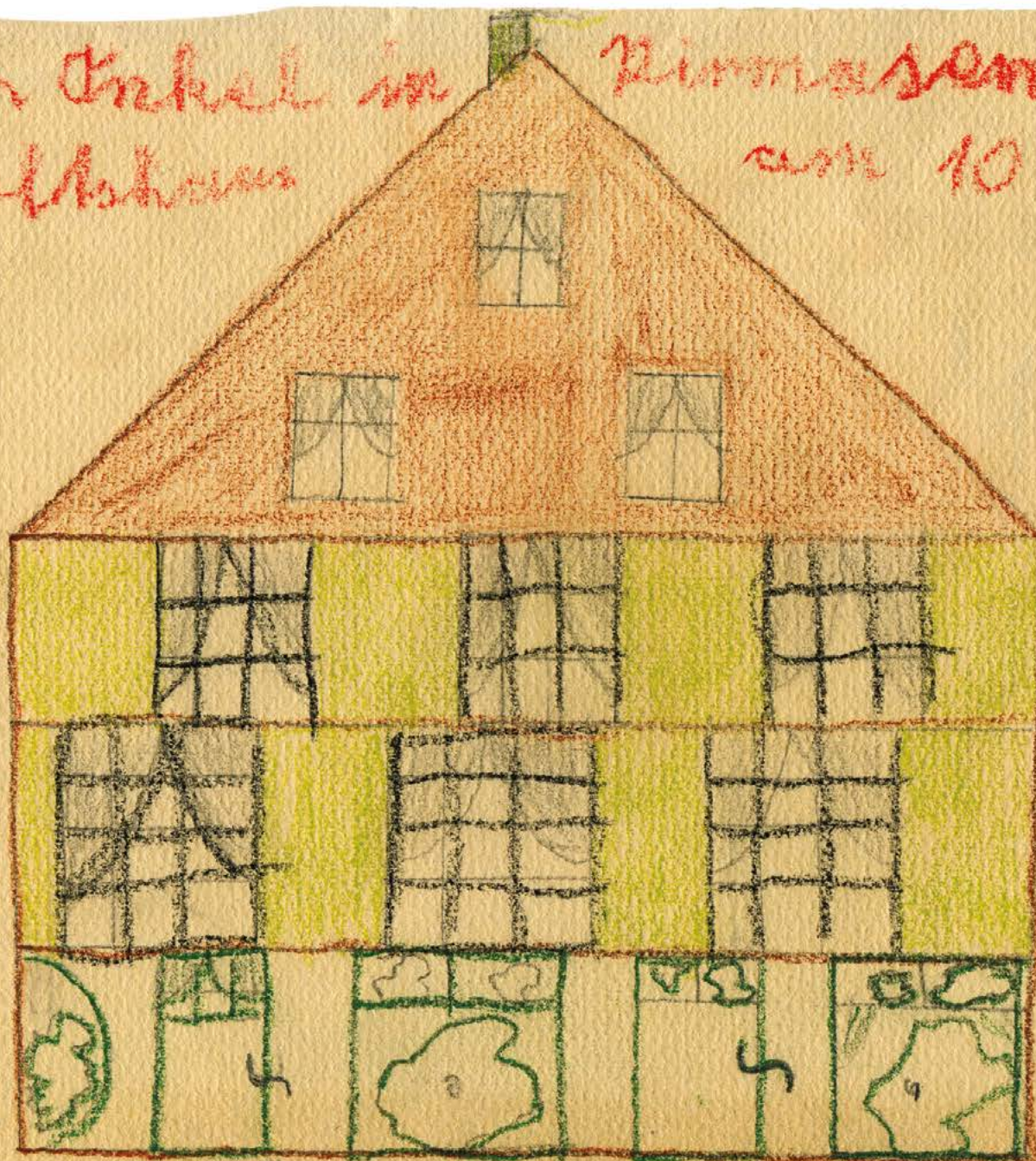
With the rise of Nazism, and especially after the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, these various groups saw their subtle and varied identities crushed and forcibly grouped into a new construct. The Nazi categories and, after 1940, the Vichy categories, did not reflect an individual’s personal attachment to Judaism. In Nazi Europe, the term “Jew” embodied an administrative and legal framework, designed to implement the persecution of those it identified. The same applied to “non-Aryans” who had left Judaism to embrace Christianity and were now denied this choice. It is impossible to underestimate the violence of the transformation of these complex and multiform identities, made up of living traditions and cultures, loved and sometimes contested by those who could claim them.

“After the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, various Jewish groups saw their subtle and varied identities crushed and forcibly grouped into an overall category.”

”

meinem Onkel in
Geschäftshaus

Himmassens sein
am 10 November,



Hilde
Mann

Drawings depicting the daily life of the Guette children's group.

“
The rise of Nazism
led to profound
changes in Jewish
life and even in the
practice of Judaism
as a religion.”

Jewish responses in the face of rising persecution

From 1933 onwards, Jewish and ‘non-Aryan’ families in the Third Reich faced Nazi persecution and the dilemmas it created in a variety of ways, including emigration. While financial resources and contacts abroad influenced their ability to flee, so did their understanding of the political situation. Indeed, an important but complex element of rescue – of oneself or of others – resided in the way in which individuals perceived danger. This perception was shaped by personal history, social class, gender, level of education, past experiences with state authorities and sociability. But at the end of the day, the most decisive factor in this decision was the possibility of obtaining a visa.

The unprecedented violence of 1938 marked a turning point in the Jews’ perception of danger. The Nazi invasion of Austria in March 1938, the brutal expulsion from Germany at the end of October 1938 of some 16,000 to 18,000 Jews of Polish nationality, and above all the pogrom of 9 and 10 November, better known under the Nazi name of ‘Kristallnacht’, showed that Jewish men, women and children were indeed physically threatened in the Third Reich. According to historian Marion Kaplan, “the November pogrom tipped the balance in favour of emigration”.²

Jewish children and their orphanages were not spared the violence of the pogrom. Heinz Stephan Lewy, aged 13, lived through the events of 9 and 10 November 1938 at the Auerbach Jewish orphanage in Berlin, where his father had placed him after his mother died when he was 6. On the night of 9 November, the teachers and around a hundred children were locked up in the orphanage synagogue by Nazis. They cut the gas line to the Eternal Light, a luminary present in all synagogues and symbolising the divine presence. Finally, one of the older children broke a window and a neighbour unlocked the door, allowing the prisoners to escape.³

Although initiatives to send young German Jews abroad had been in place since 1934, parents refused to part with their children. The violence of 1938 changed this and gave rise to new initiatives to evacuate children without their parents, known as *Kindertransports*. The idea of separating families to facilitate their emigration must be understood in the context of the Evian conference in July 1938, which proved incapable of providing a viable solution for refugees fleeing Nazism, and more generally in the context of the failure of international diplomacy to protect the victims of Nazism throughout the 1930s. By allowing children to emigrate without their parents, democratic states offered a symbolic solution to a sensitive political prob-

² KAPLAN Marion, *Between Dignity and Despair. Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998, 129.

³ HERZBERG Lillian (and Lewy Stephan), *The Past Is Always Present*, (Bloomington: Archway Publishing, 2015), pp. 79-81.

lem: it was a public gesture in favour of the victims of Nazism that did not preclude a concomitant tightening of immigration restrictions. The historian Claudia Curio has observed that Great Britain, praised for having accepted some 10,000 children under the *Kindertransport* scheme, devised this policy in order to reduce the protests caused by its decision to severely limit Jewish migration to Mandate Palestine.⁴ This analysis helps us to understand a paradox: at the very time when British child psychologists were calling for the non-separation of mothers and children, the country’s political leaders were responding to Nazism by advocating the migration of children alone, without their parents.

Unaccompanied Jewish minors: reinventing Jewish identities

In the UK, most of the 10,000 Jewish and “non-Aryan” children were cared for by Christian families, much to the dismay of some Jewish leaders who fought for the respect of the children’s religious backgrounds. In France, where fewer than 500 children from Central Europe found refuge in 1939, most (but not all) of them were taken in by Jewish children’s homes run by Jewish organisations. Unlike the UK, those caring for the children in France tried to maintain a form of continuity with the children’s religious education. In theory, Orthodox children were sent to a home for Orthodox children run by the OSE, a Franco-Russian Jewish organisation. Those from “non-Aryan” or less-religious Jewish families were sent to the Château de la Gulette, run by Baroness Germaine de Rothschild. The reality, however, was more complex.

Firstly, when Jewish children were asked to describe their religious orientation upon arrival in France, some of them said they came from religious families, fearing they would be sent back to Germany if they admitted the contrary. In an interview in 2016, one of these children, Ernst Valfer, explained that, following his mother’s advice, he stayed with the Orthodox group. However, his family did not belong to any synagogue in Frankfurt, his home town, and favoured a liberal community when they went to synagogue.

Furthermore, the Jewish organisations running the homes hired German-speaking teachers, mainly from Central Europe, most of whom had just returned from Spain, where they had supported the Republican struggle. Of Jewish origin, these very secular communists and socialists held different attitudes with regard to the Jewish identity of their children. Some, like the Austrian socialist Ernst Papanek, encouraged respect for children’s religious practices, defending their right to eat kosher food and have a bar mitzvah at the age of 13. Others believed that children’s adherence to Judaism was a form of bour-

⁴ CURIO Claudia, “Were Unaccompanied Children a Privileged Class of Refugees in the Liberal States of Europe?” in CAESTECKER F. and MOORE B. (eds.), *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the Liberal European States*, Brooklyn, 2010, p. 183-184.

“
During the
20th century, Jews
throughout Europe
sought to cope
with modernity
by adapting their
religious practices
to meet the
challenges of the
times.”



“
Of Jewish origin,
secular communist
and socialist
caretakers had
different attitudes
concerning the
Jewish identity of
the children in their
care.”

geois behaviour, and sought to “correct” them. Faced with this kind of attitude, some children rebelled and organised their own religious activities. The German-speaking educators at Château de la Guette were eventually replaced by Jews from Strasbourg, which introduced the children to another facet of Judaism, that was traditional and Zionist! Finally, after 1942, many children had to hide in Christian institutions, where some were converted.

Others were moved again. Around 250 Jewish children, some of whom had come to France under the *Kindertransport* scheme, were sent to the United States in 1941-1942. There, childcare was determined by religion: all Jewish children were placed with Jewish foster families. However, their degree of religious practice was not respected. Orthodox children were often sent to the homes of secular Jews and were sometimes separated from their brothers and sisters, leading to feelings of loss and rupture. After two consecutive exiles, in France and then the United States, what remained of the Jewish identities they known at home, which their parents had transmitted?

After arriving in France, Ernst Valfer followed his mother’s advice and declared himself Orthodox, learning the prayers that he still recited daily when we met in California. But he was also deeply influenced by the socialist director of the children’s home, who became a father figure after his own parents were murdered. Similarly, another Frankfurt child, Heinz Schuster, from a traditional Jewish family, was placed in a Jewish orphanage that was even more religious than his family, before being sent to France. It was in this country that Heinz had his bar mitzvah and maintained his orthodoxy. But when he arrived in the United States, the Jewish organisation responsible for placing children was anxious to facilitate his assimilation, sent him not to his uncle, a recent refugee, but to a distant cousin who had arrived in the United States in the 1850s! This family was living in Louisiana and celebrated Christmas. On his first day in the United States, Heinz – now Henry – was forced to eat a non-kosher steak, an act he recalled with shame in his memoirs.⁵

The separation of the children from their parents was definitive. The parents who stayed behind in Central Europe were murdered in the Nazi camps, and some of the *Kindertransport* children in France suffered the same fate. The children who remained alive after the Shoah faced the future with an overwhelming sense of rupture and loss. Some coped by looking exclusively to the future to invent a new life, with a new identity, whether Jewish or not. Others found a way to reconnect with the Judaism of their parents. While Judaism certainly survived the Shoah, it was profoundly reconfigured. Today, French Judaism continues to bear the mark of this period, hence the need

⁵ YIVO RG, “One Thousand Children Collection”, folder 3, unpublished memoirs of Henry Schuster, 1941, p. 45.

to create spaces for discussion and historical reflection in order to understand French Jewish life in its complexity. ●

“
The Jewish children
who remained
alive after the
Shoah faced the
future with an
overwhelming
sense of rupture
and loss.”

"Catch Me if You Can!"

Religion and Political science

Religious feeling and belonging, ecclesiastical institutions and organisations, as well as the public management of religion are now subjects of political science in their own right. But it has not been without controversy. A brief look at a relationship shows it is more complex than it appears.



Loïc Le Pape

is a lecturer at the Sorbonne School of Political Science and a member of the European Centre for Sociology and Political Science (CESSP - UMR 8209).

Within a few years of each other, Émile Durkheim and Max Weber published two major books that still dominate the sociological understanding of religion taught at university. For Durkheim in his *Basic Forms of Religious Life* (1912), the mystery of the social order is explained by the transformation of the sacred communion of the clan into a form of primordial social bond that rituals and practices reactivate. This former Sorbonne professor saw religious communion as the foundation of modern societies. Max Weber, for his part, in a series of articles that became *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-1905), showed how the radicalisation of the way of life and the relationship to the world by ascetic Protestant sects in Europe in the 18th century gradually led to a transformation of socio-economic practices and political modernity. For Weber, religions play a part in the constitution and transformation of political spaces. These two authors placed religion at the heart of the social sciences, and readings and interpretations of their works gradually led to a contextualised scientific approach to religion, whereby religion tends to give way to reason, scientific knowledge and democratic forms of government. In France, the study of religious issues was split between several disciplines: the history of religions, the anthropology of beliefs (of distant peoples), and the sociology of religion. When political science as an academic discipline was institutionalised in France in the immediate post-war period (with the creation of the Fondation nationale des sciences politiques in 1945), religion was not at all an object of study in a discipline that was seeking above all to become independent from law and political history.

History as a discipline is partly reconstruction, and political science is no exception. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that august thinkers

on the question of religion have been a major source of inspiration: Ibn Khaldun and the religious dimensions of the *assabiyya* (group feeling); Rousseau and civil religion; Locke and relative tolerance; the religious aspects of democracy in Tocqueville, and so on. Yet, despite these major contributions, political science has shown a relative lack of interest in religious reality. This is partly due to the fruitfulness of the re-readings of Durkheim and Weber, and partly due to the very purpose of political science, which has seen politics become autonomous and then separate from religion. It is a vast swing of the pendulum that I propose to sketch out: a conception of Western modernity in which science, like politics, frees itself from religious norms, relegated to obscurantism and condemned to being no more than an object of historical study. As a science of politics - i.e. of competition for positions of power - the discipline sees religion only as a contingency, an adjustment variable. Since the 1980s, we have been witnessing what has been very improperly called a "return of the religious": having been dismissed through the doors of scientificity, religion is now coming back through several windows that I propose to open.

Interpreting the decline of religion as being consubstantial with the emergence of political science

From the 1950s until the end of the 1970s, interpreting political modernity was subsumed under the term of secularisation. This involved qualifying the long-term declining importance of religion in the norms, behaviour and forms of organisation of modern societies. A history of Western modernity was being constructed under this banner, with a world order based on the idea of progress. Citizens are endowed with a critical sense based on reason which is opposed to religious affiliations. For its part, the democratic public space witnessed the emergence of an autonomous political sphere. Religions were condemned to a gradual and inevitable disappearance. The theory of secularisation, inherited from Durkheim's social division of labour and Weber's process of rationalisation of the world was much more than a concept. It was a meta-theory that has characterised modern European history since the 17th century, ordering spheres of activity, and empowering sectors to the point of becoming a hegemonic reading grid. In the French context, the "sidelining" of religions took concrete political form between 1875 and 1905 with the advent of the Third Republic, the 1905 Law of Separation and the War of the Two Francs.

Political science has not escaped the success of these evolutionary theories of secularisation, nor the idea that religions are losing their influence. The theories of the time were mainly materialist and structuralist. Social agents are rational beings who cannot therefore be influenced by their religious affiliation. But does this really mean the disappearance or dissolution of religion in late modernity? Far from it. Religion remains a central element in the founding works of the discipline, except that it is no longer a 'whole' which explains behaviour.

“Religions play a part in shaping and transforming political spaces.”



Stained glass window by Louis Comfort Tiffany and Tiffany Studios, located in Linsly-Chittenden Hall at Yale University.

“Religions were condemned to a gradual and inevitable disappearance.”

Religion has become a variable that can be isolated in the analysis of specific political dynamics and attitudes. Stein Rokkan, for example, makes this a central divide in the constitution of nation-states. His approach is particularly useful for understanding the history of political organisations (*Party Systems and Voter Alignments*, 1967). Another example is the seminal American study by Paul Lazarsfeld, of the famous Columbia school, which shows that religious affiliation is an essential variable in voter behaviour (*The People's Choice*, 1944). Guy Michelat and Michel Simon, however, questioned whether this was true in France (*Classe, religion et comportement politique*, 1977).

After the decline, are we witnessing a “return of religion”?

At the end of the 1970s, political science shifted in its relationship with religion. This development was primarily contingent on political events. The election of Pope John Paul II in 1978 had something to do with this epistemological shift. The first among Polish bishops, he was an insatiable fighter against communism, and promoted a form of Catholicism that was more conquering than ever. The election of Ronald Reagan in the United States also saw the re-emergence of pietistic conservative Christianity, which helped to revive moral values and positions in the political arena, along the lines of the *Moral Majority* movement. Two other major events have contributed to this politicisation of religion. Firstly, the war in Northern Ireland, where Protestant Unionists and Catholic Nationalists were pitted against each other, undoubtedly polarised both public and scientific attention. Specialists tell us that a strictly religious interpretation of the conflict is imperfect, but it became essential at the height of the Troubles in the early 1980s. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 was the other geopolitical event that shifted the focus from a political crisis to a broader consideration of religion. Ayatollah Khomeini's synthesis of Marxism and Islamism made Iran the first country in the world to establish a theocratic regime following a popular revolution.

These moments in history are not the only ingredients for a more developed appreciation of religion. It is also because the secularisation thesis had run out of steam. While religious practices are losing momentum throughout the West, the “provincialisation of Europe” that is at work in the social and political sciences (D. Chakrabarty) is tending, if not to qualify the findings, at least to revisit the links between religion and politics. Religious pluralisation and liberation theology in Latin America, the vitality of evangelical cults in South-East Asia and the success of political Islam in the Arab and Muslim worlds are proof of the persistence of the political role of religions. Political science, like the political space it claims to explore, is therefore being driven to (re)take seriously the political forms of religion.

In this false “return” of religion, dynamics and processes are moving in parallel. Firstly, we are witnessing a politicisation of religion. The latter tends to intervene to a greater extent and in its own name in

the political affairs of certain societies. In our discipline, this politicisation is studied ‘from below’ when religious or para-religious actors act on behalf of the State. The political sociology of NGOs and charities obviously springs to mind here. This politicisation can also be seen “from above”, with strictly religious organisations entering the political arena. How can we fail to think of *La manif pour tous* in France, the growing involvement of ultra-Orthodox Jews in Israeli politics, or the success of Islamist parties in Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco, in particular, in the electoral processes post-2011?

Secondly, politics is facing up to new religious demands and is becoming “de-secularised”. This expression can be read in two possibly complementary ways: it is either the end and failure of secularisation, or the permanence of religious beliefs and practices that have simply been ignored by the social sciences. For P. Berger, “[t]he world today is as furiously religious as it ever was” (*The Desecularization of the World, Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, 1999). Several examples lead us to explore these hypotheses further. Religious groups, some of them among the most fundamentalist, do not hesitate to claim new freedoms and rights to take over public space. These may be on a permanent basis through buildings and structures used for worship, or in a more ephemeral form through debates and demonstrations on the tension between religious sensitivities and blasphemy. It goes without saying that the waves of terror attacks in France and elsewhere have forced political science to invest even more in understanding the links between (fundamentalist) religion and political violence. Religious terrorist movements have become an essential subject of study in political science. Lastly, governments themselves are giving space to religious institutions, whether as a substitute for their traditional functions (in the social sphere) or by taking account of the expertise of religious authorities (particularly in debates on bioethics and the beginning and end of life). All these changes are neither sudden nor irreversible. As Alain Dieckhoff and Philippe Portier have shown (*L'enjeu mondial. Religion and Politics*, 2017), we are witnessing a re-composition of relations between two spheres of activity that have always been in relative competition in the way they think about and express history and the conception of society. So religion is not back, insofar as it never disappeared. It is our discipline and neighbouring disciplines such as sociology that, for a long time, were not sufficiently interested in this subject, its changes and in the political dynamics that have accompanied them. That said, the fact remains that religion and its practice can appear to be somewhat cumbersome subjects of study.

Religion is a subject of study in its own right, sometimes causing embarrassment

Contemporary political science now has solid expertise on the subject of religion. All the sub-fields of the discipline are concerned: political theory, international relations, public action, the political sociology

“Religious groups, including some of the most fundamentalist, do not hesitate to demand new freedoms and the right to occupy public space on a long-term basis.”

“
The public
management
of religious
denominations,
known in France as
laïcité (secularism),
never ceases
to give rise to
quarrels.”

of party organisations, institutions and mobilisations, and comparative politics. Religious studies are also successfully taught to students. Yet it is a subject of debate and controversy when it becomes a political issue and is debated in the public arena. The public management of religious denominations, known in France as *laïcité* (secularism), never ceases to lead to quarrels: the violence perpetrated by religious groups, or those who claim to be religious, generates not only emotions but also leads to endless debates and tensions. The emergence of terms related to religion, mixing politics and the sacred, has led to the creation of contested subjects like communities and communitarianism, accommodation, radicalisation, the recognition of religious identities, etc., all of which are inflammatory terms for a political scientist who prefers to work in peace. Our university has not been spared. For example, a training course entitled “Preventing radicalisation: understanding a phenomenon and detecting weak signals”, co-sponsored by a controversial speaker, was cancelled in 2019. The over-mediatisation of this cancellation was often based on ill-informed arguments. It led to the University being described as “Islamist-leftist”, a new buzzword with no scientific value, but which testifies to the circulation of slogans and references combining religion and politics in the public arena. At the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, religious issues remain subjects of study that are contextualised, put into perspective, compared and sourced by teachers. They are sometimes fiercely debated in the lecture halls, but without ever losing sight of the objective of scientific knowledge and questioning.

Religions are therefore legitimate subjects in political science, taught in the tradition of Durkheim and Weber. They nonetheless constitute a cumbersome subject. We launched the debate on this at a study day at the University in June 2023.¹ First of all, religions are cumbersome because of their historical place, which makes it difficult to grasp them fully. Analysing religion requires us to adapt our concepts and research tools: what exactly is a religion? How do you get hold of it? What is belief? A ritual? How can we observe and objectify religious phenomena in political behaviour? Religions are also a complicated subject because of their regular topicality, which almost automatically turns into controversy, with strong institutional demands. Political science is also advice to the Prince. Despite the efforts of researchers to think outside the political box, some of our subjects are strongly suggested (or even imposed) by public commissions and project funding. Until recently, our research focused on political Islam and secularism. Today, we are mainly concerned with radicalisation. Yet, what is religious radicalisation? What role do macro-social variables (history, politics, etc.) play? Does radicalisation apply to a specific religion, or can it be compared with other ways of believing and other groups

¹The study day “Religion and political scientists. The socio-history of cumbersome subjects in a discipline” was organised by Loïc LE PAPE (Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, CESSP) and Guillaume SILHOL (University of Bologna, Mesopolhis) on 8 June 2023 at the University's Panthéon site.

of individuals? Lastly, religion is a cumbersome subject for political science because it mixes private beliefs and public expressions, individual actions and collective mobilisations. It is interwoven into traditional subjects (political mobilisations, citizen participation, public action) without being central to them, and this requires research teams to adapt, as well as the crossing of subject areas.

The polysemic nature of religion in a variety of contexts means that religion tends to escape scientific analysis. Political scientists therefore continue to “run after” this necessary but cumbersome subject of research. In so doing, the study of religion requires us to polish up our concepts and refine our epistemological and methodological positions. In any case, without ever fully grasping it, political science helps to define the contours of a scientific approach to religion. ●

Exploring the Sacredness of Sound: from the Design of Sacred Sound to Sound Therapy

The sound arts, encompassing sound, music and the visual, have always played a significant role in spiritual experience. The intersection between the sound arts and the sacred creates a complex tapestry of meaning, emotion and transformation. As Pérez (2008, p. 29) has noted, "Spirituality touches the very essence of human experience. It offers a framework for experimenting with fulfilment, the meaning of life and connection with other human beings". For his part, Schopenhauer stated that music "expresses what is metaphysical in the physical world" (Schopenhauer, 1889, p. 274).



Amal Msakni

is a PhD student in Cultural Studies & Sound Arts at the Sorbonne School of Arts (EAS). Her thesis is on "Sound arts in the service of the 'sacred': between therapeutic ethno-practices and sound therapy", supervised by Frank Pecquet.

beyond the correlation between sound and the sacred, which is expressed through spiritual or religious practice, the therapeutic aspects of sound are of considerable importance.

A multitude of sound therapeutic ethno-practices stands out, drawing on ancestral traditions. The yogic and meditative traditions of India, characterised by the use of mantras, the Tibetan singing bowls integrated into Buddhist spiritual practices, and the traditional songs of the indigenous peoples of North America, which enliven healing rituals, illustrate this richness.

The synergy between the sound arts and spirituality constitutes a profound connection between artistic expression and spirituality. Eminent artistic figures such as Ravi Shankar and his sitar have played a crucial role in spreading Indian spirituality through music. This highlights the contribution of the sound arts in transcending cultural boundaries, underlining their fundamental role in the universal propagation of spiritual teachings.

The sacred aspect of sound

The sacred nature of sound has been evoked in the hallowed texts of various cosmogonies and civilisations, affirming that it is at the origin of the world. Among Hindus, for example, the mantra "AUM" symbolises the primordial sound and vibration from which the universe was created. However, the sacred aspect of sound is not limited to the creation of the universe. It also extends to the revelation of certain religions or divine messages. According to Inayat Khan, certain ancient traditions indicate that the first divine messages were transmitted in the form of songs, such as the *Psalms* of David, the *Songs of Solomon*, the *Gathas* of Zoroaster and the *Gita* of Krishna. Others were revealed in the form of poetry or prose, recited in cantillations, thus encompassing the Koran, the Vedas, the Puranas, the Rāmāyana, the Mahabharata, the Zend-Avesta, the Kabbalah and the Bible (Khan, 1960).

Metaphysically, sound is perceived as a manifestation of vibratory energy. Different sound frequencies are associated with specific states of consciousness and subtle dimensions of reality. The notion of celestial music or the symphony of the spheres suggests that sound can influence human experience beyond its perceptible aspects. As a composer, Nigel Stanford has skilfully synthesised the work of pioneers such as Heinrich Rubens, Ernst Chladni and Nikola Tesla, presenting it visually through cinematic staging. In this way, the correlation between the cymatic figures and nature highlights the vibratory and sonic origins of the universe, demonstrating that sound is an intrinsic element of the world, comparable to the sun and celestial objects.

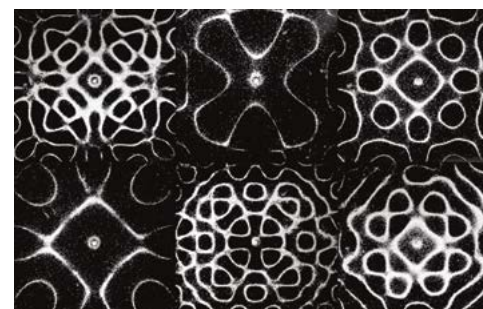


Figure 1
Acoustic figures by the German physicist Ernst Chladni (1756-1827).

The sacredness of sound is hidden in the vibration of the whole universe, because it is articulated between sacred sites and structures (stupas, pyramids, cathedrals) and the waves of the earth that resonate at the same frequencies as the human brain when we sing (Elkington, 2021, p. 95). This phenomenon is commonly referred to as "Schumann resonance".¹

¹ Named after the German physicist Winfried OTTO SCHUMANN, who pioneered the discovery of the Earth's magnetic field and the band of electromagnetic radiation between 3 and 30 Hz. The Earth's frequency is approximately 7.83 Hz, corresponding to an F sharp when transposed to an audible octave above 20 Hz ($7.83 \times 3 = 23.49$ Hz, an F sharp corresponds to 23.1 Hz).

“The synergy between the sound arts and spirituality constitutes a profound connection between artistic expression and spirituality.”



Figure 2
The Schumann frequency.

R. Murray Schafer describes sacred sound as “apocalyptic sound”, a “cosmic vibration” “announcing the divine” (Schafer, 2010, p. 55). Moreover, the perception of sacred sound is highly subjective, influenced by beliefs, cultural contexts, experience and education. The emotions associated with a sound, particularly during religious rituals, can intensify its perception as sacred. The repetition of sounds, such as mantras or psalmody, can reinforce their sacred nature over time.

“Music expresses what is metaphysical in the physical world.”

The sound design of a religious practice can exert a significant influence, or even modify an individual’s religious perception

The use of sound art in the context of the sacred represents a creative fusion between sound and visual art and spiritual experiences. The deliberate design of auditory elements to shape a specific experience is increasingly studied in the context of the sacred. This approach is embodied in the creation of soundscapes designed to evoke feelings of transcendence and spirituality, while encouraging concentration. Some composers devote themselves to creating works specifically dedicated to religious or spiritual rituals, fusing traditional elements with modern sound design techniques to enrich the experience. Renowned artists such as Arvo Pärt, John Tavener, Meredith Monk and Osvaldo Golijov have been lauded for their significant contributions to contemporary sacred and spiritual music, leaving their mark on the musical landscape.

In addition, symbolic or sacred sound elements, such as bells, gongs and mantras, are integrated into both sound design and sound therapy, helping to reinforce the sacred atmosphere of a place or event. This can involve adding specific sounds during key moments in religious ceremonies, contributing to their emotional and spiritual impact. In contexts such as spiritual retreats or meditation centres, sound is used to guide practitioners towards deep meditative states. Soothing sounds and specific frequencies are incorporated to promote relaxation and spiritual connection.

Sound can be combined with other sensory elements, such as light or architecture, to create an immersive multi-sensory experience designed to intensify the sacred character of a space or ritual. Modern technologies, such as sound spatialisation or 3D audio, are sometimes integrated to create even more immersive sound experiences. This ap-

proach has proved to be particularly powerful in contexts where the experience of the sacred is amplified by a captivating sound dimension, as in the experience of the Night of the Exosphere, which takes learned music into a new spiritual dimension.²



Figure 3
The Night of the Exosphere.

Nevertheless, sacred spiritual practice has evolved towards greater cultural and intellectual sophistication, reshaping the relationship between devotees and “sacred objects” through aesthetic, industrial and commercial prisms. A conceptualisation is emerging around “sacred objects”, which goes beyond religious and cultural identities. Today, religion is becoming a brand, recruiting design as a means of expression. Spiritual practice is adopting a visual or audio identity in harmony with its values. “Sacred design” is based primarily on sound, which is the primary vector of communication, and extends to the architecture of places of worship, symbols, the graphic design of sacred texts, dress codes and ritual objects, all contributing to the dissemination and transmission of religious beliefs. The practice of sound is integrated with other aspects such as visuals, clothing, gestures and even cooking, underlining the interconnection of the senses. “Sacred” design thus embodies a spiritual inspiration embodied in art, suggesting an approach centred on the sonic conception of the sacred. In this context, the trend is firmly towards the commercial, giving rise to a new concept – “sacred design” – which represents an intentional approach to creating visual, aural and sensory elements. These reflect or facilitate experiences linked to spirituality, religious beliefs or sacred practices.

The emergence of sonic therapy opened the way to the spiritual

The millennial use of sound vibrations for healing purposes reveals an ongoing exploration of the relationship between sound and its substantial impact on body, mind and soul. Today, we are witnessing the emergence of a discipline dedicated to sound therapy, encompassing a variety of practices ranging from gong baths to sound travel, sound meditation, tuning fork healing and much more. The diversity of these techniques reflects the growing attention being paid to the beneficial effects of sound on overall well-being, opening the way to innovative ways of treating and healing. Nevertheless, it is undeni-

² Ensemble vocal Exosphère, Jean-Philippe BILLMANN [<https://www.ensemble-exosphere.fr/fr/l-ensemble/le-chef/>], accessed 11 February 2024.

“In Eastern traditions, sound therapy is frequently linked to balancing the chakras, the energy centres in the body.”

able that sound therapy takes a holistic perspective, harnessing the vibratory properties of sound to positively influence various aspects of physical, mental and spiritual health.

In-depth clinical research has indeed been carried out in various areas relating to sound therapy. The Tomatis method, developed in the 1950s by French doctor and researcher Alfred A. Tomatis, focuses on the use of sound and filtered music to stimulate listening and improve auditory communication. Fabien Maman's cellular research, carried out in the 1980s, showed that the application of a series of acoustic sounds can induce the implosion of cancer cells while stimulating and strengthening healthy cells. Dr Thompson's Bio-Tuning® protocol, which began in 1980, represents another facet of the scientific investigation into the benefits of sound therapy. This protocol uses each individual's voice to stimulate and facilitate self-healing. In addition, Dr. Thompson applies precise sound frequencies to make chiropractic adjustments to the spine and skull, aiming to stimulate and normalise organ function while balancing the acupuncture meridians. The Mindscope® programme, developed by Dr. G. P. Barry Bittman in 1992 demonstrated that sound is used to reflect changes in the patient's autonomic nervous system, which controls functions such as heart rate, blood pressure, breathing and other bodily responses to stress. The work of Dr. Mitchell Gaynor's work in the field of integrative oncology involves integrating sound therapy into cancer treatment protocols to help patients cope with the side effects of treatment and improve their overall well-being.

However, beyond their therapeutic dimension, vibratory healing techniques also have a sacred character. Drawing a link between sound and spirituality, Fabien Maman has pointed out that: "The seed of the spiritual lies in the physical. At the heart of cells, in the spiral of DNA, where divine history is written. When scientific research, spiritual practice and artistic expression work together, heaven and earth resonate" (Maman, Tama-do).

From a holistic perspective, integrating science, spirituality and art to understand human nature and the universe, opens up the possibility of detecting sacred elements at the most fundamental level of our physical existence, including at the molecular and genetic levels. According to Fabien Maman, healing is defined as "a restored resonance between the body and the highest instance of the spiritual being" (Maman, 2011). This concept underlines the deep connection between the physical and spiritual dimensions of the individual, revealing a sacred potential inherent in the very structure of our being.

In Eastern traditions, sound therapy is frequently linked to balancing the chakras, the energy centres in the body. Each chakra is associated with specific frequencies and the use of sound instruments aims to harmonise these energy centres, thereby contributing to spiritual well-being. Some techniques are closely linked to nature, where

sounds such as birdsong, rustling leaves or the murmur of water are considered sacred. Some practitioners incorporate these elements to encourage a spiritual connection with the natural environment, enriching the therapeutic experience.

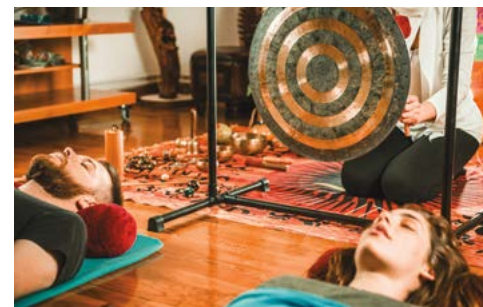


Figure 4
A sound meditation session.

The commercialisation of spirituality also resonates in the context of the sound arts and sound therapy. The growing popularity of these practices is part of the contemporary quest for well-being and meaning, while at the same time being influenced by the marketing of products and services linked to spirituality. Social media play a crucial role in promoting audio and therapeutic experiences, with influencers sharing their experiences and creating dedicated communities. Events such as sound festivals, sonic meditation retreats and sound therapy workshops attract audiences seeking immersive experiences and spiritual healing. However, this convergence between commercial interests and spirituality raises questions about the authenticity of practices and how the spiritual quest can be influenced by financial interests.

In today's panorama, the commercialisation of spirituality extends significantly to the sound arts and sound therapy. There is now an imperative need for careful assessment and awareness of the way these practices are presented, consumed and integrated into modern life. The rapid growth of these fields requires a thorough understanding, highlighting the idea that the therapeutic use of sound requires expertise, specialist training, in-depth research and significant experimentation. Such rigour is essential to guaranteeing the quality and effectiveness of sound interventions for therapeutic purposes. At the same time, the correlation between the sound arts and the sacred reflects a process of acculturation, demonstrating a significant acceptance and openness towards other religions and spiritual practices. Sound, as a universal and non-verbal element, transcends linguistic and cultural barriers, offering a means of establishing connections between different spiritual expressions. Art acts as a cultural bridge, facilitating mutual understanding and appreciation between diverse communities, while fostering a deep and enriching intercultural dialogue. This interconnection between spirituality, the sound arts and sound therapy bears witness to a shared search for meaning, unity and well-being in an increasingly complex society. ■

Sources

ELKINGTON David,
The Ancient Language of Sacred Sound: The Acoustic Science of the Divine, Rochester, Vermont, Inner Traditions, 2021, p. 95.

INAYAT KHAN Hazrat,
Le Mysticisme du Son, trad. Y. Guillaume, Genève, Servire, 1960, pp. 4-10.

MAMAN Fabien,
La Recherche cellulaire sonore, Tama-Do Académie Son, Couleur et Mouvement [https://tama-do.com/french/roothtmls/cell-research.html#title], accessed 12 February 2024.

MAMAN Fabien,
Le Tao du Son. Thérapie sonore pour le 21^{ème} siècle : [based on groundbreaking cell-sound research documenting the impact of acoustic sound on the human cell], 2nd ed., Paris, G. Trédaniel, 2011, p. 138.

MURRAY Schafer Raymond,
Le Paysage sonore : le monde comme musique, trad. Sylvette Gleize, Paris, Éd. Wildproject, coll. "Collection Domaine sauvage, 2010.

PÉREZ J. E.,
"La spiritualité dans les collectivités en bonne santé mentale", *Des collectivités en bonne santé mentale : un recueil d'articles*, Institut canadien d'information sur la santé, 2008, p. 29-35.

SCHOPENHAUER Arthur,
"La musique", *Le Monde comme volonté et comme représentation*, livre III, § 52, trad. A. Burdeau, revised by R. Roos, Paris, PUF, 1989, p. 335.

“
Sound, as a
universal, non-
verbal element,
transcends
linguistic and
cultural barriers.
”

"The Representatives of our Delegations, in our French Teams, Will Not Be Wearing Headscarves at the 2024 Olympic Games."

Amélie Oudéa-Castera, Minister of Sport, 24 September 2023

Speaking on a major, public TV Channel (France 3) on 24 September 2023, the French Sports Minister said that French athletes would not be allowed to wear the headscarves at the Paris Olympic and Paralympic Games. This announcement is in line with a new conception of secularism that has been developing in France for the last twenty years. Yet, it also undermines the principles of Olympics, and, beyond that, international human rights law.

The new secularism, again and again

The principle of secularism established by the law of 9 December 1905 on France's separation of Church and State implies respect for all beliefs, the equality of all citizens before the law regardless of religion, and the neutrality of the State. In particular, it prohibits public employees from wearing signs and clothing that express their religious affiliation. Yet the tensions surrounding the wearing of the headscarves from the late 1980s onwards has led to the emergence of a new conception of secularism, characterised by an extension of the scope of this ban in two directions. Firstly, it has been extended to people who do not have the full status of being public service employees: i.e. users of services and ordinary employees. In particular, the Law of 15 March 2004 banned the wearing of ostentatious signs of religious affiliation by pupils in public primary and secondary schools. Similarly, the El Khomri Law of 8 August 2016 authorised employers to introduce neutrality clauses within their company's internal regulations which allow, in certain circumstances, the manifes-

tation of employees' beliefs to be restricted (art. L. 1321-2-1 Labour Code). On a slightly different note, the so-called "anti-burqa" law of 11 October 2020 banned the wearing of clothing designed to conceal faces in the public space. Secondly, the neutrality of public employees has been extended through a more flexible conception of this status. It now applies, for example, to student trainees in a public service, to public employees working from home and, more generally, to any person involved in the performance of a public service. And France's lawmakers have not had enough, with countless bills seeking to extend the empire of secularism and neutrality to students in higher education and to adults accompanying school outings.

French football in tune

Sport has not escaped this new secularism. The subject has recently been brought to the fore by a dispute over the statutes of the French Football Federation (FFF). Since 2016, these statutes, which apply to the FFF's 2.2 million licence-holders, have prohibited the wearing of signs or clothing ostensibly expressing a religious affiliation at any competition or event organised in France. France's Council of State (Conseil d'État) dismissed the appeal lodged by several associations against this provision (29 June 2023). It considered that the Federation could prohibit the wearing of conspicuous religious symbols during football matches to ensure the smooth running of matches, especially by preventing any clash or confrontation unrelated to sport. The administrative judges showed little concern in assessing the risks alleged by the FFF and therefore the real need for this prohibition, as the FFF was unable to provide even one example of a disturbance caused by the wearing of a headscarf at a women's football match. Furthermore, the Council of State ruled that, generally speaking, people selected for the French national teams, regardless of the sports federation concerned, participate in the performance of a public service and are therefore subject to the principle of public service neutrality. Sports Minister Amélie Oudéa-Castera used this last statement to announce that French athletes would not be able to wear headscarves during the Olympic Games.

The Olympic objection

The French sporting authorities thought they had found justification in the Olympic Charter for prohibiting French athletes from wearing headscarves. Rule 50 does indeed stipulate that "no political, religious or racial demonstration or propaganda of any kind is permitted in any Olympic venue, site or other location". This rule was introduced into the Charter to prevent demonstrations such as the one by African-American athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the Mexico Olympics in 1968. However, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has never interpreted Rule 50 as prohibiting the wearing of a headscarf during an Olympic event. And the participation of veiled athletes became widespread from the Atlanta games in 1996 onwards. Moreover, it seems that such a prohibition would run

“The tensions surrounding the wearing of headscarves from the late 1980s onwards led to the emergence of a new concept of secularism.”

Xavier Dupré de Boulois
is a lecturer in public law at the Sorbonne Law School.



“
The FFF was unable
to provide even
one example of a
disturbance caused
by the wearing of
a headscarf at a
women's football
match.”

counter to the principles of the Olympic Charter. These fundamental principles include the exercise of the rights and freedoms recognised in the Olympic Charter “without discrimination of any kind, in particular on grounds of race, colour, sex, sexual orientation, language or religion”. Consequently, the IOC and the French Olympic Committee (CNOSF) have been invited to oppose any form of discrimination affecting the Olympic movement (Rule 27). The City of Paris and the Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games (COJOP) have also undertaken to prohibit all forms of discrimination in their activities relating to the organisation of the Games under the City's contract for the 23rd Olympics. It takes very little effort to establish that, from an Olympic point of view, the ban on wearing headscarves entails discrimination on the grounds of religion. This interpretation is obvious given that the Olympic Movement follows in the footsteps of United Nations bodies in this area. Reacting to the French Sports Minister's comments, the spokesperson for the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Marta Hurtado, said that no one should dictate to a woman what she should or should not wear, and that international human rights standards only tolerate restrictions on religious expression such as the choice of clothing in very specific circumstances. In this respect, France has already been exposed on several occasions to the censorship of the United Nations Human Rights Committee, which has successively stigmatised discrimination on religious grounds arising from the 2004 Law on religious symbols in schools and the 2010 anti-burqa Law.

All in all, there is a contradiction between the French State's point of view and the international perspective. The latter invalidates the claim by France, the country of the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* of 1789, to embody the universalism of human rights. There is no obvious solution to this contradiction, since each of the legal systems involved aspires to autonomy and therefore seeks to assert itself. On the one hand, international sporting standards, and in particular the Olympic Charter, cannot be invoked before French courts. On the other hand, the Court of Arbitration for Sport, which has jurisdiction over disputes between athletes and national Olympic committees during the Olympic Games, is responsible for ensuring that countries comply with Olympic texts. There is no doubt that any action taken by a French athlete wishing to compete in the Olympic Games wearing a headscarf would give rise to a profound legal imbroglio. ■

