I. PAPERS FROM THE CONFERENCE “PORT-ROYAL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY”

Keynote address

Jean-Pierre CHANTIN

What does it mean to be a Port-Royal supporter in the nineteenth century?

Beyond the apparent anachronism, more than a century after the destruction of the abbey, the term “Port-Royalist” in the nineteenth century includes multiple positions and realities. More than a simple legacy, more than a literary archetype, Port-Royal supporters make up varied and lively communities. Whether it be a question of their interpretation of history or their relationship with civil and religious authorities, they all perceive themselves as groups of “defenders of the truth” succeeding Port-Royal.

Keywords: Petite Église ; Gallicanism

1. The theology of grace

Jean DUBRAY

A champion of Augustinus in the nineteenth century: Abbé Grégoire

The principle goal of this paper is to promote public awareness of an unpublished text, recently discovered in the Carnot archives. The first part will briefly relate the circumstances of this discovery. The work borrows its form from the epistolary genre and depicts a Jansenist priest and a Molinist Jesuit arguing strongly about the orthodoxy versus the heretical aspect of the famous five propositions, condemned not long before by the papal bull Cum occasione.
One of the main interests of this text is to dispel a doubt, which has persisted up to the present day, concerning Abbé Grégoire’s real or supposed membership of the Jansenist movement on the cusp of the nineteenth century (1805-1806). It reveals in him a lawyer fervent about the theses of the *Augustinus* which he defends with zeal.

*Keywords*: Grace; Freedom

Sylvio Hermann De Franceschi

*The Catholic quarrel on grace from the Romantic Age to Modernism*

At the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the shock of the Revolution and growing incredulity provoked a change in direction of theological work within the Catholic Church. In order to evaluate the charge of subversiveness that the Jansenist doctrine on grace and free will might retain in the nineteenth century, the texts produced by Jesuit authors seemed a pertinent vantage point. It appears that the Catholic quarrel on grace seems to lose some of its polemical strength during the nineteenth century. Consequently, the question arises of the theological status of Jansenism, which seems to have finally become a ghost, an abstract heresy that no longer has any ecclesial consistency.

*Keywords*: Grace; Free will

Grazia Grasso

*Religious freedom in the treatise De la tolérance ecclésiastique et civile by Pietro Tamburini and Thaddeus Trautmansdorf (Paris, 1796). From the Jansenist theology of grace to civil rights*

The French edition of the treatise *De la tolérance ecclésiastique et civile* de Pietro Tamburini was translated in Paris in 1796 by Poan de Saint-Simon during a period of persecution for the French Catholic Church. It was
adopted by Abbé Grégoire as the manifesto of his movement in favour of religious liberty, and would constitute the most progressive position on the subject in the Catholic world. Incidentally, it was an important reference for Liberal Catholicism up to the Second Vatican Council. Abbé Grégoire’s decision is not only the expression of a common theological con-division and of a shared Jansenist leaning with Tamburini, but also the demonstration of common ground on the theme of religious liberty and the arguments that support it.

Keywords: Pietro Tamburini; Religious freedom

2. Politics

Valérie GUITTENNE-MÜRGER

Liberalism in the Nouvelles ecclésiastiques pour le XIXe siècle

Jean-Louis Rondeau, a former parish priest (who had sworn allegiance to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy) and Abbé Grégoire’s secretary, left in his Nouvelles ecclésiastiques pour le XIXe siècle a testimony of the Jansenists’ methods of engagement in the politico-religious quarrels of the Restoration. Between Biblical interpretation (figurisme) and liberalism, he presents an original and sometimes paradoxical reading of this first part of the nineteenth century.

Keywords: Jean-Louis Rondeau; Liberalism

Olivier TORT

Polemical use of Port-Royal and Jansenism in royalist political circles

Under the Restoration, nostalgic attachment to Jansenism continued to be regarded with marked suspicion by royalists who saw in it one of the intellectual matrices of the liberalism that it was fighting. The attacks remained restrained until the end of the 1810 years and so gave the impression of a dulled rearguard action, centred on the aging figure of Lanjuinais. It was
Joseph de Maistre who violently awoke the controversy in 1821 in an anti-Gallican diatribe that unleashed its sharpest lines at Port-Royal ideology. Thereafter, Montlosier’s hugely successfully essay allowed the heirs of Jansenism to return to a vast progressive coalition, which, however, diluted the Port-Royalist message in favour of a sweeping anti-clericalism that prevailed in 1830.

**Keywords:** Controversy; Royalism

Guillaume MÉTAYER

*Anatole France and Port-Royal, or the disciples of the quarrel*

Anatole France, one of the greatest critical authorities of his time, devoted to Racine a limitless admiration that knew how to distinguish the education received at Port-Royal, notably Greek lessons, in the great tragic poet’s maturing. Beyond the author’s anticlericalism and by virtue of the national and literary devotion that stir him, it is possible, in his critical works as well as in his novels, to follow the thread of deference for the rational and natural methods of the Port-Royal teachers. What is being played out in this posterity is, first of all, a general position on the legacy, as well as on education, which is a decisive question for the new regime, at the same time as the uncertainty of the power of a teaching method to produce a great classical writer. However, France is an ironic master who makes Racine his great model by exhuming the *Lettres à l’auteur des Imaginaires* in which the disciple opposed his teachers. In this way, France surreptitiously substitutes the “aesthetic Provincial letters”, as he calls them, for the *Provincial letters* themselves as a model of French prose, in other words substituting Racine, and in a way even Voltaire, to Pascal. He thus performs here, under the guise of a personal and authentic rediscovery, a secularization of the legacy.

What is revealed then is the rich posterity of this Quarrel of the *Imaginaires*, which so occupied France since the note he dedicated to it in 1874.

**Keywords:** Anatole France; Jean Racine
3. An artistic and literary myth

Véronique ALEMANY

The pictorial fortune of Philippe de Champaigne, painter of Port-Royal, in the nineteenth century. The case of The Last Supper

The nineteenth century is known for a revival in religious painting and an important policy of requests for copies of devotional works destined to decorate churches. Originally painted for a very small number of the marginal faithful in the seventeenth century by a close friend of the Jansenists, The Last Supper (La Cène) by Philippe de Champaigne was particularly copied during the nineteenth century, which bestows upon it an official legitimacy as a work of art and devotional image. With this proliferation of reproductions, we witness a shift in meaning from a religious intention and an activist memory to a distortion by secular or religious bodies that don’t belong to this network, which contributes to the passing into the public domain of a form of tribute to Port-Royal, and helps, inadvertently, with its memorial tradition.

Keywords: Philippe de Champaigne; Religious painting

Amélie de CHAISEMARTIN

The Jansenist model in the novels of Stendhal and George Sand: the quest for an ideal religion

Prior to Sainte-Beuve’s Port-Royal, Jansenists found a place in Romantic literature. Indeed we find characters who are Jansenist or close to Jansenism in Stendhal’s Le Rouge et le Noir as well as in Mauprat and Spiridon, two novels by George Sand, published in 1837 and 1839 respectively. The comparison of these novels allows us to find, in contrast to the epitome of the Jesuit, an epitome of the Jansenist.

Keywords: Stendhal; George Sand
Charles-Olivier STIKER-METRAL

La Rochefoucauld and Port-Royal in the nineteenth century

Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the intellectual context brought about the development of the function of memory in literary criticism. With regard to La Rochefoucauld’s Maximes, it seems that the critics of the nineteenth century couldn’t decide between a reading that would bring it up to date and a historicist reading. The role of Augustinian doctrine, which today appears indisputable, took a long time to be shown. Port-Royal subsequently allowed La Rochefoucauld’s place to be specified in the ensemble of what was then being constructed as “French literature”.

Keywords: François de La Rochefoucauld; Literary criticism

Laurence PLAZENET

Joubert and Port-Royal

Joubert, who was linked to Mercier and Didier, then Fontanes, Chateaubriand and Molé, is a major nineteenth-century figure. His notebooks, which were originally published under the title Pensées de M. Joubert (1838), are often likened to the work of classical moralists. Joubert himself gave evidence in them of a certain interest for Port-Royal and Jansenism. Concerning the former, he suggests replacing “Jansenists” with “Augustinians” or “Augustinists”. The analysis of his knowledge pertaining to Port-Royal and of his way of referring to its authors reveals, however, the dearth of his actual knowledge and the dominance of speech hostile to the monastery, even in an author who evolved in circles with Jansensist tendencies and who showed clear sympathy towards their views. This encourages, moreover, an emphasis on the importance of Pascalian mediation.

Keywords: Joseph Joubert; Blaise Pascal
Jacques-Philippe SAINT-GÉRAND

The Grammaire de Port-Royal at the time of Romanticism and the beginnings of linguistics in Europe

A large part of linguistic reflection, particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century, developed from the metaphor of the life of language. The history of the Grammaire de Port-Royal shows us that it is not only languages which live and are transformed: theories, methods, even works of grammar have their destiny commensurate with those who read them, understand them (or not!) and redesign them.

Keywords: Grammaire de Port-Royal; Linguistics

4. Sainte-Beuve and his readerships

Jean-Baptiste AMADIEU

Placing Sainte-Beuve’s Port-Royal on the Index

On 13 January 1845, the Holy See decreed that Sainte-Beuve’s Port-Royal be placed on the Index. This article traces the steps of the proceedings, with the help of archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Franciscan Benigno de Vallebuona’s account criticizes Port-Royal for Saint-Cyr’s moral and doctrinal eulogies, and propositions contrary to ecclesiological orthodoxy, in particular the idea that the Church had progressively moved away from the ancient rigour of the Church Fathers in favour of a common, merciful, rational and humane Christianity. The preparatory congregation of consultants unanimously approved the proscription advice recommended by the reporter. The cardinals then decreed the ban, which was finally promulgated by Gregory XVI.

Mots clés : Sainte-Beuve; Index
Maxime Perret

*Balzac against Port-Royal: defending a vision of the seventeenth century*

This article studies Balzac’s critical review of the first volume of Sainte-Beuve’s *Port-Royal* published by Renduel in 1840. It examines in particular the historiographical and ideological reasons that lead Balzac to disapprove of Sainte-Beuve’s work. The criticisms addressed to Sainte-Beuve’s *Port-Royal* are at once stylistic, factual, historiographical and ideological: Saint-Beuve writes badly; he makes errors and misinterpretations; he confuses writers, styles and historical periods; lastly, he organises around Port-Royal, the birthplace of a heresy and hotbed of a political contestation which led directly to the Revolution, everything ranked as great in seventeenth-century French literature.

*Keywords:* Honoré de Balzac; Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve

Gabriel Popescu

*Sainte-Beuve’s Port-Royal or the birth of a personal myth*

It is enough to remember that Mauron, in his *psychocritical* study on Racine, maintains that “Jansenism remains the one drunkenness of greatness, the only passionate leap towards something else, the only potion” (Charles Mauron, *L’Inconscient dans l’œuvre et la vie de Racine*, Paris, Ophrys, 1957, p. 339) in order to understand that Sainte-Beuve drank of it and thus became the Tristan of his time. The point we choose to get across is that Sainte-Beuve, the Tristan of his time, relates passionately to Port-Royal. Our hypothesis is of a psychocritical tinge, proposes that this passion of Sainte-Beuve, which is Tristan-like as far as we can see, explains the rather mysterious fact that Port-Royal monopolised the attention of historians and men of letters – and did so because it is *passionate writing*, which, by being intended for our unconscious, touches us more than neutral writing, which is directed at our reason alone.

*Keywords:* Psychocriticism; Passionate writing
5. Pascal

Dominique DESCOTES

*Pascal and the mathematicians of the nineteenth century*

Pascal was the focus of numerous studies in the nineteenth century, not all of which were restricted to the field of literature. Although less well known, the share of the mathematical and physical sciences is far from insignificant. This study takes stock of them and presents the themes relating to Pascal that aroused the interest of scientists. However, this list is not exhaustive and the influence of Pascal on researchers such as Poincaré or Duhem remains to be studied.

*Keywords: Blaise Pascal; Mathematics*

Hubert AUPETIT

*The philosopher and the self-taught man. How Victor Cousin makes use of Port-Royal to excommunicate Pascal from his philosophical religion*

How can Victor Cousin’s philosophical hatred for Pascal be explained as being the cause of so much progress in understanding Pascal? It should be observed that the philosopher used Port-Royal against Pascal in two ways. Because there were “real philosophers” on Port-Royal’s editorial committee, the latter rendered the *Pensées* Cartesian. A philological edition would not fail to discover in Pascal an “avowed enemy” of philosophy, since being “of Port-Royal,” he wanted to advocate an “immoderate, intemperate” and “convulsive” Christianity.

Ironically, by attacking the self-taught man whom he lamented for his lack of regular or extensive studies, the man who saw in philosophy the “eternal foundations of the true religion” contributed to further reveal the poetic, philosophical and religions genius of the author of the *Pensées*.

*Keywords: Philosophy; Religion*
Closing presentation

Alain CANTILLON

Remains of remains

We intend to interpret André Suarès’s expression of 1909, “remains of remains,” as a form of response to Henri Grégoire’s question in 1801-1809: “what remains of these ruins?” Since any restoration of Port-Royal is impossible, in the nineteenth century ways are invented to bring it back. These return trips to Port-Royal fulfil a function of the highest importance in the creation of a French nation because they bring one back to a time of violence within the Catholic Church, and during a high point of the Ancien Régime. We examine two periods of this return; firstly 1801-1809 (Henri Grégoire), then 1840-1844 (Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, François-René de Chateaubriand, Victor Cousin, Prosper Faugère).

Keywords: Relics; Restoration

II. ADDITIONS TO THE CONFERENCE

Michel LE GUERN

Jansenist networks in Lyon in the nineteenth century

One can see in the Jansenist legacy in nineteenth-century Lyon the intersection of two trends: the Petite Église, which refused the Concordat, and the part of Liberal Catholicism that was opposed to Ultramontanism. This second trend gathered the former pupils of Abbé Noirot, who taught philosophy at Lycée de Lyon from 1827 to 1852. Their shared trait was an interest in social action. Jansenist influences concerned all backgrounds, from industrialists and bankers to university professors and artists. By detecting friendship interactions, we can perceive networks where concerns circulated that were shared by all of these personalities.

Keywords: Lyon; Liberal Catholicism
Vincent CUVILLIERS and Philippe MOULIS

*Port-Royal supporters in Alsace in the nineteenth century*

While the nineteenth century saw ultramontanist devotion triumph, ousting the influence of Jansenism, a document published here shows that Port-Royal networks remained active. Certain congregations, such as the Sisters of Saint Martha, were able to stir up vocations including in regions traditionally hostile to Jansenism, like Alsace.

*Keywords*: Alsace; Sisters of Saint Martha

**III. VARIA**

Bo LAESTADIUS

*Reflecting on Pascal’s illnesses and death*

Blaise Pascal’s poor health is well attested and, since Voltaire, has been the subject of debates and studies. In light of contemporary medical knowledge, the analysis of accounts of Pascal’s ill health and the autopsy that followed his death allows us to shed new light on his illness, which could be identified with Lhermitte-Duclos syndrome.

*Keywords*: Blaise Pascal; Lhermitte-Duclos syndrome

Jean LESAULNIER

*Concerning devotional practices at Port-Royal: A letter from Angélique de Saint-Jean Arnauld d’Andilly (24 January 1679)*

Since Père Brisacier's attacks in 1651, Port-Royal was regularly accused of refusing to worship the Virgin Mary and the saints, and of being, thereby, a centre of Calvinism. When Archbishop Harlay de Champvallon forced the expulsion of the novices from the monastery in 1679 as well as the
ban on recruitment, the abbess Angélique de Saint-Jean was witness to the result of this persistent slander. She had, however, already answered back several months before in a letter whose text is provided here.

*Keywords: Jean de Brisacier; Angélique de Saint-Jean*

Juliette Guilbaud

*The papal bull Unigenitus in the Holy Roman Empire*

The question of the reception of the papal bull *Unigenitus* among Catholics of the Holy Roman Empire, long evaded by historiography, is difficult to tackle, given the lack of correspondence between political and canonical divisions within the boundaries of the Empire. It is a question, for the first decade following the fulmination of the bull, of: proposing an analysis – non exhaustive, certainly, but nuanced – of its reception on the diocesan level, using published testimonies and manuscript sources; then gaining a better understanding of the stakes that, for the *constitutionnaires* and the French *appellants*, cover the acceptance of the bull by the German Churches; and shedding light on the emperor’s position concerning the constitution.

*Keywords: Unigenitus; Holy Roman Empire*