# VIOLENCE AND REVOLUTIONARY VANDALISM IN THE SOUTH OF THE ÎLE DE FRANCE

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For some historians, the French Revolution – especially in its Jacobin phase – is a period of systematic destruction of political objects and symbols<sup>1</sup>. The accusation was made by the Abbé Grégoire in 1794, «creating the word to kill the thing» and echoed by contemporary authors like Chateaubriand and Mercier<sup>2</sup>. I want to look at this question in the perspective of revolutionary violence, delineating the degree and the shapes of destruction defined as «vandalism» in the four districts of the Isle de France in the light of those who were actors of the incidents themselves and their own motivations<sup>3</sup>.

# I. The Violent Shapes of Revolutionary Vandalism

The period we will examine begins with the Cahiers de doléances in the Spring of 1789 and ends with the withdrawal of municipal autonomy under the constitution of Year III and the creation of cantonal administration in the Fall of 1795. On the map, the districts involved are today's Essonne, all of Etampes, most of Corbeil and some townships in Versailles and Dourdan. It is a region numbering 200 townships and 10,500 inhabitants<sup>4</sup>.

# A) «Antiseigneurial Vandalism»

Though most cahiers de doléances respected seigneurial – or caste – institutions, they firmly denounced the emblems and objects which would be destroyed some months later. This is clear in complaints regarding dovecotes, where the choice is between suppression or indemnity; or those regarding the obligation of maintenance and repair of embankments considered an excess of seigneurial rights; or in episodes of abusive fencing of commons, as well as

<sup>2</sup> L.S. Mercier, Néologie ou vocabulaire des mots nouveaux, Paris 1807.

J. Tulard, J.F. Fayard, A. Fierro, Histoire et dictionnaire de la Révolution française, Robert Laffont 1987, p. 1179. «On the cultural level it was a period of systematic destruction».

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> S. Bianchi, Le Vandalisme révolutionnaire ou la naissance d'un mythe. Colloquium at Clermont-Ferrand 1986 (published in 1988), pp. 189-99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The research promoted by the Committee for the bicentennial commemorations in the Essonne district permit ample coverage of the local situations in question.

#### DISTRICTS ET CANTONS RÉVOLUTIONNAIRS



against the scaffolds of low and middle level justice which were the very symbols of tithes and taxation<sup>5</sup>.

In reality our region did not in general suffer from the wave of violence known as the Great Fear which swept the country-side before the 4th of August 1789. The assassination of Foullon, transported from his residence near Viry to Paris, is linked to other questions like that of the supposed «plot to starve the people». But the night of 4th August brings on some forms of destruction. In 1789 we see the burning of noble family pews and the end of dovecotes <sup>6</sup>.

But the fundamental structures remain until the flight of the king and, above all, until the end of the monarchy. In the summer of 1792 «aristocrats» are ordered to destroy within eight days all notices or warning signs posted about their properties. A year later the Jacobin laws aimed at definitively canceling all traces of feudalism order the destruction of seigneurial markers, residual scaffolds and, above all, with the laws of June and July 1793, titles, armorial bearings and manorial rolls. It was the epilogue of a long, daily struggle between the overlords and the communities in which they acted, a struggle whose beginnings often considerably antedated 1789.

On the other hand, the destruction of monumental gates and feudal residences is virtually absent in our region as compared to those areas where agents of the central government emitted Ordinances which furnished a de facto legitimacy for such acts. Apart from the Count of Provence's residence at Brunoy, only the castle of Farcheville is made the object of crowd action which includes some «vandalism». As compared to «antireligious vandalism», all such episodes were scattered, gradual and very irregular in pattern, varying from town to town in accordance with local town and personal relationships and equilibriums.

## B) «Antireligious vandalism»

On his return to France, Chateaubriand cannot find words enough to denounce the destruction of religious objects: «One saw abandoned churches, empty bell-towers, crossless cemeteries, decapitated saints lapidated in their very niches». One must, however, be very careful in establishing the dates and the types of damage.

## B1) The Phases

From 1791 the monastic orders and convents are subject to government attention. Their buildings, furnishings and properties are auctioned: buyers

- <sup>5</sup> '89 en Essonne, n. 2, «Le temps des doléances», April-May, 1989, p. 49-51.
- <sup>6</sup> '89 en Essonne, n. 3, «Jounées et marches de la faim», August-September, 1989 («L'affaire Foullon», p. 17-23); n. 2 («Les Pigeons d'Epinay-sur-Orge», p. 60).
  - <sup>7</sup> S. Bianchi, E. Rapoport, *Histoire d'un domaine*, Le Neuborg, 1984, p. 106-7.
  - <sup>8</sup> Cahiers de doléances de Morsang-sur-Orge. Ris. Montgeron, aux A.D. Essonne.
- <sup>9</sup> P. Curtat, *Inventaire révolutionnaire des biens du comte de Provence à Brunoy.* «Bulletin de la société d'art, histoire et archéologie de la vallée de l'Yerres », 1990, and J. Fritsch, communication regarding Farcheville presented at the 6th Meeting on Regional History: «La Révolution en Ile-de-France, Versailles, 1989 (to be published soon).

are in part faithful who intend to restore objects or holdings to the Church. Some churches are given over to secular uses, requisitioned or torn down as part of the general reform involved in the Civil Constitution of the clergy 10.

But the decisive phase of «dechristianization» falls between November, 1793 (Brumaire, Year II) and April, 1794 (Germinal, Year II). During these months churches, bells, plate, silverware, statues and relics, crosses and the Chlamys are at the center of attention.

# B2) The Types of Damage

#### The churches

As far as we know, no religious buildings were torn down in our region during the year II, though two hundred churches were required to suspend services. They remained however in use as community centers devoted to social purposes – grain-barn at Etampes, gunpowder storage point in Méréville; Temple of Reason, deposit, prison, meeting hall for the local Societé populaire in other towns<sup>11</sup>.

The physical destruction of churches has occurred prior to this period or will occur after it is over!

### Devotional objects

Bells are taken down in accordance with the July 1793 law. Generally speaking they are all requisitioned except for a single bell in each township; they are carried to the principle town of the district where they are melted down to make cannons. The operation entails some technical and practical problems. Some towns – like Crosne – send the government bills for the expenses involved. Despite some considerable delays in execution, the law is however applied without any apparent resistance or refusal <sup>12</sup>.

Insofar as regards silverware and other objects of devotion in metal, the situation is different. In the Corbeil district 27 townships out of 90 send their silver objects to the Convention, after compiling a detailed inventory of the pieces and a receipt. In the descriptions contained in surviving lists, we can find evident indications of mutilation, for example in the case of Brunoy 13. In the Beauce area townships, agent Couturier is extremely active. It is he who requisitions the plate at Chamarande and at Bourai and loads it on carts which he sends to the Convention 14. At the same time non-precious metal is put on the road to Corbeil, Etampes or Dourdan.

<sup>10 &#</sup>x27;89 en Essonne, n. 5, « Ruptures et résistances religieuses, le sort des couvents et des communautés », p. 8-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> For many examples, see the series of nine monoraphs, La Révolution en Essonne, published by Amatteis, 1988-89.

<sup>12</sup> S. Bianchi, S. Bienvenu, A. Clavier, A. Crepin, Crosne en Révolution, Amatteis, 1989, p. 139.

<sup>13</sup> S. Bianchi, Recherches sur la déchristianisation dans le district de Corbeil, PhD, Sorbonne, 1976, p. 75 and Appendix (in publication).

<sup>14 &#</sup>x27;89 en Essonne, n. 4-5, October 1789-January 1990, «Un missionnaire régénérateur», p. 20-22.

#### Statues and paintings

The archives reveal mutilation of art which is identified as depicting symbols of fanaticism. A delegation from Brunoy destroys a statue of the Virgin, but it does so at Bercy, while it is traveling to the Assembly. At Corbeil «vandals» vent themselves on the porches and doors of churches, while in Méréville «two citizens smash the altar and altar-piece» of a chapel. And yet we must bear in mind that many mutilations ascribed to such «vandals» are mentioned by Abbé Lebeuf, writing in 1780! 15

#### Crosses and Chlamvs

In the span of a few months all crosses - then described as «a bit of wood with another laid across it» - disappeared momentarily from our region. Town records increasingly note that they have been removed from crossroads, localities, stations of the cross, towers and interiors. Occasionally, taking into account the effects of reticence, we can discern the traces of violence. At Méréville we see a «furious» citizen cut down Christs with a saber. Usually the crosses or the Chlamys which are removed are substituted with the national flag, or, with a hastier solution like that adopted at Nogent-sur-Marne, the «arms» are broken off 16. In many towns around Etampes and Milly-la-forêt crowds of women make physical opposition to the removal of the crosses and the «vandals» find themselves in a far from enviable situation 17

#### Relics

In so far as regards the symbolic objects of Catholic Christian devotion, behavior differs from town to town. Relics, which had of course already been scorned by the philosophs and progressive clergy, may be forwarded to the Convention by such zealous agents as Couturier, who took this line at Favières-défanatisée (the re-named Saint-Sulpice-de-Favières). But they are also spectacularly destroyed, as is the case at Echarcon and at Corbeil, when the township «burned the infected corpse, the disgusting mummies, the bones of the alleged St. Spire, St. Lou, St. Norbert in living flame <sup>18</sup>. The account of this opertion declares that «The Mayor and the town officials, together with the president of the Societé populaire gathered at the second hour of the watch before the former church of St. Spire. The bones and remains of St. Yon and a host of others of similar ilk were then brought down from the nook where they had been heaped together. They were forthwith consigned to one of the carts

<sup>15</sup> Abbé Lebeuf, Histoire du diocèse de Paris; J.A. Dulaure, Nouvelle description des environs de Paris, 1784.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> J. Roblin, La Révolution à Nogent-sur-Marne, Amatteis, 1988. S. Bianchi and M. Chancelier, Draveil et Montgeron, deux villages en Révolution, Amatteis, 1989, p. 211.

<sup>17</sup> C. Forteau, Etude des registres de catholicitié et d'état civil dans le canton de Méréville; P. Cousteix, «Les résistances religieuses dans la région de Milly», '89 en Essonne, n. 4-5, p. 87-90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> M. Caillard, Citoyens en Essonne. Service éducatif des Archives en Essonne, 1990, pièce n. 62.

used to transport town refuse and drawn to the Place de la Révolution. Here they were turned out upon a bonfire which had been constructed for the purpose and burned to ashes together with the linens, drapery and urns containing them. Then the ashes were reloaded onto the same garbage cart and taken to the great arch of the bridge over the Seine, where they were dispersed».

## Lettres de prêtrise

The law obliges those who have resigned from the priesthood – about half of the priests of our region – to abandon their documents of nomination. Most commonly these papers are burned publicly or destroyed during festivals, sometimes by the curates themselves <sup>19</sup>. Thus «antireligious vandalism» exists in the South of the Ile de France, too, but its forms vary from town to town. Beyond this preliminary and indispensible description, we need to reconstruct the actors and the motives of the de-Christianizing episode.

## II) A «Violent» Vandalism? A Tentative Interpretation

#### A) «The Actors»

Whether we are considering local initiatives or external agents, individual or collective acts, the answer is never a simple one.

#### Local organizations

Though the descriptions often come from municipal records, the role of the Sociétés populaires, created in Year II as part of «Sans-culottes power», is crucial. In the Corbeil district the maps of the network of the Sociétés and of dechristianization coincide to a large degree <sup>20</sup>. Sometimes – as in the case of Brunoy or Montgeron – the destructive episode follows only a few days after the founding of the local société. But we also find cases in which the local société defends its priest and the church because of prior local power relationships. Great caution is required in reading this area of activity since the société is comparable to a general aseembly and those who favor dechristianization this year may, as in Crosne, desire a return to religious services the next.

## Individuals and Groups

It is virtually impossibile to identify an occupational area favorable to «vandalism». To sustain, as some do, that occupations linked to vineyard and forest are particularly favorable, is not convincing: for local indications in this sense are easily countered by differing evidence from neighboring townships<sup>21</sup>. But we can note the actions of certain individuals, among whom are

<sup>19</sup> A. Nationale, série F 19. Abbé J.M. Alliotr, «Le Clergé pendant la Révolution dans le district de Versailles », Annales du Gatinais, 1916.

<sup>20</sup> S. Bianchi, Les Sociétés populaires dans le sud de l'Ile-de-France, guide de recherces, 6th Meeting on Regional History, Sorbonne, 1987, p. 1-7.

<sup>21</sup> Marcel Lachiver, Vin, vigne et vignerons en Ile-de-France, Paris 1982.

some priests. Near Etampes, some fifteen priests – often married – leave their occupation spontaneously and with enthusiasm, destroying their letters of nomination and pronouncing firey speeches. In the measure in which they do not later resume their priesthood, we need to take into account the homogenous attitude of this minority of «red reverends», who can be found in other towns like Mennecy (Delanney) or near Milly (Suleau and Pasquet) as well <sup>22</sup>.

#### External agents

Historians often cite the presence of external agents in explaining the violent episodes of «vandalism». The first to be accused are the agents representing the central government. Two of them have a more than negative reputation. It is said that Jean-Pierre Couturier, present in the area during the most active phase of dechristianization, requisitioned or destroyed all of the plate and silverware and all of the relics everywhere he went, obliging the priests along his way to marry. Augustin Crassous, tireless defender of the décadi and enemy of Sunday, is said to have «had bell-towers and castles torn down»<sup>23</sup>. Here we become ensnared in the nets of biographies which draw their information solely from testimony dating from the thermidorian reaction of Year III. Careful examination of local sources shows clearly that Couturier is far more moderate in what he does than in the magniloquent dossiers of his activities which he sends to the Convention!<sup>24</sup> Not only does he act after consultation with the local Comités and with the various Société populaires, but, along his itinerary, we find no trace of the sort of violent destruction we see in Corbeil, where no government agent was present. Thus, contrary to his black legend, Couturier proves on examination to have been a moderator. The same is true for Crassous. Far from having destroyed any noble or ecclesiastic buildings, he attempts to pacify tensions and frees prisoners held for having celebrated the old Christian holidays<sup>25</sup>. What we discover here is that these agents reflected the mentality of the areas to which they had been sent and the local degree of mobilization in a phase in which centralization of administration had not yet become rigid 26.

As for the activity of units of the Armée révolutionaire parisienne – which had been formed in the autumn of 1793 after the institution of price control in September – in the area, it is difficult to identify as a separate factor vis à vis local sans-culottes organizations and this is especially true for Corbeil. Certainly, it played a role as accelerator however unfavourably received by sections of the local population though in an incomparably smaller measure than in regions where civil war broke out<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> S. Bianchi, «Les Curés rouges dans la Révolution française», Annales historiques de la Révolution française, n. 249, 1982, pp. 364-392 and n. 262, 1985, pp. 4478-479.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> J. Tulard, op. cit., p. 737; '89 en Essonne, n. 7, May-July 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Archives parlementaires, Compte-rendus des séances de la Convention, Tomes 78 and 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> A.D. Essonne, series L for the districts of Etampes and Bourdan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> M. Vovelle, Religion et Révolution. La déchristianisation de l'an II, Flammarion 1976 and Complexe 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> R. Cobb, Les Armées révolutionnaires, instrument de la Terreur, Paris 1961-63.

In evaluating the delicate balance of internal and external influences, of the spontaneous and the induced, which led to revolutionary «vandalism», the historian must be especially aware of local traditions and behavior patterns as well as of the snares of words.

#### B) «The Motivations of the 'Vandals'»

#### Stereotyped Discourse

The dechristianising and anti-feudal speeches have two striking permanent characteristics. On the one hand, the verbal charge is such that merely naming some things unleashes destruction. Holders of *lettres de prêtrise* called these documents of nomination «the impostor's licence», «clerical bullets», «wastepaper»<sup>28</sup>. Relics unleash a macabre and dubious humorism. As might be expected, reductive manicheism appears, contrasting «the vulgar era of fanaticism and superstition» with the «new era of enlightenment, reason and regeneration». This dicotomous vision is the most striking mark of «vandalism».

## Degrees and Contexts

In the absence of theorists of dechristianisation, no distinction is made between economic, social, ideological and military aspects and strictly religious motivations. But these religious motives themselves require delucidation. We must distinguish between the frontal attack on priests and fanaticism through the violent destruction of their signs and symbols and the preservation of rules of morality which sometimes were compatible with respect for the Supreme Being, in the context of an obligatory reconstruction of values through the Revolution.

## C) «Defense and Description of 'Vandalism'»

In the justifications which dechristianisers gave of their actions, any destructive act brings with it an immediate regeneration through the positive revolutionary anntithesis it implies. Montagnard theorists of the «cultural revolution» explicitly invoke this dimension<sup>29</sup>.

Examples of the coupling of negative and positive objects are abundant. Crosses become liberty trees (in virtue of their locations) while bells become cannons for national defense; the Chlamys becomes a flag, the chasuble some patriot's waistcoat, the plate national coin. Substitution sometimes triumphs over destruction when the church itself becomes temple of Reason, the saint is transformed into a martyr of freedom and Sunday becomes décadi<sup>30</sup>. Para-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> We also find descriptions like «dirtied signs », «shameful marks of human degradation », see S. Bianchi, op. cir., 1985, p. 450.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> S. Bianchi, *La Révolution culturelle de l'an II*, Aubier, Floréal, 1982, p. 157. P. Goujard and C. Mazauric, « Dans quel sens peut-on dire que la Révolution française fut une révolution culturelle? », *Europa*, Autumn 1978, Tome 2, n. I, p. 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> A. Mathiez, Les Origines des cultes révolutionnaires, Paris 1904.

doxically the most extreme episodes of fire and destruction occur where the intent is to raise a monument of art and architecture to honour the new regime <sup>31</sup>.

Even though we are dealing here with the ideas of intellectuals who mean to justify the prevailing ideology, these very views may lead us to reconsider received wisdom on the violence of «vandals».

## D) «Can We Indeed Speak of 'Vandalism' and Violence?»

The concept of «vandalism» derives finally from the behavior of Genseric's hordes in 455, and this implies some comfortable assumptions <sup>32</sup>: ignorance, destructive instincts, hatred for art, even greed...

#### Organized behavior

Here we are not engaged with instinct or «wild» acts of destruction. All of the behavior we have mentioned, is object of depositions and reports compiled by authorities in the towns or at the district level 33. The religious objects are weighed, appraised and described in minute detail. The scenography of bonfires where documents are destroyed is organized by the townships and the Sociétés populaires. We find no pillage and individual cases of «excess» are sanctioned by the local authorities and populations. The later accusations of Taine's disciples are derived from the black legend.

#### «Rational» behavior?

Given the positions from which dechristianization arises, we cannot continue to explain the events under the heading of «ignorance». From one point of view the prospect before us is antithetical to that of vandalism, in that all destruction is carried out in the name of the enlightenment, of reason, of public utility: in short, to emerge finally from the «dark» ages and obscurantism. On the other hand, the actors in the episodes make clear distinctions between what must be conserved and what must be done away with for the good of the populations. And what was to be saved was saved: like the land maps in manorial registers or the documents describing properties and their incomes <sup>34</sup>. The selectivity of the destruction is, in some sense, proclaimed and consciously indicated.

## The absence of greed

In so far as our region is concerned, descriptions of pillage by rabid crowds during the Year II, are pure fantasy. Collective and ideological discipline of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> See the festival of Unity and Indivisibility held on 10 August 1793, in M. Vovelle, *Images et récits*, 1988, Tome 4.

<sup>32</sup> B. Baczko and S. Bianchi, cit., Le vandalisme révolutionnaires, p. 190.

<sup>33</sup> This is the case in Brunoy, Montgeron, Corbeil, Etampes and Mennecy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Territorial maps of Draveil, Epinay-sur-Orge, Ris, Bruyères-le-Chatel, Mennecy, Saint-Chéron, Crosne, published on the back cover of '89 en Essonne and A.D. Essonne.

time is fundamentally hostile to the very idea of pillage, as, for example, George Rudé has shown for Parisian crowds 35. Emigré property, like the precious objects belonging to churches are deposited under seal and «catalogued by a diligent bureaucracy». Unlike what happened during the English revolution, the idea of social restitution to the poor is absent from the ethic of dechristianizers. So much so that an adversary can declare, however reluctantly, «the people take revenge on all the symbols of poverty and servitude, destroying and burning, too unaware even to rob» 36.

#### Respect for art

The most important elements of the region's artistic patrimony were not touched, in accordance, certainly, with the official decrees but in some cases in the face of local pressures to the contrary. Thus a law of 24 October, 1793 (3 brumaire, Year II) forbids «removal, destruction, mutilation, alterations of any and all sorts on the pretext of removing marks of feudalism or monarchy, of books, printed or in manuscript, of etchings and drawings, of paintings, statues urns, medals, antiquities and other objects concerned with art, history or learning». The opening of a library and of an archive for Etampes is part of this policy, of a wholly different direction than vandalism<sup>37</sup>. Commissions of artists are charged with compiling the inventory of sequestered objects and with the task of choosing among these those with artistic and/or historic value, but they were not able to conclude their work. What we do know is that in many places objects of art and relics reappeared in their traditional settings in Year III 38. Only monographs directed at small geographical areas allow us to examine the real dimensions and the real limits of revolutionary «vandalism».

# E) «The Snares and Pits of Polemics»

To date, two basic historic schools have squared off on these themes. The first, basically clerical, takes its cue from the black legend of the Year III, proclaiming that the revolution of the Mountain was very destructive, echoing the accusations of Grégoire regarding the sans culottes and the Jacobins, and affirming that the period was a parenthesis – a cultural and artistic «desert» <sup>39</sup>. The second school instead defines this period as one of «cultural revolution»; it refuses the idea of violent, blind «vandalism», attacking the assumption underlying that evaluation. The former position may be seen to have little foundation, when we note the limits of use of the term

36 L. Reau, Histoire du vandalisme, Paris 1959.

<sup>35</sup> G. Rudé, The Crowd in the French Revolution, Clarendon 1959.

<sup>37</sup> Etampes-histoire. Etampes en Révolution, Amatteis 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> P. Cavailler, «Les Reliques de saint Exupère à Corbeil», Bulletin de la société historique et archéologique de Corbeil, d'Etampes et du Hurepoix, 1967, p. 117-138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> The expression is that of an architect of the revolutionary period, Quatremère. See also, Trahard, La Sensibilité révolutionnaire.

Vandals borrowed from the 5th century <sup>40</sup>; the exaggeration of thermidorian language <sup>41</sup>; and the extraordinary continuity of destruction from the Ancien régime through the Directory, where the demolition of the Bastille and the episodes of the Great Fear fit into a series <sup>42</sup>. According to the eye-witness Mercier, the «big Vandals» had done away with the «little Vandals» after 9 Thermidor, destroying all the symbols of Year II regeneration: busts, ceramic objects, Mountains, the records of Sociétés populaires, liberty trees <sup>43</sup>. The «cultural revolution» school insists precisely upon the unprecedented encouragement given to the arts and to culture in general in the Year II, through the founding of museums and archives and the enhancement of civism with the didactic diffusion of paintings, plays, statues and calendars <sup>44</sup>.

At this point what seems necessary is to proceed to a detailed area by area inventory of acts of «vandalism», situating them in their local context, within the behavior patterns and the mentality of the period, avoiding value judgements and the excesses of black and gold legends regarding the terror – or the regeneration – of the Year II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Larousse, 1876 edition, Tome XV, p. 758-59: according to Salvien, the domination of the Vandals was considered by the Spanish to be preferable to that of the Romans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Grégoire attacks his former friends when he accuses Robespierre of having wished to do away with scholars, burn libraries and starve animals. See E. Despois, *Le vandalisme révolutionnaire*, Félix Alcan, Paris 1868.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> M. Beurdeley, *La France à l'encan* (Taillanier 1979) gives many examples of «vandalism» both before and after Year II, and especially during the Directory.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> L. Gendron, *La Jeunesse sous thermidor*, PUF, 1982, p. 94, « La destruction de la symbolique révolutionnaire ».

Two works by L. Reau and E. Despois have virtually the same title, but the former discusses the destruction of Year II, while the second treats only the protection and diffusion of the patrimony during the period of the Mountain's sway.