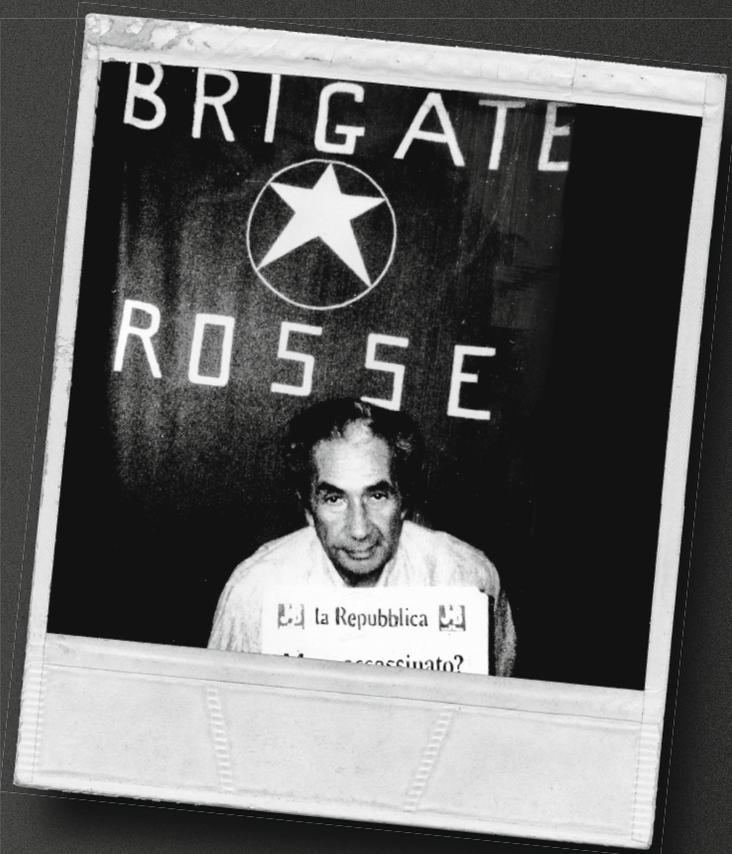


Baldassare Scolari

State Martyr

Representation and Performativity
of Political Violence



Nomos



Media and Religion | Medien und Religion

edited by | herausgegeben von

Dr. Anna-Katharina Höpflinger
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Prof. Dr. Stefanie Knauss
Villanova University, USA

Dr. Marie-Therese Mäder
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Prof. Dr. Daria Pezzoli-Olgiati
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Volume 2 | Band 2

Baldassare Scolari

State Martyr

Representation and Performativity
of Political Violence



Nomos



The publication was supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF).



SCHWEIZERISCHER NATIONALFONDS
ZUR FÖRDERUNG DER WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN FORSCHUNG

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>

a.t.: München, Ludwig-Maximilians-Univ., Diss., 2018

ISBN 978-3-8487-5761-9 (Print)
978-3-8452-9937-2 (ePDF)

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-3-8487-5761-9 (Print)
978-3-8452-9937-2 (ePDF)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Scolari, Baldassare

State Martyr

Representation and Performativity of Political Violence

Baldassare Scolari

417 pp.

Includes bibliographic references and index.

ISBN 978-3-8487-5761-9 (Print)
978-3-8452-9937-2 (ePDF)

1st Edition 2019

© Baldassare Scolari

Published by

Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG

Waldseestraße 3-5 | 76530 Baden-Baden

www.nomos.de

Total Print Production:

Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG

Waldseestraße 3-5 | 76530 Baden-Baden

Printed and bound in Germany.

ISBN (Print): 978-3-8487-5761-9

ISBN (ePDF): 978-3-8452-9937-2

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845299372>



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution – Non Commercial – No Derivatives 4.0 International License.

Table of Contents

Preface	9
Author's Note	11
1 Introduction	15
1.1 The Event of Political Violence	15
1.2 Status Quaestionis	20
1.3 The State Martyr Figure	26
1.4 Organization of the Investigation	33
2 A Discourse Analytical Approach to Political Violence	40
2.1 The Representation of Violence in the Context of Political Struggle	40
2.2 Narratives of Sovereignty and Rebellion	48
2.3 Hegemonic and Subversive Uses of the Martyr Figure	59
2.4 The Discourse Analytical Approach	64
2.5 Performativity of Discursive Practices	71
2.6 Unity of the Discursive Formation and Methodological Framework	82
3 Signatures of the Martyr Figure	90
3.1 The Martyr Figure as a Counterpart of the Sovereign	90
3.2 Sacrifice, Scapegoat, Martyrdom	99
3.3 Emergence of the Martyr Figure	109
3.4 Institutionalization, Militarization, and Nationalization of the Martyr Figure	117

Table of Contents

4	Cultural, Social and Political Context of the Event of Political Violence	131
4.1	The Rhetoric of Sacrifice During the Risorgimento and the Resistenza	131
4.2	1948–1978: Thirty Years of Italian Political History	142
4.3	Emancipation and Political Violence in the «Years of Lead»	158
4.4	The Moro Case: History and Conspiracy	171
5	Construction of a Willing Martyr	182
5.1	Opposing Narratives and Representations: Red Brigades Versus Italian State Versus Aldo Moro	182
5.2	The Image of Moro Before the Kidnapping	194
5.3	16 March 1978: First Reactions to the Kidnapping	203
5.4	Framing «the People» and «the Enemy»: Construction of National Identity	211
5.5	The Image of the Coming Martyr	228
6	Moro’s Voice and its Annihilation	248
6.1	Sanctity of Human Life	248
6.2	Reduction to Bare Life	268
6.3	Grand Finale: Consolidation of the State Martyr	286
7	Memorialization Practices and Memory Struggle	306
7.1	Contested Memory and Practices of Memorialization in the Public Space	306
7.2	Literary Interventions	317
7.3	Moro’s Image on Television and in Italian Cinema	333
7.4	Beatification Process	356
8	How to Narrate and Represent Political Violence	363
8.1	Discourse and Cultural Analysis	364
8.2	Performativity and Signatures of the Martyr Figure	365
8.3	The Moro Case	369

Table of Contents

8.4 Towards an Aesthetics of Resistance	372
List of Figures	383
Bibliography	385
Filmography	409
Register	411

Preface

Since the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers in New York on September 11, 2001, terrorism and, more generally, political violence have become central topics in media representations as well as in academic debates and studies. The recent spread of allegedly religiously motivated suicide bombings and other kinds of attacks involving the deaths of both attackers and victims has caused an attendant surge of interest in the relationship between events of political violence and the martyr figure. Many contemporary studies seek to understand martyrological representations and narratives as forms of propaganda for a particular cause and aim, in order to highlight the mechanisms and procedures by which martyr figures are constructed and contested. This investigation is a contribution to the debate concerning the relationship between martyrdom and political violence. It places emphasis on historical, social and cultural phenomena, which so far have been largely neglected, namely the emergence, aesthetics and performativity of the state martyr figure. Because of the actuality of so-called «Islamicist terrorism», many researchers have focused on the role of the martyr figure in the Islamic religious and cultural tradition, often comparing it in particular with Christian and Jewish concepts of martyrdom. Researchers often highlight the overlap between terrorism and martyrdom by identifying commonalities and differences in the use and function of martyrological representations in different historical and social contexts of struggle. Great attention has been directed towards the propagandistic use of martyrological representation for the legitimization of violence and for the promotion of an ideology aimed at destroying «Western» culture, society, and institutions. Far from denying or criticizing these interpretations, this research study focuses on a structurally related but different phenomenon: the representation of victims of political violence as state martyrs who died for the salvation of the democratic social and political order and state institutions. While I focus on the martyrological representations of a specific case of political violence—the kidnapping, imprisonment and assassination of the Italian Christian Democrat politician Aldo Moro in 1978 by the Red Brigades—this work is not a case study in the strictest sense. The «Moro case» serves as a point of departure for developing critical reflection on the emergence, use and function of state martyrology and mythology in the modern and contemporary world.

Preface

I began my PhD studies in 2013, as a joint doctoral degree between the Universität Zürich and the Università degli Studi di Macerata under the supervision of Daria Pezzoli-Olgiati and Carla Danani. In 2016, I matriculated at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, which took over the cooperation agreement for the implementation of joint doctoral supervision with the Università degli Studi di Macerata. This PhD thesis won the 2018 award of the Münchener Universitätsgesellschaft. My research has been supported by two grants from the Universität Zürich (Forschungskredit Candoc) and from the Divisione della cultura e degli studi universitari (DECS) of the Republic and Canton Ticino, to whom I owe much thanks. I would also like to thank the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) for taking on the costs of printing and Open Access publication, as well as the employees of Nomos publishing house for their excellent cooperation. Moreover, I would also like to express my gratitude to my tutors Daria Pezzoli-Olgiati and Carla Danani for their support, without which this study would have never existed. Many thanks also go to the members of the research group Media and Religion—especially Anna-Katharina Höpflinger, Dolores Zoé Bertschinger, Marie-Therese Mäder, Michael Ulrich, Natalie Fritz, Roger Meier, Paola von Wyss-Giacosa and Stefanie Knauss—who have always helped, advised and encouraged me in my work. I'm also grateful to Richard Amesbury, Robert Yelle, Michael Braunschweig, Giulia Giubergia, Sidsel Undseth Bakke, William Arfam and Franc Wagner for the fruitful discussions and their inputs, as well as Annamarie Benson, Joyce Fegan and Martin Ford for proofreading this PhD thesis. Finally, my special thanks go to my father Raffaele, my brother Jacopo and my sisters Luna and Eleonora for their boundless support.

Author's Note

All translations, Italian and German, are my own unless indicated otherwise in the footnotes.

Es gibt keine Herrscher mehr, keine Könige, die die Masse, die die Meute noch im Zaume halten können; es gibt nur noch das Bild des Märtyrers.

Jacob Taubes, *Die politische Theologie des Paulus*

No martyr is among ye now
Whom you can call your own.

Dylan, Bob, *I Dreamed I Saw St. Augustine*, from the album *John Wesley Harding*

È incredibile fino a che punto sia giunta la totale confusione delle lingue.

Aldo Moro, *Lettera alla moglie Eleonora*

