

JULES MAROUZEAU AND *L'ANNEE PHILOLOGIQUE*: THE GENESIS OF A REFORM IN CLASSICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY¹

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ABSTRACT

*In the early twentieth century, bibliography was subject to a large-scale reform effort, spearheaded by institutions such as the League of Nations and the International Institute on Intellectual Cooperation, which attempted to internationalize scientific practices. The French Latinist Jules MAROUZEAU conceived his newly created bibliography *L'Année philologique* as a part of that movement. The history of the publication's origins, which should be read in light of MAROUZEAU's professional ambitions, provides a new perspective on the scientific rivalry around bibliography, a tool for science and a driver of internationalization.*

KEYWORDS

*bibliography, reform, Jules Marouzeau, L'Année philologique,
scientific rivalry, tool for science, internationalization*

In recent years, the history of disciplines has become an increasingly important research field. The usual tools employed by students of Antiquity have been complemented by others from epistemology, sociology, political history and gender studies. Since the 1990s, several important works have paved the way for a research that combines the study of institutions and actors.² In this historiographical movement, sciences once considered as ancillary have gained greater exposure. Their role in the development of international dynamics and intellectual mobility, for instance, has been highlighted. In that sense, the history of

¹ This paper was adapted from the author's presentation at the Société *Études Latines* (Paris), 9 June 2018 (see *REL* 2019). The author would like to thank Jean-Yves Bart for translating from the original French. All citations have been newly translated from the French, except those by Gilbert Murray.

² See for example GRAN-AYMERICH 1998; KOCKA *et al.* 1999; BONNET 2005; STRAY 2007; KRINGS & BONNET 2008; REBENICH *et al.* 2010; WYLES & HALL 2016; VON UNGERN-STERMBERG 2017; ROCHE & DEMETRIOU 2018; WHITAKER & HALLETT [forthcoming].

bibliography is an area of special interest, pertaining as it does to a discipline that is currently largely ignored (and thus under-researched³) although it was an intensely investigated area in twentieth-century European science. Indeed, from the early years of that century, a genuine demand was voiced across a variety of research fields for a modernization of bibliography, triggering responses by disciplinary specialists, librarians, politicians, League of Nations civil servants and members of the International Institute on Intellectual Cooperation. Bibliography underwent a normalization process whose roots were found in the standardization of research tools in Europe and beyond.

Classical bibliography took part in this momentum, propelled in France by one key figure in particular: Jules MAROUZEAU (1878–1964). The author of a *Traité de stylistique latine* and of *L'Ordre des mots dans la phrase latine*, MAROUZEAU also founded two scholarly societies, the *Société de Bibliographie Classique* (1921) and the *Société des Études latines* (1923), as well as two specialized classical bibliography publications, the *Revue des comptes rendus* (1911) and *L'Année philologique* (1926). Although they were aimed primarily at French colleagues, MAROUZEAU harboured international ambitions for these publications, which were based on the principle of better circulation of scientific information. In effect, his project was successful largely because he secured the collaboration of both members of Parisian academic institutions and international actors in the field of bibliography.⁴ This double base (French and international) offered a resolution to the crisis experienced by the field of Classics. MAROUZEAU's emphasis on internationalism may have become a key asset for his academic career, but it also bore the mark of the deep-seated rivalry in interwar international relations. There is a patriotic dimension to MAROUZEAU's concept of science, as with many of his contemporaries.

This tension between patriotic sentiment and promotion of internationalization, which calls for a history of scientific knowledge and policies, transpired throughout MAROUZEAU's academic career, as bibliography was a driver of internationalization *par excellence*. The history of the origins of *L'Année philologique* (*APh*) allows us to investigate what bibliography represented for the scientific community, and in the process

³ The history of bibliography remains an underdeveloped field. See, however, HALE 1970; JASENAS 1973; RAABE 1990. For more recent research, see the works of Fr. BARBIER listed on his website (<https://histoire-du-livre.blogspot.com/search/label/bibliographie>, last accessed 9 September 2019); TOURNÈS 2016, p. 211–220.

⁴ For a prosopography of *APh* contributors and sponsors, see HILBOLD [forthcoming].

contributes to the study of a complex movement that travelled across twentieth-century Europe.

1. Bibliography, the tool of a career

We know a good deal about MAROUZEAU's early years in Paris, beginning in 1899, thanks to his accounts of those times in his 1962 *Entretiens* with Ian HERESCU and his 1937 autobiography *Une Enfance*.⁵ In both books, MAROUZEAU's merits in the various undertakings of his life are highlighted,⁶ echoing Jacqueline CHAMPEAUX's description of him as "a pure product of Republican meritocracy".⁷ However, his "resistance", "tenacity" and "obstinacy" — all words he used to describe himself⁸ — were only one facet of his career and success among others.

In effect, whatever merit he had in climbing up the social ladder was made possible by the connections he was able to draw upon in a notoriously competitive environment.⁹ These connections, which are far less documented in his autobiographical narratives, deserve to be examined by historical research, as they shed new light on the construction of MAROUZEAU's academic identity.

One individual in particular shaped MAROUZEAU's career: Louis HAVET (1849–1925), a powerful philologist, member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and soon to be Director of Section IV of the École Pratique des Hautes Études (ÉPHÉ), whose classes MAROUZEAU began attending in 1902 at the Sorbonne, the ÉPHÉ and the Collège de France.¹⁰ HAVET was quite likely the one who steered MAROUZEAU towards classical bibliography, and he encouraged him to carve an original path, combining research, teaching and bibliography. Indeed, in

⁵ MAROUZEAU 1937; HERESCU & MAROUZEAU 1962.

⁶ In his own account, MAROUZEAU relates this idea of merit to his success at the Fleurat high school, his literature studies at the Sorbonne, the Collège de France and the ÉPHÉ, the grants he received to do research in Germany and Italy, and his subsequent academic career.

⁷ CHAMPEAUX 2013, p. 17.

⁸ HERESCU & MAROUZEAU 1962, p. 36.

⁹ For examples on the competition between MAROUZEAU and ERNOUT in the ÉPHÉ and the *Revue de philologie*, see HILBOLD [forthcoming].

¹⁰ See the letter from MAROUZEAU to HAVET, dated 23 August 1904, in which he mentions the class he attends at the Sorbonne and the Collège de France: Fonds Havet, NAF 24499 XXI F. 185, BnF; see also MAROUZEAU's application for admission to the ÉPHÉ, to attend classes by HAVET and A.-M. DESROUSSEAUX, dated 30 September 1902: 4EPHE cotation provisoire 1602/33 (MAROUZEAU's personal ÉPHÉ file).

heretofore under-exploited archival collections, there are extensive records of this master–student relationship, which lasted from MAROUZEAU’s enrolment at the ÉPHÉ in 1902 to HAVET’s death in 1925.

In a 1904 letter, for instance, MAROUZEAU asked HAVET for advice on the construction of his PhD subject and his teaching career.¹¹ Another set of letters and cards, spanning nearly ten years, from 1912 to 1921, was penned by Hely MAROUZEAU, MAROUZEAU’s wife. It exemplifies the role of wives in the academic community,¹² as Hely MAROUZEAU, who had become friendly with Mrs HAVET, wrote with very regular updates on her husband’s health, after he suffered from life-threatening atherosclerosis.¹³ The records of the presidency of Section IV of the ÉPHÉ, drafted by HAVET between 1912 and 1925, offer very clear evidence for practices of patronage,¹⁴ mentioning requests that MAROUZEAU submitted to his mentor.

In 1912, for instance, a “slightly distressed letter” reads like a call for help. MAROUZEAU explains that the precariousness of his situation weighs too heavily on him: “I am doing all sorts of things without being able to devote myself wholly to one, and ultimately without being anything definite”.¹⁵ At the time, MAROUZEAU was indeed splitting his time between his scientific activities at the ÉPHÉ¹⁶, where the “close proximity” of Louis HAVET and Antoine MEILLET “create[d] such a salutary working atmosphere in Paris”, and his teaching at the ÉPHÉ, the *Guilde* and the *Collège Sévigné*,¹⁷ which earned him a living. Additionally, he was active

¹¹ Fonds Havet, NAF 24499 XXI F. 185, BnF.

¹² On the role of wives in the academic community, see the examples of Ena BAZIN-FOUCHER, Alfred FOUCHER’s wife (FENET 2011), of Suzanne DOGNON-FEBVRE, Lucien FEBVRE’s wife, or Simone VIDAL-BLOCH, Marc BLOCH’s wife (DAVIS 2017).

¹³ Correspondance Havet J-Z, 4EPHE cotation provisoire 1602/980.

¹⁴ Carnets de la Présidence (Journal de L. Havet, 1912–1925), 4EPHE cotation provisoire 1602/980; see for instance in an entry dated 9 January 1913: “For Marouzeau, let us try to get something at the Collège de France from the Prix Saintour. Lévi and Pelliot will provide the connection with the Collège de France.” (« Tâchons d’avoir pour Marouzeau, au Collège de France, quelque chose du Prix Saintour. Lévi et Pelliot fourniront le lien avec le Collège de France. »)

¹⁵ Letter sent from Milan by MAROUZEAU to HAVET, dated 6 August 1912 (Correspondance Havet J-Z, 4EPHE cotation provisoire 1602/980): « Je fais toutes sortes de choses sans pouvoir me consacrer entièrement à aucune et en somme sans être rien de défini. »

¹⁶ See Timeline below.

¹⁷ On the *Collège Sévigné*, a State-subsidized private school, see MAYEUR 1977, p. 86–90; *Collège Sévigné* 1982; DE GIORGIO 2017 (esp. ROGERS 2017, p. 73–98). I was unable to identify “La Guilde”, but it was likely another private school.

at the *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, where he hoped to “make [himself] useful through [his] bibliography work”.¹⁸

Apart from this early autobiographical mention, no other archival sources attest to MAROUZEAU's presence at the *Revue de philologie*. However, a search in the volumes indicates that in 1911 he founded and edited a new bibliographical fascicle,¹⁹ entitled *Revue des comptes rendus d'ouvrages relatifs à l'Antiquité classique*.

The reason why MAROUZEAU founded the *Revue des comptes rendus* lay probably in the great need for manpower that characterizes all bibliographical endeavours.²⁰ Here it is also worth recalling MAROUZEAU's relationship with HAVET, who had precisely edited the *Revue de philologie* from 1877 to 1879 alongside Édouard TOURNIER and Charles GRAUX. This suggested reconstruction, which emphasizes the vertical relationship between master and student, is also based on possible echoes with other activities undertaken by MAROUZEAU in the wake of HAVET or in which the latter had him take part. In 1906, J. MAROUZEAU was appointed at the *Société de linguistique de Paris*, on a proposal by HAVET,²¹ who had been the society's deputy secretary himself. At the ÉPHÉ, MAROUZEAU was a guest lecturer until 1919 after regularly requesting teaching duties to HAVET, who presided Section IV.²² Eventually, in a dutiful tribute to his master, MAROUZEAU offered the first presidency of the *Société des Études Latines* to HAVET in 1923.

A significant range of evidence thus suggests that HAVET provided critical support to MAROUZEAU's career, and that he was also the one who introduced him to the idea of committing to bibliography, at the time when the scholarly community was beginning to gain interest in the discipline. Bibliography indeed turned out to be one of MAROUZEAU's

¹⁸ Letter sent from Milan by MAROUZEAU to HAVET, dated 6 August 1912 (Correspondance Havet J-Z, 4EPHE cotation provisoire 1602/980): « ... la Revue de Philologie où j'espère pouvoir rendre des services par mon travail de bibliographie. »

¹⁹ The 1911 foundation of the *Revue des comptes rendus* took place five years after MAROUZEAU's first involvement with the *Revue de philologie*, which dated back to 1906, when his first paper on “la mise en relief par disjonction” (see timeline below) was published.

²⁰ See Ernest LAVISSE's account in his entry on the exemplary life of Charles GRAUX: LAVISSE 1885, p. 303–305.

²¹ “Séance du 13 janvier 1906”, *BSL* 54–55, 1905, p. 149.

²² See *Carnets de la Présidence* (Journal de L. Havet, 1912–1925), 4EPHE cotation provisoire 1602/980; Correspondance Havet J-Z, 4EPHE cotation provisoire 1602/980.

areas of expertise: he devoted himself to it to the extent that he spearheaded an extensive bibliographical reform, first as part of the *Revue de philologie*, and then, when he was denied editorial duties at the *Revue*, with a new publication, the *APh*.

2. MAROUZEAU: the driving force of bibliographical reform

Initially, MAROUZEAU did not transform the existing bibliography sections of the *Revue de philologie* — the leading one being the *Revue des revues*, then published by Adrien KREBS. Yet, he created the *Revue des comptes rendus* in 1911, and, when KREBS died in 1923, he merged it with the *Revue des revues*, in the process homogenizing the bibliographies in the *Revue de philologie*.²³

In practice, by 1911, MAROUZEAU offered a “critical” bibliography in the *Revue des comptes rendus*, in which reviews and the academic works they discussed were listed separately. In the *Revue des revues*, KREBS addressed original works, whereas MAROUZEAU dealt with reviews in the *Revue des comptes rendus*. MAROUZEAU’s lists were divided into ten thematic sub-sections, a new classification system for the *Revue de philologie*, which until then had used geographical entities, and that the *APh* picked up and went on using until 1996 (vol. 67).

These editorial choices had significant human and financial costs. One of the solutions devised by MAROUZEAU to afford those costs was the foundation of the *Société de Bibliographie Classique* (SBC) in 1921,²⁴

²³ MAROUZEAU 1923–1924b, p. 47; see also J. MAROUZEAU, “Mémoire concernant un projet de bibliographie des sciences philologiques et historiques” (1923), Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva, CICI/B/10, p. 2: “On the one hand, a proper ‘Journal of Journals’, where analyses of papers published in periodicals are classified by discipline, according to a layout that is conducive to making consultation easy without an index. On the other hand, a ‘Journal of Reviews’, where the titles of published books are listed separately, with mentions of their reviews.” (« D’une part, une *Revue des Revues* proprement dite, où sont classés par matières, selon une disposition propre à rendre la consultation aisée sans le secours d’index, les analyses d’articles des périodiques. D’autre part, une *Revue des Comptes-Rendus* où sont classés de la même manière les titres d’ouvrages édités séparément, avec la mention des comptes-rendus qui en ont été faits. »)

²⁴ While much later sources (J. ERNST, “Au service de la documentation dans le domaine de l’Antiquité gréco-latine. Expériences d’une bibliographe”, Presentation given on 20 February 1942 to the *Association vaudoise des femmes universitaires*, at the Lyceum de Lausanne, Fonds J.-M. Flamand, Paris, p. 8; MAROUZEAU 1944) indicate that the SBC was founded in 1922 or 1923, a letter dated 21 October 1923, sent by J. MAROUZEAU to Polish historian and Secretary of the League of Nations Oskar

which allowed him to request funding from the *Confédération des Sociétés scientifiques françaises*:

In 1919, the *Confédération des sociétés scientifiques françaises* was founded with the main objective of subsidizing bibliographical publications drawing on funds allocated by Parliament. As these funds could only be attributed to Societies, I took the initiative of forming a *Société de bibliographie classique*, tasked with reorganizing the bibliographical publications issued by the *Revue de philologie*.²⁵

The difficult circumstances of the post-war period threaten to compromise the fate of these two publications [the *Revue des revues* and the *Revue des comptes-rendus*], which were systematically delayed and marred by gaps liable to hinder scientific work, when, last year, a *Société de bibliographie classique* was formed, and thanks to subsidies from the *Confédération des Sociétés scientifiques françaises*, allowed us to resume and reorganize the editorial work.²⁶

In the absence of any centralizing organization that could achieve an international coordination, it seemed to me that the most urgent task was to expand and perfect one of the existing undertakings: under these conditions, I worked for many years writing the bibliographical section of the *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire anciennes*. [...]

HALECKI, suggests it dates back to 1921: "I will represent [at the next session of the CICI's bibliography sub-committee] the *Société de bibliographie classique*, which I founded two years ago to ensure the publication of the bibliographical section of the *Revue de Philologie*." (« J'y représenterai [à la prochaine session de la Sous-commission bibliographique de la CICI] la *Société de bibliographie classique*, que j'ai fondée il y a deux ans pour assurer la publication de la partie bibliographique de la *Revue de Philologie*. »)

²⁵ MAROUZEAU 1927b, p. 16: « En 1919 s'était fondée la *Confédération des sociétés scientifiques françaises* dont le principal objet était de subventionner des publications bibliographiques à l'aide de fonds alloués par le Parlement. Ces fonds ne pouvant être attribués qu'à des Sociétés, je pris l'initiative de constituer une *Société de bibliographie classique* dont l'objet serait de réorganiser les publications bibliographiques qui paraissaient dans le cadre de la *Revue de philologie*. »

²⁶ MAROUZEAU 1923–1924b, p. 47: « Les difficultés de la période d'après-guerre menaçaient de compromettre le sort de ces deux publications [c.-à-d. la *Revue des revues* et la *Revue des comptes-rendus*], qui ne paraissaient plus qu'avec des retards et des lacunes préjudiciables au travail scientifique, lorsque, au courant de l'année dernière, s'est constituée une *Société de bibliographie classique* qui, grâce à une subvention de la *Confédération des Sociétés scientifiques françaises*, a permis de reprendre et de réorganiser le travail de rédaction. »

Following a trial-and-error process, in successive transformations, and sometimes interrupted for lack of material resources or delayed by the war, ultimately assisted and encouraged by the grant from the *Fédération des Sociétés Scientifiques*, I was able to develop the existing system...²⁷

Founded in 1919, the *Confédération* aimed at securing French public funding for bibliographic enterprises that were formalized as societies, as a response to the need for reform in the field expressed by French scholars.

The reform spearheaded by MAROUZEAU with the foundation of the SBC stands out in that its scope actually extended far beyond the sphere of the *Revue de philologie*. Like many of his contemporaries, MAROUZEAU was convinced that Classics was facing a crisis that only a pooling of efforts at national and international level could contain. The coordination of bibliography was one of the project's areas of implementation, but MAROUZEAU added a reflection on research and teaching in Classics. This combination of research, teaching and bibliography was the distinguishing factor of MAROUZEAU's project, consistent with the profile HAVET had urged him to build, and it materialized with the 1923 creation of the *Société des Études latines*. The *Société* was the communication organ that would enable the scientific coordination advocated by MAROUZEAU, at a time when "in a not entirely fortuitous coincidence [...] various questions are raised as to the organization and future of our scientific documentation".²⁸ Bibliography, which had an important place from the outset in the *Revue des Études Latines*,²⁹ contributed to improving the conditions

²⁷ J. MAROUZEAU, "Mémoire concernant un projet de bibliographie des sciences philologiques et historiques" (1923), Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva, CICI/B/10, p. 1: « En l'absence de toute organisation centralisatrice susceptible de réaliser une coordination internationale, la tâche la plus urgente m'avait paru de développer et de perfectionner l'une des entreprises existantes ; c'est dans ces conditions que j'ai travaillé pendant de longues années à la rédaction de la partie bibliographique de la *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire anciennes*. [...] Après divers tâtonnements et par transformations successives, arrêté parfois faute de ressources matérielles, retardé par la guerre, aidé et encouragé en dernier lieu par une subvention de la *Fédération des Sociétés Scientifiques*, j'ai pu réaliser l'organisation actuelle... »

²⁸ MAROUZEAU 1923–1924b, p. 47: « par une coïncidence qui n'est pas tout à fait fortuite, [...] se trouvent posées diverses questions qui intéressent l'organisation et l'avenir de notre documentation scientifique ».

²⁹ On the *REL*'s bibliography project, which competed with the one proposed by the *Revue des comptes rendus*, see MAROUZEAU 1923–1924b, p. 48.

of scientific work, not least because, like the *Revue* and the *Société des Études Latines*, it was a key component of scientific relations.³⁰

3. Bibliography as a stake in national rivalries

Since the nineteenth century, science in the broadest sense had become a national concern for countries that attempted to demonstrate their power through the modernity of their resources. In 1978, Brigitte SCHRÖDER-GUDEHUS wrote that “scientific research [had around 1910 become a part] of the arsenal of national resources, of factors of power”.³¹ Bibliography was also one of the instruments of scientific rivalry, being among the most fundamental and modern tools for researchers, not unlike the corpora published in Germany since the mid-nineteenth century. In the 1920s, the benefits of bibliography were praised; one of the key actors of the reorganization of bibliography, the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (CICI), asserted that “scientific organization, in particular in the field of bibliography, is the basis of all intellectual cooperation and [...] scientific relations strongly depend on it”,³² and that “the international organization of bibliography brings scholars from various countries closer together, and at the same time facilitates their respective researches”.³³ The interest in bibliography in the scientific community was also a result of the crisis of that tool at the time, which was problematic for researchers in practice. Many scholars complained of the difficulty of accessing ever more numerous and more expensive publications.³⁴ Ultimately, bibliography, in Classics as well as in other

³⁰ MAROUZEAU 1923–1924a, p. 18; see also, the text of the circular announcing the foundation of the *Société des Études Latines*, dated April 1923, which can for instance be consulted in the UB-Leipzig’s Wilhelm Streitberg fonds (NL 245/M/Ma/30).

³¹ SCHRÖDER-GUDEHUS 1978, p. 30. See also, for instance, TOURNÈS 2012, p. 68.

³² “Rapport du secrétariat sur les travaux de la sous-commission de bibliographie et de la commission plénière concernant la conférence de bibliographie analytique (abstracts) (Genève, 5 mars 1924)”, Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva, CICI/B/35/13c/34639/20085, p. 1: « l’organisation scientifique, en particulier de la bibliographie, est à la base de toute coopération intellectuelle et que les rapports scientifiques en dépendent étroitement ».

³³ *Ibid.*: « l’organisation internationale de la bibliographie rapproche les uns des autres les savants des divers pays, en même temps qu’elle facilite les recherches de chacun d’eux ».

³⁴ See for instance a letter from É. G. RACOVITZA to the CICI’s President, dated 18 May 1923, sent from Cluj, Romania (Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva, CICI/B/63): “It is more and more difficult to complete an exhaustive bibliography on a given manner; it is not even possible for libraries to keep their old collections

fields, was part of a complex movement that precisely meets the definition of what SCHRÖDER-GUDEHUS called “scientific internationalism”, wherein international solidarity among researchers was limited by the patriotism of scholars. They had identified bibliography as a field and a scientific tool that needed to be mastered, improved and rationalized to stay afloat in the international scientific competition, until then largely dominated by the French and German twin enemies. Under the circumstances, the scientific reorganization of Classics bibliography naturally entailed political, patriotic, if not nationalist engagements. The bibliographers were working to develop international relations between researchers whilst working towards the scientific development of their own countries and pursuing the first place in the international competition out of a national interest.³⁵

MAROUZEAU may have been cosmopolitan and committed to intellectual cooperation, but he very likely shared these ambivalent feelings towards Germany. Like his contemporaries, he was drawn to compete with German research. This is evidenced by his multiple comments on the *Bibliotheca Philologica Classica (BPhCl)*, the German Classics bibliography published in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

I have just seen a colleague waste hours looking for the key of an SBW reference, which was not explained by any bibliographical index; who

updated. The reasons for this crisis are the following: 1. The gradual increase in the number of scientific publications. 2. The gradual increase in the price of scientific publications. 3. The utter lack of funding granted to scientific libraries for book purchases [...] Most subscriptions had to be discontinued and it is quite likely that incomplete collections will never be completed.” (« Il est de plus en plus difficile de faire la bibliographie complète d’une question, il n’est plus possible de se tenir au courant des nouvelles publications, il n’est même plus possible aux bibliothèques de tenir à jour leurs vieux fonds. Les raisons de cette crise sont les suivantes : 1. L’augmentation progressive du nombre des publications scientifiques. 2. L’augmentation progressive du prix des publications scientifiques. 3. L’insuffisance complète des fonds attribués aux bibliothèques scientifiques pour l’achat des livres. [...] La plupart des abonnements ont dû être arrêtés et il est bien probable que les séries interrompues ne pourront plus jamais être complétées. ») See also MAROUZEAU 1927b, p. 13–16 and “Rapport du secrétariat sur les travaux de la sous-commission de bibliographie et de la commission plénière concernant la conférence de bibliographie analytique (abstracts)” (Geneva, 5 March 1924), Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva, CICI/B/35/13c/34639/20085, p. 5.

³⁵ For more on scientific internationalism, see for instance SCHRÖDER-GUDEHUS 1978; SCHRÖDER-GUDEHUS 1986; REINBOTHE 2006; RASMUSSEN 2007, p. 1–8; DEFRANCE 2016.

hasn't been irritated by the protean appearance of a periodical that is sometimes called "the Jahresbericht of Classical Antiquity", sometimes "the Bursian", sometimes "the Bibliotheca philologica classica", sometimes "the Vogel Bibliotheca", sometimes "the JAW", sometimes "the B Ph C", sometimes "Burs Jb", etc.?³⁶

German bibliography has greatly suffered since the war: [...] the venerable *Bibliotheca philologica classica*, which every trimester would empty its huge wealth of titles and references into Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, was only just barely able to recently publish its 1919 instalment, which only contains a very incomplete documentation.³⁷

MAROUZEAU's criticisms were not without ulterior motives. Indeed, pointing out these weaknesses allowed him to make a case for creating his own bibliographical publication, at a time when the *Bibliotheca Philologica Classica* had indeed long enjoyed the favours of the international community thanks to its precision.³⁸ Beyond the publicity move element, MAROUZEAU's criticisms also reflected his different conception of bibliography. Where the *BPhCl*, a quarterly publication, provided lists of titles that offered quick and easy access to documentation, the *Revue des comptes rendus* (and later *L'APh*) included short summaries of the main works. This made it a "critical" bibliography, which the *BPhCl* was not. The services provided by the two bibliographies were complementary, then, but in MAROUZEAU's view, the *BPhCl*'s worsening shortcomings (publication delays, lack of exhaustiveness) took it out of play.³⁹ In 1928, when the *BPhCl* stopped listing archaeological works for budgetary reasons,⁴⁰ MAROUZEAU (and the international community) took it to task,

³⁶ MAROUZEAU 1928, p. 265: « Je viens de voir un collègue perdre des heures à chercher la clef d'une référence SBW, qu'aucun index bibliographique ne lui expliquait ; qui n'a pas été agacé par l'aspect protéiforme d'un périodique qui s'appelle tantôt "le Jahresbericht de l'antiquité classique", tantôt "le Bursian", tantôt "la Bibliotheca philologica classica", tantôt "la Bibliotheca de Vogel", tantôt "le JAW", tantôt "le B Ph C", tantôt le "Burs Jb", etc.? »

³⁷ MAROUZEAU 1923–1924c, p. 79: « La bibliographie allemande a particulièrement souffert depuis la guerre : [...] la vénérable *Bibliotheca philologica classica*, qui tous les trimestres déversait dans le *Jahresbericht* de Bursian son matériel énorme de titres et de renvois, vient de faire paraître à grand'peine son fascicule de 1919, qui ne contient qu'une documentation très incomplète ». See also WHEELER 1924, p. 95.

³⁸ On the early twentieth-century bibliographical landscape, see HILBOLD [forthcoming].

³⁹ MAROUZEAU 1927b, p. 15; MAROUZEAU 1932, p. 204–205, p. 209.

⁴⁰ REISLAND & MÜNSCHER 1929, p. III–IV.

and the position of the *APh*, which included an archaeology section, was strengthened.⁴¹

MAROUZEAU's investment in the scientific rivalry with Germany also transpires in some of his other actions, particularly the highly productive relationships he maintained with two professors of biology at the Collège de France, André MAYER (1875–1956) and Charles MOUREU (1863–1929). MAYER and MOUREU had been alongside Jean PERRIN the founding fathers of the Caisse Nationale des Sciences (1930), and were part of the circle of scholars who had refused demobilization against Germany in 1918.⁴² Their fight for the reorganization of French science was notoriously supported by a Parisian nationalist right-wing Member of Parliament, Maurice BARRÈS, the very same person who had succeeded in getting a bill passed for publically funding the publication of the *APh*'s first volume in 1926.⁴³

While it is likely that MAROUZEAU met MOUREU and MAYER on several occasions,⁴⁴ the archives only mention one meeting between MAROUZEAU and MOUREU, which took place on 20 December 1922. This encounter occurred in Paris during the second session of the CICI's bibliography sub-committee. The League of Nations had indeed become active in the field of bibliography very early on, and had set up a specialized sub-committee operating under the CICI's helm to support its activities.

4. MAROUZEAU and the League of Nations

The second session of the bibliography sub-committee, presided by the French philosopher Henri BERGSON, brought together nine members of the League of Nations⁴⁵ and four bibliography experts who were asked to

⁴¹ N.N. 1932, p. 10–11; HARRISON 1936, p. 85.

⁴² On cultural demobilization, see RASMUSSEN 2007, p. 3; DEFRANCE 2016, p. 172; SCHRÖDER-GUDEHUS 1986; ROBIC 2010.

⁴³ See HERESCU & MAROUZEAU 1962, p. 87. As M. BARRÈS died in 1923, these subsidies had been decided before the *APh*'s first publications. Logically, they must have been originally earmarked for the *Revue de philologie*'s bibliography outlets, via the SBC.

⁴⁴ See MAROUZEAU's account of a lecture given by A. MAYER at the Collège de France in MAROUZEAU 1927a, p. 26.

⁴⁵ The members of the League of Nations were H. BERGSON, President; M. DESTRIÉE, Committee member; M. GODET, Director of the Swiss National Library; H. WRIGHT, Director of the London Library; D. JOHNSTON, Director of the American Library in Paris; W. G. LELAND from the History Department of the Carnegie Institution of

give their opinions on the proposals formulated by the Polish and naturalized-French physicist and chemist Marie CURIE, a member of the bibliography sub-committee, in 1922.⁴⁶ The guest experts were MAROUZEAU, MOUREU, representing the International Union of Chemistry, Théophile HOMOLLE, representing the International Union of Academies (an organization operating in the field of humanities and social sciences), and Lucien HERR, a prominent intellectual and librarian at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris. The choice of guests reflected the various forces involved — the actors already active in the bibliographical field, who were far from entirely in favour of the CICI's competing bibliography project.⁴⁷

During the session, the discussion focused on the reorganization of bibliography and on possible means to pool efforts internationally. The writing of abstracts was more particularly targeted by this rationalization project, since, as they regarded periodicals, they were a quick way for scholars to exchange information. On this subject, MAROUZEAU supported all the proposals, even though he considered it particularly important to know if the complete research findings would be published in a new international journal or in existing journals.⁴⁸

Most importantly, for MAROUZEAU, the session would mark the start of a collaboration with the CICI. A few months later, on 14 February 1923, the organization's secretary Oskar HALECKI asked MAROUZEAU to submit a report on Classics bibliography, in light of the "interesting observations [he had] made during [the] first session regarding analytical bibliography in the field of philology".⁴⁹

Washington; M. NITOBÉ, Under-secretary General of the League of Nations; J. LUCHAIRE, Committee expert; O. HALECKI, Secretary General of the Committee.

⁴⁶ "Rapport du secrétariat sur les travaux de la sous-commission de bibliographie et de la commission plénière concernant la conférence de bibliographie analytique (abstracts) (Genève, 5 mars 1924)", Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva, CICI/B/35/13c/34639/20085, p. 3–8.

⁴⁷ On the rivalries between the CICI and the Union of International Associations, as well as the International Research Council (IRC), which all had a stake in the bibliographical question, see TOURNÈS 2016, p. 211–213; see also HILBOLD [forthcoming].

⁴⁸ "Procès-verbal de la Sous-Commission de Bibliographie, 2^{ème} session" (Paris, 20 décembre 1922), Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva, CICI/B/PV2, p. 9.

⁴⁹ Letter from O. HALECKI to J. MAROUZEAU, dated 14 February 1923, "Sous-Commission bibliographique — Collaboration entre cette Sous-Commission et M. Marouzeau de l'École pratique des hautes études, Paris, 1923", Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva, R1040/13C/22158/26448: « Me souvenant des observations si intéressantes que vous nous avez communiquées à notre première session

In March 1923, MAROUZEAU addressed to HALECKI his “draft report on the organization of philological bibliography”.⁵⁰ The report painted a damning, but certainly realistic picture of the state of bibliography at the time (“an anarchic situation, characterized by maximal effort for minimal results”), and went on to propose solutions that he had been unable to implement at the *Revue de philologie*, for lack of resources. In a nutshell, MAROUZEAU called for the creation of a central bibliography platform, gathering all reviews conducted by partner countries and redistributing them to all subscribers, which would allow national bibliography journals to independently publish more exhaustive listings, because they would be based on international data:

Regarding periodical publications, an existing or newly created organization in each country would be in charge of reviewing all the Journals published in its field; the reviews, written on records following a previously agreed model and in one of the most common languages (German, English, Spanish, French, Italian, Latin), would be sent at a fixed date to an international central platform that would keep the entirety of the collected documentation at the disposal of each interested organization. In turn, the interested organizations, being subscribers to the central platform’s services, would be tasked with classifying, elaborating, in some cases translating, and eventually printing these records. In practice, their expenses would increase because they would have to translate part of the collected material, to print more documentation, and to pay their subscription to the central platform; yet, on the other hand, they would decrease in that each of them would only be tasked with part of the documentation (and that part would in effect be compensated by the central platform). Additionally, their resources would probably increase as a result of the added value acquired by their publications. Ultimately, there could be a balance and a compensation between increases in costs and increases in challenges. [...] It goes without saying that only the general classification by domain would fall to the central office, and that each subscribing organization would be in charge of presenting its material in the way that it would

au sujet de la bibliographie analytique en matière de philologie, j’ai l’honneur de vous demander si vous seriez disposé à rédiger pour notre seconde session un rapport ou mémoire où seraient résumées vos expériences si précieuses et les conclusions pratiques auxquelles vous êtes arrivé. »

⁵⁰ J. MAROUZEAU, “Mémoire concernant un projet de bibliographie des sciences philologiques et historiques” (1923), Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva, CICI/B/10, mentioned for instance in MAROUZEAU 1923–1924b, p. 49.

deem most practical and best adjusted to the interested parties' working habits.⁵¹

Despite the novelty of the proposal, MAROUZEAU emphasized the need to protect existing bibliographies:

In implementing such a project, the greatest caution would naturally have to be exercised with respect to acquired situations in each country; it should not happen for a given existing bibliographical enterprise, living off its own resources, or helping a related publication to subsist, and which would effectively have paved the way for the new organization, to find itself deprived of the advantages acquired at the cost of sacrifices and of a long-term devotion to science as a result of the newly introduced facilitation of the activities of competing organizations.⁵²

⁵¹ J. MAROUZEAU, "Mémoire concernant un projet de bibliographie des sciences philologiques et historiques" (1923), Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva, CICI/B/10 (p. 2–4): « Pour ce qui est des publications périodiques, une organisation existante ou à créer dans chaque pays se chargerait du dépouillement de toutes les Revues publiées sur son domaine ; les analyses, faites sur fiches d'un modèle convenu, et rédigées dans l'une des langues les plus répandues (allemand, anglais, espagnol, français, italien, latin), seraient envoyées à date fixe à une centrale internationale qui tiendrait l'ensemble de la documentation ainsi réunie à la disposition de chaque organisation intéressée. À leur tour, les organisations intéressées, abonnées à la Centrale, se chargeraient de classer, d'élaborer, éventuellement de traduire, enfin d'imprimer les fiches ainsi recueillies. Pratiquement, leurs frais se trouveraient augmentés du fait qu'elles auraient à traduire une partie du matériel obtenu, à imprimer une documentation accrue, et à payer leur abonnement à la centrale ; d'autre part, ils se trouveraient ainsi diminués, du fait que chacune n'aurait plus à sa charge qu'une partie de la documentation (qui, du reste, lui serait remboursée par la Centrale) ; de plus, leurs ressources seraient sans doute augmentées du fait de la plus-value qu'acquerraient leurs publications. En définitive, il pourrait y avoir équilibre et compensation entre l'accroissement des charges et l'accroissement des difficultés. [...] Il va sans dire du reste que seul, le classement général par domaines incomberait à l'office central, et que chaque organisme abonné aurait la tâche de disposer son matériel de la façon qui lui paraîtrait la plus pratique et la plus conforme aux habitudes de travail des intéressés ».

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 5: « Dans la réalisation d'un tel projet, la plus grande circonspection s'imposerait naturellement vis-à-vis des situations acquises dans chaque pays ; il ne faudrait pas que telle entreprise bibliographique existante, vivant de ses propres ressources, ou aidant à subsister une publication connexe, et qui aurait du reste préparé les voies à l'organisation nouvelle, se trouvât, par suite des facilités offertes désormais à des organisations concurrentes, frustrée des avantages qu'elle se serait acquis au prix de ses sacrifices et d'un long dévouement à la science ».

The report was discussed during a CICI bibliographical session; immediately after that, on 19 April 1923, HALECKI announced to MAROUZEAU that the bibliography sub-committee had “picked classical philology as one of the sciences with which it intends to launch its efforts”,⁵³ alongside physics and chemical physics.⁵⁴ MAROUZEAU passed on the good news in one of his “Chronicles” for the *REL*:

On the one hand, a subsidy granted by the *Confédération des Sociétés scientifiques françaises* has made it possible to resume, complete and update the bibliography published yearly by the *Revue de philologie*; on the other, the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has been considering the organization of an international bibliography and intends to experiment first with classical antiquity, possibly using the publications of the *Revue de philologie* as a basis.⁵⁵

A series of letters was then exchanged between HALECKI and MAROUZEAU, until the fourth session of the bibliographical sub-committee, held in Paris on 30 November and 1 December 1923. It was very likely in that meeting, in which MAROUZEAU was a participant, that the decision to send a circular on the international organization of Classics bibliography was made:

Concerning the future plans I have already described to readers of this *Revue*, new exchanges of views have taken place between the bibliography sub-committee delegated by the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, and myself, as a representative of the *Société de Bibliographie classique*. The sub-committee has decided to launch an international survey to establish which existing or yet to be developed type of bibliography is better suited to the needs of the

⁵³ Letter sent by O. HALECKI to J. MAROUZEAU, dated 19 April 1923, “Sous-Commission bibliographique — Collaboration entre cette Sous-Commission et M. Marouzeau de l’École pratique des hautes études, Paris, 1923”, Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva, R1040/13C/22158/26448.

⁵⁴ For feasibility reasons, the CICI had to scale down its initial plans of an international, universal bibliography, and to limit itself to three disciplines.

⁵⁵ MAROUZEAU 1923b, p. 47: « D’une part, une subvention accordée par la *Confédération des Sociétés scientifiques françaises* a permis de reprendre, de compléter et de mettre à jour la bibliographie que publie chaque année la *Revue de philologie* ; d’autre part, la *Commission de coopération intellectuelle* de la Société des Nations étudie l’organisation d’une bibliographie internationale et se propose d’en faire l’expérience d’abord pour l’antiquité classique, en prenant éventuellement pour base les publications de la *Revue de philologie* ».

scholarly community; furthermore, it has examined plans for an organization of which I was led to present the guidelines, and that we may consider implementing now to a certain extent, while waiting for the benefits of international agreements.⁵⁶

The first survey, sent in July 1924 to European and North American scholars, described desired characteristics for the new Classics bibliography (expected to be analytical, periodical, international, etc.⁵⁷) and asked the following question: is there an existing bibliographical enterprise that meets these conditions?

Despite a rather low response rate,⁵⁸ the survey yielded two findings. From the data it was (tentatively) concluded that the *Revue de philologie* was best because it was more exhaustive than the *BPhCl* — MAROUZEAU would later quote that observation, citing the opinions of colleagues who praised his work. Secondly, and most importantly, Gilbert MURRAY, the famous British Hellenist who was now in charge of the matter at the League of Nations, decided that a second survey needed to be launched. MURRAY's arrival was greatly disruptive for MAROUZEAU, who until then had enjoyed the CICI's support. With MURRAY, the CICI adopted a tougher line, in that he believed that the League of Nations should take the lead in the internal cooperation. The second survey supervised by MURRAY in October 1925 held that no existing Classics bibliography was satisfactory,⁵⁹ and questions focused on the modalities of a new, yet-to-be-

⁵⁶ MAROUZEAU 1923c, p. 80: « En ce qui concerne les projets d'avenir dont j'ai déjà entretenu les lecteurs de cette *Revue*, de nouveaux échanges de vue ont eu lieu entre la Sous-commission de bibliographie déléguée par la Commission de coopération intellectuelle de la Société des Nations, et moi-même, représentant la *Société de Bibliographie classique*. La Sous-commission a décidé d'instituer une enquête internationale pour déterminer quel est le type de bibliographie, existant ou à réaliser, le plus propre à répondre aux besoins du monde savant ; d'autre part, elle a examiné le plan d'une organisation dont j'ai été amené à exposer les grandes lignes, et qu'on peut songer à réaliser dès maintenant dans une certaine mesure, en attendant le bénéfice de conventions internationales ».

⁵⁷ "Organisation internationale de la bibliographie pour l'Antiquité classique (Genève, le 7 juillet 1924)", Archives de l'Unesco, Paris, C.L./95/1924/XII.

⁵⁸ Survey no. 1 participation rates (CICI/B/53, Archives de la Société des Nations, Genève): Respondents (=69): Austria (x3), Czechoslovakia (x1), Denmark (x1), England and Scotland (x8), France (x15), Germany (x4), Hungary (x1), Italy (x7), Netherlands (x5), Poland (x4), Romania (x4), Spain (x1), Switzerland (x2), USA (x13); Responses (=20): Austria, Czechoslovakia, England and Scotland, France, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Switzerland, USA.

⁵⁹ Survey no. 2 ("Memorandum by Professor Gilbert Murray", CICI/B/60, Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva): "[there] seems to be no record covering the whole

created bibliography.⁶⁰ MURRAY's intentions were clearly understood by the experts convened for the Paris January 1927 session of the CICI; as one of them, the archaeologist Edmond POTTIER,⁶¹ bluntly put it to the president of the meeting, Julien LUCHAIRE:

The debate is dominated by the question of whether the IICI [the CICI's Paris branch since 1926] intends to publish a universal bibliography itself or to task various journals from various countries to do that work, each of them being solely in charge of the territory it covers.⁶²

Ultimately, while in its resolutions the expert committee officially renounced the creation of a new bibliography, it pushed a crucial reorganization of the bibliographical field. In effect, the expert committee, in which MURRAY turned out to be absent, proposed coordinating existing bibliographies by tasking each of them with researching works in its own linguistic area. The *BPhCl* would thus deal with German-language journals, the *Year's Work* would tackle English-language periodicals, and MAROUZEAU's bibliography would be in charge of French-language ones. The CICI would publish bibliographical collections for each of these linguistic areas.

This principle, proposed then by Friedrich VOGEL, from the *BPhCl*, but found in and after 1922 in all CICI draft projects,⁶³ was adopted by

domain of early Aegean or Mediterranean civilisation with its various branches." — See the answer by G. MURRAY, dated 14 July 1924, to Survey no. 1 ("Bibliography of Greco-Roman Antiquity", CICI/B/53, Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva): "There is, at present, no bibliographical enterprise in the world which fulfils the conditions required."

⁶⁰ Survey no. 2 ("Memorandum by Professor Gilbert Murray", CICI/B/60, Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva): "1) Is some further coordination desirable in the bibliography of classical antiquity? Or short of that, is some action desirable to maintain in some existing record the standard of completeness which existed at the end of the last century?"

⁶¹ At the meeting, POTTIER represented the International Union of Academies, and defended its bibliography project.

⁶² "Comité d'experts pour la coordination de la bibliographie gréco-latine", BGL/1^{re}session/PV1, Archives de l'Unesco, Paris, p. 2: « Le débat est dominé par la question de savoir si l'IICI a l'intention d'éditer lui-même une bibliographie universelle ou s'il chargera différentes revues des divers pays de faire ce travail, chacune d'elles ne s'occupant que du territoire sur lequel elle rayonne ».

⁶³ See "Rapport du secrétariat sur les travaux de la sous-commission de bibliographie et de la commission plénière concernant la conférence de bibliographie analytique (abstracts), Genève, 5 mars 1924", Archives de la Société des Nations, Geneva, CICI/B/35, which reproduces Marie CURIE's proposals, dated 20 December

the committee's experts, with six votes in favour and one against. MAROUZEAU, the only dissenting voter, harshly criticized what he called the "nationalization of bibliography"⁶⁴ on the grounds that the system would lead bibliographers to work on a country-by-country basis instead of rallying around a common project. This argument openly referred to the scientific rivalry between nations, to which, as we have seen, bibliography was clearly no stranger. Arguably, the reason why MAROUZEAU was so angry and tempestuous during the session was not only the "[considerable step backward from the current state of documentation made by the projected bibliography]".⁶⁵ He was also disappointed on a personal level, and perhaps afraid that his efforts would amount to nothing.

Since the beginning of his collaboration with the League of Nations, indeed, MAROUZEAU had constantly called attention to the fact that scientific reorganization should not affect existing initiatives. This was

1922, in full: "In view of their subsequent centralization, analyses should be prepared in each country by national organizations affiliated with international organizations whenever possible, for each group of sciences" (« Les analyses devraient être, en vue de leur centralisation ultérieure, préparée dans chaque pays par des organismes nationaux affiliés autant que possible à des organismes internationaux, pour chaque groupe de sciences »).

⁶⁴ "Comité d'experts pour la coordination de la bibliographie gréco-latine", BGL/1^{er}session/PV5, Archives de l'Unesco, Paris, p. 4: "With that organization [i.e., the one proposed in Marouzeau's project] we would have achieved a genuine international collaboration, or rather coordination, to use the term adopted by Professor Gilles Murray in his letter. On the opposite, this project [Vogel's] leads to nationalizing bibliography, replacing the idea of coordination with the mere juxtaposition of efforts." (« Par cette organisation, on eût réalisé une véritable collaboration internationale ou plutôt une coordination, pour reprendre le terme adopté dans sa lettre par le Professeur Gilbert Murray. Le présent projet conduit, au contraire, à nationaliser la bibliographie, en substituant à l'idée de la coordination celle de la simple juxtaposition des efforts. ») See also (same reference code) "Rapport de J. Marouzeau", p. 5: "He [Marouzeau] contends that the implementation of the projected bibliography would be a huge step backward from the current state of scientific documentation". (« Il estime que la réalisation de la bibliographie projetée marquerait un recul considérable par rapport à l'état actuel de la documentation scientifique. »)

⁶⁵ "Comité d'experts pour la coordination de la bibliographie gréco-latine", BGL/1^{er}session/PV5, Archives de l'Unesco, Paris, p. 5. See also MAROUZEAU 1932, p. 208: "The International Institute on Intellectual Cooperation has researched the matter [of the organization of bibliographical work] on Mr. Marouzeau's initiative, but the Expert Committee convened to that effect has found that only national bibliographies could be envisioned." (« L'*Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle* s'est préoccupé de la question [de l'organisation du travail bibliographique] sur l'initiative de M. Marouzeau, mais un Comité d'experts réunis à cet effet n'a cru pouvoir envisager que l'organisation de bibliographies nationales. »)

precisely the danger posed by the creation of a new, international-level cooperative journal, and MAROUZEAU stood to lose a lot from this. In 1926, in the immediate wake of Louis HAVET's death, MAROUZEAU had narrowly lost the race for the direction of the *Revue de philologie*, which fell to his colleague Alfred ERNOUT and his master Pierre JOUGUET, a Hellenist and Egyptologist from Lille. For MAROUZEAU, who had worked for the *Revue* since 1908, and hoped to "make [himself] useful" there, to quote his 1912 letter to HAVET, and who, last but not least, had instigated a comprehensive reform, particularly by creating the *Société de Bibliographie Classique*, this came as a crushing blow:

My masters Chatelain, Haussoullier and Serruys had entrusted me with a modest bibliography task at the *Revue de Philologie*; the work paid little, but opened the doors to the scientific horizon of a great Journal... Haussoullier dies [†1926], Chatelain follows [†1933], Serruys leaves; the editor in charge of the Journal intervenes; then one day I learn that I am ruled out for the direction, replaced by two eminent colleagues. Should I go on?⁶⁶

Then came a twist of fate that I have already had occasion to mention to you: one fine day, I was excluded from the *Revue de Philologie* by the editor in charge's decision to call on two of my most eminent colleagues. Was I going to give up? Everything pointed in that direction: discouragement, caution, the risk I was running. I stood up to the test, pondered the matter, and I concluded: So be it! I'm leaving, but I'm taking the two titles of which I was in charge at the *Revue de Philologie*: the bibliography part and the Latin part. This is how *L'Année philologique* and the *Revue des études latines* were born.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ HERESCU & MAROUZEAU 1962, p. 62: « Mes maîtres Chatelain, Haussoullier et Serruys m'avaient confié une modeste tâche de bibliographe à la *Revue de Philologie* ; travail peu rétribué, mais porte ouverte vers l'horizon scientifique d'une grande Revue... Haussoullier meurt, Chatelain le suit, Serruys s'en va ; l'éditeur responsable de la Revue intervient : j'apprends un jour que je suis éliminé de la direction, remplacé par deux éminents collègues. Faut-il continuer ? »

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87: « Puis un coup du sort que j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de vous signaler : je fus évincé un beau jour de la *Revue de Philologie* par la décision de l'éditeur responsable de faire appel à deux de mes plus éminents collègues. Abandonner ? Tout m'y engageait : le découragement, la prudence, le risque à courir. J'affrontai l'épreuve, je méditai, et je conclus : Soit ! Je m'en vais, mais j'emporte les deux titres de mission dont j'avais la charge à la *Revue de Philologie* : la part de la bibliographie et la part du latin : ce fut la naissance de *L'Année philologique* et de la *Revue des études latines* ». Here MAROUZEAU's chronology is inaccurate: the *REL* already existed in 1926.

So as not to have to give up on his ongoing work, MAROUZEAU had decided to take with him what belonged to him — the SBC — and to create a new journal that would continue the bibliography initiated by the *Revue de philologie*, almost from scratch. The *APh* was thus born out of a failure, a consequence of MAROUZEAU's exclusion from the succession at the *Revue de philologie*. The *APh*, being the second version of MAROUZEAU's bibliographical reform, was conceived to meet the recommendations of the League of Nations:

It appears to him to transpire from the responses to the survey circulated by the bibliography sub-committee delegated by the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation [...] that as of today there are two bibliographical publications that rather exactly fit the expressed requirements: the *Bibliotheca philologica classica* (Germany) and *L'Année philologique*, formerly *Revue des Revues et des Comptes rendus* (France). He indicates in particular that *L'Année philologique* has just been reorganized following a new system by the *Société de Bibliographie Classique*, which is itself an organization for international intellectual cooperation.⁶⁸

With the *APh*, MAROUZEAU also entertained the ambition to take and retain a hegemonic place in the international field — as evidenced for instance by the scope of his bibliographical research outside of France. The VOGEL project of January 1927, which tended to limit the scope of the *APh*'s research to the benefit of other national bibliographies, therefore thwarted MAROUZEAU's efforts and threatened his international ambitions.

⁶⁸ J. MAROUZEAU, « Rapport sur les séances du 'Comité d'experts pour la bibliographie de l'antiquité gréco-latine' réuni à l'IICI du 27 au 29 janvier 1927 », BGL/1^{re}session/PV5, Archives de l'Unesco, Paris, p. 4: « Il lui paraît ressortir des réponses faites à l'enquête de la sous-commission de bibliographie déléguée par la Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle [...] qu'il existe aujourd'hui deux publications bibliographiques assez exactement conformes aux desiderata exprimés : la *Bibliotheca philologica classica* (Allemagne) et *L'Année philologique*, ancienne *Revue des Revues et des Comptes rendus* (France). Il indique en particulier que *L'Année philologique* vient d'être réorganisée sur un plan nouveau par la *Société de bibliographie classique* qui est déjà un organe de coopération intellectuelle internationale ».

5. Conclusion

Eventually, *L'Année philologique* prospered as the lack of agreement between its protagonists prevented the CICI's project from coming to fruition. The German bibliography, the *Bibliotheca Philologica Classica*, endured for a few years before ceasing publication and letting the *APh* take on an increasingly crucial role in the field of Classics bibliography. Furthermore, the dispute between MAROUZEAU and the CICI did not last indefinitely, since he collaborated on a project for the "unification of linguistic terms" between 1928 and 1930.⁶⁹

To conclude this study on the origins of the *APh*, it seems important to note that although the history of bibliography has so far remained under the radar, it leads us to reckon with a number of topical interconnected historiographical areas, such as biography, the history of knowledge, internationalism, and international scientific relations. The history of the origins of the *APh* is certainly that of MAROUZEAU, since the journal arose from his setback with the *Revue de philologie* and the ultimately disappointing trials and tribulations of his collaboration with the League of Nations. However, MAROUZEAU's scientific ambitions, which were great out of necessity, also led him to take part in a debate that involved numerous stakeholders under the tutelage of the powerful League of Nations and CICI. In that context, as he defended his reform project, he took part in the scientific rivalry between nations at a time when it was particularly fierce — the interwar years. Thus the history of the *APh* yields valuable evidence for the patriotic sentiment expressed in the professional practices of early twentieth century Classics scholars, which are to be seen in the broader light of the complex matter of interwar French and German nationalism. This point in particular calls for further research to elucidate the longevity of the journal and its decades-long success, thanks to the work of Juliette ERNST and its close ties to the International Federation of Associations of Classical Studies (FIEC) founded in the immediate aftermath of the war on a proposal by MAROUZEAU.

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⁶⁹ See in particular "Sous-commission de bibliographie. Douzième session. Genève, 14–17 juillet 1930", CICI/B/PV/10–12/495, Archives de l'Unesco, Paris, p. 2.

TIMELINE

Jules MAROUZEAU'S ACADEMIC CAREER (Born in Fleurat, 1878 – died in Itueil, 1964) 1904–1927	
1904	Passed the <i>agrégation</i> exam for Classics school teaching.
1904–1907	Supply teacher at the Buffon, Voltaire, Henri IV <i>lycées</i> (high schools), Paris.
1906	MAROUZEAU 1906.
1907	MAROUZEAU 1907a; MAROUZEAU 1907b.
1908	Treasurer of the <i>Société de linguistique de Paris</i> . MAROUZEAU 1908.
1909	MAROUZEAU 1909.
1910	Doctorate Lecturer at the ÉPHÉ MAROUZEAU 1910a; MAROUZEAU 1910b; MAROUZEAU 1910c.
1910–1912	Research trips abroad (Germany, Italy, England).
1911	Founded the <i>Revue des comptes rendus</i> as part of the <i>Revue de philologie</i> . Prix Volney of the <i>Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres</i> for <i>La Phrase à verbe « être » en latin</i> (main doctoral research). MAROUZEAU 1911a; MAROUZEAU 1911b; MAROUZEAU 1911c.
1912	Lecturer and substitute lecturer at the ÉPHÉ, the Guilde and the Collège Sévigné (Paris). MAROUZEAU 1912.
1913	Prix Saintour, Collège de France. MAROUZEAU 1913a; MAROUZEAU 1913b.
1914–1918	Sent up to the front, taken prisoner.
1914	MAROUZEAU 1914.
1916	MAROUZEAU 1916.
1921	Founded the <i>Société de Bibliographie Classique</i> (SBC). Secured initial funding from the <i>Confédération des Sociétés Scientifiques Françaises</i> (SBC/ <i>Revue des comptes rendus</i>). MAROUZEAU 1921a; MAROUZEAU 1921b; MAROUZEAU 1921c.
1922	MAROUZEAU 1922a; MAROUZEAU 1922b; MAROUZEAU 1922c.
12/1922	(First?) contacts with the bibliography sub-committee of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (CICI).
1923	MAROUZEAU 1923a; MAROUZEAU 1923b; MAROUZEAU 1923c; MAROUZEAU 1923d; MAROUZEAU 1923e.
03/1923	Founded the <i>Société des Études Latines</i> in Paris.

03/1923	<i>Mémoire-projet concernant l'organisation de la bibliographie philologique</i> . [Draft report on the organization of philological bibliography]
03/1923	Brussels session of the CICI's bibliography sub-committee. The CICI chooses philology as a pilot discipline, alongside physics and chemistry.
30/11– 01/12 1923	Fourth session of the bibliography sub-committee in Paris.
1924	MAROUZEAU 1924a; MAROUZEAU 1924b; MAROUZEAU 1924c; MAROUZEAU 1924d; MAROUZEAU 1924e.
07/1924	Survey no. 1: The CICI sends scholars a first circular on the new co-operative, international bibliography. G. MURRAY joins the CICI's bibliography sub-committee.
1925	MAROUZEAU 1925a; MAROUZEAU 1925b.
07/1925	Findings of survey no. 1.
10/1925	Survey no.2: The CICI sends scholars a second circular with a memorandum by G. MURRAY.
1926	A. ERNOUT becomes the editor of the <i>Revue de philologie</i> . MAROUZEAU founds <i>L'Année philologique</i> . MAROUZEAU 1926a; MAROUZEAU 1926b.
07/1926	Findings of survey no.2 The CICI/IIIC decides to convene a new expert committee.
27–29/ 01/1927	The expert committee meets in Paris (IIIC).
11–13/ 07/1927	Ninth session of the bibliography sub-committee in Geneva. MAROUZEAU's reports on the expert committee meeting of January 1927 calls into question the choice of philology as a pilot discipline for the League of Nations bibliography project.

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