

# Women and the World of the *Annales* by Natalie Zemon Davis

All historians must be grateful to Peter Schöttler for recreating the life and scholarship of Lucie Varga. Not only has he added to our understanding of the making of the *Annales* in the mid-1930s, not only has he put Lucien Febvre's mid-life in a new light, but also he has shown us the innovativeness of Lucie Varga as historian and ethnographer, striking her own path between the historicism of Vienna, the class analysis of Frankfurt and the *mentalités* of Paris.<sup>1</sup>

A Jewish refugee, snuffed out before her time, restored to our memory by Peter Schöttler against the obliterations of anti-Semitism and fascism. A woman intellectual, struggling to maintain herself as a scholar, reinstated against the patriarchal silences of the past. It is precisely here, in regard to the gender issues around the life of Lucie Varga in France, that one can perhaps contribute to the remarkable study of Peter Schöttler. Schöttler describes the interchange between the *Annales* and German and Austrian historical thought in Varga's work – the subject that initially drew his attention to her – with much richness and complexity. His story of the intimate relation between Febvre and Varga, though told with great tact, has a simpler line: teacher-student collaborators, adulterous love, jealous wife, dutiful husband, abandoned woman.

But there are other actions compressed in these events. Suzanne Febvre, for a start, was herself a *professeur agrégée* in history and geography.<sup>2</sup> Daughter of a political and administrative historian of late medieval Languedoc,<sup>3</sup> Suzanne Dognon ignored her father's advice that she settle like her sisters for a mere *licence* from a university course, all that a future wife needed for her marriage. Instead she prepared for and passed the exams for entrance into the *Ecole Normale Supérieure de jeunes filles* at Sèvres, the most elite school France permitted its talented women in the opening decades of the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> After graduating from Sèvres in 1919, she taught for a year in the girls' *lycée* at Agen, not far from her native Toulouse, and then decided to go on for a doctorate in history and geography. The year after Lucien Febvre came to the newly staffed University of Strasbourg to teach, Dognon came there as an *Assistante* in geography. The family story goes that one hour after she arrived in Febvre's office to consult him about her thesis, they were engaged.<sup>5</sup>

Dognon married Febvre, nineteen years her senior, in the late summer of 1921. She then put aside her own research for family life: her three children and Febvre, 'who took much attention.'<sup>6</sup> It was a willing choice according to

all reports, and it should be added that if most of her Sèvres classmates continued as *lycée* professors after marriage, they did not go on for the doctorate.<sup>7</sup> In the next years, Suzanne Febvre read and reacted to Febvre's manuscripts, helped him with the German sources behind his *Luther* of 1928, hosted with him the 'jeudis de l'*Encyclopédie*', brilliant weekly gatherings of Paris intellectuals and scholars, and did some copy-editing for the *Encyclopédie*. But she specifically determined not to be her husband's research assistant.

A few months after Lucie Varga left Lucien Febvre's employ, Suzanne Febvre changed her way of life: she became the first regular librarian of the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* at Sèvres. When Febvre returned from his South American trip in November 1937, he found his wife creating catalogue cards, adjusting her hours at Sèvres to the needs of her household. She stayed in her post until her retirement twenty-five years later, remembered by the Sèvres students for her warm interest in their lives and academic success and her advice on their research projects, drawn both from Lucien Febvre and from her own broad cultivation.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, Lucie Varga and Suzanne Dognon Febvre are not just competitors for a man's affection. The two of them, separated in age by only seven years, represent different career patterns for European women in the 1920s and 1930s.

Lucie Varga's name first caught my eye in 1987, when I was writing an essay on the ethical and proprietary concerns historians brought to their craft.<sup>9</sup> I wondered especially about the behaviour of vanguard historians: whom did they identify as their fellow innovators and what independence did they grant to their own successors? Eileen Power and Marc Bloch made a perfect pair to examine, collaborators across the Channel as they were in the transformation of medieval social and economic history and admirers of each other's work. What a difference there was in gender style and in the composition of their own innovating circles! After her start at Girton College Cambridge, to which she retained a lifelong devotion, Power moved to the mixed world of the London School of Economics and was a central and public figure with the older R. H. Tawney, the younger Michael Postan (her research assistant, whom she eventually married) and Mary Glwadys Jones in the Economic History Society and the *Economic History Review*. Her many students were men and women both.

The world of the *Annales* had much less of a place for women, so it seemed to me in 1987: 'In many ways, the interdisciplinary team of the *Annales* appears to be a sodality of French brothers.'<sup>10</sup> The board of editors was all men, and only two women contributed essays to the journal from its founding in 1929 through Bloch's death in 1944. I mistakenly thought only one of them was a historian: Thérèse Sclafert, who contributed an article on medieval trade routes to the first number of the journal. Lucie Varga's three fascinating articles in 1936 and 1937 I attributed to an ethnographer because of their twentieth-century content and Varga's expression of gratitude to

Bronislaw Malinowski (of Eileen Power's LSE) for his help in designing the research for her study of the folk culture of Voralberg. It also seemed – and still seems – important that Lucie Varga was a foreigner, a recent arrival, easier to accept by Febvre as she was not part of the academic and *chartiste* milieu whose productions received so much criticism in the pages of the *Annales*. Indeed, the next woman to publish an essay in the *Annales* – Renée Doehaerd in 1947 – was a Belgian economic historian teaching at Brussels.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, Marc Bloch's wife, Simonne Vidal Bloch, had served throughout his whole career as his secretary, assistant, and reader of all his manuscripts, a role never acknowledged in Bloch's publications, but that Febvre thought he would have one day recognized, if he had lived, by a dedication to her.

In the wake of Peter Schöttler's finds, Carole Fink's important biography of Bloch, and subsequent research of my own on Febvre, I would reformulate my 1987 characterization.<sup>12</sup> In many ways, the interdisciplinary team of the *Annales* still does seem 'a sodality of brothers', but it drew significantly on the private or paid assistance of well-educated women on both sides. For Bloch, Carole Fink has found that 'research notes in Simonne Bloch's handwriting abound'.<sup>13</sup> For Febvre, copy-editing at the *Encyclopédie française* was performed not only by the occasional volunteer work of his wife, but by the paid work of Rose Brua Celli, Suzanne's classmate at Sèvres and a gifted novelist and essayist.<sup>14</sup> The office of the *Encyclopédie* itself was administered by Henriette Psichari, from whom Febvre sought help for indexing and bibliography. In 1939, Psichari took on the *Annales* as well when the journal, no longer published by Armand Colin but 'owned' by Bloch and Febvre, moved its headquarters to the same address on the *rue du Four*. Psichari needed the income to support herself and her children, but she continued her own projects – that is, editing the complete works of her grandfather Ernest Renan.<sup>15</sup>

As for Lucie Varga, Schöttler's discoveries show us that she began and sometimes continued as an assistant – translating from the German for Febvre, making notes about books, which later were used for his courses at the *Collège de France* or transformed into reviews signed by Febvre. But for two or three years, the sodality of brothers opened to include a younger sister, as Varga published her own articles and reviews and contributed to the planning for the 1937 'German number' of the *Annales*, as Febvre and Bloch tried to help her get a Rockefeller fellowship for her research on the Cathars, and as a joint book on the History of Religions was planned under both the names of Febvre and Varga.

Indeed, one may speculate that it was Frau Dr. Varga who initiated the proposals for a collaborative and more egalitarian role with Febvre. She certainly came from a setting where some circles of scholarly innovation included women. Dr Erna Patzelt was *Privatdozent* at the University of Vienna and associated closely with Alfons Dopsch when Varga was studying with him; Varga thanked both of them in the preface of her thesis.<sup>16</sup> The *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, to which her husband Franz

Borkenau sent his last article and book review before he and Varga left Austria, had seven women scholars publishing in it in from October 1932 to September 1933 alone, including the economist Dr. Martha Stephanie Braun of Vienna.<sup>17</sup> And then there was her own intellectual relation to Franz Borkenau. Though no collaborative publications emerged from their married years, one can expect that there was debate between them on their common interests in historiography, early modern cultural history, youth movements, and twentieth-century fascism. They *both* turned to Febvre for support in their work, they *both* turned to Malinowski.<sup>18</sup>

As it turned out, continued scholarly collaboration between Febvre and Varga was incompatible with a love affair. (Did Febvre ever tell Varga how the widowed Marie Curie was treated back in 1911, just as she was being awarded her second Nobel prize, because of her love affair with the physicist Paul Langevin, Febvre's slightly older colleague at the *Collège de France*?<sup>19</sup>) But it seems likely that, even without the complication of adultery, a genuinely independent role would have been difficult for Varga to sustain so long as she had no source of employ beyond Febvre's budgets and no scholarly base outside of his family of interests.

But how was a refugee to obtain such a post? Even for talented and well-trained women of Lucie Varga's generation born in France, it was no easy matter to find a position from which to conduct innovative research. If they had started off at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure de jeunes filles* at Sèvres, where their professors would have been men from the Sorbonne and the *Collège de France*, they would still have found that the university establishment did not take them as seriously as the male graduates from the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* on the *rue d'Ulm*. If they went on for the agrégation in the 1920s, they discovered that the women's exam was separate from the men's, its questions in history more general, suitable (so the juries thought) to persons who would spend their whole careers teaching only in secondary schools (*lycées* and *collèges*) for girls.<sup>20</sup> For the women who then turned to research for the doctorate, they had no prospects of professorships at the University of Paris (and probably few at provincial universities) or at the *Collège de France*.<sup>21</sup> There were only a limited number of posts to which they could aspire, even with support from the strongest of patrons.

Consider Thérèse Sclafert, whose essay on late medieval trade routes in Dauphiné and Provence appeared in the first volume of the *Annales*.<sup>22</sup> Born in 1876 (two years before Lucien Febvre), she was a secondary school teacher in the département of the Gironde when she formed a lifelong friendship with Anne-Marie Grauvogel, director of the *Ecole primaire supérieure* of Bordeaux. Before World War I, Grauvogel moved to Grenoble as director of the departmental normal school; Sclafert followed as director of the associated training school, but also took courses at the University with the important geographer Raoul Blanchard and began her research in the local archives. In 1919, when Grauvogel was named director

of the *Ecole normale* at Fontenay-aux-Roses, the central institution for training young women to be teachers in departmental normal schools and in secondary schools, Sclafert followed again. While giving courses in Latin and grammar at Fontenay, she enrolled in the doctoral programme at the University of Paris and published her thesis in 1926, an innovating study of medieval agriculture, herding and industry in the harsh mountain climate of Haut-Dauphiné.<sup>23</sup> Well-reviewed by Marc Bloch in the *Annales*,<sup>24</sup> the thesis was not a step toward a higher post for Sclafert, as it would ordinarily have been for a man. She stayed on at Fontenay, teaching her classes and publishing occasional articles until 1935, when Mademoiselle Grauvogel was fired in the wake of a student death. Working independently in her last years, Sclafert read proofs just before she died at 82 for her second major book. It was published in 1959 by the History Centre of the new 'VI<sup>e</sup> section', organ of the *Annales* school: *Cultures en Haute-Provence*, pioneering in its ecological study of economy and erosion over several centuries.<sup>25</sup>

Yvonne Bézard, educated at the *Ecole des Chartes* and author of an important doctoral thesis on *La vie rurale dans le sud de la région parisienne de 1450 à 1560*, found her niche as an archivist at the *Archives Nationales*. Marc Bloch reviewed her book in the *Annales* in 1930, and though he praised her wide-ranging documentation and her ability to bring the past to life, he reproached her for not being able to tell the difference between 'agricultural curiosities' and evidence that genuinely clarified the evolution of agricultural technology. This is what happened, Bloch claimed, when one was limited to the sciences auxiliary to history – that is, to being a mere archivist – rather than thinking about one's sources as an economic historian.<sup>26</sup>

Eugénie Droz created her base outside the academy. Learned scholar of late medieval manuscripts and early printed editions, Droz made her living as a publisher and astute collector and seller of rare books on the *rue de Tournon* in Paris.<sup>27</sup> In 1934, she was one of the founders and editor of a journal, *Humanisme et Renaissance*, which, though very different from the *Annales* in its cultural politics, sought an interdisciplinary approach to the civilization of the French Renaissance as the *Annales* did to social and economic history. Droz also welcomed women as contributors.<sup>28</sup> It was to her that Lucien Febvre turned during the German occupation to publish his major study of the sixteenth-century free-thinker Bonaventure Des Périers.<sup>29</sup>

The Swiss-born Eugénie Droz had received her *diplôme* at an institution in Paris that had many women and foreigners among its students and auditors: the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*. The *Ecole* had been established back in 1868 as an institution of higher learning that would provide 'practical' and more experimental education – laboratories, research training – for a wide variety of students next to the 'theoretical' education of the more strictly controlled universities.<sup>30</sup> By the 1920s and 1930s, its Section for the Historical and Philological Sciences included an

interesting mix of courses in Sanskrit, Hebrew and other languages and literatures with courses in urban history, economic history, literary history and much more. François Simiand, for example, got his start revolutionizing the study of economic history and prices at the *Ecole* back in 1910 and continued to give courses there regularly after he was named to the *Collège de France*. When he died in 1935, his course in Histoire et statistique économiques was taken up at the *Ecole* by his disciple Ernest Labrousse, who had published the first of his studies on price movements in eighteenth-century France two years earlier and who would be invited by Bloch and Febvre to join the *Annales* board of editors in 1939.<sup>31</sup>

In the relatively open social and intellectual atmosphere of the History and Philology Section of the *Ecole Pratique*, a few women scholars were able to find a place to do advanced teaching and stimulate research projects.<sup>32</sup> Interestingly enough, all of them entered through the Philology Section, though their research ultimately bore fruit for history as well. Germaine Rouillard was a librarian at the Sorbonne Library in 1923 when her doctoral dissertation was published on the civil administration of Byzantine Egypt. The same year one of her Sorbonne thesis advisors invited her to the *Ecole*, where he was also *Directeur d'études*. For the next twenty-two years, soon as *Directeur d'études* herself, Rouillard taught her students how to read and interpret Byzantine archival texts (texts she could examine only in photographs, since women were not allowed on Mount Athos to see the actual papyri) and how to explore issues in Byzantine economic history. Only one of her publications was reviewed in the *Annales* in the 1930s, but in 1943 Febvre was among the professors at the *Collège de France* who invited her to give an endowed lecture. It led to a work that Marc Bloch would have loved to read and react to: *La Vie rurale dans l'Empire byzantin*.<sup>33</sup>

Joining Rouillard at the *Ecole Pratique* in 1926 and under like auspices was a young woman whose family was of Swedish origin, Marie-Louise Sjoestedt. She had published her doctoral thesis that year, a technical linguistic study directed by the great Celtic specialist at the Sorbonne, Joseph Vendryes. Vendryes had just taken over the Celtic program at the *Ecole Pratique* and brought Sjoestedt along as *Chargée de conférences* to teach both middle and modern Irish. She continued to work as his associate over the years: in 1936, when the *Etudes Celtiques* were founded (published by Eugénie Droz), Vendryes was the editor and Sjoestedt was the *Secrétaire de la Rédaction*, while writing reviews and articles for the journal. But, a *Directeur d'études* from 1930 on, she also developed on her own, marrying a fellow linguist who worked on Baltic languages and Latvian myth, discussing linguistic matters with her colleague at the *Ecole*, Emile Benveniste, and returning often to Ireland for field work in language and folklore. In 1938, she reviewed a new *History of Ireland* for the *Annales*. Her important book on the structure of Celtic myths about gods and heroes was under press as the Germans invaded France. She committed suicide in early December 1940 at age forty; her *Dieux et héros des Celtes* appeared a few weeks later.

Reviewing the book in the first *Annales* to appear under the Occupation, Febvre praised Sjoestedt's 'remarkable knowledge of the languages, beliefs and customs of the Celtic world' and regretted that she was gone when so much was still to be expected from her labour.<sup>34</sup>

Febvre would, of course, express even more sorrowful regrets about Lucie Varga's disappearance in the next issue. If both Sjoestedt and Varga died tragically young, early victims of the Nazi Occupation, their professional life and their relation to their mentors had been quite different in the mid-1930s. Varga was evidently using wishful thinking when she described herself in a refugee questionnaire in 1936 as 'assistante au Collège de France'; her work space in Paris was Febvre's study on the *rue du Val de Grace* and his *Encyclopédie* offices on the *rue du Four*.<sup>35</sup> If she had considered associating herself with the *Ecole Pratique* in 1934–36 – and a number of other German and Austrian refugees did<sup>36</sup> – Febvre might have dissuaded her. He had some admired friends who taught there, but what could one expect from Abel Lefranc's course on French literature when he portrayed Rabelais as an 'atheist', and why bother with Louis Halphen's account of the Middle Ages, when Bloch found it so wanting in fresh economic and political analysis?<sup>37</sup>

In any case, it was to the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* that Varga repaired in the autumn of 1937. Franz Borkenau had been in Paris in April of 1937<sup>38</sup> and this may have been the last time he and Lucie Varga saw each other; her break with Febvre occurred that same spring. The Historical and Philological Section was a plausible place for her to try to build an independent career and find intellectual space of her own. She registered for the 1937–1938 course of Emile Benveniste – he was then lecturing on personal pronouns in Indo-European languages and characteristically expanded this subject into the web of social relations conditioning the boundary around the individual self – but Varga must have also seen him as a resource on Persian religion, so important to her as she was trying to sort out her medieval Cathars from the Manichaeans he knew so well. How much time she devoted to his and other classes, we do not know. The next year the *Anschluss* and the changing political mood in France swept these plans away.<sup>39</sup>

As for Lucien Febvre, his complicated and shifting relations with Lucie Varga and Suzanne Febvre in the 1930s also had scholarly consequences, enhancing his interest in women as audience and in women as historical subject, if not in women as editors of the *Annales*.<sup>40</sup> Peter Schöttler has noted Febvre's readiness for friendship with Paule and Fernand Braudel when he met them on the return voyage from South America in November 1937: 'in Lucie Varga Febvre had just lost a student and a friend, in Braudel he found a son and intellectual heir'.<sup>41</sup> Febvre's friendship with Paule Braudel also had its intellectual component. Initially Fernand Braudel's student at *lycée* in Algiers and encouraged by him to prepare for the entrance exams for Sèvres, Paule Pradel preferred instead to work toward

her *licence* in letters at the University of Algiers. At age 19 she married Braudel and became his lifelong research assistant, teaching herself to read the sixteenth-century hand and focussing in their archival trips of the 1930s on the little-known letters of Italian merchants. 'I knew what he was looking for', says Paule Braudel of her research, for Fernand Braudel discussed endlessly with her his vision of the past. Similarly, she was part of the conversations with Lucien Febvre on their voyage back from Brazil: 'Febvre knew that I understood what he was talking about', Paule Braudel recalls, 'he gave me great confidence in myself'.<sup>42</sup> Febvre's letters to Paule Braudel during her husband's military service and subsequent captivity in Germany are both affectionate and formal – he addresses her as 'Chère Madame amie' – and are filled with his intellectual and professional concerns as well as family news.<sup>43</sup>

In one of those letters, written in 1939–1940, Febvre told Paule Braudel about a new course he was giving at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure de jeunes filles* at Sèvres:

The humdrum life continues. I am manufacturing marvellous lectures for the girls at Sèvres on Marguerite de Navarre – for whom, let me tell you, I am seized with passion. The girls have noticed it. They've confided in my wife that it was all fine, but that they saw that it was not so much for them as for my own pleasure that I was talking about Marguerite. Perhaps they're right.<sup>44</sup>

This was the first time Febvre had tackled Marguerite de Navarre as a major topic for himself, and he lectured on it first at Sèvres, to young women in his wife's institution, before making her the subject of his lecture course at the *Collège de France* in 1940–1941 during the first year of the Occupation.<sup>45</sup> (Indeed, up to the fall of 1939, Febvre had given only a few isolated lectures at Sèvres; the Marguerite course of 1939–1940 was his first full course there.<sup>46</sup>) Throughout 1941 he put the finishing touches on his monograph on Bonaventure Des Périers and wrote the bulk of his manuscript on Rabelais, *Le Problème de l'incroyance*. But in the spring of 1942, as he corrected proofs for both books, he wrote Paule Braudel that he was starting a new one on Marguerite and planning to give his course on her again at Sèvres. Gallimard sent the contract for *Autour de l'Heptaméron* in late 1943, and the following spring Febvre wrote Fernand Braudel that printing had begun: 'I've applied the method of the *Rabelais* to Marguerite'.<sup>47</sup>

The method of *Le Problème de l'incroyance* was, of course, the attack on anachronism, developed both in regard to the religion of Rabelais and in regard to his 'doubleness'. Rabelais was not an 'atheist'; nineteenth-century atheism was impossible within the categories of sixteenth-century thought and with the omnipresence of religion as an organizing principle of life and sensibility. Febvre was thereby saving Rabelais from 'cowardly' divisiveness: rather than being a secret rebel and outward conformist (so



Febvre characterized the implications of Abel Lefranc's position), Rabelais had a capacious wholeness, representing in his Erasmian Christianity the best thought of his day while nudging his society toward reform through laughter.

Anachronism in regard to Marguerite de Navarre Febvre had initially conceptualized only in terms of her religion. As he said in his 1931 review of Pierre Jourda's monumental biography of Marguerite, to ask whether the queen of Navarre was 'Protestant' or 'Catholic' was to impose the rigid categories of the 1550s and the Wars of Religion on the fluid religious thought and feeling of the earlier decades.<sup>48</sup> By 1939, the more important question for Febvre had become the relation of the worldly *Heptaméron*, with its tales of extramarital love and rape, to the Christian Marguerite of the *Miroir de l'Ame Pécheresse*. (That Febvre's personal life contributed to this shift is confirmed by his curious silence about a major book of 1937 that had already redefined the relation of sacred and profane love in Marguerite: Emile Telle's *L'oeuvre de Marguerite d'Angoulême, reine de Navarre, et la querelle des femmes*.<sup>49</sup>) 'I am thinking of my Double Marguerite', Febvre wrote to Paule Braudel in 1942, and in 1943 he had proposed to Gallimard as a title for the book *L'Heptaméron et le mystère des deux Marguerites*.<sup>50</sup>

Febvre made the double Marguerite into a single personality by trying to place her within her time. Talking about love of God and telling amusing stories about seduction seemed inconsistent behavior only if one projected early twentieth-century patterns of respectable conversation back to the sixteenth century. Civil conversation, love, marriage, adultery, male personality and impulse and rape – all had histories, and Febvre sketched out some of their features for the sixteenth century. To couple love and marriage was new in Marguerite's day, claimed Febvre, and the queen was using the *Heptaméron* tales and the voice of one of the tellers, Parlamente, to argue for this social and moral vision. And did not each day of storytelling begin with a Mass and a meditation from Scripture? Marguerite was 'a believer who introduced the lessons of faith into profane tales to reach all the better a worldly audience'.<sup>51</sup>

'Doubling' was, then, a central problem in Febvre's thought in the mid to late 1930s and early 1940s, and it was posed to him by his life as well as by his scholarly texts. With the *Annales*, he cast himself and the Jewish Bloch as heretics, as sharp cultural critics trying to change from the margins the way the past was studied, analysed and written about. With his professorship at the *Collège de France* and his editorship of the *Encyclopédie française* (both in 1932–33, the latter project linking him to Anatole de Monzie, Minister of Education), he was trying to structure and integrate a new view of culture from the centre. In Lucie Varga, there was the pull of the Jewish and Austrian exotic, of political adventure, Viennese culture, and (as Peter Schöttler has shown us from Febvre's letters to Bloch) of imagined travel to new places with a woman who shared his passion for historical inquiry.<sup>52</sup> In Suzanne Febvre there was the pull of the familiar; of a life centered on his

many projects and their children; of the country house, Le Souget, bought (so Schöttler has reminded us)<sup>53</sup> just at this juncture and located in Febvre's ancestral Franche-Comté; of a wife for whose approval he hungered and who could arouse his jealousy when he thought her to be paying too much attention to his friend, the psychologist Henri Wallon, and he to her.<sup>54</sup>

For Rabelais and Marguerite, Febvre resolved the doubleness in his writings (though by dint of ignoring the multiple languages and meanings in the giants' tale and the multiple perspectives introduced into the *Heptaméron* by the storytellers' debates).<sup>55</sup> For himself, the tension in his cultural politics surely outlasted the war, while his inner feelings for Lucie Varga after his brief and affectionate obituary in the *Annales* of 1942 are impossible to know. What is true is that the wholeness of Marguerite was a public gift to his wife, a book in which love in marriage was celebrated over the amusements of adultery: 'Deux cœurs en ung', 'Two hearts in one', he said in dedicating *Autour de l'Heptaméron* to Suzanne Febvre with Marguerite's own words, 'et chacun content'.

The heart of Franz Borkenau is also very difficult to see. He never mentioned Lucie Varga in the prefaces of his books while they were married or in the years right after they broke up. He travelled widely and restlessly, writing on the Spanish Civil War, the downfall of Austria, the dangers of Nazism and the illiberalism of Communism and more. He married twice again, dedicating his *Socialism National or International* of 1942 to his second wife and *Drei Abhandlungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* of 1947 to his third wife Hildegard Tellman, whom he met as a student at the University of Marburg during his brief stint of postwar teaching there. Finally, it was Lucie Varga's turn. When his *European Communism* came out in German in Munich in 1953, he linked her to his past with the dedication 'Lucie Varga-Borkenau zum Gedenken'.<sup>56</sup>

## NOTES

1 Peter Schöttler, 'Lucie Varga: A Central European Refugee in the Circle of the French *Annales*, 1934–1941', above, pp. 100–20. Schöttler has also published a longer essay on Lucie Varga as Introduction to his German and French edition of selected works by Varga: *Lucie Varga, Zeitenwende. Mentalitätshistorische Studien 1936–1939* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1991) and *Lucie Varga. Les autorités invisibles* (Paris, 1991). When referring to any information about Varga found only in Schöttler's longer study, I will use the pagination of the French edition.

2 This biographical portrait of Suzanne Dognon Febvre has been put together from the following sources: interviews with Lucile Febvre Richard (21 and 23 October 1989; 15 and 17 March 1992) and with Henri Febvre (17 March 1992); *Le Cinquantenaire de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Sèvres (1881–1931)* (Paris, 1932), i, xxv (with a typographical error for Dognon's first teaching post as Angers rather than Agen); Paulette Putois-Pinard, 'Mme Lucien Febvre née Suzanne Dognon, 1897–1985', *Sévriennes d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, 124 (June 1986): 19–25; Archives du Collège de France, C-XII, Lucien Febvre, 49B, Carnet du fonctionnaire; Archives de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Sèvres, Emoluments mensuels, Suzanne Febvre (I am

grateful to Mme Serre, former director of the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Sèvres, and to Mme Liliane Bellina, currently one of the administrators of the joint ENS of Sèvres/Ulm, for their assistance); Jeanne Rees-Pascal to Lucile Febvre Richard, 10 April 1986 (Collection Lucile Febvre Richard).

3 Paul Dognon, *Les institutions politiques et administratives du Pays de Languedoc du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle aux guerres de religion* (Paris, 1895). Dognon was a professor at the Université de Toulouse, a man of Protestant background, who married into a Catholic family. Febvre wrote an obituary for him when he died in 1932 (Bertrand Müller, *Bibliographie des travaux de Lucien Febvre* [Cahier des Annales, 42] [Paris, 1990], # 476).

4 On the education of women in France in the Third Republic, see Françoise Mayeur, *L'Enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles sous la Troisième République* (Paris, 1977), and for Sèvres in particular, *Le Cinquantenaire*. For an important recent study of the Ecole Normale Supérieure de l'enseignement secondaire de jeunes filles at Sèvres, see Jo Burr Margadant, *Madame le Professeur: Women Educators in the Third Republic* (Princeton, NJ, 1990). I am grateful to Jo Burr Margadant for orienting me in research on Sèvres graduates.

5 At Sèvres, Dognon had studied geography with Albert Demangeon, one of the great figures in French geography and a man much admired by Lucien Febvre (see Febvre's obituary 'Deux amis des *Annales*: Jules Sion, Albert Demangeon', *Annales d'histoire sociale*, 3 [January-June 1941]: 81-89). At Strasbourg, she was assistant to Henri Baulig, Professor of Geography (Putois-Pinard, 'Dognon', 20-21). First meeting of Dognon and Febvre characterized by Lucile Febvre Richard (interviews of 21 October 1989, 15 March 1992).

6 Quotation from Lucile Febvre Richard (interview of 21 October 1989, confirmed 15 March 1992).

7 The thirteen other women who graduated in letters or sciences in Dognon's class were all still teaching in lycées or collèges for girls in 1931 (*Cinquantenaire*, xxv); nine of the thirteen women were married at that date.

8 Lucile Febvre Richard and Henri Febvre thought that Lucien Febvre may have initiated the contact between Mme Eugénie Cotton, director of Sèvres, and Suzanne Febvre. Putois-Pinard, the librarian who succeeded Febvre and who knew her well, simply says that Suzanne Febvre was invited to accept the post by Cotton ('Dognon', 22). Whatever the case, Suzanne Febvre began her work by 1 November 1937, when her husband was not yet back from his three-month trip to South America (Archives de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Sèvres, *Emoluments mensuels*). 'Elle avait une vaste culture', said one of the students who had benefited from Suzanne Febvre's guidance: Jeanne Rees-Pascal to Lucile Febvre Richard, 10 April 1986 (Collection Lucile Febvre Richard).

9 Natalie Z. Davis, 'History's Two Bodies', *American Historical Review*, 93 (1988): 1-30.

10 *Ibid.*, 23.

11 Renée Doehaerd, 'Ce qu'on vendait et comment on le vendait dans le Bassin parisien', *Annales ESC*, 3 (1947): 266-80. And see n. 40 below.

12 Carole Fink, *Marc Bloch. A Life in History* (Cambridge, 1989). Natalie Z. Davis, 'Rabelais among the Censors (1940s, 1540s)', *Representations*, 32 (Fall, 1990): 1-32; 'Censorship, Silence and Resistance: The *Annales* during the German Occupation of France', *Litteraria Pragensia*, 1 (1991): 13-23. I will be examining the subject of French scholarship during the German Occupation of France more fully in *Rabelais parmi les censeurs, 1940-1540* (forthcoming Paris: Editions du Seuil). For a recent study on the exclusion of women, romance, and the establishment of medieval studies in the France of the early Third Republic, see R. Howard Bloch, "'Mieux vaut jamais que tard": Romance, Philology, and Old French Letters', *Representations*, 36 (Fall, 1991), 64-86.

13 Fink, *Bloch*, 85, 85 n. 18.

14 Interview with Henri Febvre, 17 March 1992, and with Lucile Febvre Richard, 17 March 1992. *Cinquantenaire*, xxv. Rose Brua Celli did not graduate from Sèvres; following a quarrel with the administration, the young and talented Corsican refused to take the agrégation, and is listed in the fiftieth anniversary book as 'démissionnaire'. Among her books was the much praised *Le châte indien* (Paris, 1931); the copy in the Princeton University Rare Books Collection is hand-dedicated by the author to Sylvia Beach, the American emigré and cofounder of the famous bookstore Shakespeare and Company. Celli's husband was a musician, and her paid work was intended to add to their income from their own creative activities.

15 Henriette Psichari, *Des jours et des hommes (1890-1961)* (Paris, 1962), especially ch. 10. Her publications of Renan began in 1937 with *Renan d'après lui-même* (Paris: Plon, 1937). Her

edition of his *Oeuvres complètes* appeared in 6 volumes in Paris in 1947–1953, and she was working on it all during her years with the *Encyclopédie* and the *Annales*. Her novel *Devant Dieu mentir* was published in 1942.

16 Alfons Dopsch, *Die Ältere Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Bauern in den Alpenländern Oesterreichs* (Oslo, 1930), Preface: Dopsch thanks Privatdozent Dr. Erna Patzelt. In 1925, Patzelt was the first woman to obtain the right to teach in an Austrian university (Schöttler, *Varga*, 23, n. 26). In 1927, as *Varga* was beginning her studies, Dopsch published an essay celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of women being allowed to study at the University of Vienna: 'Dreissig Jahre Frauenstudium in Oesterreich' (Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, Un-Gleichheit hinter dem Katheder', *L'Homme Z.F.G.*, 1 [1990], 75, n. 8; thanks to Lyndal Roper for calling this reference to my attention). Lucie *Varga*, *Das Schlagwort vom 'Finsteren Mittelalter'* (Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Wirtschafts- und Kulturgeschichte an der Universität Wien, 8) (Baden, 1932), Preface, dated Baden bei Wien, October 1931. *Varga* dedicated the thesis to her mother.

17 Articles and reviews by women in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, the journal founded by Werner Sombart and Max Weber, 68 (Oct. 1932–Jan. 1933) and 69 (April–Sept. 1933): Privatdozent Hedwig Hintze, Berlin (writing about French socialism); Dr. Martha Stephanie Braun, Vienna; Maria Fuerth; Annemarie Niemeyer; Dr. Marie Baum, Heidelberg; Dr. Charlotte Lütken, Galax, Rumania; Louise Sommer.

18 Valeria E. Russo, 'Profilo di Franz Borkenau', *Rivista di Filosofia*, 19 (1981): 299, 302.

19 Episode referred to in general terms in Eve Curie, *Madame Curie* (Paris: Gallimard, 1938), tr. by Vincent Sheean as *Madame Curie, a biography* (Garden City, N.Y., 1937), 293–94. Treated more fully in Françoise Giroud, *Marie Curie. A Life*, tr. Lydia Davis (New York, 1986), ch. 16 and Rosalynd Pflaum, *Grand Obsession. Madame Curie and her World* (New York, 1981), ch. 10. If I understand Schöttler's use of the term 'amie intime' in regard to Erna Patzelt's relation to A. Dopsch (*Varga*, 23), they too were lovers and got away with it without serious damage to Patzelt's career. But Erna Patzelt had the benefit of a separate position at the University of Vienna, where she became a Professor; she was not working out of Dopsch's home or on his payroll.

20 On the efforts in the 1920s to make the women's secondary education and agrégation of the same content as the men's see *Le Cinquantenaire*, 196–202, Mayeur, *L'Enseignement secondaire* and Margadant, *Madame le Professeur*, 260–73. By 1931, the process of making the two agrégations resemble each other had advanced. In philosophy, mathematics and grammar, the women simply took the men's exam; in history the women's exam was still separate from the men's (*Le Cinquantenaire*, 202).

21 The *Livret de l'étudiant* of the Université de Paris for the years 1929–1930, 1934–1935, and 1936–1937 lists the entire teaching staff for all the Faculties of the University and other scholarly institutions of advanced study. In 1929–1930 ('Liste du personnel enseignant', 418–52), Marie Curie in the Faculty of Sciences was the only woman in the entire University with a status equivalent to that of professor (although without the title). In addition in the Faculty of Sciences, Madame Ramart was teaching chemistry as maître des conférences, and a woman was teaching zoology as chef des travaux. In the Faculty of Letters, one woman lecturer was giving exercises in Greek. In 1934–1935 ('Liste du personnel enseignant', 410–48), Marie Curie was dead, and Madame Ramart of the Faculty of Sciences was now the only woman Professor in the University. Marie Curie's daughter Irène Joliot-Curie was one of three women chefs de travaux in the Faculty of Sciences, and six women were assistants there. The Faculty of Letters now had two women lecturers, one giving practical training in Russian, the other in Greek. In 1936–37 ('Liste du personnel enseignant', 411–50), Madame Ramart was still the only woman professor in the University of Paris, and there were three women with the post of chef de travaux and four assistants in the Faculty of Science. The picture in letters for women was still the same: one lecturer in Greek, one in Russian. (One of the women serving as an assistant in the Faculty of Sciences was also a Directeur d'Etudes at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, and we will see below that it was in this institution for advanced study independent of the University that a few women had the chance for posts for advanced teaching and research.) In the years 1925 to 1934, 288 persons received doctorates in letters from the University of Paris, of whom 30 (10%) were women (Albert Guigüe, *La Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris depuis sa fondation (17 mars 1808) jusqu'au 1er janvier 1935* [Paris, 1935], 164–84).

22 'Les routes du Dauphiné et de la Provence sous l'influence du séjour des papes à Avignon', *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 1 (1929): 183–92, signed Thérèse Sclafert

(Fontenay-aux-Roses). This biographical portrait of Thérèse Sclafert is drawn from her publications and from Yvonne Oulhiou, *L'École Normale Supérieure de Fontenay-aux-Roses à travers le temps, 1880–1980* (mimeographed publication; Fontenay, 1981) especially 189–94, and 'Mademoiselle Sclafert (1876–1959)', *Bulletin de la Société d'études historiques, scientifiques, artistiques et littéraires des Hautes-Alpes*, 54 (1962): 156–59. I am grateful to Michel Coquery, director of the ENS de Fontenay/St-Cloud, and to Daniel Lerault of the Bibliothèque Nationale for assistance in finding these materials.

23 Thérèse Sclafert, *Le Haut-Dauphiné au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1926). On the title page: 'Th. Sclafert Docteur ès Lettres'. Her dedication is 'to her parents', who were peasants in a village in the Dordogne, and to 'Mademoiselle A. M. Grauvogel'. Among the professors she thanks in her Introduction are two at the Faculty of Law at Paris and Raoul Blanchard, founder of the remarkable school of geography at Grenoble, with whose circle of Alpine geographers she remained in touch over the years. She also acknowledged the aid of Ferdinand Lot, professor at the Sorbonne, who may have encouraged her to submit her article to the *Annales*. Her thèse complémentaire, appearing also in 1926, was *L'industrie du fer dans la région d'Alleverd* (Grenoble, 1926).

24 Marc Bloch, 'La vie rurale: problèmes de jadis et de naguère', *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 2 (1930): 98–99.

25 Thérèse Sclafert, *Cultures en Haute-Provence. Déboisements et pâturages au Moyen Age* (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. VIe Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Series Les hommes et la terre, 4) (Paris, 1959); reviewed in the *Annales ESC*, 16 (1961): 1026–28 by Georges Duby.

26 Yvonne Bézard (b. 1893), *La vie rurale dans le sud de la région parisienne de 1450 à 1560* (Paris, 1929), described on the title page as Archiviste aux Archives Nationales, Docteur ès Lettres. She thanks her professors at the Ecole des Chartes in her Introduction, p. 14. This was her major thesis, defended at the Faculty of Letters of Paris in 1929 (Guigue, *Faculté des Lettres*, 171). Her subsequent publications included *Fonctionnaires maritimes et coloniaux sous Louis XIV. Les Bégon* (Paris, 1932) and *Le Président de Brosses et ses amis de Genève* (Paris, 1939) (she is still listed on the title page as Archiviste aux Archives Nationales). Her interests shifted with her archival sources. Bloch, 'La vie rurale', 96–120 (Bézard's is the major book discussed throughout the review essay).

27 Eugénie Droz was born in Switzerland in 1893 and was a student at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes already in 1921, attending the classes in late medieval history of Max Prinnet and patronized by Alfred Jeanroy, Directeur d'études, professor at the Faculty of Letters of Paris, and an important figure in the study of medieval texts. In 1924 she was granted a diplôme from the Ecole after publishing her edition of *Les Fortunes et Adversitez* of Jean Regnier (Société des anciens textes français; Paris: E. Champion, 1923). Her Preface indicates that she was already working on the Regnier project in 1917 with the encouragement of Jeanroy. Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Section des Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, *Annuaire 1922–1923* (Melun, 1922), 74; *Annuaire 1924–1925* (Melun, 1924), 54, 100; *Annuaire 1925–1926* (Melun, 1925), 56–7, 117; *Annuaire 1926–1927* (Melun, 1926), 47, 100. Her publishing ventures began by 1925, when she published and gave a scholarly introduction to *Remèdes contre la peste, fac-similés, notes et liste bibliographique des incunables sur la peste*, ed. Arnold Klebs and E. Droz (Paris: E. Droz and E. Nourry, 1925). Among her numerous editions and works: Claude Dalbanne and Eugénie Droz, *L'imprimerie à Vienne en Dauphiné au 15e siècle* (Paris: E. Droz, 1930).

28 *Humanisme et Renaissance*, 1 (1934): A Nos Lecteurs. Besides the contributions of Eugénie Droz, the first three volumes of *Humanisme et Renaissance* included essays by Alice Hulubei, Geneviève Bianquis, Marie Delcourt, Marie Holban, and Mireille Forget.

29 Febvre first reviewed a book by Eugénie Droz in the *Annales* of 1932: *L'imprimerie à Vienne en Dauphiné au XVe siècle* (co-authored with C. Dalbonne; Paris: E. Droz, 1930), *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 4 (1932): 594–95. Febvre gave the book a favourable review, though he regretted that the economic aspects of printing and the social implications of the editions published were not considered. He also seemed to think E. Droz was a man, so presumably had not yet met her. Lucien Febvre, *Origène et Des Périers ou l'Enigme du 'Cymbalum Mundi'* (Paris: E. Droz, 1942).

30 Brigitte Mazon, *Aux origines de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales* (Paris, 1988), 17–21. According to Mazon, in the initial stages of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, its professors were supposed to already have a position at the Collège de France or the Sorbonne (20), but at least in the 1920s and 1930s, some of the men and all but one of the women

teaching at the Ecole did not have posts elsewhere. This is evident, among other sources, from the attributions of the teaching personnel given in the *Livret de l'étudiant*. The exception was Mme Chauchard, who was Directeur d'études in the Natural Science Section of the Ecole and also an assistant in the Faculty of Sciences of Paris (*Livret de l'étudiant*, 1936–1937, 230, 419).

31 Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Section des sciences historiques et philologiques, *Annuaire 1936–1937* (Melun, 1936), 41–42: Labrousse is Chargé de conférences at the Ecole for the course given in 1935–36. He became Directeur d'études in 1938 (*Annuaire 1938–1939* [Melun, 1938], 17). C.-E. Labrousse, born in 1895, studied at the Sorbonne, and then decided for a time to become a Communist militant rather than preparing the agrégation exam. After 1925 he returned to research, publishing his *Esquisse du mouvement des prix et des revenus en France au dix-huitième siècle* in 1933. In 1937, a long review article by Georges Lefebvre in the *Annales* took Labrousse's book very seriously (Georges Lefebvre, 'Le mouvement des prix et les origines de la Révolution française', *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 9 [1937]: 134–70). Comité de rédaction, *Annales d'histoire sociale*, 1 (1939): C.-E. Labrousse, Directeur à l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. He joined the Faculty of Letters at the Sorbonne only later. Labrousse's major thèse d'état appeared in 1944 as *La Crise de l'économie française à la fin de l'Ancien Régime et au début de la Révolution* (Paris, 1944). On Labrousse, Madeleine Rebérioux and Michel Vovelle, 'La mort de Camille-Ernest Labrousse. Le père de l'histoire économique', *Le Monde* (26 May 1988), 31.

32 Another way of associating oneself with advanced teaching was used by Madame Hélène Metzger née Bruhl, a distinguished historian and philosopher of early modern science, whose thesis for a doctorate of the University of Paris, *La Genèse de la science des cristaux*, was published in 1918 (Paris, 1918; Guigue, *Faculté des Lettres*, 216, # 170). Married to a Professor in the Faculty of Medicine, she went on to publish several important works, including *Les Doctrines chimiques en France du début du XVIIe à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (1923), with a dedication to Lucien Lévy-Bruhl. In 1932 and afterwards, Abel Rey invited her to give lectures at the newly founded Institut d'Histoire des Sciences et des Techniques at the Sorbonne, of which he was the Director. They were published in 1935 and 1938 (*La Philosophie de la matière chez Lavoisier; Attraction universelle et religion naturelle chez quelques commentateurs anglais de Newton*); Metzger is identified on the title page as a member of the Académie internationale d'Histoire des Sciences. She also published three short articles or notes in the *Revue de synthèse* in the 1930s (1 [1931]; 16 [1938]: 43–53; 18 [1939]: 92–93), the only other woman besides Lucie Varga to appear in the periodical edited by Henri Berr. Febvre was associate director with Berr of the Centre International de Synthèse; no women are listed as members of the Historical Section in the 1930s, though Metzger came to its meetings and, according to Berr, participated actively in discussions. Deported as a Jew during the Occupation, she did not survive the war (Henri Berr, 'In Memoriam', *Revue de Synthèse*, 19 [1945]: 9).

33 Germaine Rouillard, *Les Papyrus grecs de Vienne. Inventaire des documents publiés* (thèse complémentaire) (Paris, 1923), par Germaine Rouillard, Docteur ès lettres, Bibliothécaire à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris. Germaine Rouillard, *L'Administration civile de l'Egypte byzantine*, Thèse pour le Doctorat ès-lettres présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris (Paris, 1923). Rouillard thanks among others Henri Sottas, Directeur d'études at the Ecole Pratique and especially Pierre Jougnot, Maître des conférences at the Sorbonne and Directeur d'études at the Ecole. Once Chargée de conférences at the Ecole in 1923, she taught in the section Philologie Classique, Grec, where Jougnot was one of the Directeurs d'études. *Annuaire 1924–1925* (Melun, 1924), 39–42. When she joined the Ecole in 1923, there was already another woman serving as Chargée de conférences: Madame de Willman-Grabowska, teaching Sanskrit along with the Directeurs Sylvain Lévi and Louis Finot, *ibid.*, 70–71. Germaine Rouillard and Paul Collomp eds., *Actes de Lavra* (Paris, 1937). Archives du Collège de France, GIV 11w, Assembly of 14 March 1943: Germaine Rouillard invited to give the Schlumberger lecture on Byzantine history for 1944. It was actually given in 1945 and published posthumously: *La Vie rurale dans l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1953). On Germaine Rouillard, see the postface by Louis Robert in *ibid.*, 203–205 and [Jean Longon], 'Bibliographie de Germaine Rouillard (1888–1946)', *Byzantion*, 20 (1950): 327–36. One of her articles on maritime and commercial taxation was reviewed by R. Guiland in the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 4 (1932): 429–30.

34 Guigue, *Faculté des Lettres*, 166, # 1455. Marie-Louise Sjoestedt's life can be traced through several sources. Her books: *L'Aspect verbal et les formations à affixe nasal en celtique* (La Société de linguistique de Paris, Collection linguistique, 19) (Paris, 1926), 'A mon Maître Monsieur J. Vendryes en témoignage de reconnaissance'; *Description d'un parler irlandais de*

*Kerry* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes) (Paris, 1938): she thanks Emile Benveniste for having read the manuscript; *Dieux et héros des Celtes* (Paris, 1940). The *Annales* of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Section des sciences historiques et philologiques from 1925–1926 (where Mlle Marie-Louise Sjoestedt first appears as a Chargée de conférences for 1926) through the double issue of the *Annuaire 1940–1941 et 1941–1942*, where Vendryes speaks of her last course at the Ecole and her death. The issues of the *Etudes celtiques* from 1 (1936) to 4, no. 1 (1941), where Vendryes announces her death to 4, no. 2 (1948): 428–33, where Vendryes publishes an obituary with some detail on her life. Vendryes first met her in the spring of 1919 when she came to the Sorbonne to study with him for the licence and then went on to her doctorate. He gives an interesting account of the debate that had occurred about whether she should prepare for the agrégation exam along with her research in order to have 'un gagne-pain assuré en cas de revers de fortune' (she did take the exam in 1922 – in grammar, and thus the men's exam – and came in first.) A review of *Dieux et héros des Celtes* in the *Revue historique*, 67 (1942–43) speaks of France as Sjoestedt's 'patrie d'adoption', but Vendryes' obituary does not say anything about her place of birth and seems to suggest that at least she got her *bac* in France. She married Michel Jonval in 1932, when they were listed at the same address in the *Annuaire 1932–1933* (he is then Chargé de conférences at the Ecole, teaching Langues Baltiques). In 1934–1935, he was teaching at the Ecole des Langues Orientales (*Livret de l'étudiant*, 1934–1935, 430) and was dead by 1937, when Vendryes wrote an obituary for Antoine Meillet and listed among his students Michel Jonval 'trop tôt ravi à la science' (*Annuaire 1937–1938*, 30). Sjoestedt often took the name of Sjoestedt-Jonval in the 1930s. Vendryes, writing after the war, says that she was 'too much of a Celt', 'Trop Celte hélas! pourrait-on dire, s'il est vrai que l'âme celtique, malgré tant de preuves d'une énergie indomptable et d'une volonté effrénée est sujette à des accès de dépression et de renoncement qui lui font désirer et comme appeler le néant' (*Etudes celtiques*, 4, no. 2 [1948]: 433). Sjoestedt's review of Edmund Curtis, *A History of Ireland* in *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 10 (1938): 330–32. Febvre's brief review of Sjoestedt's *Dieux et héros* in *Annales d'histoire sociale*, 3 (Jan.–June 1941): 99.

35 Schöttler, *Varga*, 46, n. 100: 'L. Varga se présenta certes à la *Notgemeinschaft* comme assistante au Collège de France . . . mais cette allégation n'a pu être confirmée par nos recherches. Elle a donc probablement été employée par Febvre à titre privé et rémunérée éventuellement sur le budget de l'*Encyclopédie française*.' Lucile Febvre Richard, who was aged ten to twelve during the three years of Varga's association with Febvre, recalled that she came often to the house to work (interview of Oct. 21, 23, 1989).

36 Registering for courses at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes was a simple matter for a foreigner, simpler and cheaper than at the Faculty of Letters. Courses were free and registration possible on the presentation of some piece of identification (*Livret de l'étudiant*, 1934–1935, 16, 222). According to the Ecole figures, of the 700 persons enrolled in the History and Philology Section for 1934–1935, 186 were foreigners, of whom 23 were Germans, 3 Austrians (my own count from the registration list of names is 4 Austrians, including Valerie Hajek from Vienna), and 5 Hungarians (*Annuaire 1935–1936*, 95–112). Enrolling in 1935–1936 were 21 Germans, 3 Austrians and 5 Hungarians (*Annuaire 1936–1937*, 87–107).

37 Abel Lefranc of the Collège de France had been teaching at the Ecole Pratique for years; Louis Halphen became a Directeur d'études in 1928, and then also a Chargé de cours at the Faculté de Lettres at Paris in the mid-1930s. Marc Bloch, 'Manuels ou synthèses?', *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 5 (1933): 67–71, a review of Louis Halphen, *L'Essor de l'Europe (XIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1932).

38 Franz Borkenau, *The Spanish Cockpit. An Eye-Witness Account of the Political and Social Conflicts of the Spanish Civil War* (London, 1937), Preface dated Paris, 9 April 1937. Perhaps Borkenau's presence had something to do with the crisis that ended the Febvre-Varga relation.

39 Varga's enrollment at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes to work with Benveniste: *Annuaire 1938–1939*, 'Liste des élèves et des auditeurs réguliers pendant l'année scolaire 1937–1938', 116. (An Elvira Vargha, 'Hongroise', enrolled at the same time. Any relation to Lucile Varga's first husband?) For Benveniste's classes, *ibid.*, 58–9, 82; she is not included in his short list of those attending the classes regularly. Benveniste's book on *The Persian Religion according to the chief Greek Texts* (Paris, 1929) would have been of interest to her. On her decision that Manichaeism was not the appropriate background for the doctrine of the Cathars, see Lucile Varga, 'Les Cathares sont-ils des néomanichéens ou des néognostiques?', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 120 (1939): 175–93, republished by Schöttler in *Varga*, 239–46. Fernand

Braudel became a Directeur d'études at the Ecole Pratique in the academic year 1937–1938, beginning his course on Histoire des peuples ibériques et de la Méditerranée occidentale du Moyen Age au XVIIIe siècle sometime after his return from Brazil in November 1937 (*Annuaire 1938–1939*, 'Rapports sur les conférences de l'année scolaire 1937–1938', 46–47; Fernand Braudel, 'Personal Testimony', *Journal of Modern History*, 44 [1972]: 453). Lucie Varga is not among the few students mentioned by Braudel as especially contributing to his class, but his subject is not one that would have been central to her work.

40 In 1939, the editorial board of the revised *Annales d'histoire sociale* was enlarged from eleven persons to twenty, some of them – like Georges Friedmann, C.-E. Labrousse, Fernand Braudel, and Jacques Soustelle – younger scholars. No women were included. Nor were women part of the sodality of father, sons and brothers who made up the editorial board of the post-war *Annales. ESC*. Articles by women began to appear, however, with that of Renée Doehaerd in 3 (1947), and five other women published articles in the years up to Febvre's death (the Belgian Suzanne Tassier; Micheline Fasciato at the Ecole française de Rome; Germaine Cherpin, who had been Suzanne Febvre's classmate at Sèvres [*Cinquantiennaire*, xxv]; Françoise Lehoux; and Huguette Chaunu). Especially interesting, Huguette and Pierre Chaunu publish together as a team: 'Autour de 1640: Politiques et économies atlantiques', *Annales. ESC*, 9 (1954): 44–54. On the all-male teaching staff of the newly founded VIe Section (Social and Economic Sciences) of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in 1948–1951, see Mazon, *Aux origines de l'E.H.E.S.S.*, 99–110.

41 Schöttler, 'Lucie Varga', above p. 107.

42 This portrait of Paule Pradel Braudel is drawn from interviews of 29 October 1989 and 18 March 1992. After finishing hypo-khagne (the first year of preparation for the exams for Sèvres) with Fernand Braudel in Algiers, Paule Pradel went to Paris to the Lycée Louis-le-Grand for khagne. Though her grades were good, she found the history teaching less interesting there than at Algiers and disliked the competitive atmosphere. She thus returned to Algiers for university study, and was short one exam for the *licence* when she married her former teacher Braudel. Though Fernand Braudel did not acknowledge her research assistance in his Preface to the *Méditerranée* or in his 'Personal Testimony', 451–53, he often used the pronoun 'we' when talking orally of their archival research. During the Braudels' visits to the United States, I often heard scholars say of the couple 'they do research as a team'.

43 Lucien Febvre to Paule Braudel, letters from 1939 to 1942, Collection Paule Braudel.

44 Lucien Febvre to Paule Braudel, undated by Febvre, dated by hand of Paule Braudel 1939 or 1940 (Collection Paule Braudel). This is confirmed by Febvre's reference in this letter to the historian 'Khot' – i.e. the Polish historian Stanislaus Kot – also referred to in a letter to Paule Braudel dated 30 April 1940. Thus the date should be some time during the academic year 1939–1940 (during the period of the 'phony war' when Braudel was away on service).

45 *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 41 (1940–1941) (Paris, 1944), 118–24: 'Les origines morales du monde moderne: Marguerite de Navarre et les origines de l'Heptaméron'.

46 Before the autumn of 1939, Febvre had given only three lectures at Sèvres: one in December 1932, one in June 1933, and one in June 1937. In 1939–1940, he lectured on Marguerite de Navarre from November through May, and served on the jury for the Sèvres exams that June. In 1940–1941, he gave a few lectures at Sèvres, and then in 1942–1943, he gave the second set of lectures on Marguerite from November through January. Archives de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Sèvres. Traitements for the years 1932–43, announcements for 1939, 1940, 1941 (I am grateful to Mme Bellina for finding in her records all references to Lucien Febvre in those years).

47 Lucien Febvre to Paule Braudel, Easter 1942; 8 May 1942; Lucien Febvre to Fernand Braudel, 29 September [1942], 21 March 1944 (Collection Paule Braudel). Archives Editions Gallimard, dossier Lucien Febvre, Gaston Gallimard to Lucien Febvre, 4 August 1943, 14 December 1943 (I am grateful to the Editions Gallimard for permitting me to use these materials).

48 Febvre had praised the learning and balance of Jourda's book, but thought he had made only a modest interpretive advance over Lefranc's fixing of the queen of Navarre as a 'réformée'. Lucien Febvre, review of Pierre Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême, duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492–1549). Etude biographique et littéraire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1930) and *Répertoire analytique et chronologique de la Correspondance de Marguerite d'Angoulême* (Paris, 1930) in *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, 65 (1931): 459–62. Müller, *Bibliographie*, # 460 (it cannot be stressed enough how useful Müller's bibliography is in tracking the intellectual interests of Lucien Febvre).



49 Emile Telle's book on Marguerite and marriage (Toulouse, 1937) is not mentioned in Febvre's bibliography to *Autour de l'Heptaméron* (294), or anywhere in the footnotes. Nor was it reviewed in the *Annales*. In his review of *Autour de l'Heptaméron* in 1946, Marcel Bataillon took Febvre to task for his silence about Emile Telle's book, which he thought had anticipated Febvre's argument. Indeed, Bataillon thought Jourda's biography had also created a portrait of Marguerite acting as a moral author in the *Heptaméron* and that Febvre had exaggerated the dichotomy between the two Marguerites for the sake of then resolving it. Marcel Bataillon, '*Autour de l'Heptaméron*. A propos du livre de Lucien Febvre', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 8 (1946): 245–53, especially 247–48. That Febvre's book was in some sense unnecessary from the point of view of specialists makes its birth in personal passion and strife all the more interesting. An undated letter of late 1943 from Febvre to Brice Parain, editor at Gallimard, describes Febvre's struggles with the second part of the book on Marguerite, which, in his dissatisfaction, he was revising at the last minute. He will not be 'dishonoured' by the book. He will say 'so many things that have not been said on slight problems . . . Such as the *person*. And *love*. And *marriage*. Which have a *history*, which no one has been willing to see. (Tels, la *personne*. Et l'*amour*. Et le *mariage*. Qui ont une *histoire*, ce que personne n'a pas voulu voir).' Archives des Editions Gallimard, Dossier Lucien Febvre. If others had seen that love and marriage have a 'history', it is nonetheless true that Febvre's cultural and social treatment took these topics in some new directions.

50 Lucien Febvre to Paule Braudel, 8 May 1942 (Collection Paule Braudel). Gaston Gallimard to Lucien Febvre, 4 August 1943: Gallimard sends Febvre a contract for his work entitled 'L'Heptaméron et le mystère des deux Marguerites' (Archives Editions Gallimard, Dossier Lucien Febvre). The final title was agreed on in Febvre's letter of late 1943 to Brice Parain; '*Amour sacré, amour profane* ferait bien l'affaire; mis il faudrait une "explication". *Autour de l'Heptaméron* est peut-être le plus simple' (Archives Editions Gallimard, Dossier Lucien Febvre).

51 *Autour de l'Heptaméron. Amour sacré, amour profane* (Paris: Gallimard, 1944), 211–12, 260–282.

52 Schöttler, *Varga*, 62. See also Febvre's review of André Tibal, *L'Autrichien: Essais sur la formation d'une individualité nationale, du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1936), where he describes the 'Austria of today' and cites Varga's essay on Viennese literature, which he had commissioned for the *Encyclopédie* (Lucien Febvre, 'Titre et contenu: L'Autriche et l'Autrichien', *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 10 [1938]: 63–4).

53 Schöttler, *Varga*, 62.

54 Interviews with Lucile Febvre Richard, 21 October 1989 and 15 March 1992.

55 Davis, 'Rabelais among the Censors', 14–22. Febvre, *Autour de l'Heptaméron*, 246–51, for examples of his inattention to the debate and disagreement among the *dévisants* at the end of each tale.

56 Franz Borkenau, *Socialism National or International* (London, 1942), 'To my wife'; *Drei Abhandlungen zur deutschen Geschichte* (Frankfurt am Main), 1947 'Für Hilde'. Richard Lowenthal, Introduction to Franz Borkenau, *End and Beginning. On the Generations of Cultures and the Origins of the West*, ed. Richard Lowenthal (New York, 1981), 6–7 (Lowenthal specifies that Borkenau had three wives). Franz Borkenau, *Der europäische Kommunismus. Seine Geschichte von 1917 bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1952), dedication to the memory of Lucile Varga-Borkenau, Forward signed Washington, D.C., 1 December 1951. The English translation of the book – *European Communism* (London, 1953) – has a Preface signed Cambridge, Mass. 20 August 1951 and was dedicated to the memory of George Orwell.