

Holding the reins: Miss Ernst and twentieth-century Classics

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From the outset, and well beyond the mid-twentieth century, chairs in classical philology, archaeology, and ancient history at universities across the world were a male domain, into which women could enter only very rarely.¹ It would be mistaken, however, to equate this lack of visibility with insignificance and absence. Since the 1970s, research into women's history has shown that women were present in the political, religious, and economic practices of ancient cultures: women's agency in the ancient world long remained underestimated until scholars turned their attention to it. The same is true of the significance of women's academic contributions to nineteenth and twentieth-century Classics, which, until now, have received less attention than women in antiquity.² This article explores women academics

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¹ The editors of the sixth supplementary volume to the *DNP*, *Geschichte der Altertumswissenschaften. Biographisches Lexikon* (Kuhlmann and Schneider 2012) set out to include scholars and researchers 'from the fourteenth to the twentieth centuries' — with no claim to being exhaustive, of course, and excluding persons still alive (p. XIII). The chronological list of lemmata by years of birth (pp. LII–LXI) provides a straightforward overview of the number of men and women on record: reviewing the list of scholars born in 1850 and later shows that of 377 articles only twelve, i.e., roughly 3% concern women scholars: Jane Ellen Harrison (1850–1928), Margarete Bieber (1879–1978), Gisela Richter (1882–1972), Lily Ross Taylor (1886–1969), Marie Delcourt (1891–1979), Semni Karousou-Papaspyridi (1898–1994), Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich (1901–79), Claire Préaux (1904–79), Margaret Thompson (1911–92), Elena Michajlowna Schtaerman (1914–91), Hildegard Temporini-Gräfin Vitzthum (1939–2004), and Nicole Loraux (1943–2003). A glance at comparable works, such as the *Dictionnaire biographique d'archéologie 1798–1945*, edited by Ève Gran-Aymerich (2001), which mentions only very few women archaeologists, reveals a similar picture.

² Compared to studies dedicated to women's history in antiquity, research in the history of scholarship about women in classical studies leads a marginal existence. Nevertheless, some few studies have appeared in the last twenty years, including Diaz-Andreu and Stig-Sørensen (1998) and Cohen and Joukowsky (2004) on women in European archaeology, Fenet (2011) on Eugénie Bazin-Foucher (among other studies on single researchers), or Wyles and Hall (2016) on women classicists between the Renaissance and the twentieth century. In September 2015, Petra Schierl, Judith Hindermann, and Seraina Plotke organized a conference at the University of Basel titled 'De mulieribus claris. Gebildete Frauen, bedeutende Frauen, vergessene Frauen' (De mulieribus claris: Educated Women, Important Women, Forgotten Women); some of the papers dealt with

whose work involved them directly in the production of knowledge and in the gendered scope of action available to them.

We focus on a woman whose case exemplifies that of many others: Juliette Emma Ernst was literally a twentieth-century figure; she was born in Algiers in 1900 and died in 2001, in her 102nd year, in a retirement home in Lutry near Lausanne.³ Ernst served as editor of the *Année Philologique* (*Aph*) for almost sixty years; as secretary-general of the *International Federation of Associations of Classical Studies* (*Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études Classiques*, FIEC), founded in 1948 under the aegis of UNESCO, she played a crucial role in international classical studies for twenty-five years. Her decades-long professional activities reveal the contours of a woman's life who stood at the heart of twentieth-century classical studies.

Thus, it would be reasonable to expect that the life and work of a person who stood at the heart of an institution like the *Aph* and who promoted the re-building of an international *Republic of Letters* in classical studies after World War II would be honoured in numerous obituaries and that this person would have left behind a carefully archived estate. Yet, both expectations were dashed during our research: when Ernst died in 2001, brief obituaries appeared in six journals; three of these obituaries were written by François Paschoud, who succeeded Ernst as secretary-general of the FIEC in 1974.⁴ Our search for Ernst's private estate and in particular for her correspondence, which must have consisted of thousands of letters, remained largely unsuccessful: none of the institutions where she was employed — including the *École Nationale Supérieure* and the *Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne* — hold an 'Ernst Collection', with two minor exceptions: the records of her employment in Basel from 1942–48, which are accessible at Basel University Archive, and the files docu-

nineteenth- and twentieth-century women scholars. The conference proceedings are forthcoming. A first version of this article was presented at the conference and the authors are grateful to the participants for making valuable suggestions.

³ Paschoud (2001c: 16); the exact dates of her birth and death are 12 January 1900 and 28 March 2001.

⁴ Chambert (2001), Fischer (1998–2000), Paschoud (2001a, 2001b, 2001c46). See also the obituary published by Perle Bugnion-Secretan (2001) in *Femmes en Suisse* in May 2001, a feminist journal founded in 1912 (which probably makes it the oldest of its kind); although published under the careless title 'Juliette Ernst, 1890–2002' — thus adding a further eleven years to Ernst's already venerable age of 101 at the time of her death (2001) — its introduction is nevertheless illuminating: 'The passing of the Vaudoise Juliette Ernst, who enjoyed a remarkable career, was not announced until the beginning of April, in a discreet notice published by her family. No mention of this event was made in any of our journals. It was left to *Femmes en Suisse* to draw attention to this fact.' (Here and in the following, the translations are ours.)

menting her employment at the CNRS (deposited at the *Archives nationales*).⁵ One also searches in vain for an entry titled ‘Ernst, Juliette’ in the *Biographisches Lexikon*, published in 2012 as a supplementary volume to the *DNP*,⁶ while the two columns dedicated to Jules Marouzeau highlight his merits as the founder of the *APh*.⁷

The discrepancy between the obvious evidence for the central position occupied by Juliette Ernst in international classical studies and her merely marginal recognition within that field needs to be explained. Can a closer look at her activities, her standing among her male colleagues, and her self-assessment shed light on the diverse, gendered scope of action that twentieth-century classical studies afforded women and men? Does this discrepancy provide a possible starting point for identifying their different functions in scientific practice while revealing a hierarchy between the *organization* and *production* of science? Does this hierarchy reflect the gender stereotypes that shaped twentieth-century European societies? These questions are the subject of a research project whose initial steps and methodological challenges are raised for discussion here.⁸ Studying the life and work of a particular individual, this project is set up methodologically to critically examine the possibilities and uses of biographical approaches to a history of scholarship that includes the category of gender.

Essentially, the following reflections are grounded in an evaluation of publicly accessible documents: obituaries, the editorial forewords to the *APh* — especially Ernst’s ‘L’Année Philologique, notre aventure’, her foreword to the fiftieth issue of the *APh*, which represents an ‘égo-histoire’ *avant la lettre*⁹ — and interviews with contemporaries (François Paschoud, Walter Rüegg). Based on these materials, we approach the problems outlined above in three steps: (1) we survey the most important dates and events in Ernst’s life; (2) we consider in depth her scientific activities, external assessments of her work, and her self-assessment — as far as

⁵ See *Staatsarchiv des Kantons Basel-Stadt*, ‘Universitätsarchiv XI 3.3.49 Ernst, Juliette, 1942–1948 (Dossier)’ (consulted on 28 October 2015); see also *Archives nationales*, ‘20070296/189 dossier de carrière de Juliette Ernst’ (consulted on 28 January 2016).

⁶ For details, see footnote 1.

⁷ Ralph Lather and Anette Clamor, ‘Marouzeau, Jules’, in: *DNP*, Sixth Supplementary Volume, 782–3; see, however, column 783: ‘For decades, Marouzeau served as editor of the *Année Philologique*; from 1931 he received essential support from Juliette Ernst, who took over his post following his death in 1964.’

⁸ The biography project of Juliette Ernst, which is being pursued from the perspective of the history of scholarship, is part of a history of twentieth-century Swiss classical studies, launched in 2015 and due to be completed in 2019. The project is supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation and directed by Stefan Rebenich and Thomas Späth. The preliminary research on the sub-project ‘Juliette Ernst’ was conducted by Laura Simon (2014); Ilse Hilbold has been responsible for the project since August 2015.

⁹ Ernst (1981). Although autobiographical reflections on history doubtless have a long tradition, the concept was established in a collection titled *Essais d’égo-histoire*, edited by Pierre Nora (1987).

the available testimonies permit this; (3) we formulate questions and hypotheses on biography as a method in the history of scholarship and as a means of identifying gendered spheres of action in twentieth-century classical studies.

From Algiers to Paris, via Lausanne: the course of a life

Tracing the stages of Juliette Ernst's life, we approach the chronological skeleton from outside and thus merely one aspect of individual existence, which Jean-Louis Passeron has described as the tension between 'la chaire et la squelette du temps' (the flesh and bones of time) of a biography.¹⁰ Thus, we initially leave aside the protagonist's ideas and thoughts, and as such her grounds for decision-making; temporarily deferring any attempt to grasp (personal) motivations and (external) conditions makes it possible to explore Ernst's life-path¹¹ without succumbing to the illusion of a *post hoc propter hoc*.¹²

Juliette Ernst was born to Swiss parents, members of Lausanne's protestant bourgeoisie, in French-speaking Switzerland, who immigrated to Algiers soon after their marriage in 1897. Her father, Édouard Ernst (1857–1941), who had married Marguerite Muller (1868–1948) (who went by the name of Jeanne), held an executive post as an accountant and associate at *Lucien Borgeaud & Cie.*, a trading company based in the French Department of Algeria. He resigned from his post in 1913 and returned as a wealthy man to Lausanne with his wife and four daughters,¹³ where the family built a villa called Le Télémy.¹⁴ Juliette Ernst attended the *École Supérieure des Jeunes Filles*, as was customary for the daughters of protestant bourgeois families, where she earned her *baccalauréat* in 1919. In the winter term of the same year, she enrolled in the *Faculté des Lettres* at the University of Lausanne.¹⁵ The Latinist Frank Olivier, who came from a long-established Vaudois family, had a strong formative influence on Ernst; Olivier had studied with Hermann Diels in Berlin and his philology, heavily influenced by German scholarship, made him — as François Paschoud remarks — superior to his colleagues in Lausanne, and he was correspondingly unpopular.¹⁶

¹⁰ Passeron (1990: 4ff).

¹¹ See Frijhoff (2003: 69f).

¹² Passeron refers to this inadequate model for explaining both biographical and historical sequences of events (1990: 11); constructing teleologically defined coherence serves Bourdieu as a starting point for his critical reflections on 'the biographical illusion' (1994 [1986]: 81f.).

¹³ Thérèse Charlotte Elisabeth Ernst (1897–1985), Juliette Emma Ernst (1900–2001), Germaine Marguerite Léonie Ernst (1905–96), Marguerite Léonie Brüttsch-Ernst (1907–78).

¹⁴ See Junet (2009: 11). The name of the Ernst's family villa in Lausanne's La Rosiaz neighbourhood alludes to Le Télémy, a coveted residential area in Algiers.

¹⁵ See *Catalogue des étudiants de l'Université de Lausanne. Année universitaire 1918–1919. Semestre d'hiver. N° 57*, Lausanne 1919.

¹⁶ François Paschoud in an interview with Laura Simon on 3 June 2014.

Ernst graduated in 1923 with a *licence* (Master's degree), 'with the congratulations of the jury', i.e. with the highest honours; she went on to teach French at the *École Supérieure des Jeunes Filles* in Yverdon (1923–25). She enrolled in the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* (EPHE) in Paris for the 1925–26 academic year and attended courses taught by Desrousseaux, Ernout, Marouzeau, Meillet, and Samaran; she was a member of the *Société des Études Latines* and took part in its meetings.¹⁷ As was customary at the EPHE, after a year's full-time study she received the title of a 'regular student' (*élève titulaire*) in Philological and Historical Sciences (from 1926) and in Religious Sciences (from 1927). This specialization was followed by various occupations: in the school year 1927–28, Ernst taught French at the same school in Yverdon as three years previously; in the spring of 1928 she spent three months in Oxford, where she taught French translation at St Hugh's College; the following year (1928–29), she held a middle management position in the personnel department of the League of Nations in Geneva and served as a recording secretary.¹⁸ She returned to Paris in 1929 and worked at the *Bureau des Renseignements du Foyer international* on Boulevard Saint-Michel.

Among these highly diverse, international activities, her collaboration with the Latinist Marouzeau seems to have assumed lasting significance for Ernst: as a professor at the EPHE, Marouzeau got to know the polyglot student in his courses — besides her native French, Ernst spoke German, English, and Italian fluently — and quickly integrated her into a group of female students he assigned to the *Aph*. Marouzeau had been planning an international bibliography of classical studies since the mid-1920s, and the first two volumes of the *Aph* were published in 1928. We will return to Ernst's work for the *Aph*. For now, suffice it to note that the name 'M^{lle} J. Ernst' first appeared in Marouzeau's staff acknowledgements in his foreword to volume 3 (1929).¹⁹ About five years later, in volume 8, he wrote that Ernst was now entirely responsible for editorial work.²⁰

On the occasion of the fiftieth volume of the *Aph*, Ernst looked back at the past five decades with the benefit of hindsight. She described her work for the journal in a way that suggests that she discovered her life's task at the beginning of the 1930s. She pointed out that while the size of the challenge revealed many a gap in her education, plugging these became her primary objective, thus leading her to consider the *Aph* an 'adventure'.²¹ Indeed, her extensive travels in the 1930s and during

¹⁷ Among the members listed in *REL* 3, 1925: 9 is 'Ernst, J., Professeur au Collège La Villette, Yverdon, Suisse'; on pages 169 and 171, she is mentioned among the 'members present' at the meetings held on 14 March 1925 and 12 December 1925, respectively.

¹⁸ See <http://lonsea.de/pub/person/10039> [accessed 12 July 2016]; this website also mentions that Ernst taught Latin at the *Collège Sévigné*, Paris, to candidates for the *Concours de l'École des Chartes* for six months in 1928.

¹⁹ *Aph* 3, 1929: VII.

²⁰ *Aph* 8, 1934: VII; see footnote 36.

²¹ Ernst (1981: XXII).

the post-war period took her across Europe and to the United States, enabling her to visit the most important libraries and to establish contacts with many internationally acclaimed scholars.²² Even though her retrospective view reconstructs her work for the *APh* as the focal point of her life, more contemporary records and documents show that her material circumstances were precarious — financially, institutionally, and geographically. In the 1930s, Marouzeau paid her a piece-rate, i.e. per *APh* entry. Until 1948, when Marouzeau helped her to secure various fixed-term appointments through the CNRS²³ after her return to Paris, Ernst pursued other employment alongside her *APh* work, at the *Foyer international*, as mentioned, and teaching private French lessons to foreigners in Paris. Throughout, she also maintained her professional ties with Switzerland: she took on translations for the Lausanne-based scholar of ancient Greek André Bonnard, taught holiday courses, or served as deputy language instructor at the University of Lausanne — from which she received an honorary doctorate in 1939.²⁴ Ernst made use of her connections with Switzerland at the outbreak of World War II: warfare interrupted bibliographical work at libraries abroad — yet Ernst noted, not without pride, that ‘The war [...] did not manage to put an end to my activities despite the pessimistic outlook expressed by some’.²⁵ When the defeat of France became evident in 1940, Ernst retreated to Basel, earning a living teaching French at a girls’ grammar school and the local adult education centre, working as a language instructor at Basel University,²⁶ and pursuing her bibliographical work; she notes that Basel University Library also received most international journals on a regular basis during the war, which enabled her to publish volumes 14 (1941), 15 (1943), and 16 (1946) of the *APh*.²⁷

The international relations that Ernst had established as *APh* editor and that she also cultivated during the war allowed her to play a significant role, amid the post-war efforts, in restoring international academic exchange, which had been impaired

²² Ernst (1981: XXII).

²³ For the details provided here and below: Ernst (1981: XXIII).

²⁴ In 1939, the year of Frank Olivier’s retirement, Ernst received an honorary doctorate from the University of Lausanne (see footnote 63 on the *laudatio*); aged thirty-nine at the time, Ernst was probably one of the youngest *doctores honoris causa*, at least in terms of the practices of awarding honorary doctorates followed by Swiss universities.

²⁵ Ernst (1981: XXII).

²⁶ Ernst (1981: XXIII).

²⁷ In her retrospective account (Ernst 1981: XXIII), she extends special thanks for their support to Karl Schwarber, the director of Basel University Library, the philologist Peter von der Mühl, who served as university rector from 1942 (and who granted her several periods of leave from her language-teaching duties to work on the *APh*), and to Marguerite Walser, the widow of the Romance scholar Ernst Walser (and the mother of the ancient historian Gerold Walser), for her hospitality. In 1939, 1941, and 1942, Ernst gave talks in Geneva and Lausanne on various aspects of bibliographical research in classical studies.

since World War I and destroyed during World War II. At the first post-war congress of the *Association Guillaume Budé*, held in Grenoble in 1948, Ernst presented a report on ‘Intellectual cooperation: the problem of periodicals and documentation’. In it, she surveyed all existing Classics journals — from the United States to Egypt, from Malta to the Soviet Union — and critically considered access to these publications.²⁸ The report also sought to encourage the creation of a humanities documentation centre by UNESCO, which Ernst identified as task for the FIEC, which was founded a few days after the Budé congress.

Under the aegis of UNESCO, which had been established in 1945, discussions were underway already soon after the end of the war to constitute an international association of classical studies; in these discussions, the *Association Guillaume Budé* and Marouzeau as its representative played a leading role.²⁹ On 28–29 September, the inaugural meeting of the FIEC was held in the UNESCO building in Paris; the archaeologist Dugas, a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, was elected secretary-general and Ernst ‘adjunct secretary-general.’³⁰ Dugas’s health prevented him from attending the 1950 general assembly, which was chaired by Ernst, and eventually forced him to resign before the 1953 assembly. Thus, Ernst became ‘interim secretary-general’ (1953–54), before receiving the title of secretary-general, which corresponded to her leading role within FIEC (1954–74).

Ernst carried out her *APh* and FIEC duties from her private residence in Paris’s fourteenth *arrondissement*; just as Marouzeau’s private address had served as the address of the editorial office, from 1951 Ernst’s appeared in the *APh* imprint. She worked at this apartment until, at the age of ninety-two, ill health forced her to hand over the reins of the *APh*; she last signed the foreword to volume 61 (1992), dating it ‘July 1992’. In the early 1990s, she retired to an elderly people’s home in Lutry near Lausanne.

Scientific activities, external assessment, and self-assessment

Onto the chronological ‘skeleton’ of Ernst’s life now needs to be put the ‘flesh’ of tangible contents, thus enabling us to explore the spheres of action open to a female philologist in twentieth-century classical studies and to inquire into the extent that these spheres were gendered. In what follows, we more closely analyse the two areas that shaped Ernst’s life and that were shaped by her work — the *APh* and FIEC — to discuss how her self-conception in performing these activities might be grasped.

²⁸ Ernst (1949).

²⁹ For the details provided here and below, see Paschoud (1996 [1997]: 5–8).

³⁰ See Paschoud (1996 [1997]). Together with twelve other international federations of the humanities and social sciences, the FIEC became a member of the *Conseil international de la philosophie et des sciences humaines* (CIPSH), which was founded in January 1949 as a suborganization of UNESCO; see Belloc (2007b) for a study of the beginnings until 1949 and Belloc (2007a) for further developments until 1955.

Juliette Ernst and the Année Philologique

In 1927 and 1928, Marouzeau published two volumes under the title *Dix années de bibliographie classique. Bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité gréco-latine, 1914–1924*. These volumes launched the 'Collection de bibliographie' of the *Société française de bibliographie classique*, whose president he was. In the foreword to the first *APh* volume, published in 1928, Marouzeau introduced the new bibliographical journal as a sequel to the previous collection. The new venture would, however, appear on a regular and secure financial basis. By indicating that the *APh* would observe the rules established by the bibliographical committee of the *Institut international de coopération intellectuelle* (IICI),³¹ Marouzeau revealed his ambition to create a work relevant for international scholarship. He added, diplomatically, how helpful the existing bibliographies were, 'in particular the *Bibliotheca philologica classica* of the *Bursians Jahresbericht*', which had provided both 'comparisons and complements in 1924'.³² These niceties do not belie the fact that the *APh* was a distinctly French product, which certainly saw itself as a competitor for the German *Bursian*.³³

The *APh* not only intended to record publications in classical studies across the world and across the disciplines; by providing summaries, it also aspired to be more than a mere collection of titles. Its aim, as Ernst put it, was 'to offer the international audience — most of all French scholars — a publication more humane than a simple enumeration of titles'.³⁴

Yet, how could such a large bibliographical undertaking work in practice? The title pages of the *APh* and the acknowledgements in its editorial forewords reveal that from the outset Marouzeau received support for going through journals, compiling and editing the bibliographical entries, and preparing the index. Besides Ernst, who joined the *APh* while preparations for the third volume (1929) were underway, the small editorial team comprised some of Marouzeau's regular and extra-mural students at the EPHE (Anne-Marie Guillemin, Luigia Nitti, Andrée Freté, etc.). Yet Ernst seems to have made the most active contribution, leading Marouzeau to observe already in 1930: 'The largest part of the editorial work that

³¹ *APh* I, 1928: V. In 1922, the League of Nations had established the *Commission internationale de coopération intellectuelle* (CICI), which comprised world-renowned scholars and scientists (such as its first president Henri Bergson, or personalities like Albert Einstein, Marie Curie, and Devendra Nath Bannerjea); following a suggestion by the French government, the IICI was founded in Paris in 1926 as an executive body of the CICI.

³² *APh* I, 1928: VI.

³³ Edited by Conrad Bursian, the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* appeared from 1875 to 1944 (published by Calvary in Berlin from 1875 to 1899, and by Reisland in Leipzig from 1899 to 1944); between 1875 and 1941, it included the 'supplementary sheet' of the *Bibliotheca philologica classica*. On the competition between Bursian's *Jahresbericht* and the *APh*, see, for instance, *APh* 4, 1930: VII; ERNST 1981: XXI.

³⁴ ERNST 1981: XXI.

year was done by Miss J. Ernst, from the University of Lausanne'.³⁵ In volume 6 (1932), he describes Ernst as 'my principal collaborator', whose consultation of Swiss and French libraries had increased the number of evaluated journals. This development came to a provisional end with the publication of volume 8 (1934), whose foreword contains the following note: 'Miss J. Ernst, upon whose shoulders the task of editing this journal rests almost exclusively, made the most of this year with a stay in Rome to take stock in particular of Italian periodicals, which until now suffered from gaps'.³⁶ The title page of the *APh* signalled these changes: thus, starting already with volume 7 (1933), it read: 'L'Année Philologique. Bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité gréco-latine, publiée sous la direction de J. MAROUZEAU, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, Directeur d'Études à l'École des Hautes Études, par M^{lle} JULIETTE ERNST, de l'Université de Lausanne' ([...] published, under the direction of J. Marouzeau, [...] by Miss Juliette Ernst [...]). The title remained unchanged until Marouzeau's death in 1964, when Ernst became *APh* director. Thereafter, it read: 'L'Année Philologique. Bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité gréco-latine, (fondée par J. MAROUZEAU), publiée par JULIETTE ERNST, Docteur ès lettres' ('founded by J. Marouzeau, published by Juliette Ernst');³⁷ it was slightly adjusted when the American branch office and other regional offices were established.³⁸

Surveying this rather straightforward information, which can be gleaned from the minor reformulations of the title and from the acknowledgements in the editorial forewords, provides clues to how a scientific venture like the *APh* was organized: a seasoned Latinist, holding an established academic position as full professor at Paris's *Faculté des Lettres de Paris* (i.e. the Sorbonne), and serving as director of studies at the EPHE, who is also the founder and president of the *Société française de bibliographie classique*, and who constituted the *Société des Études Latines* in 1923, where he served as administrator and secretary, launches a series of bibliographical monographs and thereafter a permanent and regular bibliographical journal. The journal's success further strengthened Marouzeau's academic position, because the *APh* was among those achievements that led to his election to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in 1945.³⁹ Moreover, his name was identified with the

³⁵ 'La plus grande partie du travail de rédaction a été assurée cette année par M^{lle} J. Ernst, de l'Université de Lausanne' (*APh* 4, 1930).

³⁶ 'M^{lle} J. Ernst, sur qui repose désormais exclusivement la tâche de la rédaction de cette Revue, a mis à profit cette année un séjour à Rome pour assurer tout particulièrement le dépouillement des périodiques italiens qui présentaient encore des lacunes' (*APh* 8, 1934: VII).

³⁷ Ernst's 'Docteur ès lettres' (Doctor of Philosophy) is based on the honorary doctorate conferred upon her by the University of Lausanne in 1939; see footnote 63.

³⁸ *APh* 36, 1967.

³⁹ In a letter dated 29 April 1944 to Ferdinand Lot, who supported his candidacy, Marouzeau wrote that 'the Academy itself comes to recognize the value of my *Année philologique* in awarding me the Prix Brunet' (Institut de France, Papiers de Ferdinand Lot, Ms 7309 – F. 117).

journal: in German-speaking classical studies, the *APh* was long referred to as ‘the Marouzeau’.⁴⁰

Yet, this information suggests that from the outset the actual work was not done by the journal’s founder and initiator, but instead Marouzeau relied entirely on his regular and extra-mural female students,⁴¹ before he handed over the reins completely to Ernst. Thus, the production of the *APh* lay firmly in women’s hands from the earliest stages — apart from the post of director and the checking of the galley proofs (a duty undertaken by J. Carcopino and, since 1938, by V. Cousin und J. Bayet), which guaranteed the scientific quality of the *APh*. Based on these findings, our closing hypotheses raise the question whether the establishment of scientific journals on the one hand, and the execution of bibliographical and editorial work on the other, should perhaps be seen as gendered spheres of action within the production of classical studies.

Ernst’s bibliographical work and her organizational achievements (setting up editorial teams at the CNRS and at branch offices overseas),⁴² led to her establishing an incomparably large network of international relations across Western and Eastern European and American academia. She recalls this fact when looking back at her early days: ‘It is a pleasure to recall the warm-hearted assistance that I received from the “greats” of that time’. She then adds a long list of names, including the directors of the *École Française de Rome*, Émile Mâle and Jérôme Carcopino, and the contacts she had established during her visit to the United States in 1936: ‘E.K. Rand, Stanley Pease, A.D. Nock at Harvard, R.G. Kent in Philadelphia, Lily Ross Taylor at Bryn Mawr, not to mention those belonging to my generation, of which some — alas! — have disappeared, such as C. Bradford Welles and James Hutton’.⁴³ Establishing and cultivating such a broad network is another aspect that needs to be addressed in view of the gendered conditions of scientific practices.⁴⁴ For this network enabled Ernst not only to create the international structure based on which the volumes of the *APh* could appear year after year. It also prepared her for a central role in the international reorganization of classical studies after World War II.

⁴⁰ Paschoud criticizes this reduction of a collective enterprise to a single name (see Paschoud 2001c: 17); in conversation, he sarcastically observes that Marouzeau’s greatest achievement was that he handed over the *APh* to Juliette Ernst.

⁴¹ This is neither a singular nor solely a French phenomenon: for a British example, see, among others, Walton (2006) on E.A. Freeman and his ‘historic harem’.

⁴² Between 1965 and 1978, six regional *APh* offices were opened, in the United States, Germany, Italy, Spain, the UdSSR, and Switzerland. At each office, one staff member was responsible for evaluating the publications of the relevant language regions and for transmitting the titles of these publications and brief summaries of their contents to Ernst in Paris.

⁴³ Ernst (1981: XXII).

⁴⁴ At the time of completing this article, the prosopographical list of professional and personal relationships that Ilse Hilbold is drawing up and continuously updating in her research on Juliette Ernst includes over 120 persons.

The organizational developer: FIEC

Official files and titles suggest that Ernst played a marginal role in establishing the FIEC. As space is limited, this paper, which does not aspire to be a history of FIEC (yet to be written⁴⁵), focuses on Ernst's actual activities and actions to identify her function within these institutional structures. Based on the FIEC archive, the preparations leading to the federation's establishment are obscure, as documentation only began with the inaugural assembly (28–29 September 1948).⁴⁶ Yet, one of Ernst's retrospective comments (in 1981) possibly opens up another avenue of investigation. In passing, she mentions that the FIEC was founded 'at the instigation of the Association G. Budé'.⁴⁷ Thus, Alphonse Dain, secretary-general of the *Association Guillaume Budé*, wrote in his 1947–48 annual report, presented to the general assembly on 20 June 1948, that in the exceptional context of the immediate post-war period the association (which he described as 'the crystallizing nucleus from which this important federation will grow') occupied a leading role in the forthcoming establishment of the FIEC.⁴⁸ Of the ten representatives of the fifteen founding associations whose attendance Paschoud recorded in his review on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of FIEC,⁴⁹ four were members of the *Conseil d'administration* of the *Association Guillaume Budé*.⁵⁰ The constitutive meeting of FIEC was also attended by various observers:⁵¹ Denis van Berchem (on behalf of the *Schweizerische Vereinigung für Altertumswissenschaft* and the *Schweizerischer Altphilologenverband*), Juliette Ernst (on behalf of the *Groupe romand des études latines*⁵²), three representatives of the *Association Internationale d'Archéologie Classique*, and two representatives of UNESCO.

⁴⁵ For the moment, however, see Paschoud (1996 [1997]).

⁴⁶ The FIEC archive is entrusted to the secretary-general and housed at his or her place of residence (see Paschoud 1996 [1997]: 5); this office is currently held by Paul Schubert (Geneva), who most obligingly granted Laura Simon full access to the archive in the spring of 2014.

⁴⁷ Ernst (1981: XXIV).

⁴⁸ Dain (1948: 5f). See also Jacques Heurgon's obituary of Marcel Durry (who served as the first FIEC treasurer from 1950 and as president from 1969 to 1974); Heurgon emphasizes the key role of the *Association Guillaume Budé* in the founding of the FIEC (Heurgon 1978: 1).

⁴⁹ Paschoud (1996 [1997]: 6f).

⁵⁰ Its president was Paul Mazon and Alphonse Dain its secretary-general. Charles Dugas and Jules Marouzeau were confirmed as members of the *Conseil d'administration* in June 1947 (Dain 1947: 1; Paschoud 1996 [1997]: 7).

⁵¹ They had received no accession mandate from their associations; see Paschoud (1996 [1997]: 7).

⁵² Without questioning the importance of the *Groupe romand des études latines* (founded 1932 by André Oltramare et Jules Marouzeau as a 'branch' of the *Société des études latines*) in the slightest, it was the only regionally oriented association present at the founding of the FIEC. This raises the question whether Marouzeau (and perhaps also other leading

At the constitutive meeting, the draft statutes presented by the founding committee were approved and the executive body elected:⁵³ Carsten Høg, the representative of the Danish associations, was appointed president, Jules Marouzeau and Ronald Syme vice-presidents, and Frank Brown committee member. As mentioned, the assembly elected Charles Dugas as secretary and Juliette Ernst became vice-secretary. The fact that the FIEC's constitutive meeting also discussed the problems of documentation — not least in relation to the financial support for various projects, especially the *Aph* — can be seen as a direct response to the concerns and demands highlighted explicitly by Ernst in her report to the Fourth Congress of the *Association Guillaume Budé* four days earlier.⁵⁴ The FIEC founders took up a further point in the report: Ernst was commissioned to prepare a status report on current editorial projects in classical studies, the means and methods of publication in the field, and the current situation of the national associations. She set to work promptly, addressing the task on an international level, as her correspondence with Bruno Snell between March and June 1949 attests: she inquired especially about *Philologus*, the *Archiv für griechische Lexikographie*, the *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*, and the *Jahresberichte über die Fortschritte der Altertumswissenschaft*; the correspondence also dealt with the possibility of FIEC providing financial assistance to journals.⁵⁵

In her retrospective view of 1981, Ernst emphasizes just how important her function within FIEC was for the *Aph*: 'I cannot insist strongly enough on the importance of this function, which was assigned to me on behalf of the *Aph*. The FIEC opened all doors for me and made me attend not only its general assemblies, its congresses, but also a number of other national and international gatherings, to which I was invited to expound on the problems of documentation'.⁵⁶ Thus, Ernst's primary concern was 'documentation', i.e., the international exchange of publications and research findings across all disciplines in the Classics. While this goal motivated her commitment to FIEC beyond her chiefly bibliographical concerns, it also led to her forging ties between the numerous national associations: for instance, she represented FIEC at the gathering of German classical scholars in Hinterzarten (29 August to 2 September 1949), from which the *Mommsen-Gesellschaft* emerged;⁵⁷ in the 1950s, she did everything in her power to foster

figures of the *Association G. Budé*) simply sought Juliette Ernst's involvement and therefore set up her observer status.

⁵³ For the details provided here and below: Paschoud (1996 [1997]: 7f).

⁵⁴ Ernst (1949); see footnote 28.

⁵⁵ The Ernst-Snell correspondence is held at the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*: Ana 490.B.IV, especially the letters of 9 March, 3 June, and 21 June 1949.

⁵⁶ Ernst (1981: XXIV).

⁵⁷ Ernst (1981: XXIV). See also the critical report published by the Swiss classical philologist and sociologist Walter Rüegg in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Rüegg 1949). On the significance of this event, see Rebenich (2015: 264–71). According to the minutes of the FIEC board meeting of 8 October 1949, Ernst gave a report on the gathering of German

links and exchange among Eastern European classical associations.⁵⁸ Ernst, who cultivated close cooperation with Marouzeau on the level of international relationships, also seems to have stood at the heart of important inter-institutional connections between FIEC, the SIBC, and the CIPSH.⁵⁹ Later, from 1964 to 1976, she also served as FIEC delegate on the *Internationale Thesaurus-Kommission*, which had been founded in 1949 to resume work on the projected *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.⁶⁰ At the FIEC office, the election of Marcel Durry as treasurer — his appointment coincided with the creation of this role in 1950 and he remained in office until 1969, before serving as FIEC president (1969–74) — proved to be a stroke of good fortune due to his good understanding with Ernst: together, they shaped FIEC in their central functions as chief accountant and secretary-general during the first twenty-five years of the federations’s existence.⁶¹

Assessing Ernst’s standing and function based on the available facts reveals a similar situation and development to that at the *Aph*: just as Marouzeau had recruited her because of her (language) skills, and just as her dedication led to her editing the *Aph* single-handedly within the space of a few years, after World War II her skills and knowledge of international classical studies made her a pivotal figure in institutionalizing international contacts within the framework of UNESCO. While at the *Aph* Marouzeau’s death led to her appointment as ‘directrice’ after thirty-four years, at FIEC Dugas’s ill health paved the way for her election as secretary-general after a mere five years.⁶² Marouzeau also played a major role in the foundation of FIEC — and he deployed his trusted and proven collaborator, who, while obviously doing the spadework, initially remained in a subaltern position. Even though her subordinate position in the FIEC hierarchy says nothing about the executive powers she exercised, it is nevertheless significant that unlike Durry, whose career as FIEC treasurer culminated in his presidency, Ernst did not rise from secretary-general to president; she was instead elected honorary secretary-general when she retired from office in 1974 due to her advanced age.

classicists in Hinterzarten; at its general assembly on 25 August 1950, the FIEC accepted the *Mommsen-Gesellschaft*, represented by Bruno Snell, as a new member.

⁵⁸ Ernst (1981: XXIV).

⁵⁹ Ernst (1981: XXIV).

⁶⁰ Paschoud (1996 [1997]: 15).

⁶¹ In contrast to the other five members (president, two vice-presidents, two committee members), the accountant’s and secretary’s terms of office were unlimited. Based on personal experience, Paschoud points out that the FIEC was effectively steered by these two figures (interview with Laura Simon, 3 June 2014); see also Paschoud (2001c: 17).

⁶² See the entirely different assessments of these promotions by Paschoud (2001c: 16) and Ernst (1981: XXIV): both are illuminating with regard to both the creation of legends *a posteriori* and the social and gendered conditions of our protagonist’s self-image.

Skills and their appreciation

Juliette Ernst's work received recognition, including the honorary doctorate conferred upon her by the University of Lausanne — she recalls the *laudatio* in her 1981 retrospective view of her life and work,⁶³ together with Marouzeau, she twice received the 'Prix Brunet' of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*;⁶⁴ she became a member of the *Légion d'honneur* in 1958;⁶⁵ in 1988, she was awarded the 'Médaille d'argent du CNRS' (which was met with astonishment in some quarters, because this honour is usually bestowed upon young scholars aged 35–40 years).⁶⁶

Marouzeau called Ernst a 'loyal collaborator' (*fidèle collaboratrice*); Ernout publicly expressed his appreciation of 'Miss Ernst's dedication and competence' and her 'superhuman work' (*travail surhumain*);⁶⁷ writing in the feuilleton of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Rüegg asserted that given the wealth of publications in classical studies Ernst was the 'ideal, exceptional case' of a person who possessed an overall view of the Classics.⁶⁸ Among the obituaries, Paschoud highlights Ernst's 'outstanding role in both institutions, whose character is ecumenical in embracing classical studies in their entirety' and emphasizes the fact that she knew everyone of importance in classical studies across the world, spanning Western Europe, the Communist countries, the Americas, and Asia.⁶⁹

So whereas her loyalty and unselfish dedication to her tasks were praised on the one hand,⁷⁰ and her crucial role in international institutionalization and worldwide networking on the other, this recognition contrasts clearly with the accomplishments

⁶³ In Ernst (1981: XXII), she writes: 'In 1939, on the occasion of Frank Olivier's retirement, I received the title of doctor *honoris causa* from the University of Lausanne with the following laudatio: "to express some of the gratitude owed to her by scholars of Greek and Latin antiquity, since, serving as most important editor of *L'Année philologique* from 1929, she has assumed exclusive responsibility for this indispensable working tool since 1934, which she has turned into an accomplished model in the space of ten years"'.

⁶⁴ Ernst (1981: XXV).

⁶⁵ In a note titled 'Félicitations à une officière de la Légion d'honneur', she also received congratulations from *Le mouvement féministe*, published in Geneva by the *Alliance de sociétés féminines suisses* (46, No. 861, 1958: 4).

⁶⁶ Paschoud (2001c: 17).

⁶⁷ The discussion of Ernst's report to the Fourth Congress of the *Association Guillaume Budé* in 1948 (Ernst 1949: 125; see above, section 1 and footnote 28) was opened by the acting vice-president Alfred Ernout with the following words of gratitude: 'M. Ernout pays tribute to the dedication and competence of Miss Ernst, who has performed superhuman work in single-handedly inspecting over three hundred and fifty periodicals for *l'Année philologique in all languages*'.

⁶⁸ Rüegg (1951: 249f).

⁶⁹ Paschoud (2001c: 16, 18).

⁷⁰ In her 1981 review, Ernst mentions the 'modest means' at her disposal (Ernst 1981: XXIII); Paschoud (2001c: 17) refers to her 'infinite devotion, which is grossly disproportionate with her modest remuneration.

highlighted in the obituaries for her male colleagues (e.g. Marouzeau, Durry, and Mazon),⁷¹ whose scientific achievements of lasting value were honoured. Yet, if one surveys Ernst's reflections on her work, this discrepancy seems to coincide with her self-assessment. She presents herself as dependent on her established male mentors, but this leaves her unperturbed: looking back at her introduction to the *APh* editorial office, in a remarkable concurrence of self-assurance and acknowledgement of dependency, she observes:

J. Marouzeau had the great merit of entrusting me, from 1929 onward, with the affairs of the *APh*, to begin with to a large extent, and then entirely. Thanks to his liberal spirit, and also thanks to the friendship shown to me by his wife, I was privileged to organize my work as I saw fit, to take any useful initiative, and to proceed according to the methods that I considered beneficial. I am greatly indebted to both of them. To be sure, J. Marouzeau counted me among his students at the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* and was able to appreciate the solid and traditional preparation in philology that I had received from my great teacher Frank Olivier, a disciple of Herman Diels. He was also aware that I was familiar with German, from my university studies in Switzerland, and with English, from my stay at a college in Oxford.⁷²

Ernst first pays tribute to her academic teacher Olivier, who provided her with 'solid and traditional' basic training in philology (in passing, she also introduces her academic grandfather, Diels). Marouzeau takes special credit not for what he taught her, but for his trust, which — also due to her friendship with his wife — had permitted Ernst to tackle her work as *she* saw fit. In a rhetorically adept manner, she links the recognition of academic authorities with her own philological and linguistic skills and with the clear assertion that she took her bibliographical tasks at the *APh* into her own hands. Ernst developed her academic self-assurance through her skilled bibliographical work. Not aspiring to be one of the 'greats' in classical studies,⁷³ she nevertheless saw herself as a bibliographical specialist who could meet distinguished academics on equal terms. This stance finds explicit expression in her review of the fifty years she devoted to the *APh*:

I would like my testimony to contribute to destroying the prejudice against bibliography, against work that is considered to be mechanical and impersonal, that is undertaken by people of average intelligence and who are incapable of succeeding in teaching or research. Bibliography, in the first instance, is a school of earnestness and exactitude. How many learned authors [...] would be well advised to subject themselves to this discipline!⁷⁴

⁷¹ On Marouzeau, see Courcelle (1965); on Durry, see Heurgon (1978); on Mazon, see Fawtier (1955).

⁷² Ernst (1981: XXIf).

⁷³ See above footnote 43.

⁷⁴ Ernst (1981: XXX).

Already a good twenty years earlier, Ernst had titled her contribution to the *Festschrift* in honour of Marouzeau's 70th birthday 'La bibliographie, servante de l'humanisme' (Bibliography, a servant of humanism); in this piece, she alleged that 'her teacher' (*mon Maître*) had assigned to bibliography among the auxiliary sciences of antiquity studies the position of the most modest, but not that of the least useful servant of humanism.⁷⁵ Yet, identifying with such a subordinate role does not prevent Ernst from making some basic recommendations for the authors of scientific contributions: she demands clearly structured texts and unambiguous and standardized formal guidelines; nor does she shy away from deploring what she considered to be the overly lax publishing policy of many journals.

Ernst's criticism, which she reiterated vociferously time and again during her long career,⁷⁶ raises a basic question: does she believe that alongside a science whose academic dominance she does not deny stands an *auxiliary* science, which, although accepting its subordinate role, is in no way prevented from claiming an equally self-assured and independent position? Her value judgements and advice as a bibliographer suggest that Ernst felt perfectly entitled to criticize scientific production and to issue clear instructions to those ranked above her in the academic field. And yet is it a coincidence that the protagonists of science are almost exclusively male whereas the auxiliary science of bibliography is performed chiefly by female actors?

Gendered spheres of action and biography as a method in the history of scholarship

The doubts whether this preliminary finding is coincidental challenge us to further explore this woman's position: what characterized Ernst that enabled her to gain such influence in a male-dominated social field, and that ultimately enabled her to occupy absolutely central positions within that field? She never submitted a doctoral thesis, nor did she ever hold a university post. Thus, she could not demonstrate any achievements that, in Bourdieu's terms, lead to recognition in the academic field.⁷⁷ Judging by her self-assessment, the lack of academic honours represented no shortcoming, nor did it prevent Ernst from comprehensively pursuing an activity that she saw, at least retrospectively, as her life's task.

This seemingly contradictory observation gives rise to a hypothesis that future research on Juliette Ernst will need to bear out: two different forms of scientific habitus can be made out in the academic field of twentieth-century classical studies. On the one hand stand actors who embark on a university career, who submit the academic work required to gain the necessary formal qualifications, who rise through the ranks, and who thus compete against each other for *academic* capital — i.e. titles

⁷⁵ Ernst (1948: 160).

⁷⁶ See Ernst's list of publications (1981: XXXIf.), which would need to be completed with numerous reviews and unpublished communications.

⁷⁷ See chapter 3, 'Espèces de capital et formes de pouvoir' in Bourdieu (1984: 97–167), and especially the section 'Les professeurs ordinaires et la reproduction du corps', 112–20. On the concept of the 'field', see Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 71–90).

and positions of authority. On the other is a sphere of action within the academic field in which actors compete for *social* capital, which they obtain by complying with the rules of this field: they accept a subaltern position vis-à-vis ‘academic dignitaries’, against whom they do not compete, but with whom they can nevertheless enter into privileged relationships — not least due to their uncontested subordination — which can develop into broadly based networks. In this way, such actors can take up highly influential positions in the organization of scientific production, without holding recognized academic positions. Even if the actors of this subaltern domain within the academic field are by no means exclusively female (just as the actors possessing academic capital are largely, but no longer exclusively male as the twentieth century unfolds), it is obvious that these forms of habitus in the academic field are not gender-neutral: in classical studies (to limit ourselves to this field), the social concepts of masculinity are linked with academic capital and positions of authority, those of femininity with social capital and organizational achievements. Of course, no direct conclusions about the actions of men and women can be drawn from the abstract social concepts attributed to masculinity and femininity⁷⁸ — but the scope of action available to men and women in the academic field is shaped by the conformity with these concepts and constrained by the negative evaluation of non-conformist action.

This general hypothesis constitutes no more than an assumption that arises from studying the life and work of a particular individual. This, in turn, raises the question whether the biographical approach at all permits such general statements about women’s scope of action in classical studies. After biography seemed to have fallen into disuse as a method of historical research and representation following the rise of social and structural history from the mid-twentieth century,⁷⁹ it has experienced a veritable renaissance in the last three decades, with regard to historical figures and the history of scholarship. The criticism voiced by everyday history, oral history, *microstoria*, and women’s history about the exclusion of individuals and their actions through the adoption of purely structuralist views has led not only to a return to biography as a method of investigation and representation, but also to critical debate and to placing this approach on a new footing.⁸⁰ These foundations, which can benefit a study of Juliette Ernst, certainly include the micro-historical approach of *modal biography*.⁸¹ This is interested less in the person studied as an individual than in the extent to which the rules of the social field to which this individual belongs manifest themselves in that figure. Our question about a woman’s scope of

⁷⁸ Scott (1988 [1986]): 43 describes these concepts as ‘culturally available symbols’.

⁷⁹ Oelkers (1974); on the history of biography as a ‘genre’ (and on whether one can actually speak of a literary genre): Dosse (2011); Loriga (1996) and more recently also Loriga (2010).

⁸⁰ For an overview of the debate and more recent approaches, see Bödeker (2003b); Revel (2003).

⁸¹ Levi (1989: 1329f.); see also Bödeker (2003b: 57).

action in twentieth-century classical studies is oriented toward this form of enquiry — although, ultimately, modal biography only helps grasp the conditions existing at a specific time, i.e. the spheres of action, not the *scope* of action. The modal approach will therefore need to be supplemented with first-person testimonies, which will need to be interpreted with the tensions between the individual and the prevailing rules in mind: how did the individual known as Juliette Ernst live and experience the historical situation,⁸² her position in the academic field of classical studies between Lausanne, Paris, and the manifold international ties that she forged through her activities for the *APh* and FIEC? The answers to this question bring into view possible alternative actions and Ernst's decision-making, thus revealing an individual's actions under supra-individual conditions. The comparative approach suggested by Jacques Revel might prove helpful in this respect, since it helps to avoid the deceptive continuity and coherence of representation, which has long been criticized about the genre of biography and that Bourdieu sums up in the catchy formula of the 'biographical illusion'⁸³: a broader approach would, for instance, involve comparing Ernst's life with that of her three sisters. Although they were involved in entirely different areas of life,⁸⁴ the Ernst sisters still shared the social conditions of their family's bourgeois milieu.⁸⁵

The project, whose way of looking at the problems raised, its initial findings, and its methodological preliminaries have been presented here, adopts this polyfocal biographical approach to help illuminate a specifically female habitus in the academic field of classical studies.⁸⁶ It does so without, however, negating Juliette

⁸² In his biography of Caesar, Christian Meier postulates that in light of history as an anonymous process, the task of biographical representation is 'to address the ways in which this process is experienced, let alone the way in which such a process encroaches on the experience and consciousness of a particular time' (Meier 1982: 583).

⁸³ Revel (2003: 347f).

⁸⁴ Only Ernst's youngest sister, Marguerite (born in 1907), was married (to the Reverend Charles Brüttsch, with whom she had three daughters). Her oldest sister, Thérèse, was head of the cantonal association of the Vaudois scouts, a member of the federal executive board of the Swiss scout movement, and a delegate to the world organization of the scout movement. Germaine, who was born after Juliette, was an engraver and painter, an active member of the *Société suisse des femmes peintres, sculpteurs et décorateurs* (in whose *Section vaudoise* she served as secretary from 1932 to 1939 and later as president); she participated in most SSFPSD exhibitions between 1930 and 1973; for a discussion of her work, see Junet (2009).

⁸⁵ Further research will extend to the class conditions of Juliette Ernst's origins in order to establish the social framework of her individual life, an aspect that we have not managed to develop within the limited scope of the present essay.

⁸⁶ The individual case presented here serves to advance some hypotheses that should be examined by studying comparative cases (see, for instance, Margerie Taylor's work at the Roman Society, Anne-Marie Meyer's at the Warburg Institute or Jeanne Vielliard's at the Institute for the Research of Texts and their History IRHT, cf. Holtz 2000):

Ernst's individuality. On the contrary, it aims to honour her personal achievements without neglecting the gendered conditions of a woman's life in and for classical studies.⁸⁷

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a gendered history of scholarship calls for extending current research to the academic work and biographies of women (and possibly also men) in similar positions, in order to draw more general conclusions.

⁸⁷ We are most grateful to Mark Kyburz for his translation. We also express our thanks to the anonymous CRJ reviewers for their invaluable suggestions. An extended version of this paper in German (including the original French citations) has been published in the online journal *EuGeStA. Revue sur le genre dans l'Antiquité* 6, 2016, 187–217 (<http://eugesta.recherche.univ-lille3.fr/revue/>).

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