



Lucie Varga, ca 1930

Lucie Varga: A Central European Refugee in the Circle of the French “*Annales*”, 1934–1941 *by Peter Schöttler*

If historians today understand and practise their profession in a way different from their counterparts one hundred years ago, this change in self-perception is in no small part due to a scientific and historical event tied to the name *Annales*, and so to the periodical which Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch founded in 1929 under the name *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*.¹ The general history of this publication and its contribution to historical thought is now relatively well known. But several important aspects still need to be explored. For example, it is little known that in the early history of the *Annales*, there was an ongoing dialogue with German and Austrian historians. In the 1920s and 30s, Germans not only still occupied a prominent international position in the field of the history of ideas (*Geistesgeschichte*), but also had thoroughly new methods and approaches to offer in the fields of social and economic history, especially in the interdisciplinary study of historical regions (*Landesgeschichte*).² Even after 1933 the *Annales* continued this debate with their German counterparts, if in a slightly different form.³ My current work concerns this curious, positive and negative fascination of the *Annales* school with German historical practice; that is, I am interested in the process of learning, but also in the process of ‘unlearning’ – *désapprendre de l’Allemagne* as Febvre repeatedly called it⁴ –, which was connected with the critical reception of German historical work and, in a number of ways,

found its expression in the choice of themes as well as in the language used by the *Annales*.

There are a number of possible approaches for an historiographical project of this sort, some more systematic and others more selective. Even the reconstruction of individual biographies and a close (re)reading of certain authors can be very useful. As a first and concrete contribution to this work, I would like to introduce a woman historian with whom few are acquainted, but who, to my mind, played an important role in the intellectual network of the early *Annales*. In fact, she was the most important mediator between the *Annales* and Central European historical thought and was extremely interesting also as an author of texts that, predictably, have been overlooked. Her name, Lucie Varga.

Although Lucie Varga⁵ published a series of essays between 1934 and 1939 – in the *Annales* alone she published three lengthy studies as well as six book reviews – she has been neglected in all of the recent attention focused on this journal.⁶ No one has really seen, read, or asked about her role in this enterprise. Neither has anyone remarked upon the fact that she was the one and only woman who worked with the *Annales* continually throughout the pre-war period.⁷ This is an astonishing example of historiographical blindness, but not really a surprising one. For it is only recently that historians have begun slowly to look at the work of woman scholars.⁸ Moreover, almost all of Lucie Varga's work in the *Annales* deals with German or Austrian themes, so she could easily be dismissed as an immigrant scholar, merely passing through France. And finally, her special role only becomes clear when we look at the internal history of this journal, which has not yet been done adequately. One of the central sources for such a study is the correspondence between Febvre and Bloch, which is still unpublished and not easily accessible; in it, Lucie Varga is frequently mentioned in the years between 1934 and 1937. For that reason, this material constitutes the most important key to the whole story, providing the clues necessary, for instance, to find and interview surviving witnesses. In other words, and without biographical detours and *Spurensuche* (hunting for tracks) the riddle of this unknown *Annales* collaborator could never have been solved.

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It all began with two sentences in a letter by Lucien Febvre, probably written in March 1934, that is, one year after Febvre's election to the Collège de France in Paris, while Marc Bloch was still living in Strasbourg:⁹

Concerning my work, I can set your mind at rest. I'm working very hard on my *Religions of the 16th Century*. For this purpose I have appointed a 'trainer' – or rather: a 'woman trainer' (*entraîneuse*). She is an Austrian, a student of Dopsch, of whom I have probably already told you, Madame Varga-Borkenau. She comes by three mornings a week in order to work with me.

When I first read this passage, I immediately felt that something uncommon was happening here. The word ‘woman trainer’, *entraîneuse*, leapt out at me. I knew enough about the biography and milieu of the two correspondents, to understand that the introduction of a new collaborator was not a trivial matter. Without doubt, it would change Febvre’s work situation and tangle his relationship to Bloch and to their common project, the *Annales*. For at the time, even the most recognized professors in France – and Febvre and Bloch were among them – had to work alone: they had neither assistants nor secretaries. If they had no time or were unable to handle a typewriter, they turned to their wives for help with their manuscripts. It was very uncommon, therefore, to hire an assistant on a private basis.¹⁰

More strikingly, Lucie Varga was appointed as a collaborator and not as a secretary. If her only task had been typing manuscripts, Febvre would certainly have hired a French woman. But since he chose a young historian and an emigrée, we must suppose that he was expecting instead some sort of scholarly assistance. Surprisingly enough, the term ‘*entraîneuse*’ reversed the age hierarchy existing between professor and employee: in 1934, Febvre was fifty-five years old and Lucie Varga was only twenty-nine. Was he really expecting this young woman to make him work more quickly? Or was he just in such a good mood that he let slip a word which expressed a bit more than he wanted to say? It is obvious, in any case, that the new collaborator had a privileged position. She was not a clerk working in the back room and only mentioned by accident. On the contrary: between 1934 and 1937, in his letters to Bloch Febvre quotes ‘Madame Varga’s’ remarks, talks about her trips and often praises her work. She more and more becomes a kind of reference which is almost always ‘present’ for the two *Annales* directors. Her name is mentioned almost as often as that of the managing editor, Paul Leuillot. All this in spite of the fact that this correspondence is filled with gaps. Many letters are missing, especially in the period with which we are concerned. It is quite possible that some of Febvre’s letters were destroyed by Bloch or later readers who judged them as much too ‘private’. Indeed the working relationship between Febvre and Lucie Varga failed in the end because of ‘private problems’. And Lucie Varga’s premature death in 1941 contributed rather quickly to the burying of the whole affair. Soon after, the sometime collaborator would be forgotten. Today, half a century later, it is only fair to go back to those events and ask some questions: Who was Lucie Varga? What was the nature of her collaboration with Febvre, and what impact, as a woman and as a foreigner did she have on the *Annales*? Finally, what was her own contribution to modern historiography?

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Lucie Varga was born as Rosa Stern on June 21, 1904 in Baden near Vienna.¹¹ Her family was Jewish and came from Hungary, but had been

thoroughly assimilated to German-Austrian culture. Her mother tongue was German, and she never spoke Hungarian. Rosa was the youngest of three children, but by the time of her birth, her parents had already separated. Her father was in Budapest, while her mother and the children remained near Vienna. The family was wealthy and led an *haut-bourgeois* life. Lucie Varga's mother is described as a typical representative of the Jewish *Bildungsbürgertum*, who talked to her children about Greek mythology, and extended, even to her daughters, the chance for a good education. Rosa attended a progressive private school, where, on a whim, she changed her first name to 'Lucie', in spite of the derisive comments of her teachers that it was a redundancy to call oneself 'Light Star'. As we shall see, this would not be the last name change.

In 1923, at the age of nineteen, shortly after finishing school, she married a Hungarian doctor, whose name she would carry in the future, Josef Varga. He was twelve years older than she and likewise came from a Jewish-Hungarian family. During the marriage, Lucie Varga studied at the University of Vienna. But these studies were delayed, because for some time she had been suffering from diabetes, a disease which at that time was difficult to treat. Juvenile diabetes is especially dangerous, even today, not only for the physiological effects, but also for the psychological effects of a short life expectancy. But Lucie Varga not only came to terms with the constant worry associated with diabetes, she even succeeded in pushing it away. In any case, she took an enormous risk when she became pregnant, and gave birth in 1925 to her only daughter Berta.

In the autumn of 1926, Lucie Varga finally took up the study of history, which she concluded in 1931 with a Ph.D. on the history of the expression 'The Dark Ages', *Das Schlagwort vom 'finsternen Mittelalter'*. It was published shortly afterwards in the series edited by her *Doktorvater*, Alphons Dopsch.¹²

A few words on Alphons Dopsch (1868–1953) are probably in order. He was known at the time as one of the most important Central European historians, especially in the field of medieval constitutional and social history.¹³ In a way, one could call him a German Henri Pirenne, his Belgian counterpart, even though Dopsch was politically more conservative. He was also unusual as a teacher, because he fostered animated discussions in his seminar and, for the period, allowed a relatively large proportion of his female students to complete a Ph.D. And finally, the fact that Lucie Varga was a Dopsch student also mattered because Dopsch was then the only Austrian, and one of the few German-speaking historians, who had any contact with the *Annales*.

The reason for this connection is simple. Marc Bloch had commented in detail on almost all of Dopsch's writing since the early twenties – I have found that Bloch wrote a total of thirteen essays or reviews on Dopsch – and so he was the most important interlocutor of the Austrian in France.¹⁴ They also met personally in Oslo in 1928 at the international congress of

historians.¹⁵ Even though Bloch criticized Dopsch in most of their intellectual controversies, usually siding with Pirenne, he treasured him as an open-minded scholar because he thought that he was, as he said in a letter to Febvre, a 'human being' and not just a German '*Geheimrat*'.¹⁶

So, at the beginning of the thirties, there were some contacts between Dopsch's Institute and the *Annales*. And it is no wonder that Lucie Varga, when she came to Paris, turned to the *Annales*, and got to know Lucien Febvre, who almost immediately engaged her as his private assistant.

But why did Lucie Varga go to Paris? The date alone, the end of December, 1933, doesn't explain everything. In 1932, she had divorced her husband and moved with her daughter to Vienna, where, a year later, she got to know a young intellectual who had just left Germany: Franz Borkenau.¹⁷ This Viennese born historian and philosopher had been a communist student leader, and later he drew a stipend from the Frankfurt *Institut für Sozialforschung*, in order to undertake a study on the origins of the modern *Weltanschauung: Der Übergang vom feudalen zum bürgerlichen Weltbild*.¹⁸ Discussing the Nazi seizure of power and the almost contemporary '*Coup d'état* in Instalments' in Austria, Borkenau and Lucie Varga decided to leave for Paris together. But Lucie Varga also had another intellectual reason for going to France. In the preparation of her dissertation, she had hit upon a topic that she wanted to investigate more thoroughly in the future, the religion of the Cathars in Southern France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Dopsch supported this project and even helped by procuring for her a small stipend from the University. Before Lucie Varga and Borkenau left Vienna, they were married in December 1933.

But this relationship did not last very long. Although Lucie Varga introduced her husband to the *Annales* and Borkenau published three lengthy studies in the journal,¹⁹ he decided quite quickly to continue on his way to London where he hoped to find an appointment. There, for a while, he worked in the circle around Bronislaw Malinowski. Then he yielded to the opportunity to become a Professor of Sociology in Panama from where he returned in 1936 in order to report on the Spanish Civil War for an English newspaper.²⁰ In view of all of these separations, the marriage with Lucie Varga began to dissolve, and divorce again was inevitable.

Unlike Borkenau, Lucie Varga almost immediately found her way to Paris and prepared herself for a long sojourn in France. The good contacts with Febvre and his family certainly helped. Financial questions hardly played a role in these first years, as long as she received financial help from her mother.

What form did the concrete working relationship with Lucien Febvre take? First, Lucie Varga helped him with his editing of the *Annales*, the *Revue de Synthèse* and the *Encyclopédie Française*.²¹ For example, she suggested possible German or Austrian collaborators or worked on the translation of German texts. Secondly, Febvre gave her the job of making

excerpts of German and English books, which he used for his lectures at the Collège de France as well as for his many book reviews.²² In a number of cases, for example, for the well-known book by Günther Franz on the German Peasants War, this excerpt still exists, as does the marked copy of the book and Febvre's review, in which he incorporated and transformed Lucie Varga's preliminary groundwork.²³ As Febvre began to have more confidence in his assistant, he transferred to her the actual work of writing reviews. From 1934 on, Lucie Varga wrote a whole series of reviews for the *Annales* and the *Revue de Synthèse*, which were followed by a couple of longer essays of her own.²⁴ This close collaboration led very quickly to an even more ambitious project, one that would provide a clear-cut perspective on the intellectual exchange between teacher and pupil: a co-authored book.

Unfortunately, we can only reconstruct its plan indirectly, for the Febvre/Varga book proposal no longer exists. Even the critical observations and suggestions that Bloch made on the outline are lost. But a letter of Febvre's of June 1934 reacting to the observations and criticisms of Bloch, as well as a later publisher's announcement, make clear what the book, entitled *Religions et vie religieuse au XVIe siècle*, was to be about: an extension or a component of Febvre's earlier planned book on sixteenth-century religions, for which 'Madame Varga' would write the first part dealing with the religious history preceding the Reformation.²⁵ So, under Febvre's supervision and collaboration, they would couple together her own work on medieval religious life with Febvre's research on the early modern period. Even if this plan failed in the end, and Lucie Varga, as we shall see, carried on her research alone, without being able to complete it, this project shows how full of trust the cooperation between professor and assistant was after just a few months.

Marc Bloch reacted to the sudden appearance of Lucie Varga with some obvious mistrust. This is not surprising, when we take into account that in a certain sense, he had 'known' Lucie Varga longer than had Febvre himself, even if he did not meet her personally until 1936, after his own move from Strasbourg to Paris. For as the standing commentator on German medieval history, he had as a matter of course received her dissertation for review in the *Revue Historique* in 1932, and subjected it to withering criticism. He wrote, for example: 'In spite of a superabundance of quotations, the book provides hardly anything new on the topic.' Or: 'when a scholarly series publishes this kind of work it certainly increases the number of its volumes, but does it also thereby gain more respectability?'²⁶ Presumably Febvre knew of this harsh criticism. And, naturally, Lucie Varga knew of it as well, which explains why she didn't take advantage of a short stop in Strasbourg in 1935 to get to know the second *Annales* editor personally.²⁷

The permanent presence of Lucie Varga in Febvre's immediate circle and Bloch's holding back show how differently the two editors lived and behaved and how difficult the personal collaboration between them often was. In a

scholarly sense, they were very close. Politically, too, only minor differences separated them. But a reading of their exchange of letters reveals that they never really became intimate friends. Unfortunately, I can't go into this question very deeply here, a problem that is very important for the internal history of the *Annales*,²⁸ but it should at least be made clear that the appearance of Lucie Varga not only did not make the relationship between Febvre and Bloch easier, but instead made it more difficult. But although Marc Bloch was a 'hard man', as students' reports and also the testimony of his son Etienne reveal,²⁹ he tried hard to be entirely fair in his behaviour towards Lucie Varga: for example, at Febvre's request, he supported Lucie Varga's application for a stipend from the Rockefeller Foundation with a letter of recommendation. (However, unfortunately the stipend was not funded.)³⁰ As far as I can see, he never placed obstacles in the path of Lucie Varga's cooperation with the *Annales*.

In addition to her previously mentioned activities Lucie Varga's work meant above all that the *Annales* had at this point a native German-speaker at their disposal, who was always bringing back to Paris fresh impressions from Central Europe. For in spite of the real dangers that were connected with these trips Lucie Varga made repeated journeys to Vienna and also into Germany, in order to visit relatives and friends. It is even possible that she was also providing some kind of courier service for underground groups. In addition to that, she spent the summer months of 1935 and 1936 with her daughter and Febvre's oldest son Henri in the Austrian and Italian Alps. Both stays were at the same time an occasion for social and ethnological studies, that would later appear in the *Annales*.³¹ (See below.)

Lucien Febvre profited greatly from these travels. He was, for example, well prepared for two lectures that he gave in Vienna in April 1935 because Lucie Varga had reported to him on the complex situation at the University.³² She also helped him when he wrote an article about Austria shortly afterwards.³³ And likewise, when he commissioned an article on Nazism for the *Encyclopédie française*, he had his assistant read it first: 'I have given it to Madame Varga to read,' he wrote to the Education Minister, Anatole de Monzie. 'She has found it faultless, and that means that I can be certain of its reliability.'³⁴

This direct assistance by Lucie Varga reached its high point in the sixth issue of the *Annales* of 1937, one that was completely devoted to German topics and opened with a long essay by Lucie Varga on the origins of National Socialism.³⁵ Today one would cite this text as part of the history of mentalities or even as a contribution to cultural anthropology. The same issue on Germany also included three longer reviews by Lucie Varga on the same subject, which all point to how much she had to do with the editing of this *Annales* issue.³⁶

I spoke of a high point: unfortunately, this issue on Germany was at the same time an end point. For by the time of its appearance, Lucie Varga had already lost contact with the *Annales*, because her collaboration with Febvre

ended abruptly in the spring of 1937. What had happened? The professor and his assistant had – is there any other term for it? – fallen in love with each other. Love developed out of their working relationship, and their intellectual intimacy, and precisely because of it, both writing together and working together became impossible. As in the best novels, everything began harmlessly and became complicated later. Febvre's wife Susanne demanded an immediate end to all contact, and Lucien Febvre finally accepted the wishes of his family. But at the same time he registered an indirect protest, in that he undertook a solo trip of several months to South America, which otherwise, in view of his overtaxing workload, he would certainly not have taken. When he returned from Buenos Aires to France in October, a young couple got on board, and in those twenty days at sea he made two friends for life: Fernand and Paule Braudel.³⁷ In Lucie Varga Febvre had just lost a student and a friend, in Braudel he found a son and intellectual heir.

For Lucie Varga this sudden crisis had catastrophic consequences. She lost her teacher, whom she loved, and at the same time the most important connection in her life and work. While Febvre, depressed, withdrew to Argentina, she had to find a new niche for herself in Paris. For the succeeding years of her life there are almost no written sources – in letters between Febvre and Bloch the name Lucie Varga naturally no longer appears, and no letters of hers are extant – but this new beginning actually worked out. This was all the more important because the *Anschluss* in Austria occurred soon thereafter, and the financial support from her mother, who left Vienna for Budapest, was much reduced, so that now Lucie Varga had to earn a living for herself and her daughter. For a while, she tried to work as a travelling salesman for kitchen utensils and as a factory worker. But at no time did she stop her intellectual work. Her research on the Cathars, which since 1934 had frequently led her to Toulouse, was obviously quite far advanced. After she wrote a first, methodological article, which Febvre placed in the *Revue de Synthèse* in 1936, she collected together some interim findings in two lengthy treatments, which appeared in 1938 and 1939 in the very serious *Revue de l'histoire des religions*.³⁸ Whether she ever found the time and energy to write any chapters of her planned book is unfortunately not clear.

But Lucie Varga continued to publish on the current situation and the threat of fascism. Based on her travel impressions in the 'Land of the Nazis' she wrote a thirteen-part serialized story, which appeared from May 16 to May 30, 1938 in the leftwing daily *L'Oeuvre*. As the title indicates, it is presented as a kind of cruel *Moritat* (a mawkish ballad): *Comment se fabrique l'hitlérien 100%* ('How a hundred percent Nazi is manufactured. Scenes of German life. The story of the "Hitler Youth" Herman Gierlich, trained to have contempt for the mind but to honour muscles, marching and soldiers' songs').

In the form of a popular novel it tells the story of the authoritarian and

anti-intellectual socialisation of a 'typical' Hitler-Youth boy who lives only for the Führer, the struggle and the flag. The Nuremberg party congress becomes the highpoint of his life. For the first time, he falls in love with a girl. Hermann meets Hermine. She takes him to her girlfriend's place and they make love. But Hermine cannot hide from Hermann the fact that she is not 'inexperienced'. While she was in the *Arbeitsdienst* a peasant raped her. Why didn't she denounce him to the police? Hermine doesn't know. But she tells Hermann: 'Because of his wife, who was pregnant with her fourth child . . .' At the end of the novel, Hermine is waiting for a letter from Hermann. But he marries another girl. With this very clumsy and *kitsch* story, Lucie Varga surely wasn't writing high literature; but for the purpose of anti-Nazi propaganda almost any cliché was good enough. But the concluding chapters are rather strange: the topic of the novel being the description of a Nazi 'type', the love story should have been only of secondary importance, just enough to give it a 'human touch'. But everything, instead, leads to the encounter of Hermann and Hermine, while Hitlerism becomes more and more a complete side-show, hence something interchangeable. From a Nazi story we shift almost to an average 'human drama'. The negative stereotype of the brutal and stupid Hitler youth is confronted with the cliché of the fallen, because too-experienced girl, a cliché which belongs to a much older narrative style. Thus, the end of the story is not dominated by the male sentimentality of the flag and the cult of the leader, but by the female fatalism of the abandoned lover, probably not unknown in France too:³⁹

For two months, now, every time she went to the post office, she got the same [negative] answer. Hermann, Hermann . . . On those days Hermine really was a very little girl. Not an *Arbeitsmaid*, not one of Hitler's woman soldiers. But then, she gave herself a push. 'Come on, I have to get to work. Enough of these silly things. That's only for little bourgeois girls.' And she went away with firm steps.

Did Lucie Varga, the 'little bourgeois girl', who read Freud, knew what she was writing here? Probably yes. Maybe she even got a kick out of it, when she gave the press this strange mixture of old clichés and her own fresh experiences.

Just after the war broke out, Lucie Varga found a regular position at the 'Agence Havas' news agency, where she monitored German news reports and translated them. After the invasion of France, she fled with her daughter to Bordeaux and finally made it to the neighbourhood of Toulouse. There, she tried hopelessly to earn some money as a farm labourer and by giving lessons in German. It was only because she had arranged a fictitious marriage to a French citizen in 1938, that she was not interned. But what would have happened in 1942 to the now 'Rose Morin' when the raids by French and German police began? We'll never know. Lucie Varga was already completely worn out, and irregular and inadequate nourishment

strengthened the insulin resistance of her body. The village doctor did not recognize the symptoms of a diabetic coma, suspecting instead the after-effects of an illegal abortion. She was finally taken to the hospital in Toulouse, but it was much too late. She died there on 26 April, 1941. She was only thirty-six years old.⁴⁰

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From Berta Varga we know that the contact between her mother and Lucien Febvre was never completely interrupted, even after their official separation. There was at least a regular correspondence, and in 1939 another article by Lucie Varga appeared in the *Annales*.⁴¹ For Febvre, who at this time was living relatively isolated in Paris and engaging in a bitter dispute with Bloch concerning the continuation of the *Annales*, the sudden and sad death of his former assistant, disciple and friend was a hard blow. Soon after he wrote an obituary of sorts, hidden in an article with 'personal information' on different *Annales* collaborators. These lines make obvious how much he cared for the person he had lost:⁴²

. . . Unfortunately, never again shall we read in the *Annales* the exquisite articles – so fresh in their form and so solid, vivid and intuitive in their substance – with which Madame Lucie Varga has tantalized our readers. She too has been caught in the tornado and died sadly in Toulouse in the spring of 1941. In the field of the religious and social history of the Middle Ages her young mastership had already affirmed itself with a whole group of critical essays – essays published in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, the *Revue de Synthèse* and the *Annales*. They should have preceded her thesis on the Cathars of the South of France. We waited many years for this major book she was writing. We now have to wait forever. . .

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Let us stop this biographical sketch here and turn to Lucie Varga's own work as an historian. Though during the years of immigration she wasn't able to complete any finished book, writing only "occasional pieces", several of her texts considered together constitute a noteworthy contribution to modern historiography, one which deserves attention.⁴³ And it should be remembered that this achievement was made between 1934 and 1939, when the author was between thirty and thirty-five years old, that she had to express herself in a foreign language and that she was hindered from conducting systematic research by the many-faceted burdens of immigrant existence and the childcare needs of her daughter.

'Just nearby a world has ended. A new world of previously unknown contours is coming into being.'⁴⁴ So did Lucie Varga begin her essay on the origins of National Socialism, written in 1936 and published, as mentioned, in the *Annales* issue on Germany in 1937. She then continues: 'Old keys don't work well in new locks'. Two keys were seen as especially unhelpful:

the Marxist key, for it reduced Nazism to a class phenomenon, without explaining adequately the social heterogeneity of its mass appeal; and the non-Marxist key, that used only coarse psychological explanations and frequently argued only on the level of intellectual origins. But Lucie Varga didn't so much place another model in their stead, as shifted the terrain, by choosing an unusual form of presentation. She wrote: 'Before us lie several dossiers of the first converts to Nazism from the years between 1922 and 1932. Let's look at them.'⁴⁵ Then she introduced different types of Nazi supporters, examined in their backgrounds, their day-to-day life and their concerns: the unemployed engineer, the impoverished member of the nobility, who became a travelling salesman, the former Freicorps member, the worker, the elementary school teacher, the small businessman, and so forth. These short portraits, which use the technique of fictional speech, transferring empirical knowledge from Germany into 'living' types, is a distant echo of what we would today call oral history, whose methods are somewhat more subtle and objective. What is it that binds these men together and propels them on? Not economic woes alone or a common 'class position', according to Lucie Varga, but rather the fear of the loss of status. And their common impetus was, in the last analysis, the defence of 'social honour'. Lucie Varga adopted this concept directly from Nazi vocabulary – in Nuremberg in 1936, a 'Party Congress of Honour' took place and shortly thereafter Robert Ley's collection of speeches appeared under the title *Durchbruch der sozialen Ehre* ('The Break-through of Social Honour')⁴⁶ –, but she gave this term another, explicitly theoretical and anthropological meaning. (How important this conceptual transformation was in her mind is underlined by the fact that she also used this notion of 'social honour' in an article concerned with the German Peasants War.⁴⁷)

One could say that since Lucie Varga took the Nazi sense of honour seriously and analyzed its particular attraction, she reconstructed for the first time the symbolic and emotional dimension of Nazism, which is seen by many historians today as one of the most important factors in the mass success and power of the movement.⁴⁸ Generally speaking, Lucie Varga defends the position that it was not theories, but rather slogans and experience, that fused differing groups of declassed people into 'the movement', *die Bewegung*. It was in different 'experience groups' (*Erlebnisgruppen*) like the Freicorps and the youth leagues in the twenties, that the 'conversion' to a new 'political religion' was prepared and carried out in the crisis situation that developed after 1929. Out of such quasi-religious organizational forms emerged the 'new man' of the Nazi regime.

From this brief description I think that one can see that the tone of this essay comes astonishingly close to a modern social-historical point of view: National Socialism was not a change in regime in favour of a special class, it was rather an attempt to cope with a crisis that came out of the reality of Weimar and the special nature of Germany, the so-called *Sonderweg*, which exploited pre-capitalist and anti-democratic mentalities in order to

rehabilitate the German claim to world power.⁴⁹ When one considers that this interpretation, here somewhat oversimplified, is only asserting itself now among German historians several decades later, Lucie Varga's essay looks all the more remarkable.

Other contributions by Lucie Varga can be read in the same context. Especially notable are her studies on the folk culture of two Alpine valleys: Montafon in the Austrian Vorarlberg and Enneberg in the South Tyrol, in the Italian Dolomites.⁵⁰ Working from interviews and on-site observations, she emphasized changes in *mentalité* in these relatively remote regions and described the retreat of traditional folk-orthodoxy in the face of modern city culture. She focussed on the clash between local traditions and religiosity on the one hand and Nazism or Fascism on the other hand. It is interesting that Lucie Varga did not undertake these studies completely unprepared, but rather engaged first in preliminary conversations with Malinowski.⁵¹ At that time Malinowski owned a house in the South Tyrol, in which he spent summers with his students. He therefore knew the Alps quite well. As John Cole wrote, 'an entire generation of British anthropologists experienced invigorating walks in the mountains' and enjoyed the beautiful scenery of the Alps. 'But the discussions on these vacations were of research conducted far afield, and while all enjoyed the scenery, their professional gaze was across the seas, among the black and brown inhabitants of the dominions and colonies of the British Empire.'⁵² Lucie Varga turned this notion upside down by attempting to look at social relations in the Montafon and Enneberg Valleys as if they were in the South Sea islands. But in doing so, she had the advantage that the language barrier was not so high and that the children who accompanied her on her trips made easy contacts possible. Anyway, read through the eyes of 1936, her historical/ethnological reporting is most unusual. Certainly, the Alps had served for a long time as an 'Eldorado of folklore studies',⁵³ but most of this local history work or *Heimatkunde* restricted itself to the collection and description of a folklore that was becoming extinct. Moreover, these studies almost always contained a culturally pessimistic, if not downright anti-democratic edge. It was only after the Second World War that a new critical 'Anthropology of the Alps' came into being, which asked more rigorous questions, formulated from extra-European ethnography.⁵⁴ Lucie Varga's 'Valley Studies' anticipated this development in the field of ethnography.

But they also anticipated tendencies in the writing of history itself, as we can see to some extent in the essay on the Valley of Enneberg, a place where there was still a belief in witches. Indeed, Lucie Varga took note of magical incantations and described the imaginary as well as the social effectiveness of witchcraft as an antithesis to the Catholic Church and its priests. Although she only stayed there for a short time, the author tried hard to 'immerse' herself in the world of those women, who had broken out of the village order, and at the same time, to understand the 'function' of this rebellion and the relative balance between witches and priests: 'In the everyday world

of village society, the belief in witchcraft has its permanent place. The material reality of evil powers is almost a salvation! Somebody is there whom people can make responsible for misfortune and moreover, they can appeal directly to the evil spirits, who caused the disaster: through that avenue new hope springs'.⁵⁵ When this essay was written, historical enquiry into witchcraft was still in its early days. Scholarly interest had been concentrated almost entirely on the history of the persecution of witches and attempted to dismiss the belief in witchcraft as an 'obscure delusion'. Witchcraft itself was not taken seriously as a 'pattern of cultural meaning'.⁵⁶ Over and against this historiographical tradition, Lucie Varga sketched out the cultural logic of 'witchcraft as a profession', that would soon be extinguished through 'new connections' to the larger society like tourism, the city, the state, and so forth. She even teased the readers of the *Annales*, who were probably not a little excited by all this, by apologizing for the fact that her stay had been too short to participate in learning the actual 'technique of sorcery': 'But I don't doubt that it is possible to learn.'⁵⁷

* * *

Let us now turn to the underlying 'problematic' of Lucie Varga's texts. All of her essays, in one way or another, deal either explicitly or implicitly with the phenomenon of religious beliefs and conversion (in the broadest sense), with orthodoxy or heresy, with forms of identification, of submission, conformity or resistance. Sometimes it is the state that functions as the control and authority, sometimes 'the movement', sometimes the church, God or the devil. Two topics always recur as leitmotifs: 1) the problem of 'political religions' and unconscious ideological systems that determine or characterize the behaviour of people in certain frameworks, and 2) the problem of the historicity of these phenomena, always bearing in mind the danger of giving in to anachronistic interpretations but at the same time seizing the chance to make comparative observations. Both topics naturally hang together.

Let's begin with the engagement with this question of relating the past to the present which is evident in the essays on Nazism and in the 'Valley Studies'. Lucie Varga's specific contribution is her claim that with the help of 'contemporary analyses', one can say something significant about the past: 'If we observe certain relatively simple groups of people for a length of time in today's society, we could gather useful material for . . . deep analyses' of the 'relationships between the economy, society, and ideas' as well as on the 'contact between lesser and more highly developed cultures'.⁵⁸ In another article Lucie Varga wrote, apropos of Catholic propaganda in the Middle Ages, 'Fascist totalitarianism and the study of totalitarian dictators can help historians to understand medieval "totalitarianism" because of the similarities and differences between them.'⁵⁹

Certainly one cannot and should not resolve this cleavage between the past and the present. Anachronistic projections and the 'ruinous praxis of

pseudo-equivalents', as Lucie Varga says, need to be avoided absolutely.⁶⁰ And this must also be valid in the reverse direction, when throwing light on the present with the help of past experience. Herein lies the relevance of cultural anthropological methods of observation. For it is from the ethnologists, Lucie Varga writes, that historians can learn to avoid 'projecting one's own concepts on the subjects one studies'.⁶¹

Torn out of context and read at the same time with 'German eyes', one might see a plea here for a radical historicism, *Begriffshistorismus*, which claims that all concepts should emerge from historical sources. Such an approach was systematically worked out by the Austrian historian Otto Brunner in the 1930s.⁶² But here Lucie Varga (who, by the way, was never a student of Brunner's) was already writing in the methodological context of the *Annales*. Lucien Febvre was certainly not an historicist in the German sense. His war against the 'deadly sin' of anachronism (*le péché des péchés* – the sin of all sins)⁶³ was not in the tradition of a Leopold von Ranke or a Friedrich Meinecke,⁶⁴ but rather was based on a theoretical and ethnological concept – that of 'primitive mentality'. Following his former teacher Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939),⁶⁵ Febvre started from the position that a deep cleavage existed between the pre-modern mentality – for example that prevalent at the time of the Renaissance – and the forms of thought of the twentieth century. Historians' efforts should be directed not just to surmounting this gap through mere 'empathy', but first to ensuring that they did not reduce the strange to the familiar. Febvre's and the *Annales* concept of the history of mentalities follows this orientation exactly.⁶⁶

But as we know today this concept also implies a critique of *Geistesgeschichte*, in the form that it dominated German historical writing. At first sight, Lucie Varga's work appears in this sense to belong to different genres: while her essays on Nazism and the Alpine valleys deal with the religious-historical leitmotif in a social and everyday historical context, her articles on the Cathar religion, apparently totally removed from social-historical connections, seem to remain in the traditional realm of German-style history of ideas. So was Lucie Varga then, in the last analysis, an historian of ideas in the sense criticized by the *Annales*?

Such a judgment would be premature. For Lucie Varga's work, too, must be read in context. When we look at her 1931 dissertation, which is a quite typical example of *Geistesgeschichte*, it becomes clear that while in Vienna, she had already adopted a very reserved position towards the rationalist critique of religion as represented, for example, by Voltaire: 'Because of the purely rationalistic criteria which he applies to the past, he is unable to develop comprehension for the meaning and the value of a religion. Therefore a satisfactory interpretation of religious history becomes impossible.'⁶⁷ She opposes to Voltaire the young Herder's critique of the Enlightenment: Herder postulated and respected the 'worth of the Middle Ages in its own right'. It is obvious that here Lucie Varga is also describing her own position when she speaks of 'a kind of modern historical

relativism'.⁶⁸ To be sure in a Ph.D. written under the direction of Dopsch, this formulation was a bow to classical historicism. But at least the anti-rationalistic impulse of this approach could later be taken over in the non-historicist context of the *Annales* and be reconciled with Febvre's criticism of the rationalist history of ideas. For although Febvre was a democratic free spirit of the twentieth century and certainly didn't see 'history' romantically, he was a decided opponent of every form of rationalist reductionism in his history of mentalities. Aware of the latest social and economic-historical research, he wrote very consciously against a social economic reductionism and emphasized in his books on Luther as well as on Rabelais the specific reality of the mental structures of the sixteenth century.⁶⁹ Luther is not prefigured as an 'agent' of secularization, but is rather taken seriously as a prophet in his own time. And the author of the *Gargantua* was no modern atheist – he was a doctor and storyteller of the Renaissance, whose mental horizons needed first to be reconstructed.

Through her work with Febvre, Lucie Varga assimilated this history of *mentalités* approach. But the topic which had already intrigued her in Vienna was in no way compromised: rather it took on new dimensions. The critical feel for ' clichés', for 'catchwords', 'old metaphors' and 'theoretical prejudices' that dominated the world view of contemporaries, and could mislead historians, remained intact. Nevertheless, Lucie Varga's comment, that old keys don't work in new locks, can also be readily applied to her own development. That is to say, a changing perspective fosters a change in the direction of one's thought, enabling one to avoid giving a misleading impression of theoretical continuity. Surprisingly, though, Lucie Varga did not simply rely systematically on the notion of *mentalité*, or *outilage mental* (mental tools), as Febvre or Bloch understood it. Why, we can only speculate. Possibly because the word sounds so suspect in German, with such pejorative echoes (only others have a *Mentalität*), that she searched for another term even in French. But perhaps she also had other reasons for characterizing the specific problems of her research in another fashion.

What formulations, metaphors and descriptive terms did she use besides such general concepts as 'religion' or 'conversion'? In many places she speaks of 'ideological frames', and she also speaks of 'myths'. In the Cathar texts, such 'myths' first play a central role; further on, a 'religious climate' or a 'religious atmosphere' is identified as a central theme, with which particular religious beliefs either correspond or are incompatible. In fact, to use current terminology, Lucie Varga always worked with ideological stereotypes and collective symbols which constituted discourses and fixed them in rituals, and she also focussed on the compatibility or incompatibility of these discourses with earlier, contemporary or later ones.

That is why I think Lucie Varga's work departs from traditional German *Geistesgeschichte*. It not only deals with ideas and the content of consciousness, and not only with their origins and consequences, but concentrates on the function and effect of 'thoughts', religious feelings, and so forth, that lie

beyond rational, intentional thought. In characterizing these 'structuring structures', as Pierre Bourdieu was to call them, Lucie Varga apparently did not want to employ existing concepts; instead, she experimented with different forms of description. A short text of 1934 contains probably the best formulation of her project: she speaks there of 'invisible authorities', which lie beyond passion and 'instinct' and also reason, and determine how people behave:⁷⁰

People are not constituted only out of passion. Beyond instinct there is reason, that tries to regulate and discipline desire. . . . And after reason and after passion comes something more, that produces the 'invisible authorities', the system of moral values in human consciousness. These invisible authorities correspond to the visible ones – parents, lords of the manor, kings, popes, – which as long as everything is stable don't come into conflict, because people submit to their authority. But in times of crisis, and as soon as people come into conflict with authority, everything changes. Then the invisible authorities rebel against the visible ones; they are their counterparts. Are they pure, intellectual counterparts that the historian should no longer be interested in? By no means. For the invisible authorities, the so-called 'ideas', don't lead an independent and abstract existence. They act on the world and on the authorities of this world, they cast doubt upon them or they defend them. They develop from material reality and come back to change it.

This passage contains, in essence, Lucie Varga's entire 'problematic' and makes clear her originality. Certainly there are similarities here to Febvre's and Bloch's notion of *mentalité*, but the concept of 'invisible authorities' avoids the opposition contained in the notion of *mentalité* between the civilized and the 'primitive' as well as the problem of positing the 'civilized' *mentalité* as the standard by which all others are measured; in its stead it refers to the symbolic hierarchy and orientation in the private, political and social spheres, which certainly remains invisible, but has intellectual and physical effects. In this respect – and in contradistinction to the notion of *mentalité* – Lucie Varga's concept is open to the theory of psychoanalysis.⁷¹ Is that not the least one can expect from a Viennese historian?

* * *

How to conclude? It is naturally quite difficult to judge the 'influence', the 'weight' of an individual on a journal or on an intellectual circle. It was only for a limited time that Lucie Varga and Lucien Febvre were in close contact with each other, and when she assisted with the work of the *Annales*: from the spring of 1934 to the spring of 1937 – four years full of radical change and political crises, even if in people's everyday lives, they strove to maintain a certain normality, going on holiday or falling in love or writing book reviews. Further, I don't want to claim that the appearance of Lucie Varga

changed the *Annales* fundamentally. That would certainly be an exaggeration. It is obvious that this young woman learned a lot from Febvre and from Bloch. But unlike many immigrants, who are often silenced by the conditions of their exile, Lucie Varga launched quite quickly into a real productivity of her own. By discussing matters with Febvre on a daily basis and then writing a series of short reviews, she quickly completed her 'apprenticeship' and began her 'young mastery', as Febvre called it in his obituary. She introduced new themes, formulated new questions and considerations, and tested new forms of representation in the *Annales*, going beyond what was usual in historical journals. These innovations owed a good deal to the coming together of many differing perspectives in her 'occasional pieces': German, Austrian and French academic traditions, intellectual and social history, folklore and ethnology, Jewish, Catholic, and materialist points of view, academic and journalistic modes of writing. That this symbiosis of highly contradictory elements could only come together in certain circumstances, and could not lead to a completely finished body of work, but rather remained unfinished in most respects, is really not surprising. But the unfortunate fact that her work was incomplete has contributed to Lucie Varga's being overlooked since then as an original historian. Today, fifty years later, maybe we can begin to *read* her.

Translation by Elliott Shore

GUIDE TO REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Unpublished Materials:

CFB – Correspondence between Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch: the remaining parts of the huge correspondence between Febvre and Bloch cover the period from 1928 to 1943. Unfortunately there are many gaps. As part of the Marc Bloch Archives, a microfilm copy of this correspondence is accessible in the *Archives Nationales* in Paris under the call number: 318 Mi 1–3. (For consultation a special authorization is necessary.) Bloch's letters, always dated, are located on the first microfilm reel. Febvre's letters, usually undated, are located on the two other reels which are paginated throughout. Bloch's letters are therefore quoted only with their date, while those by Febvre are cited by their approximate date and the pagenumbers on the microfilm reels. N.B.: the arrangement of these letters on the reels is often misleading. A complete and annotated edition of this correspondence is currently being prepared by Bertrand Müller of the University of Lausanne.

Febvre Archives – Archives of Lucien Febvre, in possession of his son Henri Febvre, Paris.

I wish to express my profound gratitude to Etienne Bloch and Henri Febvre for giving me access to these invaluable sources.

Published Materials:

Since the journal *Annales* has changed title several times in its history, I have adopted the following abbreviations:

AHES – *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* (1929–1938)

AHS – *Annales d'histoire sociale* (1939–1940, 1945)

MHS – *Mélanges d'histoire sociale* (1941–1944)

NOTES

An earlier version of this paper was read at the Institute for Advanced Study's Social Science Seminar in November 1990. Special thanks to Elliott Shore for his translation and critical comments. – For a much more developed version of this study, a selection of Lucie Varga's essays and a complete bibliography of her work see: Peter Schöttler (ed), *Lucie Varga, Zeitenwende. Mentalitätshistorische Studien 1936–1939*, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1991, or the French edition: Lucie Varga, *Les autorités invisibles. Une historienne autrichienne aux 'Annales' dans les années trente*, Paris: Le Cerf, 1991. An English translation is forthcoming.

1 See among the many books and articles on this journal, the following in English: Georg G. Iggers, *New Directions in European Historiography*, Middletown, Conn., 1975, pp. 43ff.; Traian Stoianowitch, *French Historical Method: The Annales Paradigm*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1976, and Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution. The 'Annales' School, 1929–89*, Cambridge, 1990 (with a good bibliography of recent work).

2 A critical study of the achievements and the political implications of these works is still missing. But see: Winfried Schulze, *Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft nach 1945*, Munich, 1989, pp. 281ff. (and also the comments by Georg Iggers in *History and Theory*, forthcoming); Jürgen Kocka, 'Ideological Regression and Methodological Innovation: Historiography and the Social Sciences in the 1930s and 1940s', *History and Memory*, 2, 1990, pp. 130–137; Franz Irsigler, 'Zu den gemeinsamen Wurzeln von «histoire régionale comparative» und «vergleichender Landesgeschichte» in Frankreich und Deutschland', in Hartmut Atsma, André Burguière (eds), *Marc Bloch aujourd'hui. Histoire Comparée & Sciences Sociales*, Paris, 1990, pp. 73–85.

3 On the *Annales'* reaction towards German history and especially on Marc Bloch's numerous reviews of German historical works see Karl Ferdinand Werner, 'Marc Bloch et la recherche historique allemande', in Atsma/Burguière, *Marc Bloch*, pp. 125–133.

4 See for instance AHS, 1, 1939, p. 353.

5 Lately it has become common in English and American scholarly publications to call women authors by their last names – as has always been the practice for men. But this 'progress', which has not been followed in France and Germany, has the discriminating implication of reducing women again to their father's, or even worse and more absurd, to their husband's name. That is why in this paper, I will never simply speak of 'Varga' – since Lucie was not her husband, whom she divorced anyway. But I always speak of 'Lucie Varga', as she called herself and signed her publications. On this puzzling question of naming as a basic problem concerning women writers see Barbara Hahn, *Unter falschem Namen. Von der schwierigen Autorschaft der Frauen*, Frankfurt/Main, 1991.

6 Although her name is marginally mentioned by Natalie Zemon Davis in her 'History's Two Bodies', *American Historical Review*, 93, 1988, p. 23, and in Carole Fink, *Marc Bloch, A Life in History*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 162 and 285, but without any reference to her role in the *Annales* network or to her work as an historian.

7 Before Lucie Varga, only Thérèse Sclafert published one short article on the roads of Provence in the middle ages (*AHES*, 1, 1929, pp. 183–192), but this did not lead to a *continuous* collaboration. After Lucie Varga, the next article by a woman historian (Renée Doehard) appeared in 1947.

8 For the German speaking world alone, see: Hans-Jürgen Puhle, 'Warum gibt es so wenige Historikerinnen?', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 7, 1981, pp. 364–393; Friedrich Fellner, 'Frauen in der österreichischen Geschichtswissenschaft', *Jahrbuch der Universität Salzburg 1981–1983*, 1984, pp. 113ff., and two essays on Hedwig Hintze, the most important German woman historian of the pre-war period: Brigitta Oestreich, 'Hedwig und Otto Hintze', in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 11, 1985, pp. 397–419; Robert Jütte, 'Hedwig Hintze (1884–1942). Die Herausforderung der traditionellen Geschichtsschreibung durch eine linksliberale jüdische Historikerin', in: Walter Grab (ed), *Juden in der deutschen Wissenschaft*, Tel Aviv, 1986, pp. 249–279. But these articles are far from the full-length studies we need.

9 CFB, Febvre to Bloch, ca. March 1934, p. 454.

10 On the professional situation of French historians between the wars see Olivier Dumoulin, 'Profession historien' 1919–1939. *Un métier en crise?*, unpublished Ph.D., Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1983, and Dumoulin's article in Atsma/Burguière, *Marc Bloch*, pp. 87–104.

11 Archives of the University of Vienna, file PN 10905, handwritten C.V. by Rosa Lucie Varga, February 2, 1931. Besides this short document the following biographical sketch is

largely based on written and oral information provided by Lucie Varga's daughter Berta Varga, who lives and works today as a doctor in Budapest. Without her friendly help this study would have been very much poorer, since I could never uncover any personal correspondence and only a very few papers by Lucie Varga herself.

12 Lucie Varga, *Das Schlagwort vom "finsternen Mittelalter"*, Baden, 1932 ('Veröffentlichungsreihe des Seminars für Wirtschafts- und Kulturgeschichte an der Universität Wien', ed. by Alphons Dopsch). All the volumes of this series were reprinted by the Scientia publishing house in 1978, and are still in print.

13 See Rudolf Neck, 'Alphons Dopsch und seine Schule', in: *Wissenschaft und Weltbild. Festschrift für Hertha Firnberg*, Vienna, 1975, pp. 369–383; Hanna Vollrath, 'Alphons Dopsch', in Hans-Ulrich Wehler ed., *Deutsche Historiker*, Vol. 7, Göttingen, 1980, pp. 39–54.

14 For more details on this relationship between Bloch and Dopsch see my forthcoming article: 'Die *Annales* und ihre Beziehungen zu Österreich in den 20er und 30er Jahren', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften*, 3, 1992.

15 On these congresses as one of the very few occasions for international scholarly exchange in this period, see Karl Dietrich Erdmann, *Die Ökumene der Historiker. Geschichte der internationalen Historikerkongresse und des Comité International des Sciences Historiques*, Göttingen, 1987.

16 CFB, Bloch to Febvre, April 18, 1935.

17 On Franz Borkenau (1900–1957) and his work, see: Valeria E. Russo, 'Profilo di Franz Borkenau', *Rivista di filosofia*, 62, 1981, pp. 291–316; id., 'Henryk Grossmann and Franz Borkenau. A Bio-Bibliography', *Science in Context*, 1, 1987, pp. 181–189. For brief information see also Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination. A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923–1950*, London, 1973, pp. 16ff.

18 Borkenau's book was published in 1934 by the Frankfurt Institute with a Parisian publisher. It has since been reprinted several times. An English translation has been announced by Columbia University Press. On the reactions to this work see the dossier assembled in: *Science in Context*, 1, 1987, pp. 103ff. For Febvre's comments see AHES, 6, 1934, pp. 369–374.

19 'Fascisme et syndicalisme', AHES, 6, 1934, pp. 337–349; 'Partis, traditions et structures sociales en Autriche', AHES, 7, 1935, pp. 1–12 (under the pseudonym of "Georg Hasek"); 'La crise des partis socialistes dans l'Europe contemporaine', AHES, 7, 1935, pp. 337–352.

20 As a result he published one of his most famous books: *The Spanish Cockpit*, London, 1937 (several reprints).

21 In those years Febvre was not only one of the two *directeurs* of the *Annales*, but also the editor of the historical part of the interdisciplinary journal *Revue de Synthèse*, directed since 1900 by the philosopher Henri Berr (1863–1954), as well as the managing editor of the *Encyclopédie Française*, a huge cultural enterprise of national importance, in preparation from 1932 and whose first volume appeared in 1935. On these publications and their impact see: Jean-Paul Aguet/Bertrand Müller, '«Combats pour l'histoire» de Lucien Febvre dans la Revue de Synthèse historique (1905–1930)', *Revue Suisse d'Histoire*, 35, 1985, pp. 389–448; Giuliana Gemelli, 'L'Encyclopédie Française e l'organizzazione della cultura nella Francia degli anni trenta', *Passato e Presente*, Nr. 11, 1986, pp. 57–89; id., 'Communauté intellectuelle et stratégies institutionnelles. Henri Berr et la fondation du Centre international de Synthèse', *Revue de Synthèse*, 108, 1987, pp. 225–259.

22 For the complete list of all Febvre's book reviews (altogether he published more than 1600!), see Bertrand Müller, *Bibliographie des travaux de Lucien Febvre*, Paris, 1990.

23 Günther Franz, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, Munich, 1933 (last reprint: Darmstadt, 1975). The marked copy of the book used by L. Varga is now located in the library of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme in Paris. Her unsigned excerpt manuscript is 36 pages long and conserved in the Febvre Archives. Febvre's review was published in: AHES, 6, 1934, pp. 390–392, and later reprinted in his book: *Pour une histoire à part entière*, Paris, 1962, pp. 455–458. It should be added that L. Varga's and Febvre's praise for Franz was particularly misleading since Franz at that time had already joined the Nazi party. On his role in the 'Third Reich' see Helmut Heiber, *Walter Frank und sein 'Reichsinstitut für die Geschichte des neuen Deutschland'*, Stuttgart, 1966, pp. 180ff.

24 See the bibliography in Schöttler ed., *Lucie Varga. Zeitenwende*, pp. 245–247.

25 Febvre mentions his and Lucie Varga's exposé in a letter to Bloch, probably written on

June 20, 1934 (CFB, pp. 502ff.). For a list of Febvre's seven officially announced book projects – including *Religions et vie religieuse au XVI^e siècle*, in collaboration with Lucie Varga – see, among others, the publisher's announcements on the back cover of Marc Bloch's *La société féodale*, vol. 1, Paris, 1939.

26 *Revue Historique*, 170, 1932, p. 345.

27 CFB, p. 369.

28 On the complicated relationship between Febvre and Bloch and especially on their conflict whether the *Annales* should continue during the German occupation of France, see Fink, *Marc Bloch*, pp. 261ff.; Marleen Wessel, 'Woord vooraf', in *Marc Bloch, Pleidooi voor de geschiedenis of geschiedenis als ambacht*, Nijmegen, 1989, pp. 14ff.; Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Censorship, Silence, and Resistance: the 'Annales' During the German Occupation of France', unpublished paper to the Moscow conference on *Les Annales – Hier et Aujourd'hui*, October 1989 (forthcoming).

29 Interview with Henri Brunschwig, Paris, November 24, 1987, and Etienne Bloch, 'Marc Bloch. Souvenir et réflexions d'un fils sur son père', in Atsma/Burguière, *Marc Bloch*, pp. 23ff.; id., *Marc Bloch: Father, Patriot, and Teacher*, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. 1987.

30 CFB, Bloch to Febvre, September 11, 1935, and CFB, p. 658, Febvre to Bloch, end of September 1935.

31 See the references in notes 41 and 50.

32 CFB, p. 635, Febvre to Bloch, ca. January 1935.

33 See Lucien Febvre, 'L'Autriche', in *Encyclopédie Française*, vol. X, 1935, pp. 10–88–1 to 10–88–5. Four years later he published a revised version: 'L'Autriche jusqu'à l'Anschluss', in *Revue trimestrielle de l'Encyclopédie Française*, Nr. 4, 1939, pp. 10–88–1 to 10–88–5.

34 Febvre Archives, file *Encyclopédie Française*, letter to Anatole de Monzie, April 25, 1936. The author of the article, which was published as 'Le national-socialisme en 1937' in *Revue trimestrielle de l'Encyclopédie Française*, Nr. 1, 1937, pp. 10–86–6 to 10–86–16, was Henri Brunschwig.

35 Lucie Varga, 'La genèse du national-socialisme. Notes d'analyse sociale', AHES, 9, 1937, pp. 529–546.

36 Id., 'Pour connaître la France – ou l'Allemagne?', AHES, 9, 1937, pp. 602–604; 'Luther, la jeunesse et le nazisme', idem, pp. 604–606; 'Sur la jeunesse du Troisième Reich', idem, pp. 612–614. Besides these articles by Lucie Varga, this issue on Germany included an essay on German eastern colonization in the Middle Ages by the German emigré historian Richard Koebner (translated by Lucie Varga), another essay on the social and political crisis of the Weimar Republic by the Marxist philosopher Henri Mougins, and twenty five further book reviews by Bloch, Febvre, Henri Brunschwig, Albert Demangeon, Maurice Halbwachs, Paul Leuillot, and Charles-Edmond Perrin.

37 On this encounter see Fernand Braudel, 'Personal Testimony', in *Journal of Modern History*, 44, 1972, pp. 448ff.

38 Lucie Varga, 'Un problème de méthode en histoire religieuse: le catharisme', *Revue de Synthèse*, 11, 1936, pp. 133–143; 'Peire Cardinal était-il hérétique?', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 59, 117, pp. 205–231; 'Les cathares sont-ils des néomanichéens ou des néognostiques?', idem, 60, 120, pp. 175–193.

39 L. Varga, 'Comment se fabrique l'hitlérien 100%', 13th and last episode, *L'Oeuvre*, 30 May, 1938.

40 Registers of the Etat Civil de Toulouse and of the Etat Civil de Pibrac, April 26, 1941. Interview with Albert Mentzel (Albert Flocon), Paris, 7 July, 1990.

41 L. Varga, 'Sorcellerie d'hier. Enquête dans une vallée ladine', AHS, 1, 1939, pp. 121–132.

42 L. Febvre, 'Quelques nouvelles personelles', MHS, 1, 1942, p. 88

43 I have been able to find a total of eighteen. See note 24.

44 L. Varga, 'National-socialisme', p. 529.

45 Ibid., p. 530.

46 See Hanns Kerl ed., *Reichstagung in Nürnberg 1936. Der Reichsparteitag der Ehre*, Berlin, 1937; Robert Ley, *Durchbruch der sozialen Ehre. Reden und Gedanken für das schaffende Deutschland*, Berlin, 1937 (Ley was the head of the Nazi 'Arbeitsfront').

47 L. Varga, 'Les luttes sociales en Allemagne et la genèse de la Réforme', in *Science. L'encyclopédie annuelle*, vol. 2, June 1937, pp. 57a–57d.

48 See for instance the classical works by George L. Mosse and, more recently, Saul Friedländer. On the Nazi notion of 'honour' in relation to the labour world, see Alf Lüdtke,

«Ehre der Arbeit»: Industriearbeiter and Macht der Symbole. Zur Reichweite symbolischer Orientierungen im Nationalsozialismus', in Klaus Tenfelde ed., *Arbeiter im 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1991, pp. 343–392.

49 For a good presentation of the history of this entire field of research see: Pierre Aygoberry, *The Nazi Question*, London, 1981; Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship. Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 2nd ed., London, 1989. The problematic aspects of the topic of *Sonderweg* have been vigorously called into question by David Blackburn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*, Oxford, 1984.

50 See L. Varga, 'Sorcellerie' (see note 41) and 'Dans une vallée du Vorarlberg: d'avant-hier à aujourd'hui', *AHES*, 8, 1936, pp. 1–20.

51 'Dans une vallée du Vorarlberg', p. 1. As already mentioned, Borkenau was participating in Malinowsky's seminar while in London in 1935. He introduced his wife to the anthropologist.

52 John W. Cole, 'Anthropology Comes Part-Way Home: Community Studies in Europe', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 6, 1977, p. 350.

53 See Pier Paolo Viazzo, *Upland Communities: Environment, Population and Social Structure in the Alps since the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 49ff.

54 As a pioneering example see John W. Cole and Eric R. Wolf, *The Hidden Frontier: Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine Valley*, New York, 1974.

55 L. Varga, 'Sorcellerie', p. 128.

56 See the introduction to this research field by Claudia Honnegger ed., *Die Hexen der Neuzeit. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte eines kulturellen Deutungsmusters*, Frankfurt/Main, 1978. For two pioneering studies see: Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Baltimore, Ma., 1983 (Italian ed.: 1966), Jeanne Favret-Saada, *Deadly Words: Witchcraft in the Bocage*, London, 1980 (French ed.: 1977).

57 L. Varga, 'Sorcellerie', p. 125.

58 L. Varga, 'Dans une vallée du Vorarlberg', p. 1.

59 L. Varga, 'La recherche historique et l'opposition catholique en Allemagne 1936', *Revue de Synthèse*, 13, 1937, p. 55.

60 L. Varga, 'Luther, la jeunesse et le nazisme', p. 605.

61 L. Varga, 'Dans une vallée du Vorarlberg', p. 1.

62 Otto Brunner (1898–1982) whose main work *Land und Herrschaft*, Baden, 1939, has just been translated as *Land and Lordship* by Pennsylvania University Press (ed. James Van Horn Melton), was an active Nazi and, even after the War, one of the most influential German historians. On his 'semantic historicism' and his contribution to historiography see Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Sozialgeschichte-Begriffsgeschichte-Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Anmerkungen zum Werk Otto Brunners', in *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 71, 1984, pp. 305–341, and also the sources mentioned in note 2.

63 L. Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century. The Religion of Rabelais*, Cambridge, Mass., 1983, p. 5. (p. 15 of the French ed.)

64 On German historicism see Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History*, Middletown, Conn., 1968.

65 See Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentalité*, London, 1923. On Febvre's use of Lévy-Bruhl see his *Unbelief*, pp. 438ff. (pp. 404ff. of the French ed.)

66 Among many articles see André Burguière, 'The Fate of the History of *Mentalités* in the *Annales*', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 24, 1982, pp. 424–437; Peter Burke, 'Strengths and Weaknesses of the History of Mentalities', *History of European Ideas*, 7, 1986, pp. 439–451; Peter Schöttler, 'Mentalitäten, Ideologien, Diskurse. Zur Sozialgeschichtlichen Thematisierung der «dritten Ebene»' in: Alf Lüdtke ed., *Alltagsgeschichte. Zur Rekonstruktion historischer Erfahrungen und Lebensweisen*, Frankfurt/Main, 1989, pp. 85–136. (English translation forthcoming, Princeton Univ. Press.)

67 L. Varga, *Das Schlagwort* . . . , p. 125.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 132f. see also p. 67.

69 See L. Febvre, *Unbelief*; id., *Martin Luther: A Destiny*, New York, 1929.

70 L. Varga, 'Matérialisme, idéalisme ou réalisme historique?', *Revue de Synthèse*, 9, 1935, pp. 154–155.

71 For some remarks on Febvre's and Bloch's difficulties with Freudian theory see my 'Mentalitäten, Ideologien, Diskurse', pp. 88ff.