

“REFERRED TO SIMPLY AS DAREMBERG-SAGLIO...”

DANIELLE GOUREVITCH

EPHE, Paris

1. THE TWO PROTAGONISTS AND THE FIRST CONTRACT

In 1855, Dr. Charles Victor Daremberg was 38; the son of unknown parents, a medical historian of some fame, he was at that time employed as one of the librarians of the Bibliothèque Mazarine.¹ He had already published² a very unusual medical thesis: “Exposition des connaissances de Galien sur l’anatomie, la physiologie et la pathologie du système nerveux”, which he had defended on 20 August 1841 before the professors of the Paris Medical Faculty. He had taught medical history at the Collège de France, and had begun his numerous editions and translations of Greek and Latin physicians with *Hippocrates* (1845) and the first volume of *Oribasius*. In 1849-1850 he had visited Italy with Ernest Renan in search of medical manuscripts,³ and this visit was to have unexpected consequences.

Louis Hachette, born in 1800, had been a school-boy at the Collège Louis-le-Grand, where he made friends with a very ugly child, Émile Littré (1801-1881). He then became a student at the École normale supérieure (1819),

1. Monselet (1824-1888) describes him as a handsome man (Monselet 1859, 155).

2. Most of his publications can be read on the website of the BIUM, in Paris, with my introduction. See <http://www.uv.es/=bertomeu/orfila/papers/>

which he had entered third while Louis Quicherat (1799-1884)⁴ fifth. But in 1822, Frayssinous, the “grand maître de l’Université”, decided to close the school for political and religious reasons. In consequence, Louis Hachette would not become a professor, but a publisher, one of the most prominent in Paris, located first on the rue Pierre-Sarrazin, and later on the boulevard Saint-Germain.⁵ Still in contact with his former school-friends, Hachette decided to publish, with Quicherat, a *Dictionnaire latin-français, rédigé sur un nouveau plan, où sont coordonnés, révisés et complétés les travaux de Robert Estienne, de Gessner, de Scheller, de Forcellini et de Freund*, 1846, which would go through 50 editions; and with Littré, the famous *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, for which the first contract was signed on 23 April 1841 and the first fascicle stamped in 1863, while the fourth volume did not appear until 1874, followed by a supplement in 1877.

In 1850 Hachette and Daremberg were already acquainted. And when the latter returned to Paris from Italy, he realised his knowledge of ancient civilisation was not very good, nor was that of his contemporaries. He observed that there was no good French dictionary in that field and he therefore decided to prepare one. Hachette agreed to Daremberg’s proposal and on 25 July 1855 a first contract was signed,⁶ for a *Dictionnaire universel des antiquités orientales, grecque, latine et du moyen âge*, to be written by Daremberg with such collaborators as he might freely choose from among writers and scholars already well known for their studies. The dictionary was planned as a large volume of 120 sheets, with 400 pictures; it was to resemble closely the *Dictionnaire universel d’histoire et de géographie* by Bouillet (except for the fact

3. See for instance Daremberg 1853. Cf. Gourevitch 1990, 232-242 and Gourevitch 1994a.

4. He was to become Saglio’s mentor for archaeology.

5. Cf. Mistler 1964.

6. Archives Hachette.

that Bouillet's dictionary was not illustrated). Daremberg would have four years in which to finish the work, which meant he was supposed to submit the copy in September 1859, with the manuscript going immediately to the press and the book going on sale before the end of 1860. The plan included: 1) Religion, law and institutions, 2) Manners and customs, 3) Written and spoken languages, 4) Arts and crafts, and 5) Monuments.

This was but a tentative program and it turned out that it would not be fulfilled. Daremberg (who died in 1872) and Hachette (who died in 1864) would have many hard times over this project and neither would see a single printed page of the book.

2. THE LONG YEARS OF PREPARATION

Hachette was very keen on publishing high quality and useful books and in doing so was prepared to lose money sometimes, although not excessive amounts. It is clear that Daremberg had taken the enterprise very seriously. The library of Paris University is in possession of a large register (Ms 150) given to the Sorbonne by Léon Renier (1809-1885), a well-known epigrapher and director of the Library at the time of the bestowal. In this notebook there appear: 1) a draft for a prospectus of the dictionary (I-VII), dated 11 January 1857, carefully and clearly written by Daremberg himself, although his handwriting was generally awful, 2) a note on the contents and presentation of the register, and explanations on how to use it (VIII-IX), 3) a table showing how the articles were to be divided and connected (X-XI); 4) a model-page to explain how manuscripts should be prepared (XII), and 5) a list of abbreviations (XIII-XIV). Then comes a long list (246 pages) of the words to

be treated, Greek and Latin being mixed together, coming from William Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquities* (London 1842), which had soon been followed by *A smaller dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquities* (1853). The method might have been the very strict one used by Daremberg for his own and Greenhill's participation in the *Dictionnaire des sciences médicales*, with serious revisions of the previous English articles and an updated bibliography (Gourevitch 1992, 207-213).

But Daremberg preferred a completely new book and he chose his collaborators very carefully. For instance, he wanted to employ Gustave Humbert, a specialist in ancient law;⁷ François Lenormant, the archaeologist; Hermann Zotenberg, the orientalist; Abbot Martigny, the historian of the Roman church, a close friend of Gian Battista de Rossi (1822-1894), the discoverer of the Roman catacombs who was then in the process of preparing his famous *Roma sotterranea cristiana* (1864-1877); the Dutch scholar Ulco Cats Bussemaker, with whom he was already working on Oribasius; poor Jean Carolus (on whom he had taken pity) (Gourevitch & Byl 1992), and Morel or Vinet, who would prove disastrous. For Daremberg was a good man, but too naïve in financial matters. He would have a very hard time with several of his collaborators. First, with Ernest Vinet, for instance; then with Charles Morel, over whom even Gaston Paris would become involved.⁸

The first known letter from Daremberg to the archaeologist and art historian Ernest Vinet (1804-1878)⁹ is dated 3 October 1858. Daremberg is delighted; according to him, the articles are very interesting, not too long, and their style is good: "the articles will be one of the great ornaments of the

7. He would become Minister of Justice, or rather "Garde des sceaux".

8. Letters at the Bibliothèque nationale (NAF 24456,79-82), from Edmond Saglio to Gaston Paris.

9. Bibliothèque nationale de France (NAF 12236, letter 335).

dictionary". Daremberg, who had received money from Hachette for that purpose, had already purchased for Vinet the translation of a book by the art historian Franz Kugler (1808-1858). But in April 1860, he writes: "I would be happy to receive the pile of articles you mentioned to me". And in July 1861, some of the articles have been committed to another author. "I would like you to give me your text as soon as possible", he writes, and in the same month, "you leave me, quite late, almost all the articles you were in charge of ... M. Hachette will not like it". In October 1861 he writes: "We must absolutely begin the printing next January... I would not like to be compelled to have (some articles) translated from Smith's". In November, Vinet claims not to have received a very important letter. In February 1862, Daremberg insists on having a serious talk with Vinet, who fails to keep their appointment. Yet Vinet is bold enough to ask Daremberg's help for some academic honour, and then to insist on getting more money from Hachette, which he actually received (September 1862, plus a letter without a date) for his 13 illustrated articles, all starting with the letter A: *acerra*, *Achilles*, *Actaeon*, *Africa*, *Ajax*, *Amazones*, *Amphiaraus*, *Amphitrite*, *Amymone*, *Andromeda*, *Antinous*, *Argonautae*, and *Atlas* – not much, really. He left a hundred of the promised articles untouched.

As for Charles Morel, the situation was even worse.¹⁰ A bailiff had to be sent (20 August 1868)¹¹ and Gaston Paris, the famous medievalist and linguist (1839-1903), was engaged to write many an article in Morel's stead as a favour to Edmond Saglio. Part of the writ should be quoted here in French, for its special style

10. Gourevitch 1994b, 31-38. Morel was to specialize as a translator of German books, by e.g. Mommsen, Madwig and Fürtwangler.

11. Archives Hachette.

j'ai ... fait sommation ... de, deux ou trois jours pour tout délai, livrer ... les articles dont la rédaction lui a été confiée ... et notamment l'article agriculture dont la remise immédiate est d'autant plus urgente qu'il vient l'un des premiers dans l'ordre alphabétique;¹² lui rappelant ... que le prix de cinq articles lui a été en partie payé d'avance; lui déclarant que les requérants¹³ se réservent de lui réclamer tous dommages et intérêts...

But this was not the end of the story. Morel lodged a complaint with Gaston Paris, saying that Hachette had unduly used his work, and Saglio had to plead not guilty!¹⁴

3. AN UNEXPECTED EPISODE

The sections on oriental and medieval antiquities disappeared from the *magnum opus* and so, officially, did the section on Christian antiquities. That had been a problem right from the beginning because of the strange mixture in Daremberg's mind and heart of Christian feeling and a "positivist" philosophy borrowed from Auguste Comte's. Dom Pitra (Jean-Baptiste, 1812-1889),¹⁵ a monk and friend of Daremberg's, a work addict and a dictatorial character, vainly tried to pry into the matter, to make sure the Christian articles would be strictly orthodox, and Daremberg told him rather sharply to mind his own business. This is revealed in a letter now in Sainte-Marie-de-la-Source, the Solesmes Abbey, which tells us more or less

12. "Rusticae res" would appear instead of "agricultura".

13. Daremberg and Louis Hachette's son.

14. Bibliothèque nationale (NAF 24456, 79-82).

15. Pope Pius IX would call him to Rome in 1858, make him a cardinal and a librarian in the Biblioteca Vaticana in 1863.

... that as far as orthodoxy is concerned, there will be no problem, God permitting. And the Catholic censorship, the index, always finds faults with any book anyway. But I do not worry because I know my intentions are pure. So please, drop your mocking wrath: my work will be serious and scholarly. As for the Abbot you want me to hire, I shall think about him but I will certainly not take him on directly, for I want to think about it as I did for all the other authors, and I had rather drop the Christian matter than choose an author I do not trust (Gourevitch 1996, 125-128).

This he did, eventually, but for other reasons. Working in the peace of solitude in the country, Abbot Martigny (Joseph Alexandre, 1808-1880) very quickly finished his task on Christian antiquities. In fact, on 16 October 1863, Hachette, Martigny, and Daremberg signed a special contract. Considering that the Christian antiquities already filled 23 sheets, it was agreed that it would be better to make a separate book of them. A short time later they realized that this was not convenient, and on 27 February 1865, they all agreed that Martigny alone would take care of the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités chrétiennes, contenant le résumé de tout ce qu'il est essentiel de connaître sur les origines chrétiennes jusqu'au moyen-âge exclusivement*. Daremberg renounced his involvement completely, but received a little more money on the rest of his work. This important book appeared as early as 1865, and was reprinted twice¹⁶ although deeply despised by Abbot Duchesne (1843-1922), a future Monsignore and Director of the French School of Archaeology in Rome.¹⁷ It was, and still is, quite useful.¹⁸

16. In 1877 and 1889. For more details, cf. Gourevitch 1993, 79-95.

17. On their relationship, cf. four letters from Martigny to Duchesne in the Bibliothèque nationale (NAF 17262) and Saint-Roch 1995.

4. A NEW “MIND” AND THREE NEW CONTRACTS

It was soon obvious that Daremberg, who had many other duties, was unable to handle the situation alone, and on 5 March 1865, a new contract was signed. Daremberg was still the director, but Saglio would help him and his name would appear on the title page. But the delay was to increase because of the war between France and Prussia in 1870, and four years had turned into seven when on 1 April 1872 in a third contract was decided that both Daremberg and Saglio were the directors. In fact the former was to die in October,¹⁹ not unexpectedly. The fees in fact had been carefully and precisely defined, especially for possible heirs.

Edmond Saglio (1828-1911) was a lawyer before he started working for *Le Magasin pittoresque*, a review for popular instruction run by Édouard Charton, his father-in-law and a philanthropist and man of letters. When Napoleon III bought the Campana Collection from the ruined Roman marquess (and crook), Saglio was one of the team who organized the so-called “Musée Napoléon III”, which lasted only a few months (Reinach 1905). He had not done much in 1865 apart from writing a review of the French translation of Rich’s dictionary (Saglio 1865, 349-357), but, kind and firm as he was, he turned out to be the right man in the right place. Before becoming sole director, he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the material already gathered, for according to the contract of 1865 he was supposed to sort and organize the material received, revise the papers –especially those prepared decades previously– and add some from his own pen, as well as choose the

18. Saglio wrote one of the first reviews in *Journal des Débats* (17 August 1865).

19. “Dans le cas où M. Daremberg serait empêché par l’état de sa santé de continuer...”.

illustrations and correct the proofs. When he became a director (he was then an assistant-curator at the Louvre, where he had been since 1871), he followed the general plan drawn up by Daremberg, but narrowed its scope and extent.²⁰ He rewrote many articles (those first entrusted to Morel, for instance), corrected and improved many others, and himself wrote about highly technical topics such as implements, furniture, clothes and mythology. On 15 November 1877, a short new contract determined that Saglio –by then curator at the Louvre, and from 1893 head of the “Musée de Cluny”– would be paid more generously. In the preface to the first fascicle, which finally appeared in 1877 (1873 being a fictitious date, that of copies which were never on sale), he modestly insisted on the acknowledgement of the painstaking and steadfast efforts of all the collaborators,²¹ and not on his own acknowledgement, although he was extremely laborious, precise and meticulous in every detail. Prompted by Hachette, he even travelled to Rome for the first time in 1874 to make sure about details he knew only from books.²²

Like Daremberg, Saglio had to face some unpleasant situations, because for many subjects there were no competent authors. For example, he was for a short time fascinated by Émile Soldi, a sculptor and medal-engraver, and entrusted him in 1876 with the word *caelatura* (‘toreutics’). Unfortunately, the young man proved unable to read and write, quoting Petronius’ *Satyre* (instead of *Satyricon*), or quoting the opinion of Manches, misunderstanding “manches”, a German word meaning “some”. To make a long story short,

20. This is the meaning of the sentence in the preface, p. VII: “à ma demande il consentit à en modifier le plan”.

21. It must be stressed that all the articles are signed.

Saglio had to get rid of Soldi and his paper; he even wrote a virulent pamphlet against the artist and his father (1879)²³ and was himself compelled to do one of the longest articles in the dictionary (and one of its best).

Compared with the first project and the first halting steps of the book, there was a great improvement in the number and the quality of the illustrations, not considered as mere embellishments but as useful material.²⁴ The engravings were clear and faultless, sometimes copied from Saglio's own sketches, done directly from the monuments or pieces of art, or taken from very serious books. They were considered just as important as the text and the bibliography, and sometimes complemented them. Saglio also insisted on the importance in the book of public and private daily life, of techniques and crafts, and of customs and mores. In this way, there was definitely not much risk of positivism, the philosophy conceived by Auguste Comte, which might have appeared in the treatment of certain philosophical, religious or mythological notions as Daremberg had first conceived them (Gourevitch forthcoming).

5. THE "DÉNOUEMENT" OF THE PLOT AND THE FORTUNE OF THE BOOK

22. For another stay in Rome, in 1879, see a series of letters to Mathieu Geoffroy, then director of the *École française de Rome* (1875-1882, and 1888-1895), *Bibliothèque nationale* (NAF 12927).

23. Réponse à un libelle intitulé "l'article caelatura du Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, signé par M. E. Saglio" (Paris: Hachette, 1879). This brochure is very rare, and a photocopy was given to me by my late professor at the *École pratique des hautes études*, Paul-Marie Duval (1912-1997), the famous historian of Gaul and ancient Paris and Charton's grandson.

24. Cf. NAF 24456, 79, from Edmond Saglio to Gaston Paris. Morel was criticized, among other things, for "not harmonizing the figures with the texts".

In the last paragraph of his preface in 1877, Saglio wrote with modesty and humility: “Au moment où un livre paraît, un auteur consciencieux ressent plus vivement les difficultés de l’oeuvre qu’il a entreprise et en voit mieux les imperfections. Celui-ci doit subir à son tour les critiques: nous les appelons...”. Thus he gave up the game, and a few months before he died (7 December 1911), on 12 May, he presented the Academy with the forty-fifth fascicle. Yet years before, he had felt unable to cope with the difficulties alone, and in 1884 he had associated himself with Edmond Pottier (1855-1934) as co-director. Pottier’s career would prove exceptional. Chief curator for Greco-roman and Oriental antiquities in the Louvre, a professor of ancient ceramics at the École du Louvre, a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Pottier conceived the idea of the *Corpus Vasorum Graecorum*, embraced by the Union académique internationale in May 1921. Saglio was also helped by his son-in-law, Georges Lafaye, the last director after his death. On 23 October 1914, the final contract was signed, one in which no Daremberg heir was involved.²⁵ And in 1919 the last fascicle appeared.

The title of the final work had turned into: *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d’après les textes et les monuments, contenant l’explication des termes qui se rapportent aux moeurs, aux institutions, à la religion, aux arts, aux sciences, au costume, au mobilier, à la guerre, à la marine, aux métiers, aux monnaies, poids et mesures etc... et en général à la vie publique et privée des anciens*, ouvrage rédigé par une société d’écrivains spéciaux, d’archéologues et de professeurs sous la direction de MM. Ch. Daremberg et Edm. Saglio avec

25. Although Hélène Daremberg, only daughter of Georges, one of Daremberg’s two sons, was still living (16 October 1891-3 June 1952). She was to become the beloved secretary of the Société Chateaubriand in the Vallée-aux-Loups, now a beautiful museum of the romantic period.

3000 figures²⁶ d'après l'antique dessinées par P. Sellier et gravées par M. Rapine.

Reinach and Lafaye thought (Reinach 1911-1912, 456-458; Lafaye 1917, 271-281), and so Canon Ulysse Chevalier wrote, at greater length (Chevalier 1913), that it was absolutely unfair to call it "Daremberg et Saglio"; it should have been referred to as "Saglio" or "Saglio-Pottier". But this is not fair to Daremberg, for in this paper we have seen the importance of Daremberg's ideas, impulse and general organization, and we recognize that the first steps of such a huge venture are necessarily difficult.²⁷

Indeed, there appeared to be a plot of Fate against the book. First delayed by the Franco-Prussian War, which destroyed the French Second Empire at Sedan, the book was published in the middle of one of the most horrible episodes of World War I, the great drama at the dawn of our time, a time when young French heroes were ready to die *pro patria* –as died, for instance, Gabriel Leroux and Avezou– and after former members of the French school of archaeology in Athens in 1870, (including Bayet and Collignon) had volunteered. All of them were ready to support a patriotic "Victoire française".²⁸

Today the dictionary²⁹ may sometimes be over-quoted by students who are not willing enough to try new paths, but it is still a basic reference tool, which in fact was reprinted as a facsimile in 1962-1963 in Graz (Austria), by the Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, even before the copyright had

26. Although this was no longer true: there were actually 7,608.

27. *Contra*, recently Corsetti wrote "sous la forme où nous le connaissons, le Dictionnaire ... ne doit rien à Daremberg" (Corsetti 1989, note 18).

28. Note the title and style of Georges Lafaye's "L'achèvement d'une oeuvre française".

29 The University Mirail (Toulouse) has recently completed the web version (the page set up is exactly the same with the original) of the Dictionary. Accessible: <http://dagr.univ-tlse2.fr/sdx/dagr/feuilleter.xsp?tome=1&partie=1&numPage=35&nomEntree=ACETUM>.

expired and the book entered the public domain (1 June 1987). It is quoted on eight pages in Google and on a long list of Internet addresses. In 1929, the total price was 1,430 francs, plus 37.50 per volume for a binding in shagreen. Today second-hand bookshops offer it for 1,500 euros. In its time, the Dictionary was among the best encyclopaedias, comprehensive in its field and as good as the most famous in England or in Germany. Today it is still a very useful tool for anyone in the world, and it remains a unique source for French-speaking students and scholars, a first step at the beginning of a research project, although the documentation is no longer up-to-date and the understanding sometimes obsolete. The five “tables” (1929), done with the help of J. Normand,³⁰ are admirable: subjects; references to the corresponding articles according to their names in the Latin alphabet, either Latin words or transliterated from the Greek; Greek words; Latin words. And last but not least, there is the “table” of modern authors, a list of 174 scholars which tells the real history of the “antiquaires de France”³¹ under the Second Empire and Third Republic, and which could be used as an important source for a good understanding of the scholarship of the time.

References

CHEVALIER, U. 1913. *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Edmond Saglio*. Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.

CORSETTI, P.-P. 1989. “Un nouveau témoin de Pélagonius”. *Revue d'histoire des textes* 19.

30. Is this Jacques Normand (1848-1931), the scholar, novelist, and dramatist? I do not know.

31. The “antiquaire” is a scholar, not a dealer in ancient curiosities, as in the “Société nationale des Antiquaires de France” (founded in 1811, as the earlier Académie celtique founded in 1804, and approved by King Charles X in 1829).

- DAREMBERG, C. 1853. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits médicaux grecs, latins et français des principales bibliothèques de l'Europe*. Paris.
- GOUREVITCH, D. 1990. "La mission médico-historique de Daremberg et de Renan à Rome (octobre 1849-juillet 1850): le problème du rapport". *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de France*: 232-242.
- . 1992. "Charles Daremberg, William Alexander Greenhill et le 'Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences médicales' en 100 volumes". *Histoire des sciences médicales* 26 (3): 207-213.
- . 1993. "Un épisode de l'histoire du Dictionnaire des antiquités connu sous le nom de 'Daremberg et Saglio': la publication du Dictionnaire des antiquités chrétiennes de l'abbé Martigny". In *Les archéologues et l'archéologie*. Colloque de Bourges-en-Bresse (Tours, 25-27 septembre 1992). *Caesarodunum* 27: 79-95.
- , ed. 1994a. *La mission de Charles Daremberg en Italie (1849-1850)*. Mémoires et documents sur Rome et l'Italie méridionale, n.s. 5. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard.
- . 1994b. "Un épisode de la longue histoire du 'Daremberg et Saglio': l'affaire Morel". In *Mélanges Raymond Chevallier*. II, 1. *Caesarodunum* 29: 31-38. Special Issue.
- . 1996. "Une lettre de Daremberg à Dom Pitra. (Ms 1035)". *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*: 125-128.
- . 2004. "Daremberg, his friend Littré and positivist medical history". In *A Medical Historiography*. Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins Press. Forthcoming.
- GOUREVITCH, D. & S. BYL. 1992. "La triste vie du médecin anversois Jean Carolus, ami de C. Broeckx et de Ch. Daremberg: vérité canonique et version intime". Part I: Les travaux historiques. *A.B.H.M.* 5 (2): 60-63; Part II: La biographie de Carolus. *A.B.H.M.* 5 (3): 139-145.
- LAFAYE, G. 1917. "L'achèvement d'une oeuvre française". *Revue archéologique*: 271-281.
- MISTLER, J. 1964. *La Librairie Hachette de 1862 à nos jours*. Paris: Hachette.
- MONSELET, C. 1859. *Les Tréteaux*. Paris.
- REINACH, S. 1905. *Esquisse d'une histoire de la Collection Campana*. Paris.
- . 1911-1912. "Edmond Saglio". *Revue archéologique*: 456-458.
- SAGLIO, E. 1865. Review of *Dictionnaire des antiquités romaines et grecques, accompagnée de 2000 gravures d'après l'antique, représentant tous les objets de divers usages d'art et d'industrie ... traduit de l'anglais sous la direction d'Adolphe Chéruel*. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1859). *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6: 349-357.
- SAINT-ROCH, P. 1995. *Correspondance de Giovanni Battista de Rossi et de Louis Duchesne (1863-1894)*. Rome: CEFR.