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Imperial Collapse and Christianization in Patristic Scholarship during the Final Decades of Colonial Algeria, 1930–1962

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ABSTRACT

The work of H.-I. Marrou is important in historiographic accounts of the development of patristic studies and late antiquity. From the 1930s onwards, Marrou and his peers made use of material evidence from North Africa produced by the rapidly professionalizing discipline of archaeology. Archaeological engagement with the past was determined by the wider colonial context in which these excavations took place and this shaped the representation of late ancient Christianity, particularly the life and work of Augustine of Hippo. At the same time, however, Augustine’s work gave Marrou the means to challenge France’s prosecution of the Algerian War.

INTRODUCTION

On Monday 9 April 1956, as the Algerian war of independence escalated, police raided the Parisian apartment of Henri Marrou, Professor of Christian History at the Sorbonne.¹ A few days earlier Marrou had published an article in the newspaper *Le Monde* in which he had criticized the conduct of the conflict in Algeria in the strongest terms.² He argued that the

French military had betrayed the fundamental tenets of the French nation and, referencing Augustine of Hippo, he noted that civilizations that betrayed their values tended to collapse. Having declared himself opposed to the prosecution of the war, Marrou now found himself under suspicion. The police who raided his apartment were searching for evidence of his collusion with the forces fighting for Algerian independence. This raid was carried out by the Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (DST), the directorate responsible for intelligence and counter-terrorism in France. As Marrou's biographer noted, however, while "the police found many allusions to North Africa" among his papers, they were in fact references to the time of Augustine.³ The squad ransacked the apartment and left with a dossier of Marrou's notes on Christianity in the later Roman Empire.⁴

Marrou was part of a "remarkable tradition of French liberal Catholic scholars [who] had turned their attention since the late 1930s to the intimate links between late classical civilization and the thought-forms and culture of the great Christian writers of the Patristic age".⁵ English-language historiography has tended to approach Marrou as a particularly important representative of a movement towards reading patristic texts within the wider philosophical and literary world of late antiquity, also exemplified by Pierre Courcelle, Jean Guitton and Paul Henry, among others.⁶ Two works Marrou produced in the late 1940s are held to be particularly significant: *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* and the "Retractatio" that he appended to the 1949 printing of *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (1938).⁷ In these works, Marrou reframed and revitalized the study of the later Roman Empire through a focus on culture and a methodological interest in the problems of periodization.⁸ Partly because of his own later work, these studies are often positioned as a precursor to the formulation of late antiquity in English-language scholarship between the 1970s and 1990s.⁹ Work on Marrou in French has recognized the different ways that he engaged with the wider intellectual debates of contemporary France.¹⁰ In this tradition of

historiography, Marrou's key works of the late 1940s are seen as part of a much longer trajectory that sweeps from the early 1930s to the end of his career, and includes his journalism, cultural criticism, as well as his historical scholarship.¹¹ This French tradition has a sharper sense of the precise ways in which Marrou's academic work was informed by contemporary events in France.

When the DST searched Marrou's apartment they made no distinction between documents related to modern North Africa and his notes on the later Roman Empire. Marrou himself, in his article in *Le Monde*, had used Augustine as a witness to support his critique of the war. A number of studies have already shown the extent to which Marrou intervened in the debate around French colonialism in North Africa.¹² In the twentieth century, archaeological discoveries in Tunisia and Algeria changed the account of the Christianization of the later Roman Empire.¹³ Marrou and his generation drew on this material as they re-analyzed familiar patristic and neo-platonic texts.¹⁴ Marrou was therefore professionally engaged in North Africa, visiting excavations in Algeria and offering administrative support to colleagues working in North African universities.¹⁵ He was part of a wider, trans-Mediterranean community of academics working on Roman and early medieval North Africa. This included those scholars like André Mandouze or Christian Courtois who lived and worked in Algeria, as well as those like Marrou or Courcelle who were based in France but visited for professional reasons.¹⁶ In this context, the raid on Marrou's apartment suggests that his scholarship—and that of the 'tradition' of which he was a part—might be re-evaluated by situating it within the context of twentieth century Algeria.

This article argues that the development of patristic studies between the 1930s and 1950s should be more carefully read against the wider ideological and military conflicts catalyzed by French colonialism in North Africa. To do this, it follows two paths.

First, it treats the broad context in which Marrou and others re-evaluated patristic, particularly Augustinian, texts. To do this, it focuses on the development of archaeology in Algeria during the Third Republic (1870–1940), the Second World War, and the Fourth Republic (1946–1958). A large body of literature has traced the various ways in which colonial policies of the French state intertwined with the development and professionalization of academic disciplines.¹⁷ Archaeology was one of these disciplines and, as it contributed to a renewed account of the Christianization of Roman North Africa, so that account of Christianization developed by Marrou and others was influenced by the colonial context of French Algeria.

The second part of the article shows the different ways in which resistance to the colonial policies of France in the mid-twentieth century was articulated with reference to the history of the later Roman Empire, and Augustine in particular. Marrou was writing about French colonialism in the early 1930s. Drawing on work that has traced long trajectories in his thought, this article argues that the positions adopted by Marrou in this early work influence his later historical scholarship. This is particularly the case for his discussion of Augustine's theology of history, most influentially laid out in a paper he delivered to the Oxford Conference in 1955.¹⁸

The directions taken by patristic scholarship in the later 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s were at least partially determined by political economy of French colonialism, but Marrou also tried to deploy Augustine as an archetype of humanist resistance to imperial violence. Recognising the complicated ways that academic study of patristics interacted with the wider colonial context presents new ways of configuring the history of the discipline, as well as the major influences on the development of Anglo-American accounts of late antiquity.

THE RUINS OF LATE ROMAN NORTH AFRICA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH ARCHAEOLOGY

The raid on Marrou's apartment fulfilled a prediction that he had made in the first months of the Algerian war. As France withdrew police officers who had been accused of abuses in Algeria and redeployed them in the Métropole, he remarked that "the methods used in Algeria will be imported to France."¹⁹ The raid on his apartment showed how the prosecution of the war happened in the France as well as the *départements* of Algeria. In this way, it reveals the extent to which colonial policies were always, to some extent, enacted or were based in particular ways of imagining *space*.

André Mandouze, a fellow student of Augustine who lived and worked in Algeria during the war, would contrast the opinions of his contemporaries living in France with his own experiences "over there" (*là-bas*).²⁰ As the war escalated in 1956, politicians and journalists in metropolitan France would argue over the precise legal and constitutional relationship between the colonial power and its territory "over there" in North Africa. From the very first, French power in Algeria was manifested through changes to urban topography.²¹ In the decades after the 1830 defeat of the Ottoman Dey Hussein, French officials took care to erase signs of Arab and Ottoman rule from urban centres while maintaining the debris, buildings and infrastructure that remained from Roman times.²² Alongside the sustained and momentary violence of everyday life in French North Africa, it was this peculiar colonial topography and architecture which shaped the modes of colonial contact. This was particularly the case during the war of independence.²³ Mandouze, for example, was aware of this and in early 1956 he pointed out that the urban fabric of Algiers had itself become a theatre of war, with FLN activists out on the streets.²⁴ The arrival of the DST at Marrou's door was another stage in the long process by which the territory of the Métropole was brought in to relationship with the landscape of Algeria.

Archaeology was also part of this process. France gained control of Algeria in 1830, but Europeans had already begun to note that the landscape was fertile and marked by an extraordinary number of Roman ruins.²⁵ As Edward Said noted, Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 normalized the close connection between imperial conquest and European cultural life.²⁶ A similar pattern held in Algeria, as the Roman ruins of the North Africa became important sites for the production of French accounts of the past.²⁷ In the initial stages of French occupation, encounters with these Roman ruins were often part of the wider military conquest. For example, cartographers marked Roman ruins on military maps because they were useful for fast-moving military columns in unfamiliar territory: they were landmarks, they offered shade from the sun, and they were likely sources of water.²⁸ The first significant overview of Algerian antiquities, Renier's *Inscriptions latine de l'Algérie* (1855), retained this focus and concentrated on the military history of the region.²⁹ At the same time, however, the Roman ruins of Algeria also served to legitimize French claims over North Africa, described by one enthusiast as France's "title deeds" to the region.³⁰ In the first decades of the French occupation, then, French engagement with the Roman ruins of Algeria tended to be an accidental result of wider military activity. Despite this, the ruins offered a resource for the imaginary of empire.³¹ They could be rescued from a native population characterized as uncaring or aggressive and thereby preserved for posterity.³²

In the late nineteenth century, the study of late Roman ruins became more formalized. The *École française de Rome* began to fund excavation campaigns in the 1880s and 1890s which meant that archaeologists could work for extended periods in the region.³³ Museums were founded in the urban centers of French power in Algeria, as well as in the *Métropole*.³⁴ In this period, excavation and study of Roman ruins in Algeria began to be centralized under two institutions: the *Service des monuments historiques* was directed by architects and held primacy over the less prestigious *École supérieure des lettres* in Algiers.³⁵ A key shift in

French archaeological accounts of the North African past came with the campaign of Stephen Gsell and Henri Graillot who, in the spring of 1893, worked through the countryside between Khenchela and Timgad. This high plain north of the Aures Mountains had been surveyed by the Foreign Legion between 1848 and 1851; the impressive number of ancient sites had been noted but the survey itself remained unpublished.³⁶ Working through this region, Gsell and Graillot discovered an extensive network of ancient agricultural sites and they concluded that the population had been extensively and profoundly romanized. In particular, the discovery of a large number of Christian sites led them to conclude that Christianity exerted a vibrant and continual influence over the region from the fourth century to the Arab conquests and that it had been a center of Donatism, which they regarded as ‘a kind of awakening of the *indigènes*’.³⁷ This work, together with Gsell’s later *Atlas Archéologique de l’Algérie* (1911) indicated the extent to which Roman Numidia was populated and the significance of agriculture to the region.³⁸ Gsell’s work is symptomatic of the trajectory of centralization and professionalization of archaeology in French Algeria that would develop after 1900. Facilitated by institutions like regional and national museums, the *École française de Rome*, and the cartographic divisions of the army, French archaeology established patterns of working that were to sustain programs of excavation well in to the twentieth century.³⁹ As they did so, accounts of late Roman North Africa made more precise and confident judgments about the nature and extent of Christianization.

The story of late Roman archaeology in French North Africa is therefore a movement from accidental amateurism to centralizing professionalism. During the Third Republic the study of human societies and their pasts became intertwined with colonial government.⁴⁰ Drawing on evolutionary models of human change, academics began to posit a similar scheme for human societies. In this model, different peoples could be accorded places higher or lower on the evolutionary scale according to debated criteria.⁴¹ As racial differentiation

rooted in biology was delegitimized, so ideas of race became orientated around cultural difference. This legitimized and perpetuated French colonial policies of rule, for some peoples (particularly in Africa) were held to be culturally unable to take on their rights with any responsibility.⁴² France's republican *mission civilisatrice* was therefore dedicated to engaging with these supposedly recalcitrant peoples and changing their culture in the name of humanistic progress.⁴³ Driven by a combination of professional ambition and humanism, formal and informal academic organizations like the Institut d'ethnologie or the Annales school positioned their academic knowledge within wider modes of production in the French empire.⁴⁴ This academic knowledge was presented as a tool by which the French state could know its colonial subjects and thereby deploy the *mission civilisatrice* with greater humanity and efficiency. In this context, and particularly after 1918, claims to disciplinary professionalization disguised the accidental, experimental and contingent production of academic knowledge, which took place between the university and the field site, central government and colonial administration.⁴⁵ To name a discipline as 'professional' or 'scientific' was therefore to claim that it was ready to take its place in the apparatus of colonial rule.

This trend is visible in the work produced in the twentieth century in a study that show the extent of Gsell's influence on the archaeological study of ancient Christianity in North Africa. André Berthier's *Les vestiges du christianisme antique dans la Numidie centrale* (1942) is an important account of the extent and development of Christianity in rural central Numidia. Berthier, a director of the Musée Gustave Mercier in Constantine, collaborated with a local government official and a farmer to complete the survey of the high plains north of the Aures initially carried out by Graillot and Gsell.⁴⁶ His work revealed the importance and almost universal extent of martyr cult in rural Numidia. He pointed out that Christian sites were often part of wider agricultural complexes rather than monumental

structures in their own right.⁴⁷ At the end of the book, he attempted to make wider conclusions about the late Roman, Christian past. Drawing on ethnographic scholarship from the early twentieth century, Berthier remarked that there were similarities between the practices of veneration of dead Muslim holy men (*les marabouts*) carried out by contemporary Berbers and the ancient practice of Christian martyr cult.⁴⁸ “The cult of saints has its origins in the very heart of the Berber soul, so we should not be surprised if the most ancient practices continue into the Christian era,” he remarked.⁴⁹ Drawing on Gsell, he suggested that these practices of veneration could extend back into prehistory and concluded his work with this reflection:

These remarks might help to establish a more precise inventory of the archaeological remains of Donatism and contribute to showing that the cult of saints, witness to the anthropolatry of the Berber soul, has been a consistent practice in North Africa, where it existed in the more distant times, to persist up to our epoch with a remarkable stability.⁵⁰

These closing words betray a debt to wider understanding of human society and culture that structured the production of disciplinary knowledge in the humanities during the Third Republic. Berthier positions late antique martyr cult within a pattern of cultural practices, possibly originating in the stone age and presenting itself in the twentieth century in Islamic veneration of *les marabouts*. The Berbers remain fundamentally unchanged, exhibiting a ‘remarkable stability.’ With this description, his account of the archaeological remains of Donatism in late ancient Numidia also becomes a way of understanding and knowing contemporary Algeria. At the root of Berthier’s concluding observations is a racialization of Berbers, based not on biological inheritance, but on the persistence of anthropolatry, a cultural trait.⁵¹ Berthier’s work is a remarkable account of the role and importance of Donatism in fourth century Numidia and is an example of the

professionalization and centralization of archaeology that took place in the aftermath of Gsell's work. As such, however, it is also embedded in wider accounts of human difference and historical change that determined the production of academic knowledge about human societies and the past during the Third Republic and persisted after its destruction in 1940.

In this wider context, then, the professionalization of French archaeology in North Africa should be seen as a process of integrating the material remnants of the Roman past into the time and space of the modern French empire. Berthier's work is not unique in this respect. Jean Baradez's pioneering archaeological study of the late Roman *limes* concludes with the following remarks: "My greatest recompense would be that part of what made it possible for men to live on spaces now desolate could be reconstituted tomorrow under the action of human beings: aerial archaeology has always served well the civilizing work of France."⁵² Baradez believed that sections of the Sahara desert had been farmland during the Roman Empire. The theory was that the Arab invasions had swept away this agriculture because the Arabs, held to be a nomadic people, were unable to farm effectively.⁵³ Similarly to Berthier, Baradez positioned his archaeological discoveries within a wider account of racial difference.

Historical changes traced in the landscape therefore justified French political, agricultural, and economic reform; the Algerian countryside and its ruins became an index of racial differences present in contemporary Algeria.⁵⁴ This connection between space and race was common and a continuation of a position first articulated under the Third Republic (1870–1940). By the centenary of the French invasion of Algeria in 1930, for example, the architecture of colonial Algeria drew on this Roman patrimony as it articulated a modernist style recognizably French and emphatically not "Moorish", a claim to "French identity without alterity" written into the topography of the colonial city.⁵⁵ This imaginative work was replicated institutionally, with museums in Marseilles and Algiers containing artifacts

excavated from Algerian soil.⁵⁶ Through these ruins and their integration into the landscape of French Algeria it therefore became possible to imagine North Africa and Southern France as one coherent whole, united through a shared patrimony of ancient and late ancient Rome.⁵⁷ The drawing together of the ancient Roman past and the French present created an annulment of time: a moment in which the ends and the origin of Algerian colonization were conflated.⁵⁸

As with the British in India, the peculiar temporal dance of French colonialism meant that the pasts of its overseas territories took on a particular ideological importance.⁵⁹ As Patricia Lorcin has shown, these late Roman ruins took on a ‘trivalent’ value for French observers, providing justification for French imperial policies, evoking admiration for a great imperial past, and presenting a model that could be emulated in the present.⁶⁰ As she argued, by the 1930s French interest in archaeology had taken on a commemorative dimension as Roman ruins were ‘perceived as sites of “ancestral memory” that linked Algeria to the Western tradition and reinforced its French regionality.’⁶¹ It is this focus on commemoration and Algeria’s Frenchness that came to the fore as scholarship on Augustine transformed in the 1950s.

In 1954, on the sixteenth centenary of Augustine’s birth, Berthier organized “une exposition augustinienne” at the Chamber of Commerce in the Algerian coastal town of Bône.⁶² This modest celebration was part of a larger series of events all across Algeria. Members of the Association Guillaume Budé, for example, visited a number of archaeological sites and attended a lecture by Christian Courtois on “The everyday life of Saint Augustine.”⁶³ “Saint Augustine’s country of origin celebrated with enthusiasm.”⁶⁴ This sixteenth centenary was also marked in France when the Congrès International Augustinien met in Paris. Delegates at the Congrès could also visit peripheral events at the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁶⁵ Running parallel to this conference was series of Sorbonne lectures given by Marcel Le Glay of the Algerian Service des Antiquités and Erwan Marec, head of the

archaeological team excavating the Christian quarter at Hippo.⁶⁶ At the close of the conference, the French government subsidized a field-trip to Algeria for some of the delegates. Taken together, these celebrations show the extent to which the study of Augustine, was profoundly shaped by the archaeological excavation of late Roman ruins in Algeria.⁶⁷ The celebrations of 1954 evince precisely the kind of commemorative practices Lorcin identified. The various ruin-sites are represented in the Métropole during the wider meeting of a professionalizing discipline. As the destination of excursions, they are incorporated into an imperial landscape of travel and economic exchange.

When he returned to Algeria after the 1954 Paris conference, André Mandouze gave an interview in which he noted the ways that “le véritable Augustin” might be uncovered through precisely this kind of careful interdisciplinary collaboration on a ‘scientific level’.⁶⁸ Mandouze understood very well the ways that notions of republican equality could be mobilised to justify racial discrimination. When he became rector of the University of Algiers, for example, Mandouze would cite Augustine as an important figure in Algerian history because he was beyond distinctions between Algerian and *roumi* (i.e., “Roman”, European, Christian, “tout ce que vous voudrez”).⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the great shifts in Augustinian scholarship by which it became possible to speak of the recovery of ‘le véritable Augustin’ were indebted to the development of archaeology in Algeria in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This process of disciplinary professionalization was determined by Algeria’s status as colony of France: funding, institutional structures, and the processes of knowledge dissemination were bound in to the wider structures of French colonial rule. Like other modes of academic knowledge production, archaeology was also an exercise in the production of colonial difference.⁷⁰ The products of archaeology served to identify and then integrate the North African past more firmly in to the past of France, they integrated the

subjects of colonial rule into wider regimes of colonial knowledge, and they required infrastructural relationships between the Métropole and the colony.

The commemoration of Augustine's birth coincided with the outbreak of the Algerian war. In 1959 Henri Marrou addressed the Third International Patristics Conference at Oxford. He presented an overview of the excavations at Hippo Regius overseen by Erwan Marec.⁷¹ This presentation was then redrafted in to an extensive report and published in REAug in 1960.⁷² This report is an excellent example of the ways that patristic studies received and absorbed the archaeological study of late Roman North Africa. Marrou engages with a pair of articles from Othmar Perler, which attempt to draw together a textual analysis of Augustine's work with the new evidence from archaeology.⁷³ Marrou's report in turn is cited in subsequent scholarship on Augustine, perhaps most strikingly in André Mandouze's analysis of Augustine's rhetoric and use of space.⁷⁴ It also gives some clue as to how the decolonization of Algeria was represented in academic scholarship about the late Roman past.

Marrou opens his report by giving some context for Marec's large project of excavation and analysis. He begins by noting that the continuation of the work during the hostilities is testament to the administrative prowess of Jean Lassus, the director for Antiquities in Algeria, who began his career excavating sites in French-mandate Syria and Antioch.⁷⁵ He also notes that Marec first identified the site when he was a young naval officer stationed in the nearby town of Bône in the 1920s. Marec's excavations revealed a large Christian quarter. Marrou commends Marec's archaeological work and notes that it has produced abundant new discoveries. He says that fruits of this labour have now been presented in a monograph sponsored by the Minister for Algeria and have earned Marec his doctorate from the University of Algiers.⁷⁶

The discussion of Lassus and Marec that opens Marrou's report situates the ruins of Augustine's church within a wider topography of French imperial involvement in North Africa and the Middle East. Marec's excavations began when he was posted to Bône/Annaba during his service in the French navy.⁷⁷ This naval career, which took Marec from his native Brittany to the Mediterranean, was shaped by French imperial policy. As French colonial power in North Africa increased during the nineteenth century, so the Mediterranean became the focus of imperial ambition.⁷⁸ North Africa and the Middle East were therefore conceptualized as contiguous with mainland France, joined by the sea, and the activities of Marec and Lassus are part of a wider French engagement with the littoral Mediterranean. Marec's monograph was published in 1958 on the instruction of Robert Lacoste, the minister for Algeria at the end of the Fourth Republic.⁷⁹ Without this infrastructure – academic, military, legal and bureaucratic – the report would not have been written. Marrou's report – like Berthier's monograph – is a good example of the way in which the space of the late Roman Christian ruin was determined by the military, academic, legal and bureaucratic orders of the French Empire.

Marec's excavations are therefore given a wider institutional context, but Marrou also remarks on the immediate situation: "... on songe aux difficultés de toute sorte que suscite l'état présent de troubles et d'hostilités, *plus quam ciulia bella!*"⁸⁰ The Fourth Republic had collapsed in 1958 and de Gaulle had returned to lead a 'government of public safety'.⁸¹ On 28 September 1958 the Constitution of the Fifth Republic was approved by referendum.⁸² Since its inauguration in 1946, the Fourth Republic had struggled to form stable governments, but the crisis (or series of crises) of 1956–1958 tore it apart. It is this wider context, as well as the bloodshed unfolding in Algeria, that Marrou dubs "l'état présent de troubles et d'hostilités, *plus quam ciulia bella!*" The Latin phrase *plus quam ciulia bella* is from Augustine's discussion of civil wars between Rome and Alba in *De ciu. dei* 3.13-14.⁸³ It

is a quotation from Lucan's *Pharsalia*, as Augustine acknowledges.⁸⁴ In the late 1950s, this poem must have seemed an apposite way to begin a report on the excavation of late Roman ruins. Marrou's quotation positions Algeria and France as analogous to Alba and Rome, the parent city betrayed and attacked by its child. By early 1959 there was a clear appetite in metropolitan France for an end to the Algerian War.⁸⁵ To name the Algerian conflict *plus quam ciuilia bella* is to position the excavation of the ruins of Augustine's church within this contemporary debate about the end of empire and the nature of civil war.

The celebrations of Augustine's anniversary betoken the importance of archaeology to the transformation of Augustinian studies visible at the International Congress of 1954. This was an archaeology that emerged from wider French attempts to know the past of Algeria through its late Roman ruins. While the developing centralization and professionalization of late Roman archaeology in Algeria brought new ways of understanding the past, it would be incorrect to understand this merely as the neutral action of disciplined academic curiosity. The production and professionalization of this disciplinary knowledge was contingent on the support – remunerative and infrastructural – of the colonial state. Alongside other professionalizing disciplines, late Roman archaeology justified itself through aligning itself, more or less explicitly, with the colonial ambitions and policies of the French state. Augustinian scholarship was implicated in this process and the effects of it are visible in the pattern of celebratory activities that mark Augustine's birthday. At the same time, however, the close link between the space of French Algeria and the late Roman, Augustinian past, mean that Augustine's own words offered a resource by which Marrou could position the crisis of 1958–1959 within a wider Augustinian account of imperial decline and folly.

AUGUSTINE AND MARROU'S SCEPTICISM OF COLONIALISM

When the DST raided Marrou's residence in April 1956 they were looking for weapons and papers. To this end one of the more enthusiastic officers began to take apart the stove. This was a difficult operation, during which he cut his hand badly. Jeanne Marrou, Henri's wife, bandaged the wound for him and the squad departed, leaving behind them a partially dismantled oven and a confusion of papers. Marrou's son, Jean, would remember this with bathetic humor.⁸⁶ This incident, however, also gives some sense of a particularly confused moment in the way that the Algerian war was understood in France. This confusion is visible in the actions of the DST and manifest in the papers of Marrou's office, left disordered and mixed up.⁸⁷

The raid, its performance, and its aftermath, is an index of the way that perception of the war was changing in France during winter and spring 1955–1956. In 1950 Léopold Sédar Senghor observed that 'the problem par excellence ... [was] that posed by colonization, which is that of the Human.'⁸⁸ For Senghor, this was a crisis catalyzed by the contradiction between humanist values of equality and liberty, and the material and cultural violence of the French empire: "I know of no people more tyrannical in their love of the Human."⁸⁹ In early 1956 the Algerian war became a greater presence in the everyday life of the Métropole and, as reports of torture circulated, so the contradiction noted by Senghor became more obvious.⁹⁰ From early 1957 French debate about the war would focus more and more on the question of whether it would ever be possible to reconcile Algerians and French.

These debates drew on models of citizenship, responsibility, and rights rooted in French republicanism. Under the Third Republic, the ideological core of French republicanism was a citizenly autonomy and a pursuit of emancipation from the tyrannies of political oppression, natural disease, and superstition.⁹¹ Colonial policies were positioned as paternally respectful, bringing colonised people out of the oppression of irrational beliefs and traditional law, preparing them to exercise their responsibilities as enfranchised citizens of

the Republic.⁹² In the late 1940s, the Constitution of the Fourth Republic (1946) and the prosecution of the war in Indochina showed that France had renewed its commitment to colonial power.⁹³ As they became more vocal in their opposition to the war, French intellectuals on the left distanced themselves from the policies of the French state while claiming to uphold the ideals of French republicanism. The raid by the police and the disordered confusion of Marrou's office stood in metonymical relationship to the confused fluidity of French public debate at this moment.

A few months before this raid, Marrou delivered a paper at the second Oxford Patristics Conference.⁹⁴ Entitled "Civitas dei, civitas terrena. Num tertium quid?" this paper was an attempt to explain a confusing piece of Augustine's theology. In *City of God*, Augustine suggested that all of history should be understood as the progress of two cities: the city of God and the city of earth, each defined according to its loves. As Augustine puts it, they 'are mixed together in the present world and, in a certain sense, entangled with one another.'⁹⁵ The question that Marrou treats in this paper is whether there remains some kind of third thing caught between the two cities. Charles Journet had suggested that between the City of God and the City of the Earth Augustine conceptualized a third thing, the mixing of human life.⁹⁶ Developing Journet's point, and working from book 15, Marrou argues that this is what Augustine terms the *saeculum*.⁹⁷ Meaning 'the time of history' or 'the empirical given of history', *saeculum* is the unfolding of historical time towards the end; the events of history, in which humans decide how to use the goods of creation.⁹⁸ How they use these goods locates them in one or other of the cities. As Marrou put it, "the border between the city of good and the city of evil passes, for each one of us, through the middle of our hearts."⁹⁹

"Civitas Dei, civitas terrena" was an intervention in an ongoing conversation about Augustine's model of politics, particularly the relationship between civil and ecclesial authority.¹⁰⁰ The debate would continue after Marrou's paper.¹⁰¹ Marrou, however, changed

the terms of the debate, showing the importance of the *saeculum* to Augustine's account of the ambiguity of the world and the importance of human decision.¹⁰² In the late 1940s, particularly in his "Retractatio," he had taken Augustine's doctrine of the two cities as a sign that Latin culture had become autonomous from its Greek progenitors and that the fourth and fifth centuries therefore constituted a new historical period, the *Theopolis*.¹⁰³ Behind this claim, so influential for subsequent generations of historians,¹⁰⁴ was a concern to treat properly human experience of time and the ambiguities of lived life.¹⁰⁵

In a 1947 review of Charles Cochrane's *Christianity and Classical Culture*, Marrou contrasts, as he would in his "Retractatio," the continuation of Christian empire in the East with its collapse in the West.¹⁰⁶ He then turns to 'the political doctrine of Augustine,' noting that Cochrane has neglected a full analysis of Augustine's influence because he had not engaged with Henri-Xavier Arquillière's *L'Augustinisme politique*.¹⁰⁷ In its focus on the *saeculum*, "Civitas Dei, civitas terrena" continues Marrou's long project of using Augustine's doctrine of the two cities as a means to distinguish the Latin culture of the later Roman Empire from what has gone before. As he shows in this review, roughly contemporary with both his book on education and the "Retractatio", the roots of position go back further, to the reception of Augustine in the early 1930s.

The financial crises of the 1920s and 1930s catalyzed in France a number of serious and extended critiques of the political economy and ideology of capitalist modernity.¹⁰⁸ One strand of critique was rooted in a revival of Catholic theology and lay spirituality. Partly catalysed by *Aeterni Patris* (1879) and led by the work of Jacques Maritain, Catholic intellectuals on both the right and the left drew on the resources of Thomism to place Catholicism in the wider culture and politics of contemporary France.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, the work of Maurice Blondel inspired young Catholics to social and political action.¹¹⁰ Study of Augustine formed part of this wider revivalist movement. Etienne Gilson's final chapter of

his *Introduction*, for example, presented Augustine's thought as an original Christian philosophy, distinct from that put forward by Aquinas.¹¹¹ This focus on Augustine's relationship to Thomism was complemented by attempts to locate in Augustine resources for contemporary spirituality. This provided, for example, the wider context for the founding of *Bibliothèque augustinienne* in 1933. An attempt to provide translations of Augustine's entire work in French, this collection would make Augustine's 'wisdom' available to a non-specialist audience of contemporary lay Catholics.¹¹² In the 1920s and 1930s, intellectual engagement with Augustine could go hand-in-hand with a commitment to action in the social and political world of France.¹¹³

Marrou's first monograph, *Fondements d'une culture chrétienne* (1934) is indebted to this wider lay Catholic revivalism.¹¹⁴ Marrou had already decided that his doctoral thesis would analyze "Le notion de culture intellectuelle chez saint Augustin" and this early monograph indicates that Marrou was thinking about the parallels between the later Roman Empire and his own time.¹¹⁵ *Fondements* begins by sketching the alienation experienced by young intellectuals in culture created by the economic and political system of the French empire of the Third Republic.¹¹⁶ Marrou compares their experiences to those of Ausonius, Symmachus, and Paulinus of Nola, whom he characterizes as the 'gravediggers of a dead culture,' content to share verses and live lives without value.¹¹⁷ In this context, Augustine is presented as an example of the power of education to shape a person's life in the world.¹¹⁸ Augustine took on the culture of his pagan antecedents to Christianize the world. Just so, says Marrou, he and his companions strive to Christianize the pagan world of capitalist modernity.¹¹⁹ In this monograph Augustine serves as an exemplar for the engaged Christianity that was part of the Catholic revival of the interwar period. Augustine and the 'Augustinian metaphysics' that he introduced to the culture of Western Europe is the

essential corrective to the experience of alienation in modernity.¹²⁰ French culture, adrift in the inhumanity of imperial capitalism, might thereby revitalize itself.

Although the argument of *Fondements* proceeds from Marrou's analysis of the cultural malaise rooted in a French political economy, he put forward a more developed critique of French colonialism in 1931.¹²¹ Like *Fondements*, this article is focused on tracing the responsibilities of the Christian to the wider culture and politics of France. Marrou considers two arguments then in vogue for justifying French colonialism. The first of these is that colonialism is a project of stewardship: the French state makes use of the raw materials in other parts of the world and guards them for their proper use. The second argument is that colonialism is a process of education. Under French tutelage, other societies or civilizations may eventually come to take their place in the international order as free and rational global citizens.¹²² These were both common positions held by advocates of colonialism in the Third Republic and Marrou dismisses them. It's clear, he says, that colonialism is merely the exploitation of one people by another, a process by which military power becomes understood as moral superiority.¹²³ He notes that exuberant supporters of colonialism in the nineteenth century believed that they were bringing the City of God to earth.¹²⁴ In actual fact, he says, colonialism draws a civilization to barbarism and inhumanity.¹²⁵ Marrou concludes his piece by noting that a Christian theory of democracy would recognize that, while colonialism is a fact, the role of the Christian citizen is careful surveillance and critique. In this way, the citizen prevents the state sliding into colonial abuses and so defers civilizational collapse. Between the two camps, one demanding an end to colonialism, one demanding its continuation, Marrou posits a place of watchfulness and democratic oversight, the space in which the Christian subject of a democracy may act.

In the late 1940s, Marrou argued for the cultural vitality of the late Roman world, particularly the Latin half of the Empire. In this work, Augustine is a particular example of

his wider culture and his doctrine of the two cities is a moment marking out its distinctive character.¹²⁶ “Civitas Dei, civitas terrena” doesn’t have this focus on culture, but it shares the same recognition of the autonomy of Augustine’s thought. It is an example of Marrou’s engagement with ‘the political doctrine of Saint Augustine’ that goes back to his earliest published work. Debates over the origins and proper relationship of civil and ecclesial authority became key topics for French Catholics during the political turmoil of the 1920s and 1930s and inspired Arquillière’s work. They also provided the context in which Marrou first explored the nature of political decisions and the relationship between Augustine’s writing and its wider culture. Implicitly or explicitly, these early works of Marrou are also meditations on the nature of French colonialism, the responsibility of the citizen of a colonial power, and the barbaric threat of imperialism. In each case, Marrou’s position is an appropriation of Augustine’s thought. “Civitas Dei, civitas terrena” does not talk about twentieth century colonialism, but in its focus on the ambiguities of human life and the importance of the decision, it is part of a trajectory in Marrou’s thought that links directly back to his first published engagement with colonialism.

Given this trajectory, it’s no surprise to see Marrou make use of Augustine when he wrote about his opposition to the Algerian War. The strongest example of this comes in the piece that Marrou wrote for *Le Monde* in April 1956 and which earned him a visit from the DST.¹²⁷ According to Mandouze, who had recently returned to France from Algiers, this short piece of commentary was ‘immortal’ for ‘[in] one article he was able to say what was needed. It’s something very important.’¹²⁸ In particular, Mandouze observed that Marrou was able to explain the case for resistance to the war in a way that was both acceptable to those already committed to resistance and also framed in terms comprehensible to those metropolitan readers of *Le Monde* whose republicanism led them to support France.¹²⁹ It was ‘one of the founding texts of the “resistance” to the Algerian War.’¹³⁰

Working in the tradition (inaugurated by Zola's *J'accuse*) of intellectuals calling the government to account, Marrou argued that the military's behavior in Algeria was a close imitation of the privations that French people had suffered at the hands of the Gestapo.¹³¹

Such a situation was doubly poignant for Marrou, who had learned from

Saint Augustine, a Berber, that all the nations present in history are necessarily a mix, inseparable to us, of the City of Good and the City of Evil. But from Theology, History, and good sense, I have also learned that for those civilizations which are falling, the gap widens between the ideals which they claim and the realizations which they propose: these civilizations die in their hypocrisy.¹³²

Drawing on this reading of Augustine, Marrou situates the Algerian war within a much longer history of imperial rise and decline. As he does this, he also argues that those involved in the struggle in Algeria cannot be easily divided into good or evil.¹³³ Human institutions, like nations or of armies of national liberation, are necessarily diverse. This diversity must not be too absolute, for Marrou insists that particular human communities are united around particular ideals. The manner in which people live ("les réalisations," as he puts it)¹³⁴ must conform to these ideals or that civilization will collapse. Human life is diverse, Augustine tells us, but it is also true that stable communities are those which conform to the ideals they proclaim; a community that allows too great a drift from a governing ideal risks catastrophe. In the Algerian situation, this meant that the violence of the French military made visible the differences of race, class, and religion that the Republican ideals of France sought to transcend. Republican values could only be defended by calling the government and military to account. What was at stake in this resistance was therefore nothing less than the continuation of French civilization itself.¹³⁵

Ian Wood recently observed that ‘[w]hile Marrou clearly thought about parallels between his own day and the fifth- and sixth-century, he tended not to express them openly in his more academic work.’¹³⁶ This is correct. The raid by the DST, however, indicates that hard boundaries between academic work and non-academic work are not always helpful to our analysis. To the DST, papers on Augustine were suspicious because they were about North Africa. Augustine provided Marrou with the resources to explain the metropolitan subject’s responsibility to resist colonial violence executed in their name.¹³⁷ This he did in his *Le Monde* piece. This colonial context gives the wider context for Marrou’s identification of the *saeculum* in his article on the *tertium quid*. At the same time, however, Marrou’s reading of Augustine was itself shaped by debates on civilization and “le probleme coloniale” that manifested in his work of the early 1930s. His article on “le probleme coloniale” was the first time he worked out in print a sense of the ambiguity in which ethical action must take place. In this context, Christians act to ensure that ideals of justice are more closely adhered to. Here, faced with the colonial situation, we find a turn towards a nascent, unnamed *saeculum*. If Augustine provided the resources through which Marrou could describe a republican resistance, Marrou’s reading of Augustine was already shaped by his engagement with the colonialism of the Third Republic.

CONCLUSION

The raid by the DST in April 1956 was a response to Marrou’s article in *Le Monde*. The police had departed with their fiche of documents on the Fathers of Church, leaving behind them a confusion of papers and broken household appliances. *Permisceo* is the verb Augustine uses to describe the *saeculum*, the ‘time of history’ as Marrou put it and the arena of human life. *Permisceo* denotes the entanglement of two absolute things and their

consequent confusion. It also encapsulates one of the ways that French scholars of the Third Republic thought about the colonized subjects of France:

On the same territory, on the same human subjects, two civilisations exercise their hold: that of the métropole, a great mystery ... for the natives; that of the country (*pays*), fortified by long habituation and by rooted traditions (... *et de traditions enracinées*). These two civilizations modify themselves and fit around each other as they are able.¹³⁸

Augustinian scholarship transformed in the decades between 1930 and 1960. This was partly due to the archaeological work done in Algeria in the wake of Gsell's studies and the development of an academic infrastructure of support. The colonial context played a determining role in the production of this scholarship. Alongside other modes of academic knowledge production, archaeological study was drawn in to the wider material and ideological framework of French colonialism in the Third and Fourth Republics. The "Chronique" of 1954 shows the extent to which archaeological excavations shaped Augustinian studies, but were also important sites for the maintenance of the French colonial imaginary. The expositions and excursions detailed in the "Chronique" rehearsed the relationship between the terrain of the Métropole and the landscape of the colony, between the autonomous French subject and the ahistorical colonized topography, and between the ancient Roman past and French-Algerian scientific modernity. That Augustinian studies was dependent on and determined by this colonial context is implicitly acknowledged by Marrou when he dubs the Algerian war "worse than a civil war". With this quotation of Augustine quoting Lucan, Marrou positioned Augustinian scholarship within the same genealogical relationship with the later Roman past, but also recalls the impact of civil war on the destruction of the Empire.

Marrou's work returned often to the question of how to comprehend imperial collapse and the transformation of civilizations. This theme provided the impetus for his reflections on culture in *Saint Augustin*, and its revision produced those elements of his "Retractatio" that have proved most provocative to succeeding generations of scholarship. As this article has shown, however, this question also lay behind his turn to the *saeculum* in "Civitas Dei, civitas terrena?" As early as 1931, Marrou recognized that the confusions of French colonial policy placed the Christian democrat in a situation where the only good was in preventing the slide into barbarism. Read through Marrou's democratic ethics as applied in his *Le Monde* piece of 1956, "Civitas Dei, civitas terrena" is an attempt to trace meaning in human action and the 'time of history'. This influential analysis of the *permixtio* of *De civ. dei* is entangled with Marrou's own attempt to understand his responsibilities as a citizen of a democratic republic waging colonial war.

Recognizing the colonial context of mid-twentieth century patristic scholarship matters. Knowledge, like all things made by humans, is determined by the conditions of its production. To put it another way, this article has given specific examples of how the analysis of late ancient Christianity was shaped by models of human difference, time, and space that grew from the imperial imaginary of the French Third Republic. Through this patristic scholarship and archaeology, these models of change and causality became disciplinary knowledge, reproduced and incorporated the shared understanding of how the late Roman Empire was.

At the same time, the lack of a serious account of the impact of French colonialism on the knowledge produced about late Roman North African Christianity suggests something important about the way that academics of the Global North in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century conceptualized the world. A number of recent studies have argued that the study of late antiquity is animated by a 'rhetoric of modernity'. One place in which this

modernity makes itself felt is in the elision of the colony as the site of European knowledge production. Recognizing the importance of the study of early Christianity to the maintenance of (neo)colonial power would open up new ways of approaching the discipline. As Gurinder K. Bhambra noted, “acknowledging historical connections, we make the contemporary issues we face shared ones, providing the basis for more adequate and more inclusive ways of addressing them.”¹³⁹ In beginning from the colonial context of “le véritable Augustin,” we might make scholarship that is more attentive to the ways that humans are shaped by the material, political and social confusion in which they live and work. And that would produce something more true, and, according to Marrou, more Augustinian.

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¹ Pierre Riché, *Henri Irénée Marrou, historien engagé* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2003), 242;

“Perquisition au domicile de professeur Henri Marrou,” *Le Monde*, 11 April, 1956,

[https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1956/04/11/perquisition-au-domicile-du-professeur-henri-marrou-en-raison-de-l-article-publie-dans-le-monde-du-5-](https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1956/04/11/perquisition-au-domicile-du-professeur-henri-marrou-en-raison-de-l-article-publie-dans-le-monde-du-5-avril_2256622_1819218.html)

[avril_2256622_1819218.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1956/04/11/perquisition-au-domicile-du-professeur-henri-marrou-en-raison-de-l-article-publie-dans-le-monde-du-5-avril_2256622_1819218.html). The Algerian War began on 1 November 1954 and ended

with Algerian independence in 1962. For general accounts of the war see: Yves Courrière,

La guerre d’Algérie, 1990 ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1970); Martin Evans, *Algeria:*

France’s Undeclared War (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Benjamin Stora,

Histoire de la guerre d’Algérie 1954-1962, Collection Repères (Paris: La Découverte, 2004).

² Henri-Irénée Marrou, “France, ma patrie,” *Le Monde*, 5 April, 1956, 2. See also, André Mandouze, *Mémoires d’outre-siècle*. 2 vols. Vol. 1: *D’une résistance à l’autre* (Paris: Viviane Hamy, 1998). Vol. 2: *1962-1981. A gauche toute, bon Dieu!* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2003), 1:268.

³ Riché, *Henri Irénée Marrou*, 242.

⁴ Yves-Marie Hilaire, “Deuxième table ronde: Les guerres et la guerre d’Algérie”, ed. Yves-Marie Hilaire, *De Renan à Marrou. L’histoire du christianisme et les progrès de la méthode historique (1863-1968)* (Lille: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 1999). 234.

⁵ Peter Brown, “The World of Late Antiquity Revisited,” *Symbolae Osloenses* 72, no. 1 (1997): 5-30, 11.

⁶ Pierre Courcelle, *Les Lettres Grecques en Occident*, 1948 ed. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1943); Jean Guitton, *Le temps et l’éternité chez Plotin et saint Augustin* (Paris: Boivin, 1933); Paul Henry, *Plotin et l’occident. Firmicus Maternus, Marius Victorinus, Saint Augustin et Macrobe*, *Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense* (Louvain, 1934).

⁷ Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*. 4th ed. (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1958); Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Histoire de l’éducation dans l’antiquité* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1948); Henri-Irénée Marrou, “Retractatio,” in *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*. 4th ed. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1958).

⁸ Thomas E. Hunt, “The influence of French colonial humanism on the study of Late Antiquity: Braudel, Marrou, Brown.,” *International Journal of Francophone Studies* 21, no. 1-2 (2019), 255-278; Edward James, “The rise and function of the concept “Late Antiquity”,” *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1, no. 1 (2008): 20-30; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, “Late Antiquity and the concept of decline,” *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 45 (2001): 1-11; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, “Late Antiquity, the rejection of “decline”, and multiculturalism,” in *Atti dell’Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana. XIV Convegno Internazionale in memoria di*

Guglielmo Nocera (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2003), 639-52; Arnaldo Marcone, "A long Late Antiquity?: Considerations on a controversial periodization," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1, no. 1 (2008): 4-19; R. A. Markus, "Evolving disciplinary contexts for the study of Augustine, 1950-2000: some personal reflections," *AugSt* 32, no. 2 (2001): 189-200; R. A. Markus, "Between Marrou and Brown: Transformations of Late Antique Christianity," in *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2009), 1-14; M. Vessey, "The Demise of the Christian writer and the remaking of 'Late Antiquity': From H.-I. Marrou's *Saint Augustin* (1938) to Peter Brown's *Holy Man* (1983)," *J ECS* 6, no. 3 (1998): 377-411; Ian Wood, *The Modern Origins of the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 277-86.

⁹ The most extended engagement with "Anglo-American" late antiquity comes in his final work, Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Décadence romaine ou antiquité tardive?* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1977). This book, aimed at a more popular audience, picks up the question of public perceptions of late Roman decadence that Marrou had already discussed in a footnote in 1949: Marrou, "Retractatio," 664n3.

¹⁰ Claude Dagens, "Henri-Irénée Marrou, historien des origines chrétiennes et de l'Antiquité tardive, théologien de l'histoire," in *Les Pères de l'Église aux Sources de l'Europe*, ed. Dominique Gonnet and Michel Stavrou (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2014), 17-32; Yves-Marie Hilaire, *De Renan à Marrou. L'histoire du christianisme et les progrès de la méthode historique (1863-1968)* (Lille: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 1999); Riché, *Henri Irénée Marrou*. This work can be complemented by Marrou's journals, published posthumously: Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Carnets posthumes, Intimité du christianisme* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2006). A number of memoirs by Marrou's colleagues are also valuable: Jean-Marie Guillon, ed. *Paul-Albert Février. Un historien dans l'Algérie en guerre: un engagement chrétien, 1959-1962*, Intimité du christianisme (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2006);

Maruerite Harl, *La Bible en Sorbonne ou la revanche d'Érasme*, L'Histoire à vif (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2004); André Mandouze, *Mémoires d'outre-siècle.*; Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Mémoires*, 2 vols. (Paris: La Découverte, 1995-1998).

¹¹ See, e.g., the discussion at Jacques Prétovat, “Fondements d’une culture chrétienne,” in *De Renan à Marrou: L’histoire du christianisme et les progrès de la méthode historique (1863-1968)*, ed. Yves-Marie Hilaire (Villeneuve-d’Ascq: Presse universitaires du Septentrion, 1999), 117-32.

¹² Hilaire, “Deuxième table ronde: Les guerres et la guerre d’Algerie,” 225-236; Hunt, “The influence of French colonial humanism on the study of Late Antiquity,” 267-272; Riché, *Henri Irénée Marrou*, 238-50.

¹³ For overviews of the chronology, see W. H. C. Frend, *The Archaeology of Early Christianity: A History*, 1998 paperback ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996); Paul-Albert Février, *Approches du Maghreb romain. Pouvoirs, différences et conflits* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1989). On French archaeology in Tunisia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Clémentine Gutron, *L’archéologie en Tunisie (xixe-xxe siècles). Jeux généalogiques sur l’Antiquité*, Hommes et Sociétés (Paris and Tunis: IRMC - Karthala, 2010).

¹⁴ Vernon J. Bourke, “Perler’s contribution to Augustine biography,” *AugSt* 2 (1971): 219-29; Mark Vessey, “‘*La patristique, c’est autre chose*’: André Mandouze, Peter Brown and the avocations of Patristics as a philological science,” in *Patristic Studies in the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of an International Conference to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the International Association of Patristic Studies*, ed. Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, Theodore De Bruyn, and Carol Harrison (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 443-72, 460-61.

¹⁵ Visiting Tunisia, for example, in 1959 to provide external examining duties: Riché, *Henri Irénée Marrou*, 123. When Algeria won its independence in 1962 Marrou visited at the

invitation of André Mandouze to give an lecture at the University of Algiers: Mandouze, *Mémoires d'outre-siècle*, 2:75.

¹⁶ See e.g., Mandouze's reflections on the build-up and outbreak of war: Mandouze, *Mémoires d'outre-siècle*, 1:224-38. For Courtois: Christian Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, Publications du Gouvernement général de l'Algérie (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1955); Marc Heurgon, "Nécrologie. Christian Courtois," *Annales* 12, no. 3 (1957): 522-23. Courcelle gained a grant from the Gouvernement général de l'Algérie and spent the summer of 1935 digging in North Africa: Pierre Courcelle, "Une seconde campagne de fouilles à Ksar-el-Kelb," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 53 (1936): 166-97.

¹⁷ Abdelmajid Hannoum, "The historiographic state: how Algeria once became French," *History and Anthropology* 19, no. 2 (2008): 91-114; Patricia Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1995); Ian Merkel, "Fernand Braudel, Brazil, and the Empire of French Social Science: Newly Translated Sources from the 1930s," *French Historical Studies* 40, no. 1 (2017): 129-60; Carole Reynaud Paligot, "Usages coloniaux des représentations raciales (1880-1930)," *Cahiers d'histoire* 99 (2006); Carole Reynaud Paligot, *La République raciale: Paradigme raciale et idéologie républicaine (1860-1930)*, Sciences, Histoire et Société (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006); Carole Reynaud Paligot, "Les Annales de Lucien Febvre à Fernand Braudel: Entre épopée coloniale et opposition Orient/Occident," *French Historical Studies* 32, no. 1 (2009): 121-44; Emmanuelle Sibeud, *Une science impériale pour l'Afrique? La construction des savoirs africanistes en France 1878-1930*, Recherches d'histoire et de sciences sociales (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2002); Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude & Colonial Humanism Between the Two World Wars* (Chicago, Illinois and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

¹⁸ Originally published in *Studia Patristica* 2 (1957). See now: Henri-Irénée Marrou, “Civitas Dei, civitas terrena, num tertium quid?,” in *Christiana tempora. Mélanges d’histoire, d’archéologie, d’épigraphie et de patristique*, Publications de l’École française de Rome (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1978), 415-423. Page numbers follow the 1978 printing.

¹⁹ Vidal-Naquet, *Mémoires*, 2:284.

²⁰ Hilaire, “Deuxième table ronde: Les guerres et la guerre d’Algérie,” 233.

²¹ Bonnie Effros, *Incidental Archaeologists: French Officers and the Rediscovery of Roman North Africa* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2018), 35-39.

²² Effros, *Incidental Archaeologists*, 44.

²³ Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 47-49.

²⁴ André Mandouze, “Reconaitre ce qui est,” in *Guerre d’Algérie et colonialisme* (Paris: Comité d’action des intellectuels contre le poursuite de la guerre en Afrique du Nord, 1956), 43-44.

²⁵ For example, Thomas Shaw, an English cleric, visited Algeria in the eighteenth century, making notes of ruins and other features of the landscape. His work was reprinted in French just before the invasion of 1830: Février, *Approches du Maghreb romain*, 29; Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 107 and 258; Jennifer S. Sessions, *By Sword and Plough: France and the Conquest of Algeria* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011), 208-09.

²⁶ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, Vintage 1994 ed. (New York: Vintage, 1993), 33-35.

²⁷ Caroline Ford, “The Inheritance of Empire and the Ruins of Rome in French Colonial Algeria,” *Past and Present* (2015): 57-77; Patricia Lorcin, “Rome and France in North Africa: recovering colonial Algeria’s Latin past,” *French Historical Studies* 295-329 (2002); Nabila Oulebsir, “From ruins to heritage: The past perfect and the idealised antiquity in North

Africa,” in *Multiple Antiquities - Multiple Modernities: Ancient Histories in Nineteenth Century European Cultures*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay, Michael Werner, and Ottó Gecser (Frankfurt-am-Main and New York: Campus, 2011), 335-64.

²⁸ Effros, *Incidental Archaeologists*, 77: “We may view drawings and cartographic representations of the Algerian landscape as methods by which the French inscribed their authority on the landscape by submitting it to familiar language, imagery, structures, and symbols.”

²⁹ Février, *Approches du Maghreb romain*, 35-37.

³⁰ Février, *Approches du Maghreb romain*, 90.

³¹ “the imaginary of the past: a knowledge becoming,” Édouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, trans. Betsy Wing (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 1. “For Glissant the imaginary is all the ways a culture has of perceiving and conceiving of the world,” Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, xxii. For “imperial imaginary” applied to French intellectuals between 1918 and 1939, see Merkel, “Fernand Braudel, Brazil, and the Empire of French Social Science,” 136.

³² Claims regarding the nonchalance or hostility of *les indigènes* towards Roman ruins should be treated with a lot of suspicion: Effros, *Incidental Archaeologists*, 31-32.

³³ Février, *Approches du Maghreb romain*, 58-59.

³⁴ Bonnie Effros, “Museum building in nineteenth-century Algeria,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 26, no. 1 (2016): 243-59. Nabila Oulebsir tracks the institutional development of museums in Algeria through the second half of the nineteenth century: Nabila Oulebsir, *Les usages du patrimoine. Monuments, musées et politique coloniale en Algérie (1830-1930)* (Paris: Fondation de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 2004), 184-193.

³⁵ Février, *Approches du Maghreb romain*, 54-55; Oulebsir, *Les usages de patrimoine*, 181.

³⁶ Stéphane Gsell and Henri Graillot, “Exploration archéologique dans le département de Constantine (Algérie) — Ruines romaines au nord de l’Aurès (à suivre),” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 13 (1893): 461-541, 461=62.

³⁷ Gsell and Graillot, “Exploration archéologique,” 472-73.

³⁸ Frend, *The Archaeology of Early Christianity*, 121; Stéphane Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l’Algérie. Édition spéciale des cartes au 200.000e du Service Géographique de l’Armée* (Alger and Paris: A. Jourdain and Fontemoing & Cie, 1911).

³⁹ The most significant of these being the excavations at Timgad: Février, *Approches du Maghreb romain*, 61.

⁴⁰ Alice L. Conklin, *In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850-1950* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2013), 193-94; Vincent Debaene, *Far Afield: French Anthropology between Science and Literature*, trans. Justin Izzo (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 26-27.

⁴¹ Reynaud Paligot, *La République raciale*, 15-19.

⁴² Reynaud Paligot, “Usages coloniaux des représentations raciales (1880-1930),” 6.

⁴³ Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilise: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997), 103-05; Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 125-26.

⁴⁴ Debaene, *Far Afield*, 26-27; Reynaud Paligot, “Les Annales de Lucien Febvre à Fernand Braudel,” 142-43.

⁴⁵ Corisande Fenwick, “Archaeology and the Search for Authenticity: Colonialist, Nationalist, and Berberist Visions of an Algerian Past,” in *TRAC 2007: Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, London 2007.*, ed. Corisande Fenwick, M. Wiggins, and D. Wythe (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 79; Sibeud, *Une science impériale pour l’Afrique?*, 86-88.

⁴⁶ André Berthier, F. Logeart, and M. Martin, *Les vestiges du christianisme antique dans la Numidie centrale* (Alger: Maison-Carrée, 1943).

⁴⁷ Frend, *The Archaeology of Early Christianity*, 230-32.

⁴⁸ Berthier, Logeart, and Martin, *Les vestiges du christianisme*, 221-22. He cites Edmond Doutté, "Notes sur l'islam Maghribin: les Marabouts" *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 40 (1899): 343-69.

⁴⁹ Berthier, Logeart, and Martin, *Les vestiges du christianisme*, 223.

⁵⁰ Berthier, Logeart, and Martin, *Les vestiges du christianisme*, 224.

⁵¹ Lorcin, "Rome and France," 306.

⁵² Jean Baradez, *Fossatum Africae. Recherches aériennes sur l'organisation des confins sahariens à l'époque romaine* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1949), 362.

⁵³ Diana K. Davis, *Resurrecting the Granary of Rome: Environmental History and French Colonial Expansion in North Africa*, Series in Ecology and History (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2011), 20-21.

⁵⁴ Lorcin, "Rome and France," 328. On the historical development of the connection between race and landscape in Algeria under French rule, see: Abdelmajid Hannoum, "Colonialism and knowledge in Algeria: The archives of the Arab bureau," *History and Anthropology* 12, no. 4 (2001): 343-79, 350; Hannoum, "The historiographic state," 98-99. This development was part of a wider debate about the fixity of the human species, the nature of human evolution, and "progress" which heavily influenced the formation of French racial theory around the turn of the twentieth century, for which see Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 150-53; Reynaud Paligot, *La République raciale*.

⁵⁵ Oulebsir, *Les usages du patrimoine*, 178.

⁵⁶ Ford, "The Inheritance of Empire and the Ruins of Rome in French Colonial Algeria," 76-77.

⁵⁷ Ford, “The Inheritance of Empire and the Ruins of Rome in French Colonial Algeria,” 73-77. See also, Hannoum, “The historiographic state,” 95.

⁵⁸ Similarly, Nicole Louraux, “L’autochtonie: une topique athénienne. Le mythe dans l’espace civique,” *Annales* 34, no. 1 (1979): 3-26, 7.

⁵⁹ Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), 3.

⁶⁰ Lorcin, “Rome and France,” 295.

⁶¹ Lorcin, “Rome and France,” 328.

⁶² “Chronique,” *REAug* 1, no. 1 (1955): 93-97, 93. Bône (modern Annaba) abutted the site of Hippo Regius. *REAug* notes this event as happening in Hippo.

⁶³ “Chronique,” 93.

⁶⁴ “Chronique,” 93.

⁶⁵ The conference proceedings are gathered into the third volume of *Augustinus Magister. Congrès International Augustinien, Paris, 21-24 septembre 1954*. 3 vols. (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1954).

⁶⁶ “Chronique,” 95.

⁶⁷ Bourke, “Perler’s contribution to Augustine biography.”; Vessey, “‘*La patristique, c’est autre chose*’,” 260-61.

⁶⁸ Mandouze, *Mémoires d’outre-siècle*, 1:226-27. Mandouze’s interview is cited approvingly by Marrou at the very end of *Augustin et Augustinisme*: Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Saint Augustin et l’augustinisme*, *Maitres spirituels* (Paris: Éditions du seuil, 1955), 180.

⁶⁹ Hilaire, “Deuxième table ronde: Les guerres et la guerre d’Algerie,” 233.

⁷⁰ Fenwick, “Archaeology and the Search for Authenticity,” 83.

⁷¹ These were published as Erwan Marec, *Monuments chrétiens d'Hippone: ville épiscopale de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1958). See also Xavier Delestre, ed. *Hippone* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 2005).

⁷² Henri-Irénée Marrou, "La Basilique chrétienne d'Hippone d'après le résultat des dernières fouilles," *RÉAug* 6 (1960): 109-54. Marrou also circulated the drafts privately: Guillon, *Paul-Albert Février*, 248. For an overview of scholarship on the basilica, see Bruno Bizot, "La basilique et ses abords," in *Hippone*, ed. Xavier Delestre (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 2005), 193-215.

⁷³ This approach would culminate in Perler's important *Les voyages de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1969).

⁷⁴ André Mandouze, *Saint Augustin. L'aventure de la raison et de grâce* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1968), 145n3 and 630-632. See also Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A biography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 190.

⁷⁵ Marrou, "La Basilique chrétienne d'Hippone," 109.

⁷⁶ Marec, *Monuments chrétiens d'Hippone*.

⁷⁷ Jean Lassus, "Erwan Marec (1888-1968)," *Antiquités africaines* 4 (1970): 7-14, 9.

⁷⁸ Hélène Blais and Florence Deprest, "The Mediterranean, a territory between France and Colonial Algeria: imperial constructions," *Revue européenne d'histoire* 19, no. 1 (2012): 33-57.

⁷⁹ Courrière, *La guerre d'Algérie*, 1.636; Evans, *Algeria*, 151; Stora, *Histoire de la guerre d'Algérie*, 20-21.

⁸⁰ Marrou, "La Basilique chrétienne d'Hippone," 109.

⁸¹ Evans, *Algeria*, 234.

⁸² Evans, *Algeria*, 239-40.

⁸³ Augustine, *De ciuitate dei* 3.14 (CSEL 40/1, p.126 l.25): *Nam et hoc plus quam civile bellum fuit...* See H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics*, 2 vols., *Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* (Göteborg: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967); Oliver Phillips, “St. Augustine’s Lucanesque Moment: the Third Book of the *City of God*,” *AugSt* 22 (1991): 157-64.

⁸⁴ Aug. *De ciu. dei* 3.13 (CSEL 40/1, p.124 l.16). He quotes here in full the opening lines of the poem. Marrou believed that Augustine’s engagement with Lucan was through anthologies of his work Marrou, *Saint Augustin*, p.18 and 136; Phillips, “St. Augustine’s Lucanesque Moment” 157.

⁸⁵ Evans, *Algeria*, 256-57.

⁸⁶ Hilaire, “Deuxième table ronde: Les guerres et la guerre d’Algerie,” 235.

⁸⁷ Responding to complaints, Bourgès-Maunoury facetiously noted the disorder of Marrou’s papers: Riché, *Henri Irénée Marrou*, 243.

⁸⁸ Leopold Sédar Senghor, “De la liberté de l’âme ou Éloge du métissage,” in *Liberté I, Négritude et humanisme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 99.

⁸⁹ Senghor, “De la liberté de l’âme,” 98.

⁹⁰ James D. Le Sueur, *Uncivil War: Intellectuals and Identity Politics during the Decolonization of Algeria*, Second ed. (Lincoln, Nebraska and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 147-84.

⁹¹ Conklin, *A Mission to Civilise*, 9-10.

⁹² Conklin, *A Mission to Civilise*, 102-06; Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 126-28.

⁹³ Maurice Agulhon, *The French Republic, 1879-1992*, trans. Antonia Nevill (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 334-40; D. Bruce Marshall, *The French Colonial Myth and Constitution Making in the Fourth Republic* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1973), 44-49.

⁹⁴ Marrou, “Civitas Dei, civitas terrena”

⁹⁵ Aug. *De ciu. dei* 11.1: ... *quas in hoc interim saeculo perplexas quodam modo diximus invicemque permixtas ...*

⁹⁶ Charles Journet, review of Marrou, Henri-Irénée. *De la connaissance historique*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1954., *Nova et Vetera* 30 (1955): 149-54.

⁹⁷ Marrou, “Civitas Dei, civitas terrena,” 421.

⁹⁸ ‘le donné empirique de l’histoire ... le “temps de l’histoire”’, citing Aug. *De ciu. Dei* 15.1: Marrou, “Civitas Dei, civitas terrena,” 421.

⁹⁹ Marrou, “Civitas Dei, civitas terrena,” 423.

¹⁰⁰ Henri-Xavier Arquillière, *L’Augustinisme politique: essai sur la formation des théories politiques du Moyen Âge*, *L’Église et l’état au Moyen Âge* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1934); Etienne Gilson, *Introduction à l’étude de Saint Augustin*, Second ed., *Etudes de philosophie médiévale* (Paris: Vrin, 1943), 238-41; Etienne Gilson, “Église et Cité de Dieu chez Saint Augustine,” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 20 (1953): 5-23; Henri de Lubac, “Political Augustinianism,” in *Theological Fragments* (San Francisco, California: Ignatius Press, 1989), 235-86. For an introduction and assessment of this debate, see Michael J. S. Bruno, *Political Augustinianism: Modern Interpretations of Augustine’s Political Thought* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014).

¹⁰¹ R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: history and society in the theology of St. Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); R. A. Markus, *Christianity and the Secular* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 2006); John Millbank, *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 4-6-408; Vessey, “The demise of the Christian writer,” 383.

¹⁰² Bruno, *Political Augustinianism*, 52-53.

¹⁰³ Marrou, “Retractatio,” 693-99. The autonomy of Latin culture in the fourth and fifth centuries was recognised in Henri-Irénée Marrou, “Culture, civilisation, decadence,” in *Christiana tempora. Mélanges d’histoire, d’archéologie, d’épigraphie et de patristique* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1978), 3-30, 26. Originally published as, Henri-Irénée Marrou, “Culture, civilisation, decadence,” *Revue de synthèse* 58 (1938), 133-160. Citations are to the 1978 printing.

¹⁰⁴ And which were already present in tentative form in the original text: Marrou, *Saint Augustin*, Vn1.

¹⁰⁵ This was becoming clear in 1942, as Marrou began to think seriously about the Retractatio: Marrou, *Carnets posthumes*, 257. It’s present already in 1938 when considers the validity of the term ‘decadence’ to describe the late Roman world: “... oublions que nous sommes des historiens, essayons de juger au point de vue de l’humain.” (“... forget we are historians, try to judge from the point of view of the human.”): Marrou, “Culture, civilisation, decadence,” 29.

¹⁰⁶ Marrou, “Retractatio,” 695-96.

¹⁰⁷ Arquillière, *L’Augustinisme politique*; Henri-Irénée Marrou, review of Cochrane, Charles Norris. *Christianity and Classical Culture*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1940., *The Review of Politics* 9, no. 2 (1947): 247-51, 251.

¹⁰⁸ Debaene, *Far Afield*, 122-23; Jon Kirwan, *An Avant-garde Theological Generation: The Nouvelle Théologie and the French Crisis of Modernity*, Oxford Theology and Religion Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 137-44.

¹⁰⁹ James Chappel, *Catholic Modern: The Challenge of Totalitarianism and the Remaking of the Church* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2018). Bernard E. Doering, *Jacques Maritain and the French Catholic Intellectuals* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984); Jude P. Dougherty, *Jacques Maritain: An*

Intellectual Profile (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003).

Maritain's ideas on civilization and culture are briefly considered without being identified at Senghor, "De la liberté de l'âme," 101.

¹¹⁰ Kirwan, *An Avant-garde Theological Generation*, 67-68; Prétovat, "Fondements d'une culture chrétienne," 119.

¹¹¹ Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de Saint Augustin*, 310; Laurence K. Shook, *Étienne Gilson*, Étienne Gilson series (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984), 189-90. For a clear and resolute insistence on Augustine's significance for the development of Thomism, see Étienne Gilson, "The future of Augustinian metaphysics," in *A Monument to Saint Augustine* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1930), 289-315, 312-15.

¹¹² Fulbert Cayré, "Nouvelle édition de Saint Augustin," *RevSR* 20, no. 1-2 (1940): 132-39, 133. For a juxtaposition of the two strands of Augustine's reception exemplified by Gilson and Cayré, see Jérôme Lagouanère, "Le Saint Augustin d'Étienne Gilson : une lecture de l'Introduction à l'étude de Saint Augustin d'Étienne Gilson," *Cahiers d'Études du Religieux* 16 (2016).

¹¹³ Riché, *Henri Irénée Marrou*, 40.

¹¹⁴ Prétovat, "Fondements d'une culture chrétienne," 118-20; Riché, *Henri Irénée Marrou*, 24-28.

¹¹⁵ Wood, *The Modern Origins of the Early Middle Ages*, 283.

¹¹⁶ H. Davenson, *Fondements d'une culture chrétienne*, Cahiers de la nouvelle journée (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1934), 23. For *Fondements* as part of a wider project of diagnosis for Marrou and his peers in the early 1930s, see Riché, *Henri Irénée Marrou*, 42-44. Marrou used the pseudonym Henri Davenson throughout his life.

¹¹⁷ Davenson, *Fondements d'une culture chrétienne*, 62.

¹¹⁸ Davenson, *Fondements d'une culture chrétienne*, 54. The reference is part of a longer discussion on culture and modernity that begins with a reflection on Curtius.

¹¹⁹ Davenson, *Fondements d'une culture chrétienne*, 152-53; Riché, *Henri Irénée Marrou*, 41.

¹²⁰ Davenson, *Fondements d'une culture chrétienne*, 123.

¹²¹ Henri-Irénée Marrou, "Le probleme coloniale et l'idée de civilisation," in *Crise de notre temps et réflexion chrétienne (de 1930 à 1975)*, Religions - Société politique (Paris: Beauchesne, 1978), 159-174. Originally Henri-Irénée Marrou, "Le probleme coloniale et l'idée de civilisation," *Politique* (1931): 588-609. Page numbers follow 1978 edition.

¹²² Marrou, "Le probleme coloniale," 161-64.

¹²³ Marrou, "Le probleme coloniale," 171-72.

¹²⁴ Marrou, "Le probleme coloniale," 166-67.

¹²⁵ Marrou, "Le probleme coloniale," 172.

¹²⁶ Marrou, "Retractatio," 660-63.

¹²⁷ Marrou, "France, ma patrie," 2.

¹²⁸ Hilaire, "Deuxième table ronde: Les guerres et la guerre d'Algerie," 233.

¹²⁹ Hilaire, "Deuxième table ronde: Les guerres et la guerre d'Algerie," 233.

¹³⁰ David Drake, *French Intellectuals and Politics in Post-War France*, French Politics, Society and Culture (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 113; Jean-François Sirinelli, *Intellectuels et passions françaises: manifestes et pétitions au XXe siècle*, Collection folio histoire (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 315.

¹³¹ Drake, *French Intellectuals and Politics*, 113. For the example of Zola, see Drake, *French Intellectuals and Politics*, 2-3. Marrou echoes Zola's appeals to citizenly duty.

¹³² Marrou, "France, ma patrie," 2.

¹³³ Marrou, "France, ma patrie," 2.

¹³⁴ A term he deployed in a similar sense at “Civitas Dei, civitas terrena,” 418.

¹³⁵ Marrou, “France, ma patrie,” 2.

¹³⁶ Wood, *The Modern Origins of the Early Middle Ages*, 283.

¹³⁷ Compare the closing lines of Alleg’s *La question*: “[the great people of France] must know what is done IN THEIR NAME.” Henri Alleg, *The Question* [La question], trans. John Calder, 2006 ed. (Lincoln, Nebraska and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 96.

¹³⁸ L. Tordeur, review of *Le problème social aux Colonies. Semaines sociales de France*, Marseille, 1930, *Revue néo-scholastique de philosophie* 34 (1932): 284. The citation is from page 45 of the reviewed work.

¹³⁹ Gurminder K. Bhambra, “Whither Europe?,” *Interventions* 18, no. 2 (2016): 187-202, 201.