
Distantly Reading the Recueil des Cours: Authority and Authorities in the History of the Hague Academy of International Law

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1 Introduction

The Hague Academy recently turned 100 years old. What has its role been as a site of authority in international law? This study undertakes a large-scale quantitative analysis of its corpus of lectures to answer that question. We apply computational and scientometric methods and use citation data and network analysis techniques to analyse patterns and trends across the entire *Recueil des cours de l'Académie de droit international de la Haye*, thus 'distantly reading' them in the tradition of Franco Moretti.¹

We investigate how the Academy's authority is constructed and perceived both within and outside: within, by the Academy itself, and outside, by the rest of international legal scholarship and practice. The 'within' analysis involves examining the Academy's claims to its own authority.² The 'outside' analysis involves examining how its lectures have been utilized and referenced in academic literature and by expert bodies. Our core finding is the difference between the two analyses: while Hague lectures are clearly important for Hague lectures, the world outside seems to both pay less attention and matter less.

We find that none of the authors most cited in the Hague lectures are not also lecturers at the academy, except for one person (Paul Fauchille): Hague lecturers recognize the importance of Hague lecturers; references within the group work well. But Hague lectures are comparatively not much cited overall, particularly in international law scholarship generally, although they are decently cited in international legal

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¹ Moretti, 'Conjectures on World Literature', 1 *New Left Review* (2000) 54.

² McNair, 'Review: The First-Fruits of the Hague Academy of International Law', 9 *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law* (1927) 142.

practice: international law scholars in general seem not terribly interested in what is happening at the Academy if their citation practice is any guide; references to the group from outside are limited. And what is most cited in Hague lectures is not external material but, indeed, other Hague lectures: Hague lecturers recognize non-Hague lecturers less as authorities than they do other Hague lecturers; references from the group to the outside is limited. The Academy's authority, and the corresponding intellectual influence, is more recognized and reproduced within than outside. Brutally simplified, the Hague Academy comes across, in this analysis, as a group of individuals who cite one another but do not cite the rest of the world very much, which reciprocates by not citing them very much. The image of an ivory tower offers itself, as does the notion of a field within a field.³ In short, the Academy is somewhat inward looking.

To be fair, our findings may not be definitive. Our analysis is, inevitably, limited by the availability and quality of citation data. As Oona Hathaway and John Bowers⁴ (and commentators of their article)⁵ have observed, citation databases can be incomplete and prone to errors, particularly for legal scholarship. Moreover, the act of citing itself is a complex social practice, influenced by a variety of factors beyond simple intellectual influence. Nonetheless, we believe that citation analysis, when used carefully and in conjunction with other forms of analysis, can provide valuable insights into the circulation of ideas and the dynamics of scholarly influence. It is the best method currently available to identify larger-scale patterns.

2 The Authority and the Authorities of the Hague Academy

Our methodology draws inspiration from the pioneering work of Derek de Solla Price and Eugene Garfield, who laid the foundations for the field of scientometrics.⁶ The extraction and measurement process we used to identify cited authorities in the courses involved several technical steps, which were necessary to handle the large volume and inconsistent nature of the data. We initially extracted over 100,000 references from 960 courses that included bibliographies. To process this data, we developed a Python script utilizing OpenAI's GPT-3.5-turbo model via their batch application programming interface (API) after filtering out low-quality or irrelevant entries to help focus our analysis on more substantive and likely valid references.⁷

³ To push this to an extreme for illustrative purposes, one could imagine (one day) someone being 'Professor of Hague Academy international law'.

⁴ Hathaway and Bowers, 'International Law Scholarship: An Empirical Study', 49 *Yale Journal of International Law* (2023) 101.

⁵ M. Milanovic, 'Horrible Metrics, Part Deux', *EJILTalk!* (9 May 2024), available at www.ejiltalk.org/horrible-metrics-part-deux/.

⁶ Mingers and Leydesdorff, 'A Review of Theory and Practice in Scientometrics', 246 *European Journal of Operational Research* (2015) 1; de Solla Price, 'Networks of Scientific Papers', 149 *Science* (1965) 510; Garfield, 'Citation Indexes for Science: A New Dimension in Documentation through Association of Ideas', 122 *Science* (1955) 108.

⁷ Total references: 104,039; references meeting criteria: 78,357. References were processed in batches of 5,000, which were sent to the API simultaneously. This approach significantly improved processing speed compared to individual requests. The script used a custom JSON Lines (JSONL) format for batch requests.

A Authorities (and Authors) in the *Recueil des cours*

We first focus on citations between lecturers: citations made in Hague lectures to other Hague lectures. The network visualization offers a fascinating glimpse into the intellectual connections and influences (Figure 1). As would be the case with most maps of citations within a field, however defined, clusters appear of authors citing one another as they engage with one another's ideas and deal with the same questions.⁸ The

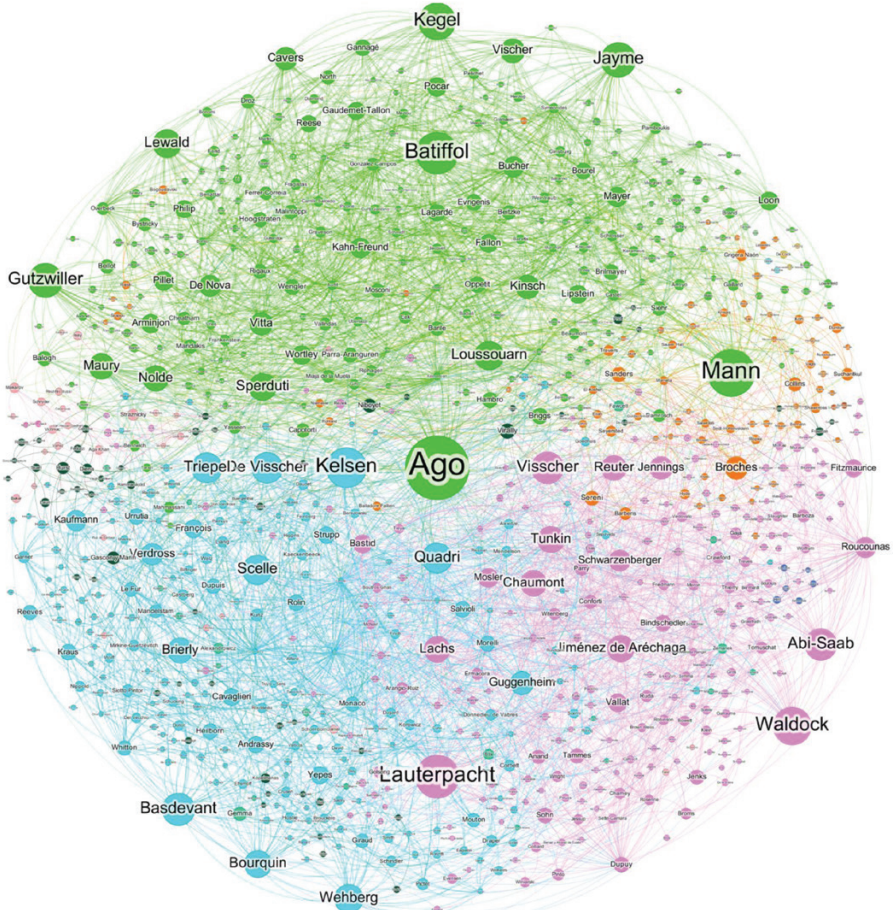


Figure 1: Citations between lectures (based on lectures alone)

with each line representing a single reference to be processed. The core of our extraction method relied on prompting the language model to parse each reference and extract key information. We provided the model with a system message instructing it to categorize the reference type (for example, bibliographic reference, court case, treaty) and extract the author, title, year and source. The model's response was then parsed to create a structured representation of each reference. This method was effective for standardizing a large portion of the references, though it is worth noting that some highly irregular citations may have been missed or incorrectly parsed, representing a limitation of this approach.

⁸ For other examples of such clusters within a field, see, e.g., Niccolò Ridi and Thomas Schultz, 'Tracing the Footprints of International Law Ideas: A Scientometric Analysis', 64 *Virginia Journal of International Law* (2024) 405.

prominence of Roberto Ago as a bridge between the clusters of Academy lecturers, in this regard, is unsurprising given his stature as a leading figure in both private and public international law. The tendency for lecturers to cite those who have delivered multiple courses and addressed ‘timeless’ topics is also noteworthy. This pattern suggests a form of intellectual ‘canonization’ within the Academy, where certain lecturers and themes gain prominence and are repeatedly invoked as authoritative voices.

This tendency also raises questions about the Academy’s openness to new ideas and approaches. Does the emphasis on established figures and themes limit the space for innovative scholarship and critical perspectives? Does it reinforce a particular vision of international law, potentially marginalizing alternative voices and approaches?

To answer these questions, we extended the analysis to all other scholarly authorities cited to determine whether and to what extent there is an overlap between the list of most cited course lecturers and the list of most cited authors *tout court*. The top five most cited authors in the broader legal scholarship, as referenced in Academy courses (that is, the authors most cited in Academy courses), are Elihu Lauterpacht, Hans Kelsen, Alfred Verdross, Paul Lagarde and Georges Scelle. The list of most cited course authors (that is the Academy lecturers most cited in Academy courses) features Ago (77 citations), Francis Mann (55), Lauterpacht (50), Henri Batiffol (48) and Kelsen (46).

Lauterpacht and Kelsen appear prominently in both lists, indicating their significant influence on Academy courses both in their capacity as course authors and in their capacity as scholars publishing elsewhere. This dual presence suggests that their work has had a profound impact on international law (assuming Academy courses are representative of the field), both through their direct contributions to the Academy and through their broader scholarly output.

Scelle, while among the top five most cited authors overall, appears lower in the list of most cited course authors with 32 citations. This discrepancy might suggest that, while Scelle’s work is frequently referenced and discussed in Academy courses, his direct contributions as a course author, while still significant, did not reach the same level of prominence as his overall body of work. Notably, Ago, the most cited course author, does not appear in the top five of the broader citation list. This suggests that, while Ago’s courses were highly influential within the Academy, his broader corpus of work may not have achieved the same level of citation in the wider legal scholarship referenced by Academy lecturers. Similarly, Mann and Batiffol, who are among the top cited course authors, do not feature in the top five of the broader citation list. This could indicate that their influence was particularly strong within the Academy but perhaps less pronounced in the wider field.

Verdross and Lagarde, who appear in the top five most cited authors overall, are also present in the list of most cited course authors but not in the top five (Verdross with 35 citations; Lagarde’s citation count is not provided in the given data). This suggests that, while their overall body of work is frequently cited in Academy courses, their direct contributions as course authors, while significant, did not reach the same level of citation as some of their peers. Why their Academy course contributions to international law were comparatively less influential than their other contributions

to the field is not explained by the data: were their Academy courses simply not their best work? Or were their courses narrower in scope than what they published elsewhere? Or were their courses not the most advanced expressions of their ideas (if the same ideas are expressed in different progressive iterations in different places, one may assume that the most advanced expressions are the most cited)?⁹ Or perhaps no good market opportunities have (yet) opened up for the ideas they formulated in the Academy courses, for one of several possible reasons?¹⁰

We also developed a computational approach to identify the ‘rising stars’ of the field, based on the average annual growth rate in citations over the last 10 years.¹¹ The top five rising stars are listed as Jan Klabbers (12.98 per cent growth rate), Serge Sur (12.25 per cent), Finn Seyersted (10.41 per cent), Karl Zemanek (8.01 per cent) and Giorgio Gaja (7.18 per cent). These scholars show the most rapid increase in citations, indicating either growing recognition of the significance of their work or emerging market opportunities for it. The presence of both newer names (like Klabbers) and established scholars on this list suggests a field that is both evolving and maintaining connections to its foundational figures. The data also reveal some interesting patterns in terms of the longevity of scholars’ influence. For instance, we see that some of the most cited course authors, like Lauterpacht and Kelsen, have maintained their influence over many decades. Their high citation counts, both as course authors and in the broader scholarship, suggest that their work has had lasting relevance in the field of international law (see [Table 1](#)).

B *Authority of the Recueil des cours for the Rest of the World*

1 *In Legal Scholarship*

To assess the relevance of the Hague lectures for the outside world, we developed a script to extract a rich dataset from the OpenAlex database, a vast repository of scholarly knowledge created by the non-profit organization OurResearch, which offers a fully open catalogue of the global research system. This allowed us to move beyond merely identifying which works cited the Hague courses directly and also map the

⁹ See, for instance, the discussions in Simma, ‘The Contribution of Alfred Verdross to the Theory of International Law’, 6 *European Journal of International Law (EJIL)* (1995) 33, at 35 (‘some of Verdross’s ideas and conceptions changed considerably in the course of the more than six decades of his scholarly activity’).

¹⁰ On market opportunities for ideas in international law, see Schultz, ‘International Law in the Minds: On the Ideational Basis of the Making, the Changing, and the Unmaking of International Law’, 37 *Leiden Journal of International Law* (2024) 649.

¹¹ The rising stars analysis was designed to identify authors whose citation rates have shown significant growth over the past decade. The calculation process involved several steps. First, the script grouped citations by author and year, calculating the number of unique courses citing each author per year. This approach focuses on the breadth of an author’s influence across different courses rather than raw citation counts. Next, the script considered a 20-year window, looking at the most recent decade of data available. For each author, it identified their citation counts at the start and end of this period. The script then calculated the Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) for each author, accounting for compounding effects over the decade. To be included in the analysis, authors needed to have citations in at least two years within the 10-year window.

network of citations that connect them to a broader scholarly ecosystem, encompassing both direct and indirect citations. To further enrich our understanding, we went beyond mapping the network’s structure and incorporated a temporal dimension, drawing upon established scientometric principles, and calculated a suite of metrics designed to capture the nuances of scholarly influence over time. For example, Impact Lag, calculated as the time between a work’s publication and its earliest citation, provides insight into the speed at which a work gains traction within the field. Longevity, on the other hand, which is calculated as the span of time between the first and most recent citations, offers a measure of a work’s enduring relevance within the academic discourse.

Our examination of the Hague lectures reveals that public international law (PIL) courses generally receive more citations than private international law (PrIL)

Table 1: Top 30 most cited authors

Author	Unique course cites	Unique years cited
Lauterpacht, H.	135	70
Kelsen, H.	118	65
Scelle, G.	87	54
Verdross, A.	86	54
Lagarde, P.	82	44
Batiffol, H.	78	47
Rigaux, F.	72	39
Jayme, E.	68	34
Mann, F.A.	67	44
Virally, M.	63	41
Wengler, W.	60	37
Cassese, A.	60	34
Brownlie, I.	59	39
Ago, R.	59	42
Guggenheim, P.	57	39
Mayer, P.	56	30
Schwarzenberger, G.	55	34
Schachter, O.	54	40
Bucher, A.	53	29
Reuter, P.	52	38
Anzilotti, D.	52	42
Wright, Q.	51	37
Higgins, R.	51	33
Rosenne, S.	49	35
Kegel, G.	48	34
Goldman, B.	46	30
Nussbaum, A.	45	37
Lalive, P.	45	26
Crawford, J.	45	25
Siehr, K.	44	27

courses.¹² Why that is the case is not explained by the data. Plausible hypotheses include: the field of PIL is larger than that of PrIL, leading to more possibilities for citations;¹³ Academy courses are more prestigious and authoritative in PIL than in PrIL; and PIL is traversed by more questions that radiate through the field and are addressed by Hague lecturers, perhaps because PrIL is more dependent on diverse national laws. The contribution of the data in this regard is to help formulate such hypotheses, which could be tested with other methods.

Citation counts on OpenAlex ranging from 150 to 201 are not particularly high figures for international law. Yet the five most cited Hague lectures are within this range (see Appendix 1). For comparators, consider that Antony Anghie's *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*¹⁴ has 1,796 citations on OpenAlex, Malcolm Shaw's textbook *International Law*¹⁵ has 1,350 (combining its different editions), Martti Koskenniemi's *Gentler Civilizer of Nations*¹⁶ has 1,500 and his *From Apology to Utopia*¹⁷ has 1,213. Tom Franck's article 'The Emerging Right to Democratic Governance'¹⁸ has 1,044, Ian Brownlie's *International Law and the Use of Force by States*¹⁹ has 748 and the *European Journal of International Law* has over 30 articles that are cited more than 200 times.

To be clear, however, while our data allow us to precisely compare the impact of Hague courses (through the proxy of citation counts) compared with one another, we can offer no robust analysis of the impact of Hague courses compared with other publication outlets: for other publication outlets, the figures of citation counts are handpicked for illustrative purposes. What can probably be said, with some hedging, is that a body of publications whose most cited items over a century have garnered 201 citations is, on the whole within the scholarly field of international law, not quite a shining centre. Depending on the comparators, it ranges, as a publication outlet, somewhere alongside the top 20 journals in the field. Would we truly notice the individual disappearance of most of these publication outlets? By the same count, would we truly notice the disappearance of the Hague Academy lectures?

Now, if a Hague lecturer wished to be cited more, would it help to write something more monumental – more precisely, a longer text? The answer is not necessarily. The relationship between course length and citation impact is complex, as illustrated in the

¹² Also, the top five most cited courses, including Eduardo Jiménez de Aréchaga's 'International Law in the Past Third of a Century', 159 *Recueil des Cours de l'Académie de Droit International* 9 (1978) and Bruno Simma's 'From Bilateralism to Community Interest in International Law', (250) *Recueil des Cours* 233 (1994), all fall within the realm of public international law (PIL). The citation counts were obtained using the OpenAlex API, which provides comprehensive metadata on scholarly works. Our Python script queried this database for each HAIL course, counting the number of citing documents.

¹³ It is rumoured that nearly 50 per cent of all books published by Oxford University Press deal with PIL, leaving a fraction of the remaining 50 per cent to private international law.

¹⁴ A. Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (2005).

¹⁵ M. Shaw, *International Law* (9th ed., 2021).

¹⁶ M. Koskenniemi, *The Gentle Civilizer of Nations* (2001).

¹⁷ M. Koskenniemi, *From Apology to Utopia* (1989).

¹⁸ Franck, 'The Emerging Right to Democratic Governance', 86 *American Journal of International Law* 46 (1992).

¹⁹ I. Brownlie, *International Law and the Use of Force by States* (1963).

scatter plot of word count versus citation count. While there is a wide range of course lengths – from concise lectures to extensive treatises exceeding 300,000 words – there is no strong linear correlation between length and citations. Some shorter courses achieve high citation counts, while many lengthy courses receive few citations. This suggests that factors such as content relevance or author reputation may be more influential in determining a course’s impact than its length (Figure 2).²⁰

Theoretical topics, especially those dealing with fundamental principles and the structure of international law, tend to receive more citations than courses on specific practical issues. Courses like Gerald Fitzmaurice’s ‘The General Principles of International Law Considered from the Standpoint of the Rule of Law’ and Hermann Mosler’s ‘The International Society as a Legal Community’ are among the most cited (see Figure 3).²¹

The longevity of Hague courses, as visualized in the histogram of course longevity, demonstrates the enduring impact of certain courses. The distribution is roughly bell shaped with a right skew, indicating that, while most courses have a longevity of 20–30 years, some continue to be cited for 80–100 years after publication.²² The latter remind us of Jörg Kammerhofer’s observation, in the context of a discussion of

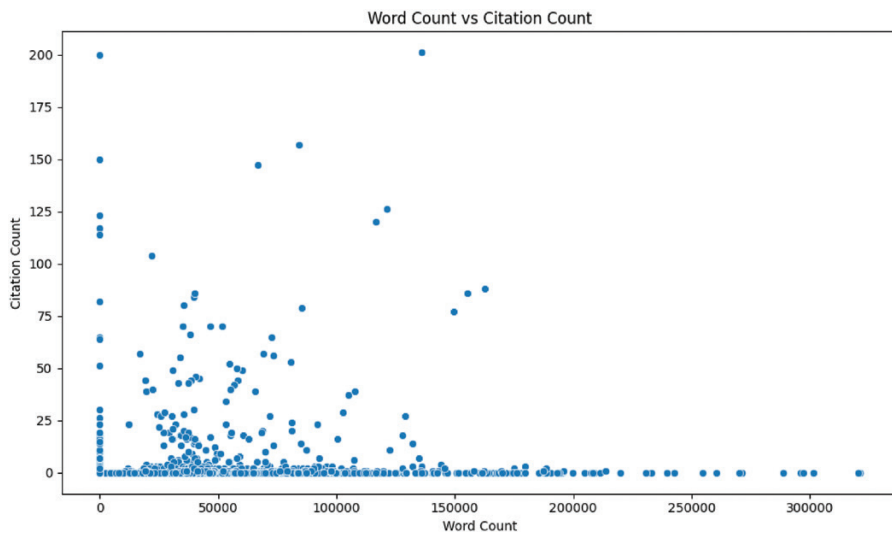


Figure 2: *Correlation between course length and citations*

²⁰ Our analysis calculated the Pearson correlation coefficient between word count and citation count, yielding a weak positive correlation of 0.02.

²¹ Our analysis does not differentiate between citations in theoretical versus practical contexts. A more detailed study of the citing works could provide insights into how these courses influence different aspects of international law.

²² The ‘longevity’ score was calculated as the difference between the publication year and the latest citation year. This metric helps identify courses with lasting impact.

the *procès-verbaux* of the Advisory Committee of Jurists about the Permanent Court of International Justice, that '[t]he international lawyer reading [these *procès-verbaux*] is reminded repeatedly of how much we “modern” international lawyers still think in the same categories as our predecessors 86 years ago’.²³ Overall, the longevity of Academy courses seems rather high compared to what has been measured elsewhere.²⁴ Why some courses enjoy a two-decade longevity and others a longevity of nearly a century depends on many factors, probably related to the evolving market for ideas; which of these factors play a distinct role is not something the data allow us to establish.²⁵

The citation patterns for PIL versus PrIL and theoretical versus practical topics have evolved over time. In recent years, we see more PrIL courses gaining attention, such as ‘Efficiency in Private International Law’ by Toshiyuki Kono.²⁶ Recent years show a trend towards courses that address contemporary global challenges, combining theoretical foundations with practical applications. For example, ‘The Law of Global

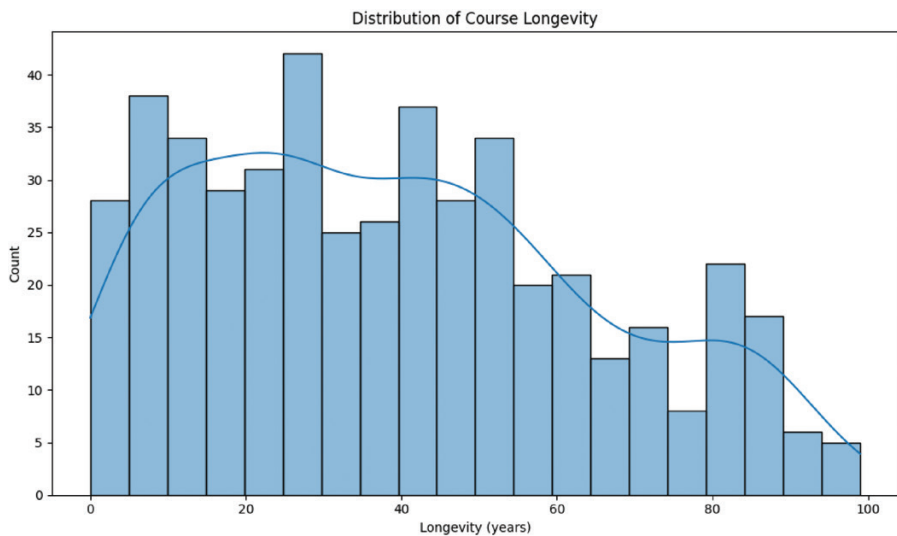


Figure 3: Distribution of course longevity

²³ Kammerhofer, ‘Introduction’, in Permanent Court of International Justice, Advisory Committee of Jurists, *Procès-verbaux of the proceedings of the Committee June 16th–July 24th 1920 with Annexes* (1920; reprinted 2006), at xiv.

²⁴ Ridi and Schultz, ‘Empirically Mapping Investment Arbitration Scholarship: Networks, Authorities, and the Research Front’, in K. Fach Gómez (ed.), *Private Actors in International Investment Law* (2021) 209, at 231.

²⁵ On the market of ideas in international law and its evolution, see Schultz, *supra* note 10.

²⁶ Kono, ‘Efficiency in Private International Law’, 369 *Recueil des Cours* 361 (2014). Our script calculated average citation counts by decade, revealing this trend. However, it is worth noting that recent courses have had less time to accumulate citations, which could skew the results.

Governance’ by Eyal Benvenisti²⁷ exemplifies this trend, as does ‘Democracy and International Law’ by Hilary Charlesworth,²⁸ which has quickly gained citations despite its recent publication date.²⁹ Of course, it may also be that what was driving the citation rate of *these* courses is more the reputation of their authors than a particular appetite in the field for these kinds of courses; large N studies with regressions analyses would be required to disentangle the respective weight of these plausible causes, for which there simply is not enough data.

Overall, the place of the Hague lectures within the complex web of scholarly discourse is a more nuanced matter than what can be described in such a short article. A network visualization of the Hague courses reflects this nuance (Figure 4). A detailed analysis of this web will require a different study.

2 *By Expert Bodies*

(a) Citations to Hague lectures by the International Law Commission

We also consider the question of the authority of the Hague courses for the International Law Commission (ILC). As Table 2 suggests, the ILC’s second most important source of citations is the Hague lectures, after the ILC’s own *Yearbook* and just ahead of the *American Journal of International Law*. In short, the Hague lectures seem significantly more influential for the work of the ILC than they are for international law as a scholarly field. While the data allow us to make that observation, its cause can only be the matter of hypotheticals, including the following: the epistemic communities of the Hague lectures and the ILC reports overlap more than they do with international law at large (in plain English, the Hague lecturers are ‘the same people’ as ILC members and thus cite one another and themselves); Hague lectures and ILC reports deal with the same range of questions, while international law as a scholarly field goes much further; and the Hague Academy and what it produces is particularly authoritative for the ILC because of an informal and implicit form of institutional collaboration – that is, a form of cross-fertilization and cross-reinforcement of ‘peers’.

(b) Citations to Hague lectures by and at the International Court of Justice

As a proxy for the relevance of Hague lectures for states, we tracked their citation in party pleadings before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) from 1950 to 2023. By examining the three-year rolling average of citations in oral proceedings, written proceedings and unique cases, we observe a consistent pattern of influence, with notable peaks in the early 1990s, early 2000s and mid-2010s. These fluctuations primarily reflect the varying docket of the court (Figure 5).

In oral proceedings, there is a steady increase in citations from the late 1980s, with significant peaks around the early 1990s and late 2000s. This trend indicates periods where Hague Academy teachings were particularly pertinent. Similarly, written proceedings show a gradual increase from the 1950s, with a sharp rise in the early

²⁷ Benvenisti, ‘The Law of Global Governance’, 368 *Recueil des Cours* 49 (2014).

²⁸ Charlesworth, ‘Democracy and International Law’, 371 *Recueil des Cours* 43 (2015).

²⁹ We used a ‘continued relevance’ score, calculated based on the consistency of citations over time, to identify courses that maintain their influence.

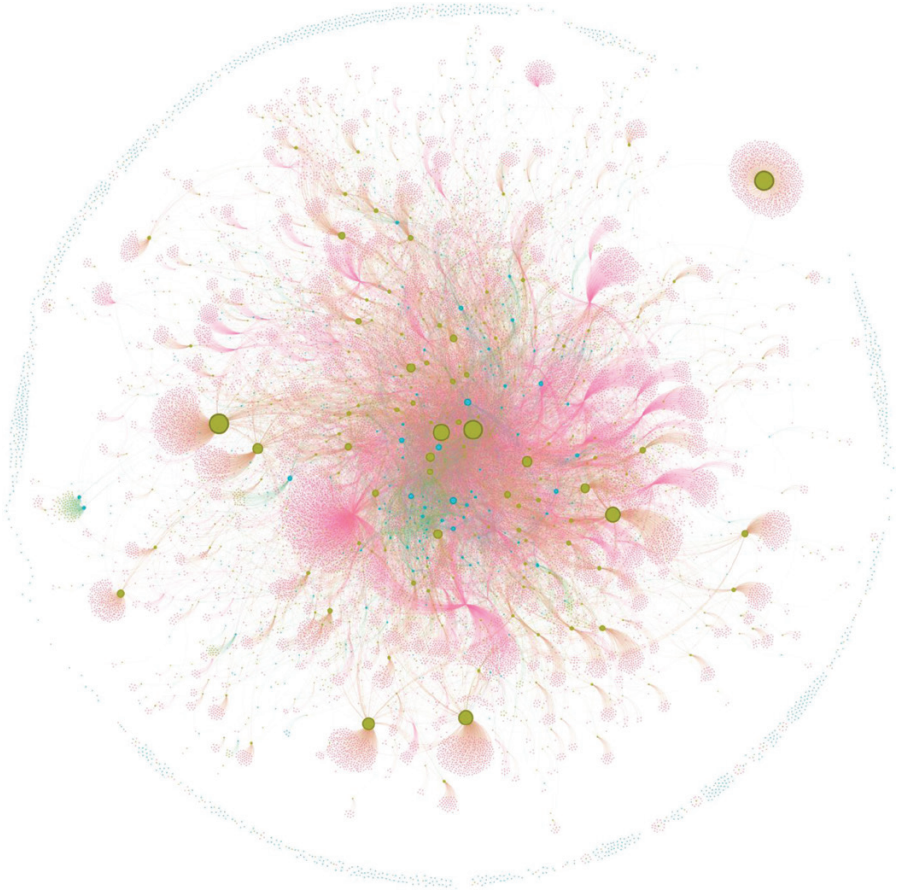


Figure 4: Multi-level citation network of Hague Academy courses. This network visualization represents three levels of citation relationships: Hague Academy courses (coloured in blue); works that directly cite them (coloured in green); and works that cite those citing publications (coloured in pink). The connections between nodes show the flow of influence from the original Hague lectures through two ‘generations’ or ‘layers’ of subsequent scholarship. This structure reveals both the immediate impact of Hague lectures and their broader ripple effects in legal scholarship.³⁰

³⁰ ‘Generations’ or ‘layers’ of subsequent scholarship in this analytical method designate all those works that cite the scholarship in question: the Hague Academy courses constitute the ‘original generation’; all the works citing the Hague Academy courses constitute the first generation of subsequent scholarship; all the works citing all the works that themselves have cited the courses are the second generation of subsequent scholarship. The number of works to be included in the analysis thus increases exponentially as one progresses from one generation to the next (for example, one course is cited by 10 works, each of which is in turn cited 10 times). The amount of required computation also increases exponentially as one goes through generations. Hence, we limited the analysis to two generations of subsequent scholarship. (It goes without saying that ‘generations’ here have nothing to do with generations of individuals roughly 25 years apart: it is a matter of citation links, not time periods.)

Table 2: Periodicals and publishers cited by the International Law Commission

Title	Count
<i>ILC Yearbook</i>	202
<i>Recueil des cours</i>	126
<i>American Journal of International Law</i>	122
<i>British Year Book of International Law</i>	48
Oxford University Press	49
Cambridge University Press	44
<i>Netherlands Yearbook of International Law</i>	32
<i>Revue generale de droit international public</i>	23
<i>Annuaire francais de droit international</i>	19
<i>International and Comparative Law Quarterly</i>	17
<i>Revue de droit international et de legislation comparee</i>	16
United Nations publication	14
<i>European Journal of International Law</i>	14
<i>Rivista di diritto internazionale</i>	13
<i>Natural Resources Journal</i>	13
<i>Journal du droit international</i>	12

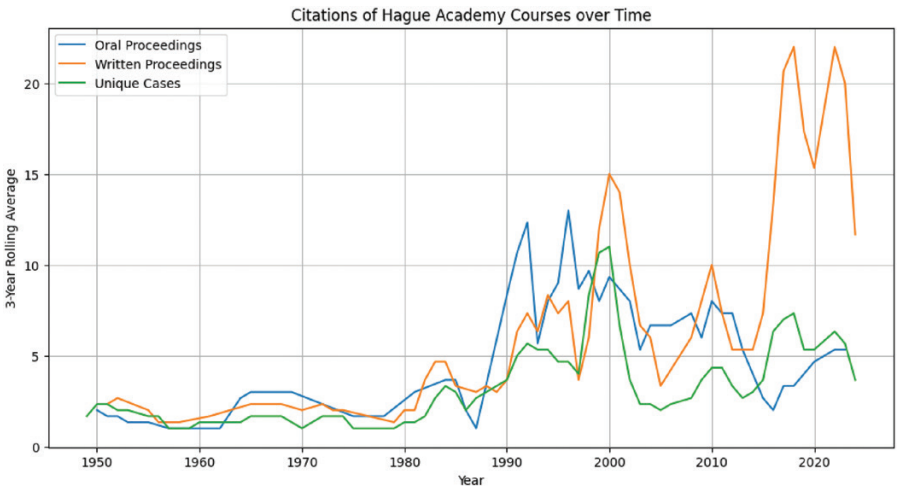


Figure 5: Citations of Hague lectures in party pleadings before the ICJ

2000s and pronounced peaks around 2015–2020. This suggests that the Academy’s courses have been particularly relevant for written submissions during these periods. The citations in unique cases also show an upward trend starting in the late 1980s, with significant peaks around 2000 and a notable increase post 2010. Note, however, that [Figure 5](#) does not compare the rises and falls of Hague lecture citations with citations to anything else: the data we have do not allow us to say whether Academy courses specifically have gained in importance before the ICJ or whether international law scholarships as a whole have. This is again a situation in which the available data

lead to hypotheses that should be examined elsewhere: they open up avenues for future research.

3 The Academy from a Distance: A Conclusion

Instead of a sustained reading encounter with individual Hague lectures – as would be ordinary – and a focus on the 1 per cent of the lectures that make up the canon, we have ‘distantly read them’, applying computational methods to the entire body of these texts. This has allowed us to make generalizations, deliver insights and show pathways for further research. These are better than straightforwardly subjective impressions and opinions that may be gained by other methods, but, of course, they are still imperfect.

Our findings echo, to some extent, Klabbbers’ point when he wrote that each ‘corner’ of international law has its own ‘canons of thought; ... intellectual leaders and hierarchies; ... publication venues; ... institutions’, resulting in a ‘discipline ... fragmented into different epistemic communities. ... Instead of the fragmentation of international law being a concern, we should be worried about the fragmentation of international lawyers’.³¹ Is there a beacon of light in the middle of the fragmented field, a place at the intersection of the field’s different Venn diagram circles? Perhaps there is, but the Hague Academy it is not, or no longer, if a distant reading of its lectures is any guide.

Appendix 1

Course title	Authors	Publication year	Citation count	Word count
1. International Law in the Past Third of a Century	Eduardo Jiménez de Aréchaga	1978	201	135,813
2. From Bilateralism to Community Interest in International Law	Bruno Simma	1994	200	-
3. The General Principles of International Law Considered from the Standpoint of the Rule of Law	Gerald Fitzmaurice	1957	157	84,124
4. General Course in Public International Law	W. Friedmann	1969	150	-
5. Obligations Arising for States Without or Against Their Will	Christian Tomuschat	1993	147	66,983
6. The International Society as a Legal Community	Hermann Mosler	1974	126	121,475

³¹ Klabbbers, ‘On Epistemic Universalism and the Melancholy of International Law’, 29 *EJIL* (2019) 1057, at 1062.

Course title	Authors	Publication year	Citation count	Word count
7. The Different Types of Armed Conflicts According to the Geneva Conventions and Protocols	Dietrich Schindler	1979	123	-
8. Is International Law Threatened by Multiple International Tribunals?	Jonathan I. Charney	1998	120	116,836
9. The Formation of Customary International Law	Maurice H. Mendelson	1998	117	-
10. The Doctrine of Jurisdiction in International Law	F.A.P. Mann	1964	114	-
11. The Regulation of the Use of Force by Individual States in International Law	C.H.M. Waldock	1952	104	22,089
12. Successions Internationales: Conflits de Lois et de Juridictions	Andrea Bonomi	2011	88	162,808
13. International Law in Theory and Practice: General Course in Public International Law	Oscar Schachter	1982	86	155,493
14. International Law, Power, and Policy: A Contemporary Conception	Myres S. McDougal	1953	86	40,031
15. Some Recent Developments in the Conflict of Laws of Succession	Haopei Li	1990	84	39,648
16. The Fundamental Principles of International Law	Georg Schwarzenberger	1955	82	-
17. Reactions by Not Directly Affected States to Breaches of Public International Law	Jochen A. Frowein	1994	80	35,319
18. Bilateral Treaties and Multilateral Instruments on Investment Protection	Giorgio Sacerdoti	1997	79	85,454
19. Chance, Order, Change: The Course of International Law	James Richard Crawford	2013	77	149,613
20. International Organization and the Law of Responsibility	Clyde Eagleton	1950	70	35,151
21. The Taking of Property By the State: Recent Developments in International Law	Rosalyn Higgins	1982	70	51,560
22. Money in Public International Law	Frederick Alexander Mann	1959	70	46,710
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