NEW PERIODICALS FOR NEW IDEAS

ON THE BIRTH OF THE

REVUE D'HISTOIRE ECCLÉSIASTIQUE

Three motives are cited in the programmatic text with which the first issue of Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique opened in 1900 to justify the founding of a new journal. First, to ensure that the top students who were drawn by the Séminaire historique at the University of Louvain were given a fitting forum for their work — a forum which would later prompt them to continue their research. Secondly, it argued, there was a need for a body which would create some order in the plethora of publications on the history of the church: so much had been published in the preceding period — syntheses, monographs, articles in journals, editions — that there was a danger that it would become impossible to see the wood for the trees and that it would no longer be possible to assess the value of what was published. Finally, the text argued, the new journal would serve to end the lack of scholarly discipline which the initiators of the journal observed among many clerics. The Revue was intended to encourage the « écrivains catholiques » and their readers to engage in scholarly debate with non-believers, without undermining the teachings of the Church (1).

This triple motive was based on a similar number of new concepts which had emerged in the decades before the founding of the new journal; the Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique was the result of new ideas on the task of the university and of higher education, a new understanding of scholarly endeavour which was also gaining currency in the discipline of history, and a new view of the relationship between faith and science. It is this changing conceptual context which forms the central focus of this essay. Attention will be directed continually at the way in which the new ideas led to the launch of new journals (or the transformation of existing periodicals). This will enable us to create a thumbnail sketch of the

« periodicals landscape » in which the Revue appeared. It is a landscape of university, historical and church-historical journals, which extends to the faculties of the University of Louvain, over the Belgian historical world, as far as the international stage on which the history of the church was played out.

Specialisation in a research centre

The new ideas on the task of the university represented a break with what was perceived as an overly encyclopaedic and magisterial higher education system. The tradition of lectures, in which a professor imbued with unimpeachable authority presented a global summary of a given domain, was rejected by the proponents of the new university model as old-fashioned and too exclusive. The lectures, they argued, should be supplemented by « practical exercises » in which the students could be groomed to become independent researchers. The faculties needed to transform themselves into « academic cooperatives ».

From the 1870s onwards, the system of « teaching from the lectern » rapidly fell out of favour in the University of Louvain, too, which had been refounded in 1834 (2). This development began during the rectorship of Alexandre Namèche (1872-1881), though initially did not go beyond the domain of the exact sciences. The new orientation was given form in the setting up of laboratories which, although they were seen as a heavy financial burden on the university, were also regarded as a necessary means of introducing students to experimental scientific research. The chemist Louis Henry was the first to take this step. In 1876 the biologist Jean-Baptiste Carnoy was given responsibility for a practicum in microscopy.

In the human sciences the « new university » broke through the tradition in the years 1880 and 1890, under the rectors Constant Pieraerts (1881-1887) and Jean-Baptiste Abbeloos (1887-1898). The new system was given shape not in laboratories, but in confé-

rences and sociétés. The aim of these study groups was however no different than that of the laboratories: to enable students to learn the process of scientific knowledge-building through independent research and through debate. As early as 1873 the classicist Paul Willems founded a Societas philologa. His example was followed by Paul Alberdingk Thijm, Victor Brants and Désiré Mercier, who respectively took the initiative of setting up the Genootschap Dr. Constantius Buter (« for the study of the ancient history of Christian civilisation in the fatherland », 1883), the Conférence d'économie sociale (1885) and the Société philosophique de Louvain (1888).

The renewal also spread to the historical domain. In 1882 students in the Faculty of Literature and Philosophy themselves urged Pieraerts to set up a Conférence d'histoire, to be led by Edmond Poulet. The latter's death delayed the launch until 1885, however, when Charles Moeller inaugurated the requested Conférence. Moeller was able to refer to the cours d'histoire pratique which his father, Jean Moeller, had organised in the middle of the century at the Louvain university (3). Five years later this initiative was followed by the Faculty of Theology and Church Law. In 1890, at the suggestion of Abbeleoo, Bernard Jungmann founded a Séminaire d'histoire ecclésiastique, in which practical exercises in church history were set for theology students (4).

The metamorphosis which the university underwent in these laboratories, conférences and sociétés was bound to have consequences for its stock of journals. For a long time that stock consisted of just one journal, the Revue catholique, which had been founded in Liège in 1843, but which was brought to Leuven as early as 1846. The Revue was the vehicle for the entire university, and was consequently run under the leadership of the rector and published in an unlimited field of disciplines, as borne out by the subtitle of this Recueil religieux, philosophique, scientifique, historique et littéraire,


which also involved itself in all manner of political issues (5). Financial difficulties ended the life of the journal in 1884. But its disappearance demonstrated that there was no longer a place in the new university climate for such a general periodical, whose last volume had included articles on the man of letters Hendrik Conscience, on the religious hatred of Montesquieu, on mechanistic determinism and on infanticide in China. And how the idea had been undermined that all scholars were intended to serve religion, as Pieraerts wrote in that same volume in an article on suicide statistics (6).

The disciplines of the «new university» developed in accordance with their own dynamic and the results of that development were presented in specialist rather than general journals. Those journals were the mouthpieces of laboratories and study groups, including in Leuven. Even during the last decade of its existence, the Revue catholique had to co-exist with such journals (7). In 1876 the first issue of the Bulletin de l’Union des Ingénieurs was published. Four years later the Journal des Sciences médicales de Louvain was launched, followed in 1882 by the Revue médicale. In that same year, the orientalist and sinologist Charles de Harlez founded Le Muséon, initially as a broadly based Revue des Sciences et des Lettres, which was published as a supplement to the Revue catholique (8). In 1884 Carnoy signed up for the launch of La Cellule (9).

After the winding up of Revue catholique the stock of specialist periodicals run by the Louvain professors became ever greater: 1892 saw the launch of Revue agronomique, 1894 brought Revue néo-scolastique, in 1896 the periodical Leuvense Bijdragen op het gebied van de Germaansche Philologie en in ‘t bijzonder van de Nederlandsche Dialectkunde saw the light, followed in 1897 by Le Musée


(6) C. Pieraerts, Le suicide dans la société contemporaine, in Revue catholique, 1884, p. 194.

(7) See the list in Université catholique de Louvain. Bibliographie 1834-1900, Leuven, 1900, p. 8-11.


(9) For similar periodicals and the context in which they were founded, cf. e.g. K. Velle, Bronnen voor de medische geschiedenis: de Belgische medische pers (begin XIXde eeuw - 1914), in Annalen van de Belgische Vereniging voor de Geschiedenis van de Hospitalen en de Volksgezondheid, 23-24 (1985-1986), p. 67-119.
belge. *Revue de philologie classique* (supplemented by a *Bulletin bibliographique et pédagogique*), and in that same year *Revue sociale catholique* was launched. But new titles continued to be added after the fruitful 1890s; on the eve of the First World War there were no less than thirty-two periodicals (10).

This varied collection of periodicals reflected the academic calibre of a university which no longer found its mission in the transfer of knowledge which derived its authority from tradition, but which presented itself as a centre of scholarly research. The university was no longer the place where what were regarded as unchanging insights were propounded, but became the institutional framework for small, dynamic cores in which the professors had taken on more the role of guides than leaders.

The « politics of science »

In the meantime a new concept of scholarly learning had emerged. The new definition was cumulative in nature, but was also related to the desire to structure academic output. There were few who doubted the growth and progress of science in the last decades of the nineteenth century. But the unfettered increase in the output gave rise to concern: the growth appeared to be uncontrolled, the progress unordered. A « politics of science » was therefore called for, which could bring order to the chaos and induce an appreciation of what was published. It was precisely in this context that the academic journal acquired a new function. It was no longer merely a forum in which research findings could be presented, but also an instrument which recorded and qualified. This development occurred in both the exact and the human sciences; it was also reflected in the discipline of history, including in Belgium (11).

The Belgian Revolution of 1830 had given rise to a romantic-rhetorical historiography, full of patriotic verve, encouraged by the government and motivated by the desire to legitimise the new state by anchoring it in the past. It fitted into a pluralistic culture,

(10) *De Universiteit te Leuven*, p. 254-255.

which also included disciplines such as the historical painting, the historical novel and historical drama, and the historical pageant (12). As early as 1834, an official Commission royale d’Histoire was installed in Belgium, which was responsible for publishing source material and which produced its own Bulletin. In 1846 it was joined by a Commission royale pour la publication des anciennes lois et ordonnances de la Belgique, which also published its Procès-verbaux des séances (13).

But these official organs were joined by other periodicals, many of which had an antiquarian slant. They published dissertations, notices and catalogues on all manner of aspects of the national past which lent themselves readily to systematisation, and displayed a particular interest in the unwritten, material remnants of history. Far and away the most important of these periodicals was Messager des Sciences historiques, which was (re)launched in 1832. Messager was published in Ghent, but its radius of action was national. The journal contained erudite articles on topics such as archive document collections, but also reported on all manner of découvertes.


and excavations. Other periodicals focused on more specific themes. This was true, for example, of Revue de la Numismatique belge, founded in 1842, and for Le Bibliophile belge, which rolled off the presses two years later, but also for the periodicals of local, regional and provincial history and antiquity societies, which published their own Annales and Bulletins.

From the mid-1860s the number of historical and antiquarian journals grew rapidly. The old journals continued to exist — or at least most of them did — but were now joined by a whole series of new ones. Some of these periodicals defined their sphere of interest along thematic lines; this was the case, for example, for the official Bulletin des Commissions royales d'Art et d'Archéologie, begun in 1862, and Bulletin mensuel de Numismatique et d'Archéologie, founded in 1881 by Constant Antoine and Raymond Constantin Serrure. Others opted to focus on a specific period in time — for example Le Moyen Age, which first appeared in Paris in 1888 but which was co-founded and long inspired by the Liège Romanist Maurice Wilmotte. Yet others, the mouthpieces of new local, regional and provincial societies, limited themselves geographically.


(18) E.g. M. Berckmoes and M. Struyfs, Honderd jaar geschiedenis van de Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent (1893-1993) (Verhande-
Two things emerged amidst this growth and differentiation. In the first place there was a strengthening focus on specific disciplines, which began to squeeze out more general publications also dealing with historical topics; *L'Athenaeum belge* — a *Journal universel de la Littérature, des Sciences et des Arts* — which was founded in 1878, disappeared as early as 1883, a year before the generalistic *Revue catholique* disappeared at the University of Louvain. More important, however, was the emerging tendency to give the new periodicals a different, more contemporary function than their predecessors. The *Bulletin* of the Serrure dynasty expressly did not want to be a *revue*, but an information channel which would rapidly convey all sorts of newsworthy items to its readers. It did not want to be a cumbersome apparatus, but a modern messenger: «Être au courant, et tenir nos lecteurs au courant: tel sera notre but spécial» (19). *Le Moyen Age* was originally conceived as a bibliographical bulletin, which in principle would contain no articles, just book reviews and a «dépouillement» of other periodicals. It sought to justify its existence on the basis of its function as a guide through a discipline which the rapidly growing production was increasingly turning into something resembling a labyrinth.

Gradually, therefore, the need arose for such a periodical which would cover the entire field of national history and which could at the same time serve as a meeting point for the national historical guild. It was the Liège professor Godefroid Kurth who met this need. Kurth was a militant Catholic, who became engaged in conflict with the liberals during the long-running battle over the schools question, was politically active and who almost made it to the position of senator (20). But after his death he was also remem-

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bered as the « incomparable rénovateur de notre histoire nationale » (21). Kurth did indeed stand for the increasingly scientific approach to, and the accompanying professionalisation and « academising » of the study of history in Belgium (22). He embodied a process which was taken further by the Société pour le progrès des études philologiques et historiques, which was founded in 1873 and which from 1922 was to publish the Revue belge de Philologie et d’Histoire (23).

The origin of Kurth’s Archives belges was in fact quite modest. They began as the Chronique which the Société d’Art et d’Histoire du Diocèse de Liège decided to publish in 1897. This was intended to serve as a newsletter on Liège history. As early as 1898 this Chronique was rechristened Archives liégeoisës, a monthly publication which no longer targeted only the members of the Société, although the theme remained the history of Liège, and which promised to evaluate recently launched publications critically and impartially. A year later yet another new title and a new expansion followed: as its subtitle indicated, Archives belges wanted to become a Revue critique d’Historiographie nationale (24). A national


periodical, therefore, not just in terms of its themes but also in its tenor: Kurth did not want to edit a « Liège clerical periodical » (as the Ghent professor and liberal Paul Fredericq put it scornfully in his diary (25)) and had therefore secured in advance the support of historians from all universities, from the Academy, from the Commission royale d'Histoire and from the Société des Bollandistes. In practice, this support proved fairly disappointing: in 1903, for example, Henri Pirenne refused to become co-director of the periodical founded by his master, preferring instead, full of ambition, to concentrate on his own work (26).

But this did nothing to alter the aims of Archives belges: the periodical sought to inform its readers about everything published in the field of national history, and about its value. It even claimed a monopoly: when Camille Callewaert attributed a similar function to the Annales of the Bruges Société d'Émulation shortly after the turn of the century, he was informed that there was room in Belgium for only one critical historiographic journal (27). The Archives belges were indeed critical. Kurth wanted to set a new standard for the culture of historical reviews. Banal phrases (« de style dans un si grand nombre de comptes rendus ») had to be rejected. But more than that — Archives belges also professed, in polemic fashion, an ideal of strict independence. « Sans faiblesses comme sans acrimonie, elle ne fera aucune acception de personnes, et visera à ne rendre que des jugements définitifs », wrote Kurth about his criticism (28).

This heroic rhetoric was translated into sharp opinions on the reviewed publications. This in turn led to protest. But even that protest was unable to knock Archives belges off course. If anyone considered litigation following an unfavourable review, the correctness of the criticism was pointed out to them and they were ac-


(28) See the circular cited in note 24.
cused of "hypertrophie du moi". The "Augean stables" of the historiography had to be cleared out, without pardon and without fear of further incidents (29). Kurth knew that his magazine was being read. It was a totally different medium from Messager des Sciences historiques, which had failed in 1896. Messager had been a storehouse full of newsworthy items, piled chaotically on top of each other, without distinction. Archives belges were an instrument of scientific politics: Kurth informed, reviewed and evaluated. He brought structure to the historical output. His journal created ordered progress.

**Historical criticism as a criterion**

Catholic historians writing from a religious engagement appeared to be passed by by this progress. Their work arose from a closed pattern of thinking, was still supported by the old providentialist view of history and served an apologetic or devotional goal. Faith and science therefore appeared to be mutually exclusive, including in the study of history. This opposition began to become less self-evident in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, however, as a new generation of Catholic historians propagated a new vision of the relationship between faith and science. This new vision called for greater openness on the part of Catholicism and for a more critical attitude to its own tradition. The development of periodicals dealing with the history of the Church illustrated this shift.

The national history of the Church had had its own periodical in Belgium since 1864, in the form of Analectes pour servir à l'Histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique, which was published by the University of Louvain. This periodical was founded by the university's first rector, Pierre François Xavier de Ram, who had earlier launched Analectes pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Université de Louvain and who enjoyed great fame as a Church historian, partly thanks to his material collection for a broadly based Belgica sacra (30). After De

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(30) For a characterisation of the Church historical work of De Ram: L. Kenis, De Theologische Faculteit, p. 124-125 and 325-328. Cf. also the evaluation in L. Van der Essen, Pierre de Ram 1804-1865, in La Commission
Ram's death in 1865, Analectes were edited by Edmond Reusens, chief librarian at the university (31), initially with the help of Pierre Dominique Kuyl and Charles Barthélemy de Ridder (32). Analectes published on the national Church history, but also on the history of the university and on the « archéologie chrétienne ».

The notices which appeared in Analectes were sometimes very elaborate studies, but they always had a strongly documentary character. This applied by definition for the editions of sources, which constituted the lion's share of the contributions (from 1894 large editions were brought together in a separate Série des cartulaires et des documents étendus). This was a deliberate decision. De Ram and Reusens, who above all were erudite individuals, distrusted the historians of earlier centuries (« une défiance sage et prudente »). They defended a return to the sources and hoped in this way to collect the necessary material « pour la rédaction complète et détaillée des annales de la religion en Belgique » (33). As a result, Analectes lost the appearance of a journal.

In addition to the national Church history, however, more specific domains also acquired their own periodicals. The « archéologie chrétienne » was one such domain. At the first Catholic Congress in Mechelen, in 1863, the need for a renaissance of « Christian art » had been the subject of extensive discussion. Among other things it was decided to found a special chair for « Les antiquités royalty d'Histoire, p. 78-86 and F. Vergauteren, Cent ans d'histoire nationale en Belgique, Brussels, 1959, vol. 1, p. 110-112.


chrétiennes et l’archéologie *(34)*. It was Reusens who occupied this chair, embedded in the theology faculty at Louvain university, and who gave it a national character *(35)*. He achieved this through his authority and erudition, which — apart from his Éléments d’archéologie chrétienne, which were first published in 1871-1875 *(36)* — was also evidenced by his interventions in all manner of restoration debates *(37)*.

The discussions in Mechelen also led to the founding of the Gilde de Saint Thomas et Saint Luc, however *(38)*. The purpose of this guild, according to its charter in 1863, was « l’étude des Antiquités


Chrétiennes et la propagation des vrais principes de l'Art Chrétien. Influenced by Jean-Baptiste Bethune, in particular, the Gilde — contrary to the wishes of the more study-oriented Reusens — became a propaganda machine for the (Puginian) neo-gothic movement (39). Based on the model of foreign periodicals such as The Ecclesiologist, the Annales archéologiques (from the Didron brothers in France) and the Organ für christliche Kunst, they published their own Bulletin. In addition the British antiquarian James Weale, who lived in Bruges and who was one of the leading members of the Guild, began publishing Le Beffroi. Arts, Héraldique, Archéologie, « entièrement dédié à la propagation de l'art chrétien » (40). In 1882 the Gilde also took over Revue de l'Art chrétien, a periodical which had been published since 1857 by Jules Corblet in Paris and whose central focus was on « la sublime alliance de l'art et de la foi » (41). To mark the occasion, the Liège painter and antiquarian Jules Helbig, the new director of the periodical, announced that Revue needed a stronger ideological profile (42).

Apart from these periodicals dealing with (the history of) « Christian art », there were also diocesan periodicals focusing on the history of the Church. Since the early 1860s, Annuaire ecclésiastique de


l'Archevêché de Malines had been publishing a supplement under the title Analectes concernant l'Histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique, et en particulier de l'Archevêché de Malines. In addition, however, diocesan historical and antiquarian societies published their own periodicals. The Société d'Art et d'Histoire du Diocèse de Liège, founded in 1880 — in the midst of the battle over the schools question — as a Catholic response to the liberal Institut archéologique liégeois, published a Bulletin, and continued to do so even after the launch of Kurth's Archives belges (43). The same applied for the Société d'Art chrétien du Diocèse de Namur, founded in the mid-1890s. These Bulletins served mainly to raise the appreciation among the clergy for the heritage of the Church (44).

At the end of the century Cardinal Goossens tried to refine this campaign. In April 1898 he asked his priests to reconstruct the history of the parishes and institutions falling within their office and to submit the result of their studies to a committee chaired by Reusens, with a view to the compilation of «une collection de précieux matériaux pour le monument à élever quelque jour à la gloire de l'Église métropolitaine de Belgique» (45). Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis bijzonderlijk van het aloude Hertogdom Brabant, founded in 1902 by an Antwerp priest and containing a substantial proportion of religious history, was a result of this initiative (46).

Finally, there were the periodicals focusing specifically on the history of a religious order (47). In 1884 the Benedictines of Mared-

(43) See the literature referred to in note 24.
(44) See the Règlement (art. 2), in Bulletin de la Société d'Art et d'Histoire du Diocèse de Liège, 1 (1881), p. v and the articles (art. 2) of the Namur Société, also published in Chronique de la Société d'Art et d'Histoire du Diocèse de Liège, 1897, p. 15.
(45) Lettres pastorales des évêques de Belgique, 1800-1950. Table chronologique des documents relatifs au diocèse de Malines (Centre Interuniversitaire d'Histoire Contemporaine), Brussels, s.a., p. 27, no. 441. The text of the circular was published in Archives liégeoises. Organe mensuel de la Société d'Art et d'Histoire du Diocèse de Liège, 1 (1898), p. 38-40.
(47) See the summary by E. Persoons assisted by D. Leyder and R. Nijsen, Tijdschriften i.o.m. kloostergeschiedenis (Bibliografische inleiding tot de geschiedenis van de Belgische kloostergeschiedenis vóór 1796, 1), Brussels, 1996.
sous launched *Le Messager des Fidèles*. This *Petite Revue bénédictine*, led by Gerard van Caloen, sought to meet an old need: « celui de rapprocher les fidèles de l'Église leur mère ». A devotional mission, then, but also one with an historical component: precisely through the study of tradition, the Christian spirit would live again (48). *Bibliothèque norbertine*, which was published from 1899 by the Park-abdij abbey in Leuven, also had this historical orientation. But this periodical too primarily served another — missionary — goal (49).

The past was indeed above all a usable past in these journals of Church history. The central aims were the renaissance of « Christian art », the desire to imbue a secularising society with the principles of the faith, the mobilisation of the clergy, the support of the Catholic missions. The objective, in short, was the glory of the Church. Only within the narrow domain of erudition, as practised in Reusens' *Analectes*, did the study of history retain a certain autonomy.

It was this limited autonomy which met with opposition in Catholic circles too in the last two decades of the century. Appeals to the *Principes de la critique historique*, which the Jesuit Charles De Smedt had published in 1869-1870 in the French periodical *Études religieuses*, were legion (50). In that series of articles, De Smedt had indeed distanced himself from the apologist study of history which other members of his own order also often pursued (51). He set himself against those who believed that the Church was best served by pious lies and triumphalist stories, against those Church historians who owed their success more to rhetoric and orthodoxy than to academic integrity. In the first paragraph of his first article, he

(48) *Ce que nous sommes*, in *Le Messager des Fidèles. Petite Revue bénédictine*, 1 (1884-1885), p. 2-3 (« Faisons pénétrer dans les jeunes rameaux de l'arbre la sève antique qui n'a jamais cessé de circuler dans son tronc, et nous les verrons se couvrir d'un verdoyant feuillage, produire les fleurs d'écarlate et d'argent dont les plus beaux âges nous ont laissé le vivifiant souvenir. »)


urged his colleagues to stop seeing historical criticism as « l'ennemie naturelle de toutes les douces et saintes croyances » (52). After having published an Introductio ad historiam ecclesiasticam critice tractandum in 1876, a text which demonstrated an equally open mind, De Smedt collected his articles in 1883 in a book which acquired the charms of a polemic (53).

At that time the critic was already the head of the Société des Bollandistes. This had been refounded in 1837, partly with the help of De Ram, who had managed to cut off a French competitor. The Société had spent half a century on its great project, the edition of the Acta Sanctorum. It was De Smedt who gave this project an academic character (54). One of the ways of doing this was the founding in 1882 of a periodical. Analecta bollandiana contained supplements to the volumes of the Acta Sanctorum that had already appeared, anticipated future volumes, published catalogues, descriptions of manuscripts and general articles in the field of hagiology (55). De Smedt gave the periodical a methodological rigour which it was to retain under the leadership of Hippolyte Delehaye.

This same rigour characterised Revue bénédictine, which followed Le Messager des Fidèles in 1890 (56). Revue was the work of the patrologist Germain Morin and the order and monastery historian Ursmer Berlière. The latter, who was also the driving force behind the Monasticon belge, published a long essay in the periodical in 1899 on the study of Church history and its relation to theology.

(53) See e.g. the account of G. MORIN, Les expériences d'un travailleur dans le domaine de la littérature chrétienne, in Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique, 1 (1900), p. 68.
(55) See Ad lectorem benevolum de Analectorum bollandianorum ratione ac fine, in Analecta bollandiana, 1 (1882), p. 5-8.
(56) In addition to Revue bénédictine, a Messager de S. Benoît continued to exist, which among other things provided space for devotional articles. See P.-P. VERBRaken and D. Misonne, Cent ans d'érudition ecclésiastique. La « Revue bénédictine » 1884-1984, in Revue bénédictine, 94 (1984), p. 11-37.
In that essay he rejected the « free-thinking » accusation that believers were not able to write true history, but he also reacted against those who glossed over the less rosy history of the Church. This put Revue on the same line as De Smedt’s Analecta. Both periodicals also fulfilled — in a more limited domain — the same function as Kurth’s Archives belges: Analecta was supplemented in 1891 by a Bulletin des Publications hagiographiques, while Revue acquired a Bulletin d’Histoire bénédictine in 1907.

Analecta bollandiana and Revue bénédictine demonstrated that the new spirit also lent itself to periodicals. This spirit taught that adhering to academic principles need not damage faith, « que la critique sait faire autre chose que renverser et détruire » (59). Research into the history of the Church, even by believers, needed to be carried out according to the criteria of historical criticism.

The international stage

But the world of Catholic historians was wider than their own university — Louvain — and their own country. These historians belonged to an international community, whose members were united in their universal faith. They maintained contacts with each other, read each others’ publications, knew each others’ periodicals. At the end of the nineteenth century there was movement in that stock of Church history periodicals (59).

That stock of periodicals was initially fairly modest in comparison with the number of periodicals on Church history being published in Protestant (and Anglican) circles. A periodical focusing on general Church history had been published by the Protestants since 1876, Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, which also contained


(58) De Smedt, Principes, p. 2.

extensive *Kritische Uebersichten* and was thus regarded as an important working tool (60). There was also a whole series of national periodicals. In the Netherlands, for example, the *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kerkgeschiedenis* had been published since 1829, albeit under different names, and in 1884 it received a new lease of life. In France the *Bulletin* of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français appeared in around 1853, which also devoted interest to things such as the attempt to introduce the Reformation in Italy and Spain (61).

There was no Catholic counterpart to *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*. The *Historisches Jahrbuch*, which had been published since 1880 by the Görres-Gesellschaft (zur Pflege der Wissenschaft), which itself had been founded a few years earlier and was regarded as tremendously important for the promotion of scholarship among Catholics, did not limit its scope to the history of the Church (62). There were also no national periodicals outside Belgium, though a number of diocesan periodicals were published. The *Freiburger Diöcesan-Archiv* was launched in 1865. In the 1870s Catholics in the Netherlands acquired two diocesan periodicals, *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis van het Bisdom van Haarlem* (since 1873) and *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht* (since 1875).

And yet the Catholic world also had a whole series of periodicals dealing with the history of the Church. They related to specific domains. In the field of the history of Church law there was the *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Oesterreich* (since 1857) and *Canoniste contemporain* (since 1878). The ancient Christian literature and the Christian Orient had been explored since 1875 in *La Terre sainte*. The history of religious orders was the subject of *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benediktiner- und Cisterzienser-Orden* (since 1880, founded to mark the Benedict jubilee), *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum* (since 1884) and the modest *Cistercienser-Chronik* (since 1889). The his-


tory of scholasticism was the subject of Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, published by Heinrich Denifle and Franz Ehrle (since 1885), which enjoyed the support of the Görres-Gesellschaft. Finally, the history of liturgy was the subject of Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi (since 1886).

A wide-ranging tableau, then. But here again the autonomy of the study of the history of the Church was often limited and other motives predominated in the decision to publish. The ultramontane publishers of Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht assured readers that their periodical « keinem Sondergeiste huldigen, sondern denjenigen überall bekämpfen soll », and the programme of the Historisches Jahrbuch also rejected « eine direct apologetische Tendenz » (63). But this did not prevent the past being reduced to a usable past here too. The Dutch diocesan periodicals at any rate appeared to serve the « revival of the Catholic section of society » rather than the emancipation of scholarly endeavour. Moreover, many of the articles in such periodicals were of a consistently dilettantish level (64). But even a periodical such as Cistercienser-Chronik succeeded only with great difficulty in becoming more than a newsletter for its own organisation.

Innovations were occurring on the international stage too, however, at the end of the nineteenth century. First, the number of periodicals focusing on Church history grew from 1890 onwards; the Catholics were engaged in a clear catching-up exercise with respect to the Protestants (something which also led to a less pronounced lead for the German world over the French). A general Church history periodical from a Catholic perspective was founded


in 1887 by Anton de Waal, though this Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte was still limited by the fact that it restricted itself to material that was present in Rome (65). That material had come to play an increasingly important role in Catholic church history since Pope Leo XIII had decided in 1880 to open up the Vatican Archives (66).

The main growth took place in periodicals focusing on specific domains of Church history. With regard to the history of Church law, Catholic researchers were able to draw on the Protestant Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht, which since 1891 had been publishing literature surveys. In other domains they acquired their own periodicals alongside the existing publications. In the field of ancient Christian literature and the Christian Orient, 1896-1897 saw the launch by Alfred Loisy and Paul Lejay of Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses, the more popular Échos d'Orient from Louis Petit and a group of Assumptionists (67), and Bessarione. The history of religious orders was now also being studied in Analecta S. Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, which was launched in 1893. For the « archéologie chrétienne » Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst (1888) and Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia cristiana (in 1895) were founded, the latter as a sequel to the Bullettino that had been published earlier by the much-discussed Giovanni Battista de Rossi (68). The history of scholasticism acquired a new mouthpiece — in 1891 — in Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Hagiography, finally, was the domain covered by

(67) Petit was more the director in name of the periodical than its actual leader (see V. Laurent, L'œuvre scientifique de Mgr Louis Petit (1868-1927), in Mémorial Louis Petit. Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines (Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 1), Bucharest, 1948, p. vii-xxviii, esp. ix en xiv).
Hagiographischer Jahresbericht, which was published from 1900 by the Benedictine Leander Helmling.

But the innovations went further than an increase in the number of periodicals. They were also manifest in a different scientific attitude and a more open-minded approach. This was borne out by the fame enjoyed by Bulletin critique de Littérature, d'Histoire et de Théologie, which was launched back in 1880 by Louis Duchesne. Duchesne was appointed in 1877 to the chair in « Histoire ecclésiastique et archéologie sacrée » at the newly founded Institut Catholique de Paris (69). But his Bulletin critique covered a wider field, devoting attention to all publications which might interest its Catholic readers. The periodical did not carry any articles of its own (70). Like Kurth's Archives belges later, it sought to bring order to the plethora of publications, show which of them were of value, and lambast the unworthy, even if it came from its own ranks (71). The views expressed could accordingly sometimes be sharp, particularly where religious faith appeared to have silenced science. It was no coincidence that Duchesne regarded De Smedt as a twin brother (72), and it was at his insistence — and that of Charles Moeller and Kurth — that the Bollandist collected his Principes de la critique historique.

Duchesne generated a following. His pupil Pierre Batiffol, who in 1898 became rector of the Institut Catholique de Toulouse, transformed his institute's newsletter immediately following his appointment into a Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique. Loisy, also initially attached to the Institut Catholique de Paris, stressed in the presen-


(72) See the letter on the death of De Smedt, quoted in Le R.P. Charles de Smedt, p. x and Devos, Cent ans, p. v.
tation of his Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses that the journal would be «purement historique et critique» (73). Moreover, Revue wanted to publish regular articles in which a status quaestionis would be given of certain aspects of Church history. Like their master, Batiffol and Loisy created critical scientific tools, and like him they were not afraid of a truth which was out of step with the Church tradition.

An open-minded approach such as this became more and more common during the pontificate of Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903). The trend was also apparent from the development of the orientalist periodicals. The pragmatism involved in the founding of these periodicals was logical: they sought to foster a rapprochement between Rome and the Churches of the East, something which was close to the heart of the Pope himself (74). The Revue de l'Orient chrétien, which followed La Terre sainte in 1896, put it in an apocalyptic light. The journal opened with the idea that only the unity of the Church could form a barrier to the flood — materialism, nihilism, Islam, pleasures of the senses and much, much more — which threatened the Christian community (75). But this pragmatism did not stand in the way of the further subjecting of the study of ancient Christian literature and the Christian Orient to greater scientific rigour. The difference between Échos d'Orient and its predecessor, Échos de Notre-Dame de France, spoke volumes. It was a difference between a pious pilgrim's faith and a faith which no longer saw science as a threat (76).

A faculty in flux

In this international world of Catholics, with its increasingly critical attitude and its widening of the spiritual gaze, the University


(76) See e.g. Nos deuils, in Échos d'Orient, 6 (1903), p. 228, where the idea of the periodical as a bridge between « Paris » and « Constantinople » is combined with the idea of serious study of oriental religion. The Munich professor Karl Krumbacher had founded the Byzantinische Zeitschrift as early as 1892.
of Louvain, and in particular its Faculty of Theology and Church Law, still occupied a position of authority at the end of the nineteenth century. The faculty was on the threshold of what has been termed a «grand tournant» (77). This development confirmed — and reinforced — the international trend to greater independence, more openness, more courage. It began with the appointment in 1889 of Albin van Hoonacker to the new chair of study «Introduction à l’histoire critique de l’Ancien Testament» (78).

The creation of this chair, at the suggestion of rector Abbeloos, illustrated the will to accept the scientific standard in every domain. At the fourth Catholic Congress in Mechelen, in 1891, Louvain professors declared that it was the duty of Catholics «de prendre la tête du mouvement scientifique». This view was expressed by De Harlez, who was supported by Mercier: for too long the Catholics had lived in a position of isolation in the academic world (79). Mercier had also begun his career in the theology faculty, being appointed to another new chair, in Thomistic philosophy in 1882. This chair lay at the origin of the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, which was founded in 1889, one year after the founding of the Société philosophique de Louvain (80). The periodical pub-

(77) R. Aubert, Le grand tournant de la Faculté de Théologie de Louvain à la veille de 1900, in Mélanges offerts à M.-D. Chenu (Bibliothèque thomiste, 37), Paris, 1967, p. 73-109, translated and abridged as: Idem, The Turn of the Century. A Turning Point for the Faculty of Theology, in The Faculty of Theology of Louvain. Studies on the History of the Faculty of Theology on the Occasion of the 550th Anniversary of the Founding of the Catholic University of Louvain (Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia, 20), Leuven, 1975, p. 264-279. Cf. e.g. also A. Thon, La Belgique, in J. Gadille and J.-M. Mayeur eds., Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours, vol. 11: Libéralisme, industrialisation, expansion européenne (1830-1914), s.l., 1995, p. 545-561, esp. 555.
lished by this Société, Revue néo-scolastique, opened in 1894 with an article by Mercier in which he again lamented the isolation of Catholic philosophers. In his view they needed to adapt to a time which demanded scientific analysis and specialisation rather than apologetic syntheses (81). This was a call for alignment with modern science, a process that in a sense implied an « appropriation » of the apparatus of that science (82).

One year after this call, the breakthrough came in the form of renewal in the faculty of theology, when in 1895 the Tournai priest Alfred Cauchie was appointed professor of Church history (83). Cauchie had studied history rather than theology. His academic career had thus begun in the Faculty of Literature and Philosophy, where in 1890 he had become assistant to his mentor, Charles Moeller, from 1891 partly for the section moderne of the Conférence d'Histoire. In 1893 he was appointed associate professor, among other things with responsibility for the history of medieval institutions. A year earlier Mercier had already charged him with delivering a number of courses in his Institut, including the history of the Church (84). It was in this field that Cauchie achieved his ordinariate.


(81) D. MERCIER, La philosophie néo-scolastique, in Revue néo-scolastique, 1 (1894), p. 5-18, esp. 11-17.


(84) Cauchie taught from 1892 at the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie; he lectured on Church history there from 1893 to 1895. See also C.E.M. STRUYKER.
Cauchie embodied the new ideas which led to new periodicals in the years before and after his appointment: he was the man of the specialist practical education, of the focused scientific policy and of the critical opening up of the closed world of religious faith. To begin with the latter point: Carnoy, like Cauchie from the Tournai diocese, is said to have encouraged him following his appointment in 1895 « à aller casser quelques carreaux pour faire circuler un courant d’air frais » in the honourable theology faculty (85). Research into and teaching of Church history had indeed always been apologetic in nature there. Henri Wouters, who had occupied the chair from 1834 to 1871, had regarded Church history as an « ancilla theologiae ». His successor Jungmann, who was chosen in preference to Reusens and who in reality had been trained as a dogmatic, saw the history of the Church merely as « une apologie du christianisme » (86). Cauchie broke with that tradition. What he wanted to strengthen was not religious faith, but the academic prestige of the Church, among other things by applying the criterion of historical criticism (87).

His own research — into the Investiture Controversy, Jansenism, the history of religion in France and the history of the Belgian church — was limited, however; Cauchie was less of a researcher than an organiser, a brilliant innovator in the field of scientific pol-


(85) R. Aubert, Le grand tournant, p. 97.


icy. He himself regarded the founding in 1902 of the *Institut historique belge de Rome* as his most important achievement in this respect. As early as 1888-1889 he had been working in the Vatican Archives. On his return to Louvain he had suggested that Belgium should follow the example of other countries by opening a Roman historical institute (88). This project occupied him for more than ten years, until 1902 when Berlière was able to leave for Rome as the first director of the institute (89). In other areas too, however, Cauchie worked hard on the organisation of systematically structured scientific missions to foreign archives (90). He did this in part in the context of the *Commission royale d'Histoire*, of which he had become a (substitute) member in 1895, at a time when the commission attained a new elan through the accession of a scientifically trained generation of historians, including the Brussels professor Léon Vanderkindere, Kurth, Pirenne and Berlière (91).

Cauchie also proved to be an organiser as a professor. Immediately after his appointment in 1895 he founded the *Séminaire historique*, described by one of his biographers as « l’âme de son professorat » (92). The *Séminaire historique* brought together the three *cours pratiques* under Cauchie’s leadership: the « Travaux pratiques sur les institutions médiévales » in the faculty of arts; Jung-


mann's *Séminaire d'histoire ecclésiastique* in the faculty of theology; and the *Conférences historiques* in that same faculty. In each case the aim was the same: the students had to learn the practice of research, not passively in lectures, but in a «laboratory situation», as Carnoy did with his students. That made it possible to unite the three and provide the University of Louvain with a genuine *Séminaire historique*, such as those that had been founded at other Belgian universities since Kurth, inspired by what existed in Germany, had begun a *cours pratique* in Liège in 1874 (93). Cauchie, who was inclined to develop a following, trained more than a thousand students (94).

As Cauchie had developed the habit of having a guest speaker round off his lecture courses each year, the Louvain *Séminaire historique* was also able to become the lynchpin of a close-knit network. That network included his former fellow-student Berlière, who appeared as a speaker in 1894 and 1898 and who also sang the praises of Cauchie's institute (just as the latter, conversely, praised the «new» *Revue bénédictine* (95)). «Après les bénédictins, les bollandistes»: in 1895 De Smedt was a guest speaker in Leuven, where he was «l'objet d'un culte spécial», both because of the tenor of his *Principes* and his *Introductio* and on account of his modernisation of Bollandism (96). And then there was Kurth,


whom Cauchie admired, not so much for his « visionary » power as for his scientific initiatives: he spoke in 1896, among other years (97). But the network extended beyond the national borders, and the Séminaire historique soon enjoyed fame in Catholic circles abroad (98). In 1901 Batiffol was received in Leuven (99). In short, the Séminaire historique united the innovators.

Propagandist of criticism, organiser and strategist, patron of a « research school », architect of a national and international (Church) history network: in all these functions Cauchie founded a new periodical in 1900, Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique (100). According to records handed down, the journal was conceived during a walk (101). In fact it was the result of a long and complex process, which also took place in the Louvain faculty of theology and to which Paulin Ladeuze also contributed, in addition to Van Hoo- nacker and Cauchie himself. Ladeuze had become professor of patrology in 1898, and was appointed professor of exegesis of the New Testament in 1900 (102). Since 1898 he had been secretary of


(98) See e.g. A. Pedrinelli, Il corso pratico di storia ecclesiastica all'Università di Lovanio, in Miscellanea di Storia e Cultura ecclesiastica, 4 (1906), p. 261-268. Pedrinelli was alumnus of the Louvain Institut Supérieur de Philosophie.


(102) See Kenis, The Louvain Faculty, p. 114-129. The patrology chair was created by Jungmann in 1879. For the participation of P. Ladeuze during the
Le Muséon. Now he signed up for the foundation of Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique and joined the editorial team. That team remained an exclusively Louvain body. Apart from Cauchie and Ladeuze, it was made up of the archaeologist René Maere, the canonist Alphonse van Hove and the moral theologian Amedeus Bondon, all professors in the faculty of theology (103). Abbeloo, who also organised the financial aspects, was made honorary chairman. But Cauchie was the driving force behind the periodical, together with his secretary Isidore Versluys.

The programmatic text with which the Revue opened presented the current status of international research into the history of the Church, reported on the research being carried out at Leuven, and presented the journal itself. It recalled the opening essay Mercier had written in 1894 for Revue néo-scolastique, and the article published by Berlière in Revue bénédictine in 1899 on the study of the history of the Church, but was more spontaneous and less restrained than the first, more explicit and less speculative than the second. Above all, however, the text synthesised the sources from which the journal had been created.

The educational renewal which was institutionalised in the Séminaire historique was one of these sources. The Revue accordingly explicitly put itself forward as the mouthpiece of the Séminaire historique, just as Mercier’s journal sought to be the organ of the Société philosophique de Louvain (104). Cauchie understood the Revue as the affirmation of his teaching geared to the practice of research. He therefore set great store by the cooperation of former members of his Séminaire, who in 1909 were to unite in an Association (105). The periodical had to bear witness to the fruitfulness of the new university concept. Seen from that perspective, the Revue fitted in with the series of specialist journals which had arisen in Leuven since 1876. It was a periodical like La Cellule.

first years of the Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique, see the following article (of L. Courtois) in this issue.


(105) See Bibliographie de l'Association des anciens membres du Séminaire historique de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, Mechelen, 1911.
A specialist periodical, no *Revue catholique* — but at the same time *Revue* had universal ambitions. It did not wish to concentrate on a specific domain of the history of the Church, but sought to cover the entire field: « La Revue embrassera l’histoire de tous les peuples chrétiens depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu’à nos jours; elle s’occupera de toutes les manifestations de la vie externe et interne de l’Église » (106). It was also not a national journal, therefore: the *Revue* had international ambitions (107). Primarily, however, Cauchie did not want to add anything new in that domain; above all he wanted to provide a summary of what was already there: his *Revue* wanted to be « un organe d’un caractère central enregistrant » (108). Right from the start, therefore, in addition to the sections for articles and *mélanges*, the periodical carried a broadly informative section comprising book reviews, a chronicle, a bibliographical repertory. This informative section was concerned not only with order, but also with selection: the book reviews served to teach the reader what was valuable and what was worthless in the plethora of published material. Its opinions had to be sharp, as was the case in Duchesne’s inspiring *Bulletin critique*. The *Revue* thus had to be a uniting and evaluating instrument of a new scientific policy. It was a periodical along the lines of Kurth’s *Archives belges*, in which it was therefore welcomed (109).

Finally, the programmatic text displayed an openness in the relationship between faith and science. This openness became increasingly widespread at the University of Louvain during the rectorship of Adolphe Hebbelynck (1898-1909). Nonetheless, Ladeuze presented the new enterprise to Goossens in an old-fashioned, militant manner: the *Revue*, he wrote, was a means of combining strengths against « les écoles protestantes et rationalistes », a weapon against « nos ennemis », intended to serve « la cause de la foi et de l’Église » (110). In his answer the Cardinal saw a harking back to the battles and triumphs of the Church and its wholesome effect on every domain already springing from the pages of the periodi-

(110) Quoted in Aubert, *Le grand tournant*, p. 98, n. 94.
Cal (111). But Ladeuze's words may have been chosen strategically. In any event, Cauchie opened the Revue with a plea to bury the existing religious and ideological differences under a scientific historical method. In doing so he expressed the hope that Catholics would give up their intellectual reticence and engage in a loyal debate with people who thought differently (112). This was the standpoint that De Harlez and Mercier had defended in Mechelen in 1891 and which there too had been translated into an acknowledgement of the importance of academic journals published by Catholics (113). For Cauchie, faith and science were not mutually exclusive; the Church had no need of lies, and would therefore be served all the better by a critical attitude (114). The Revue spoke the language of Analecta bollandiana and of a new international generation of periodicals dealing with the history of the Church.

The model of cautious progress

The network formed by Cauchie's Séminaire historique proved to be of crucial importance during the periodical's early years. During its first year, the Revue received the support of the Benedictines of Maredsous, when Berlière published the first part of a study of the history of his order in the journal. Morin provided the text of the paper he had delivered to the Séminaire historique shortly before the foundation of the Revue on his experiences as a patrologist (and in which he had spoken of the heavy burden that the editorship of the Revue bénédictine could be for him and for Berlière). In 1905 he was again a guest in Leuven, this time delivering a talk on themes from Latin literature of the Middle Ages which could be of

(111) The reply by Goossens (11 April 1900) to the letter from Ladeuze (7 March 1900) was printed in Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique, 1 (1900), no page ref.

(112) However, he too concluded: «(...) la Revue tiendra toujours à honneur de se montrer imprégnée de l'esprit catholique ». See CAUCHIE, Les études, p. 14-15, 28 and 29-30.


interest to young researchers, and again he gave the text of his talk to the *Revue* (115). By this time the periodical was enjoying the «patronage» of De Smedt and the Bollandists (116). Finally, Kurth was to publish three hagiographic studies in the *Revue* before the First World War.

By that time the climate in the Church had already changed radically, however. The spirit of openness, the desire to «adapt» the old dogma of faith to the times and the emphasis on the importance of the autonomy of historical as well as exegetic and philosophical criticism, had by the start of the pontificate of Pope Pius X (1903-1914) combined to lead to what became known as the «modernist crisis». The response from Rome was powerful. From his first encyclical in 1903, the new Pope demanded a restoration of tradition and a submission to the authority of the Church. From 1907 there was an escalation of this «integristic debate», which was also reflected in official condemnation of a number of innovators (117). In that perspective, the founders of the *Revue* could also awaken the distrust of the «integrists». Cauchie, already a man with a passionate and brusque character (and moreover — as a historian — an «alien» in the theology faculty), was indeed regarded by some as «un homme dangereux pour la foi» (118).

This applied to an even greater extent for Ladeuze, whose exegetic work met with criticism from conservatives. For many he was «the prototype of the progressivist scholar», who was battling in the front ranks of the innovators. Some of his writings scandalised a section of the bishopry and the clerical order. From 1906 Ladeuze, according to his biographer, attempted «de se refaire une virginité doctrinale». But then too he was a target of suspicion in many eyes. His appointment as rector of Louvain university in 1909 was accordingly disputed by Rome and some of the episco-


(117) The literature is naturally very extensive on this topic; see e.g. J. Gaddillle, *Face aux nouvelles sciences religieuses. Le modernisme*, in Idem and Mayeur eds., *Histoire du christianisme*, vol. 11, p. 441-462.

pate. It was Mercier, who had become Archbishop of Mechelen in 1906, who took his former colleague under his protection, just as he defended the Bollandists against the « integrist » threat (119).

Cauchie and Ladeuze withstood the storm because they learned to be cautious, without giving up their commitment to progress in criticism (120). Others, such as Batiffol and Duchesne, by contrast, had to pay the price for their views. The former was forced to give up the rectorate of the Institut Catholique de Toulouse in 1906; the latter had to accept the placing of his Histoire ancienne de l'Église, published between 1906 and 1910, on the Index in 1912. The reaction also hit a number of other periodicals dealing with the history of the Church. The Bulletin critique disappeared in 1908. Miscellanea di Storia e Cultura ecclesiastica, founded by Umberto Benigni in 1902, underwent the same fate, and other periodicals followed.

Yet the « integrist reaction » was unable to halt the growth in the number of periodicals focusing on the history of the Church, which had begun in 1890 (121). This was the case, for example, for the national history of the Church; in Belgium, Analectes pour servir à l'Histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique remained in existence even after the death of Reusens in 1903. From 1905 the periodical was relaunched, this time by a fifteen-strong editorial committee, which included Cauchie. That committee placed the emphasis on the continuity with the « old » Analectes, but declared that it intended to employ a more scientific method, to cover a wider field of study and to introduce more variety in the selection of published documents (122). A year earlier — but more than half a century later than its French sister organisation — the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme belge had been formed under the leadership of Kennedy Anet, with its own Bulletin. Swiss and French — Catholic — Church historians acquired their own national periodicals in 1907


(120) Cf. Aubert, Le grand tournant, p. 73-74.

(121) Cf. Aubert, L'essor, p. 410 and 434.

and 1910, respectively: Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte and Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France (123). Their colleagues in the Netherlands were able to publish from 1905 in Geschiedkundige Bladen — which rapidly disappeared again — which covered a much broader field than the history of the Church alone (124).

The further growth also took place in more specific fields of Church history. For the history of Church law, Ulrich Stutz and Albert Werminghoff added the Kanonistische Abteilung to Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte in 1911; it was a Protestant enterprise, but one which was open to Catholic historians. A whole series of periodicals sprang up in the field of ancient Christian literature and the Christian Orient: Oriens christianus (from 1901), Bulletin d'Ancienne Littérature et d'Archéologie chrétiennes (since 1911, again with a role for Batiffol), Didaskaleion (from 1912). And Le Muséon, which in 1897 had absorbed the Parisian Revue des Religions and which after the death of De Harlez was run by Louis de La Vallée Poussin and Philémon Colinet, carved out a profile for itself in this field (125).

The history of religious orders was now also covered in all manner of new periodicals: the Dominicans founded the Annales dominicaines (in 1904), the Augustinians the Analecta augustiniana (1905), the Benedictines the Revue Mabillon (1905), the Franciscans the Archivum franciscanum historicum (1908). There was also room for national variants, such as Neerlandia franciscana which was launched by the Belgian Capuchin order in 1914. The history of the abbeys was the theme of Analectes de l'Ordre de Prémontré (since 1905) (126). Finally, missionary history acquired its own periodical


when Joseph Schmidlin founded the strongly historically oriented *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* (complete with *Missionsbibliographische Berichten*) in Münster in 1911 (127). One thing was clear: the history of the Church was being marked, as those running *Revue Mabillon* put it — not without some enjoyment — by "une subdivision du travail" (128).

In that perspective, however, *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* also gained in importance, with its universal ambitions and its ideal of covering the whole of the increasingly full field of Church history. The periodical was consequently able to become a model for other journals. When Callewaert, who had trained in Cauchie's *Séminaire historique*, later president of the *Association* of former members of this *Séminaire* and lecturer in the history of the liturgy at the faculty of theology in Louvain (129), wanted to renew the *Annales* of the *Société d'Émulation* in Bruges shortly after the turn of the century, he thought of the *Revue*: the *Annales* needed to contain a review section, a chronicle and a bibliographical *Boekenschouw* (130).

But the *Revue* also served as a model in other countries, including the United States. Two periodicals on Church history had already been launched there in the 1880s: in Philadelphia *The American Catholic Historical Researches* was published from 1884, while in New York the *Historical Records and Studies* were launched in 1887 (131). The foundation in 1887 of the *Catholic University of America* in Washington provided a further boost for research on the history of the Church (132). The ties between this

(126) The main focus of this periodical too, published by the Parkabdij abbey in Leuven, was source editions; see *Notre but*, in *Analectes de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, 1 (1905), p. 1-11 ("La fièvre de l'inédit").


(130) See note 27. Callewaert had also contributed to the *Revue* since 1902.

(131) There were also two societies for Catholic (Church) historians, the *American Catholic Historical Society* (with its own *Records*, Philadelphia) and the *United States Catholic Historical Society* (New York).

university and the Alma Mater in Leuven were close from the start, as illustrated by the invitation to Jungmann to accept the chair in dogmatics in Washington (133).

Cauchie and his Revue were also involved in these contacts. In the Revue's very first year Thomas Joseph Shahan published a status quasionis of American research on Church history, while in 1907 Cauchie wrote a long article on the teaching of history in Leuven and the Séminaire historique for the Catholic University Bulletin (which had been published since 1895) of the « young and noble sister » of his own university (134). Eight years later, in 1915, a former student of the Séminaire historique, Peter Guilday, founded a new periodical in Washington, inspired by the Revue. In contrast to the Revue, The Catholic Historical Review for the Study of the Church History of the United States offered a national rather than a universal Church history. But as early as in the sixth year of its existence the periodical, which also devoted a good deal of attention to bibliographical summaries, broadened its field of interest: as the official organ of the new American Catholic Historical Association it focused henceforth on « general Church history » (135). The New World now also had its own Revue.

Epilogue

Meanwhile, Europe had been ravaged by the « Great War », and this naturally had consequences for the publication of periodicals on Church history. Most of them had to cease publication. For ex-
ample, two issues of *Le Muséon* were published — in Cambridge — in 1915-1916, but further publication proved impossible. Publication of *Anaelecta bollandiana* also had to cease, partly because the German occupiers refused to give the Bollandists permission to make foreign study trips (136). After the War many periodicals were able to begin publishing again, albeit after a great deal of effort. For others — including in Belgium *Analectes* and *Revue de l'Art chrétien* — the ravages of war had proved too much; they disappeared for good.

In a speech immediately after the War, Cauchie took stock of the damage. He referred to the periodicals as the «âmes du progrès», the souls of scientific progress (137). He felt defeated. He had experienced the burning of the Louvain university library on 26 August 1914 and had been forced to cease publication of the *Revue* (138). He was no longer able to work on the restoration. In 1919 he was appointed director of «his» *Institut historique belge de Rome*, after Berlière had already been succeeded by Kurth and Charles Moeller — both now dead. In Rome Cauchie was able to take care of an institute which he liked to see as an «école belge», and which was now publishing its own *Bulletin*. An accident brought his life to an end in 1922 (139).

In Leuven, the *Revue* was run following Cauchie’s departure by Albert De Meyer, who now also chaired the *Séminaire historique*. De Meyer was committed to continuity. Nevertheless, there was a shift in emphasis. The *Revue* was now less the organ of the *Séminaire historique*; the «local» origins of the periodical faded to the background. The battle against a closed and apologetic world image was now also less of a central aim; a great deal had already changed on that front in the preceding half-century. The emphasis consequently increasingly came to lie on the function of the period-


(138) For Cauchie’s mental condition during the War, e.g.: Berlière, *Notice*, p. 232-235.

ical in terms of scientific policy, as illustrated among other things by the enormous effort — including in terms of publicity and finance — made by the editors to fill the bibliographical gap left by the War years (140). But this tendency too had already begun earlier. As early as 1902 it had been decided to place the bibliography in a separate volume. This largely had to do with the size of the work: in 1905 there was already a repertory of more than 10,000 studies. But it also had to do with the profile of the periodical. Since Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte had given up its bibliographical section in 1900, which had been begun in 1898 to replace the original Kritische Uebersichten (141), the Revue had a de facto monopoly on the universal bibliography of Church history.

The Revue increasingly derived its reputation from that fact, and from the high quality way in which it performed this bibliographical task. The number of Church history periodicals continued to increase after the War, ranging from national periodicals such as Polonia sacra (from 1918) and Croatia sacra (from 1931) to specific journals such as Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale, launched by the Keizersberg abbey in Leuven in 1929, and Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu (from 1932). Their field of interest was « strictement délimité », as the editors of Recherches put it in founding their new periodical (142). This did not apply for the Revue. Cauchie had created a universal working instrument, as later directors observed emphatically and with satisfaction (143).

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(140) That bibliographical repertory (for the period 1914-1919) would ultimately appear as Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique, 16 (1923).

(141) The last Kritische Uebersichten had been published in 1888 (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 9 (1888), p. 105-113 and 341-390).


(143) See the warning in Aubert, Un demi-siècle de revues, p. 201-202 and the conclusion in Roegiers, De bijdrage, p. 328.