

## THE LOUVAIN FACULTY OF THEOLOGY AND ITS PROFESSORS: 1834-1889

The attention of historians and theologians given to the Louvain Faculty of Theology during the 19th century is usually confined to the last decade of the century. In the 1890's a new generation of theologians began to teach, who integrated the achievements of historical-critical scholarship into their research and thus established the reputation of the Faculty. The symbolic beginning of this turn is the year in which the biblical scholar Albin Van Hoonacker was appointed to the new chair of "Introduction à l'histoire critique de l'Ancien Testament" (1889). In the following pages we will give a survey of the professors who held the main chairs in theology and canon law at the Faculty from the reestablishment of the University in 1834 until 1889. We will focus on their principal works and their significance for education at the Faculty<sup>1</sup>.

In the 19th century, theology instruction at Louvain was concentrated on the five basic disciplines: Sacred Scripture, dogmatic theology, moral theology, church history, and canon law. As a rule, candidates were only admitted after three or four years of theological study in the seminaries. Besides the section of advanced studies leading to the degrees in theology and canon law (the so-called *schola maior*), a program of elementary courses was started in 1853 for students with no theological background. This program was suspended in 1877 and reintroduced in 1898. It is known as the *schola minor*. We will not explicitly mention the few teachers who were only active in this section.

Our source material consists mostly of the publications of the professors and some course texts which were printed in autograph. We also made use of the so-called *Theses quas* that were presented by the students in the annual defenses. These *Theses* were most often composed by the professors themselves and thus reflect their teaching. They are of particular interest for those professors from whom no publications or course notes are preserved. Important information is further provided by the dissertations that were submitted by the doctoral students<sup>2</sup>.

1. Cf. L. KENIS, *De Theologische Faculteit te Leuven in de negentiende eeuw 1834-1889*, doctoral dissertation, K.U.Leuven, 3 vols., 1989 (publication by Koninklijke Academie, Brussels, is forthcoming). The only comprehensive survey of the corps of professors in the 19th century was published in *ETL* 9 (1932) 608-704, and separately printed in *Le cinquième centenaire de la Faculté de théologie de l'Université de Louvain (1432-1932)*, Bruges - Louvain, 1932, pp. 21-117: "L'enseignement de la théologie à l'Université de Louvain depuis sa restauration en 1834". The various contributions, however, are of unequal quality and show numerous lacunae. An important study, dealing with the last decades of the 19th century, was written by R. AUBERT, *Le grand tournant de la Faculté de Théologie de Louvain à la veille de 1900*, in *Mélanges offerts à M.-D. Chenu, maître en théologie* (Bibliothèque thomiste, 37), Paris, 1967, pp. 73-109.

2. For biographical and bibliographical information, we will refer, if possible, to a recent and well-documented study on each professor. Extensive though not complete bibliographies are offered in the bibliography of the University: *Université Catholique de Louvain. Bibliographie 1834-1900*, Louvain, 1900, pp. 13-25, 52-88 (with additions in the supplements). An attempt to provide an exhaustive bibliography of all professors (including those of the *schola minor*) is presented in our dissertation, vol. 3, pp. 1-124. This bibliography will appear separately as a volume of *Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia* (1992).

## I. BIBLICAL EXEGESIS

The Dutch professor Jan Theodoor BEELEN (1807-84)<sup>3</sup> was appointed in 1836<sup>4</sup> and held the chair of Scripture for nearly forty years. From the very beginning he gave to his teaching a distinct philological orientation. He was convinced that a thorough knowledge of the oriental languages was necessary not only for biblical studies, but for Christian theology *tout court*. He immediately started teaching, in addition to biblical exegesis, various language courses: as early as 1837, he taught Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic, and Arabic. For his students, he composed several grammars and anthologies. His three-volume *Chrestomathia Rabbinica et Chaldaica* earned international fame<sup>5</sup>. This anthology was appreciated in the Jewish world as well, particularly because it was not based on previous Christian collections, but on the original Jewish sources<sup>6</sup>.

Beelen's most important publication in the field of oriental philology was his edition of the Syriac version of two letters on virginity, ascribed to Clement of Rome, which are not preserved in the original Greek<sup>7</sup>. The edition was provided with a Latin translation and numerous grammatical annotations. It was considered an important contribution to Syriac philology, especially lexicography, and up to the present it is the standard edition of these two Pseudo-Clementine letters.

Beelen showed particular philological interests in his biblical studies as well<sup>8</sup>. Shortly after the start of his career, he devoted his course in exegesis almost exclusively to the study of the New Testament, and part of the course dealt explicitly with grammatical questions. For this purpose he published his *Grammatica Graecitatis Novi Testamenti*, a translation and adaptation of Georg Winer's *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*<sup>9</sup>.

Beelen published commentaries on three books of the New Testament: Paul's Letter to the Philippians, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Letter to the

3. Cf. J. COPPENS, *Beelen (Jean-Théodore)*, in *Biographie nationale de Belgique* 29 (1957) 215-222. A fascinating biographical sketch was written by his successor T.J. LAMY, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Mgr Beelen*, in *Annuaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain* 49 (1885) CVI-CLIV.

4. Beelen took the place of Jean Baptiste ANNOCQUÉ (1796-1862), who was dismissed in 1836. At the restoration of the University in 1834, it was at the eleventh hour that Annocqué had been appointed to the chair of Scripture. From the letter of dismissal it appears that he did not even have a thorough command of the biblical languages. His name is not mentioned in any of the existing surveys of the Faculty.

5. *Chrestomathia Rabbinica et Chaldaica cum notis grammaticis, historicis, theologicis, glossario et lexico abbreviatarum, quae in Hebraeorum scriptis passim occurrunt*, 3 vols., Louvain, Vanlinthout et Vandenzande, 1841-43.

6. See, e.g., I. BROYDÉ, *Beelen, Theodore Johann*, in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* 2 (1902) 629.

7. *Sancti Patris nostri Clementis Romani epistolae binae de Virginitate, Syriace, quas ad fidem codicis manuscriptorum Amstelodamensis, additis notis criticis, philologicis, theologicis, et nova interpretatione Latina, edidit. Accedunt fragmenta nonnulla exegetici argumenti ex eodem codice nunc primum edita et Latine reddita*, Louvain, C.J. Fonteyn - Vanlinthout, 1856.

8. As can be seen in his *Dissertatio theologica, qua sententiam vulgo receptam, esse Sacrae Scripturae multiplicem interdum sensum litteralem, nullo fundamento satis firmo niti demonstrari conatur*, Louvain, Vanlinthout et Vandenzande, 1845.

9. *Grammatica Graecitatis Novi Testamenti, quam ad Georgii Wineri ejusdem argumenti librum, Germanico idiomate conscriptum, in usum suorum auditorum composuit*, Louvain, C.J. Fonteyn - Vanlinthout, 1857 (based on the 5th ed. of Winer's *Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1844).

Romans. The commentary on Romans is regarded as his principal work<sup>10</sup>. His method was characterized by meticulous philological investigation, combined with a synthetic interpretation of the text. Above all, he emphasized the importance of grasping the literal sense of the text. Furthermore, he paid special attention to what, in his opinion, was often neglected, notably in Pauline exegesis: the “nexus”, i.e., a coherent line of thought, which he indicated by means of a Latin paraphrase, printed alongside the Vulgate and the Greek *Textus Receptus*.

The commentary on Romans (1854) was the last exegetical work Beelen published. Thereafter, he carried out a project started a decade earlier, namely the composition of a new translation of the New Testament in Dutch. In 1858 he published some proof translations and an exposition of the methodological principles guiding his translation work<sup>11</sup>. He continuously tried to steer between two extremes. He followed the Vulgate, accepted by the Roman Catholic Church as the authentic Bible text. At the same time, he was of the opinion that the original Greek text should conduct the translator “as a torch-bearer”<sup>12</sup>. The text of the Vulgate should be followed where it intentionally differed from the Greek. Manifest inaccuracies or errors in details, however, should be corrected on the basis of the Greek text. In the years 1859-66 Beelen’s translation was published with the approval of the Belgian episcopate<sup>13</sup>. It was particularly successful in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium. In later years he also translated the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and Sirach<sup>14</sup>.

Thomas Joseph LAMY (1827-1907)<sup>15</sup>, who succeeded Beelen to the chair of

10. *Interpretatio Epistolae S. Pauli ad Philippenses*, Louvain, Ickx et Geets, 1849 (rev. ed.: *Commentarius in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Philippenses. Accedunt textus Graecus atque Latinus, et continua totius Epistolae paraphrasis*, Louvain, C.J. Fonteyn, 1852); *Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum. Cui integri adduntur contextus Graecus et Latinus*, 2 vols., Louvain, C.J. Fonteyn, 1850-51 (2nd ed., 1864); *Commentarius in epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos. Accedunt textus Graecus atque Latinus, et continua totius epistolae paraphrasis*, Louvain, C.J. Fonteyn - Vanlinthout, 1854.

11. *Grondregels voor het vervaerdigen eener Nederduitsche vertaling van het Nieuwe Testament ten gebruike der Katholieken*, Louvain, Vanlinthout - C.J. Fonteyn, 1858. Beelen’s translation work has recently been assessed by N. TROMP, *De ontvouwing van uw Woord verlicht. Driehonderdvijftig jaar rooms-katholieke bijbelvertaling in Nederland en Vlaanderen*, in A.W.G. JAAKKE & E.W. TUINSTRAS (eds.), *Om een verstaanbare bijbel. Nederlandse bijbelvertalingen na de Statenbijbel*, Haarlem - Brussels, 1990, pp. 107-136, esp. pp. 120-124.

12. *Grondregels*, p. 17.

13. *Het Nieuwe Testament Onzes Heeren Jesus Christus, volgens den Latynschen tekst der Vulgaat in het Nederduitsch vertaeld en in doorlopende aenteekeningen uitgelegd*, 3 vols., Louvain, C.J. Fonteyn; Amsterdam, C.-L. van Langenhuyzen; 's-Hertogenbosch, P. Verhoeven, 1859-66 (reprint, Bruges, K. Beyaert-Storie, 1891-92; new ed. by A. VANDER VEEREN, Bruges, K. Beyaert, 1926-33).

14. *Het Boek der Psalmen*, 2 vols., Louvain, K. Fonteyn; Amsterdam, C.-L. van Langenhuyzen, 1878; *De Spreuken van Salomo*, Louvain, K. Fonteyn; Amsterdam, C.-L. van Langenhuyzen, 1879; *Het Boek genaamd de Prediker*, Louvain, K. Fonteyn; Amsterdam, C.-L. van Langenhuyzen, 1880; *Het Boek der Wijsheid*, Louvain, K. Fonteyn; Amsterdam, C.-L. van Langenhuyzen, 1881; *Het Boek genaamd Ecclesiasticus*, Louvain, K. Fonteyn; Amsterdam, C.-L. van Langenhuyzen, 1883.

15. Cf. P. LADEUZE, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Mgr Lamy*, in *Annuaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain* 72 (1908) CXXXI-CLIX (remains the best study on Lamy). See also G. RYCKMANS, *Lamy (Thomas-Joseph)*, in *Biographie nationale de Belgique* 38 (1973) 435-437.

Scripture in 1875, gained credit for continuing the tradition of oriental scholarship that was started by Beelen, especially in the field of Syriac literature. In 1872-77 he published, in cooperation with his student (and later rector) Jean Baptiste Abbeloos, the *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* of Gregory Barhebraeus<sup>16</sup>. His principal achievement was the edition of the hymns and sermons of Ephraem Syrus, based on partly unpublished texts which he had uncovered in various libraries throughout Europe<sup>17</sup>. Lamy was a very prolific writer. Among his numerous publications, the best known were his critical essays on the respective volumes of Ernest Renan's *Origines du Christianisme*<sup>18</sup>. He also wrote a number of well-documented articles on the Eastern churches<sup>19</sup>. In the field of Bible studies Lamy published an *Introductio in Sacram Scripturam*, which was reprinted five times<sup>20</sup>, a commentary on Genesis<sup>21</sup>, and a number of popularizing commentaries on other books of the Bible. In these publications as well as in his teaching, he stuck to a traditional exegesis without much originality. He paid little attention to new insights that had become part of Catholic biblical scholarship in the second half of the 19th century. His teaching made a rather outdated impression, as becomes clear from the mediocrity of the *Theses quas* that his students had to defend<sup>22</sup>. Still, some important doctoral dissertations in oriental philology were produced under his direction, e.g., by the later professor Jacques Forget<sup>23</sup> and the French orientalist Jean Baptiste Chabot.

## II. DOGMATIC THEOLOGY

The first professor of dogmatic theology was Jean Mathieu THIELS (1799-1876). As early as 1836, he tendered his resignation and was replaced by J.B. Malou. In 1838 the dogma chair was split into a course in general and a course in special dogmatic theology. While Malou continued to teach special dogma, the Dutch theologian Anton VERHOEVEN (1815-91) was appointed to

16. *Gregorii Barhebraei chronicon ecclesiasticum quod e codice Musei britannici descriptum conjuncta opera ediderunt, latinitate donarunt annotationibusque theologicis, historicis, geographicis et archaeologicis illustrarunt*, 3 vols., Louvain, C. Peeters, 1872-77.

17. *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones, quos e codicibus Londinensibus, Parisiensibus et Oxoniensibus descriptos edidit, latinitate donavit, variis lectionibus instruxit, notis et prolegomenis illustravit*, 4 vols., Malines, H. Dessain, 1882-1902.

18. *La Vie de Jésus par M. Ernest Renan. Examen critique*, in *Revue catholique* 21 (1863) 470-485, 545-568, 653-671, 724-741; *Les Apôtres. Examen critique du second écrit de M. Renan sur les origines du christianisme*, in *Revue catholique* 24 (1866) 275-291, 313-323, 377-391; *L'Antechrist de M. Renan*, in *Revue catholique* 36 (1873) 135-157, 275-300, 364-387. These studies were reprinted in various separate editions.

19. Particularly on the eve of the Vatican Council: *Les Orientaux et le concile œcuménique*, in *Revue catholique* 27 (1869) 152-178, 241-258, 566-588; 28 (1869) 195-211. Cf. C. SOETENS, *Les catholiques belges et le rapprochement avec les Églises d'Orient dans la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *RHE* 66 (1971) 83-116, pp. 98-99.

20. *Introductio in Sacram Scripturam*, 2 vols., Malines, H. Dessain, 1866-67 (6th ed., 1901).

21. *Commentarium in Genesin*, Louvain, C. Peeters, 1880 (2nd ed.: *Commentarium in librum Geneseos*, 2 vols., Malines, H. Dessain, 1883-84).

22. Some striking examples are cited by R. AUBERT, *Le grand tournant* (cf. *supra*, n. 1), pp. 77-78.

23. Jacques FORGET (1852-1933) was appointed at the Faculty in 1885 as a professor of Arabic. Later on, he also taught apologetic, general dogma, Hebrew, and Syriac. See R. AUBERT, *Forget (Jacques)*, in *DHGE* 17 (1971) 1050-1051.

the chair of general dogmatic theology. In 1840, Verhoeven entered the Jesuit order and was succeeded by A. Tits.

During the 1840's, Tits and Malou opposed each other in discussions over the philosophical issue of traditionalism<sup>24</sup>. Tits, with the philosopher Gerard Casimir Ubaghs, was the leading figure of the traditionalist school at the University of Louvain. Malou immediately rejected the traditionalist philosophy of his colleagues, which in his eyes threatened to undermine the foundations of Catholic doctrine. The controversy revealed a fundamental methodological divergence in theology, which was characterized by the antagonists themselves as an opposition between speculative and positive theology.

Arnold TITS (1807-51)<sup>25</sup> was the prototype of a modern speculative theologian. Making use of the categories of contemporary, especially German philosophy, he tried to formulate a Catholic alternative to rationalism. He confronted his students with the important issues in fundamental theology which were then being debated in Catholic theology<sup>26</sup>. His teaching resulted in a four-volume *Theologia generalis*, which was printed only in autograph<sup>27</sup>. The work opened with an "introductio philosophica", dealing with epistemological and methodological questions. In these expositions Tits opposed especially the semi-rationalism of Georg Hermes. The second tractate, the *Theodicea christiana*, was an extensive critique of the pantheistic systems of Hegel, Fichte, Schelling, and their followers<sup>28</sup>. In the third tractate, the *Demonstratio christiana*, the exposition on revelation in particular illustrates how Tits was able to apply traditionalist categories to clarify theological concepts<sup>29</sup>. Finally, the

24. The most authoritative study on traditionalism at Louvain is still that of J. HENRY, *Le traditionalisme et l'ontologisme à l'Université de Louvain*, in *Annales de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie* 5 (1924) 41-150. Recently, a concise presentation of the persons involved is given by C.E.M. STRUYKER BOUDIER, *Wijsgerig leven in Nederland en België 1880-1980*. Vol. 5: *De filosofie van Leuven*, Louvain - Baarn, 1989, pp. 9-76. On traditionalism in general, see B. REARDON, *Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-Century France*, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 20-137.

25. Cf. N.J. LAFORET, *La vie et les travaux d'Arnold Tits, ancien professeur à la Faculté de théologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain*, Brussels, 1853.

26. Tits expounded his views on the course of general dogmatic theology in a report on theology education which was drawn up by the Faculty at the request of the Belgian episcopate in 1848. Tits' exposition, which covers nearly half of the whole report, is quoted by LAFORET, *La vie et les travaux d'Arnold Tits*, pp. 169-173. The report was entitled *Réponses aux Questions proposées par Nos Seigneurs les Évêques de Belgique à la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Louvain par l'intermédiaire du Recteur Magnifique* (8 ff°), and dated 26 February 1850 (a copy is preserved, e.g., in the Diocesan Archives of Bruges, B 284).

27. Tits wrote two versions of the work. From the second version only the first two parts are known to us. The revised version of the *Theologiae generalis Praelectionum pars I* was finished on 22 February 1849. Part two was entitled: *Theologia generalis recentiorum philosophorum et theologorum acatholicorum erroribus opposita*. Pars secunda: *Theodicea christiana sive Tractatus philosophico-theologicus de fundamentis naturalibus religionis generatim spectatae* (2 vols.). This incomplete text ended on 25 January 1850. A summary of the whole work is given by LAFORET, *La vie et les travaux d'Arnold Tits*, pp. 179-210.

28. A summary of Tits' opinions on this issue can be found in one of the few texts published by Tits, *Théorie de la création, ou doctrine de la philosophie chrétienne sur Dieu et sur ses rapports avec le monde, comparée aux principes du rationalisme moderne*, in *Société littéraire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain. Choix de mémoires* 2 (1842) 1-53. In his critique of Hegelianism, Tits, like many of his Catholic colleagues, depended on the works of the Tübingen theologian Franz Anton Staudenmaier.

29. On this subject, see also Tits' series of articles, *De la révélation considérée dans ses*

*Demonstratio catholica* was the least elaborate treatise. Tits concentrated his attention on the issue of Church authority as *regula fidei*, as it was worked out by the Roman theologian Giovanni Perrone<sup>30</sup>. Tits' teaching was enthusiastically received by the students at the Faculty. However, he died unexpectedly in 1851, before he was able to complete the second, definitive version of his *Theologia generalis*. Thus a promising project of research in fundamental theology was interrupted. For various reasons, Tits' followers were unable to continue his work<sup>31</sup>.

In opposition to this speculative orientation for theology, Jean Baptiste MALOU (1809-64)<sup>32</sup> was a representative of the positive, historically oriented theology of the so-called 'Roman School'<sup>33</sup>. In his lectures on special dogmatic theology he followed Perrone's *Praelectiones theologicae*, which he himself had published in a Louvain edition<sup>34</sup>. This theology was not interested in speculative reflection on the Christian faith, but rather intended to present Christian doctrine in all its riches, drawing on Scripture and Tradition. Through his theological training, Malou gained a thorough knowledge of the Christian tradition, in particular of the theology of the Byzantine Church. His main work was an extensive study on the Immaculate Conception, which he published after the declaration of the dogma in 1854<sup>35</sup>.

Another most valuable application of his historical knowledge consisted in his cooperation to Migne's *Patrology*<sup>36</sup>. Malou was the principal collaborator of dom Pitra, who was in charge of the scientific organization of the monumental series. He gave numerous recommendations concerning the composition of the collection and the choice of text editions, and delivered a number of editions himself (e.g., the works of Photius). At a later stage he assumed the direction of the *Series Graeca*.

*rappports avec la raison et la religion naturelles*, in *Revue catholique* 4 (1846-47) 612-623, 665-674; 5 (1847-48) 1-8.

30. An elaboration of this view, integrating traditionalist categories, was offered in the doctoral dissertation of Tits' student, N.J. LAFORET, *De methodo theologiae sive de auctoritate Ecclesiae Catholicae tamquam regula fidei christianae*, Louvain, Vanlinthout, 1849.

31. Philibert VAN DEN BROECK (1820-62), Tits' young successor, died only ten years after his appointment. Cf. P.F.X. DE RAM and J.B. LEFEBVE in *Annuaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain* 27 (1863) 239-252, 253-259.

32. Cf. R. CAUWE, *Mgr. Malou en de dogmatische definitie van de Onbevleete Ontvangenis in 1854*, in *Collationes Brugenses et Gandavenses* 10 (1964) 433-462, and his contribution to M. CLOET (ed.), *Het bisdom Brugge (1559-1984). Bisschoppen, priesters, gelovigen*, Bruges, 1984, pp. 357-364.

33. Cf. K.H. NEUFELD, 'Römische Schule'. *Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zur genaueren Bestimmung*, in *Gregorianum* 63 (1982) 677-699.

34. J. PERRONE, *Praelectiones Theologicae, quas in Collegio Romano S.J. habebat. Editio Lovaniensis, diligenter emendata, et variis accessionibus ab auctore locupletata*, 9 vols., Louvain, Vanlinthout et Vandenzande, 1838-43.

35. *L'Immaculée Conception de la bienheureuse vierge Marie, considérée comme dogme de foi*, 2 vols., Brussels, H. Goemaere, 1857 (Italian transl., 1857). According to R. Laurentin, Malou's book was "le meilleur ouvrage du siècle sur cette grande question" (quoted in R. CAUWE, *Mgr. Malou*, p. 459, n. 115).

36. See A. HAMMAN, *Jacques-Paul Migne. Le retour aux Pères de l'Église* (Le point théologique, 16), Paris, 1975, pp. 115-139; ID., *Les principaux collaborateurs des deux Patrologies de Migne*, in A. MANDOUZE & J. FOUILHERON (eds.), *Migne et le renouveau des études patristiques. Actes du colloque de Saint-Flour 7-8 juillet 1975* (Théologie historique, 66), Paris, 1985, pp. 180-191.

For editing these and other ancient Christian texts, Malou was motivated more by pastoral than by scholarly interests. The editions were focused on the spiritual and intellectual formation of the clergy. In doctrinal matters Malou had the intention to arm the clergy for the ideological struggle against Protestantism, rationalism, and liberalism. These apologetic purposes explain some less felicitous decisions to eliminate certain authors from Migne's *Patrology*<sup>37</sup>. They also underlie the numerous polemical works Malou published. In one of those publications he was able to break through the limitations of polemics. In an extensive work against the Protestant Bible societies he presented the Catholic viewpoint concerning the canonicity of the biblical books and the principles of Bible reading. This work is considered to be the most thorough study on the question that was available at that time<sup>38</sup>. Later on, Malou wrote a polemic work against Protestantism<sup>39</sup>, as well as several pamphlets in which he attacked the liberal adversaries in controversies that agitated Belgian political life (such as education, charity, cemeteries).

Malou left the Faculty in 1854, when he became Bishop of Bruges. He was succeeded by Jean Baptiste LEFEBVE (1821-89)<sup>40</sup>. Lefebve soon became a passionate defender of traditionalism against the attacks of the anti-Louvain faction in the Belgian Church<sup>41</sup>. He was among the four signers of the so-called *Exposé*, the most important public statement made by the Louvain professors concerning the issues at stake in the traditionalist controversy, which they sent for approval to the Congregation of the Index<sup>42</sup>. The publication of the *Exposé* in 1860 induced Bishop Malou to address a direct accusation against Louvain

37. More than once Malou advised to exclude from the collection certain authors because of their heterodox views (e.g., in the *Series Latina*, William of Saint-Amour and Marsilius of Padua). In the *Series Graeca* as well, Hamman regrets the elimination of authors such as Apollinaris of Laodicea for the same reason. Cf. A. HAMMAN, *Jacques-Paul Migne*, p. 138.

38. *La lecture de la Sainte Bible en langue vulgaire jugée d'après l'Écriture, la tradition et la saine raison. Ouvrage dirigé contre les principes, les tendances et les défenseurs les plus récents des sociétés bibliques; comprenant une histoire critique du canon des livres saints du Vieux Testament, des versions protestantes de la Bible et des missions protestantes parmi les païens; suivi des documents relatifs à la lecture de la Ste Bible en langue vulgaire, émanés du St Siège depuis Innocent III jusqu'à Grégoire XVI*, 2 vols., Louvain, Fonteyn; Paris, J. Lecoffre; Bonn, A. Marcus, 1846 (two different German transl., 1848, 1849). Cf. W. BRANDMÜLLER, *Die Lehre der Konzilien über die rechte Schriftinterpretation bis zum 1. Vatikanum*, in *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 19 (1987) 13-61, p. 40.

39. *La fausseté du protestantisme démontrée*, Brussels, H. Goemaere, 1856; 2nd rev. ed., 1858; 3rd rev. ed., 1861 (transl. in Dutch, 1857; English, 1858; Danish, 1859).

40. Cf. T.J. LAMY, *Notice sur la vie et les écrits du chanoine Jean-Baptiste Lefebve, professeur émérite de théologie dogmatique*, in *Annuaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain* 54 (1890) VII-XXXIII.

41. Especially in *Deux sortes de traditionalisme, observations sur un ouvrage de M. le chanoine Lupus*, in *Revue catholique* 17 (1859) 69-103, the first of a series of articles in which Lefebve opposed *Le Traditionalisme et le Rationalisme examinés au point de vue de la philosophie et de la doctrine catholique* (3 vols., Liège, H. Dessain, 1858), the most systematic Belgian critique of traditionalism, written by Joseph Lupus, secretary to the fervent anti-traditionalist Bishop of Montpellier of Liège.

42. The *Exposé* was signed by Lefebve, Beelen, and the philosophers G.C. Ubaghs and N.J. Laforet. It was first published in *Revue catholique* 18 (1860) 193-219 (together with the positive reply of the Index Congregation), and later, e.g., in *Acta Sanctae Sedis* 3 (1867) 283-288.

traditionalism<sup>43</sup>. The Holy See took a decision in 1866: the traditionalist theories of Ubaghs were condemned. As a consequence, the Belgian bishops dismissed Ubaghs and forbade any further publication or teaching of traditionalist theories at the University.

As a preparation for the Vatican Council, Lefebve wrote several articles on papal infallibility in the *Revue catholique*<sup>44</sup>. Parts of these articles were almost literally taken over in a letter supporting the definition of the dogma, which the Faculty addressed to the Belgian bishops in Rome on 22 December 1869<sup>45</sup>. In the 1870's Lefebve was repeatedly accused of sticking to his traditionalist opinions by his colleague F. Ledoux, who was appointed to the chair of general dogmatic theology in 1862 at the insistence of the anti-traditionalist bishops. As a result of these accusations, Lefebve was dismissed in 1873. He was replaced by the Dutch professor A. Dupont, who, like Ledoux, was an alumnus of the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome. These appointments formed part of a strategy, preconceived by bishops such as Malou and de Montpellier, to replace suspect professors by trustworthy theologians who were trained in Rome.

Ferdinand LEDOUX (1819-94)<sup>46</sup>, who was a professor up to 1891, devoted himself – apart from his concern for the orthodoxy of his colleagues – exclusively to his teaching of general dogmatic theology. It resulted in four tractates, which were published in the years 1877-84<sup>47</sup>. These texts showed not the least attempt at originality, either in content or in style. The successive questions were almost schematically discussed within a barely structured context. Ledoux regularly and without any comment cited large excerpts from the tractates of Roman theologians such as Perrone and especially J.B. Franzelin. The difference with Tits' approach is striking. Whereas Tits amply treated fundamental issues such as the relation between faith and reason in discussion with contemporary philosophy, Ledoux put the emphasis on the traditional, apologetic controversies in ecclesiology, notably in relation to the papacy.

The significance of Antoine DUPONT (1836-1917) rests mainly in the field of

43. Malou sent several anti-traditionalist dossiers to Rome and thus urged the Holy See to pass a judgment on the question. The main dossier is partially edited by A. FRANCO, *La première réaction systématique dans l'épiscopat belge contre l'enseignement du traditionalisme à l'Université de Louvain. Commentaire et étude critique du Liber Memorialis de Mgr Malou*, in *ETL* 34 (1958) 453-495. The controversy is extensively treated in Franco's unpublished dissertation, *Geschiedenis van het Traditionalisme aan de Universiteit te Leuven (1835-1867)*, 2 vols., Louvain, 1956.

44. *L'infaillibilité du Pape et le concile œcuménique*, in *Revue catholique* 27 (1869) 601-630; 28 (1869) 173-194, 266-294, 503-533, 623-649; *De l'infaillibilité du Pape. Première lettre du P. Gratry à Mgr Dechamps, archevêque de Malines*, in *Revue catholique* 29 (1870) 193-214.

45. The letter (written in Latin) was signed by Rector Laforet and all the professors of theology and canon law. It was first published in *Revue catholique* 29 (1870) 598-600, later in *MANSI* 51, cc. 667b-669a, and in *Collectio Lacensis* 7, cc. 942b-943d.

46. Cf. A. HEBBELYNCK, *Notice sur M. F.-J. Ledoux, professeur émérite de la Faculté de Théologie*, in *Annuaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain* 60 (1896) cv-cxix. Before his appointment to the dogma chair in Louvain, Ledoux had taught Scripture at the Liège seminary for nearly twenty years.

47. *Tractatus de Verbo incarnato*, Louvain, C. Peeters, 1877 (rev. ed., Louvain, J.B. Lefever, 1881); *Demonstratio christiana sive Tractatus de vera religione*, Louvain, C. Peeters, 1878 (rev. ed., Louvain, J.B. Lefever, 1882); *Demonstratio catholica*. Tomus I: *Tractatus de Ecclesia*, Louvain, C. Peeters, 1879 (rev. ed., Louvain, J.B. Lefever, 1883); Tomus II: *De Romano Pontifice; de Traditione et Scriptura; de Fide et ratione*, Louvain, J.B. Lefever, 1884 (rev. ed.: *Tractatus de Romano Pontifice et de locis theologicis*, 1884).



philosophy, in which he was active before he was appointed to the chair of special dogmatic theology<sup>48</sup>. He is generally given the credit of having paved the way for the breakthrough of neo-thomism in Louvain<sup>49</sup>. The vast majority of his publications were philosophical studies. In theology only one publication is worth mentioning, namely, his edition of the *Institutiones theologicae de gratia, merito et justificatione* of the 18th-century Jesuit Heinrich Kilber, one of the authors of the *Theologia Wirceburgensis*<sup>50</sup>. In his teaching Dupont paid most attention to the treatise on grace and also to sacramental theology. He was reputed to be a sharp disputant, and a terror for the students who, at the public defenses, were plied with his objections.

### III. MORAL THEOLOGY

The theologians who held the chair of moral theology in the 19th century combined this function with another task, the presidency of the College of the Holy Spirit (the *Collegium Theologorum*). The majority of theology students, and particularly those from the Belgian dioceses, resided at the College, as did most of the professors. The presidency of the College of the Holy Spirit determined the objective of the professors in moral theology: in the first place, they devoted themselves to the spiritual and moral formation of the candidates for the priesthood who were given in their charge. In doing so, they fulfilled the role which, since the restoration of the University, had been entrusted by the Belgian episcopate to the Faculty: the bishops regarded theological studies at Louvain as the completion of the seminary training. This implied that they claimed direct and absolute control over the contents and the orientation of the teaching at the Faculty<sup>51</sup>.

48. From 1866 on Dupont was a professor of logic and moral philosophy in the Arts Faculty. Cf. H. JACOBS, *De Roermondenaar Antoine Dupont, Professor te Leuven 1836-1917*, in *Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg* 90-91 (1954-55) 227-248. The part played by Dupont and the other Dutch professors in the Faculty (J.T. Beelen, H. Feye, A. and M. Verhoeven) is sketched by J. COPPENS, *Nederlandse hoogleraren in de theologie bij de heropgerichte Leuvense Universiteit*, in *Wetenschappelijke Tijdingen* 30 (1971) 1-12 (reprint in *Folia Lovaniensia*, 14, Langemark, 1971).

49. This was witnessed by Désiré Mercier, who was introduced into the study of Thomas by Dupont. See A. SIMON, *Position philosophique du Cardinal Mercier. Esquisse psychologique* (Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques, 2nd ser., 56/1), Brussels, 1962, p. 21. In 1882, Mercier was appointed to the new chair of thomist philosophy, which was attached to the Faculty of Theology (the course was mandatory for theology students). In 1889 he founded the famous *Institut Supérieur de Philosophie*, and thus established the reorientation of philosophy at Louvain after the condemnation of traditionalism. See, among the extensive literature, L. DE RAEYMAECKER, *Le Cardinal Mercier et l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de Louvain*, Louvain, 1952, pp. 39-175; R. TAMBUYSER, *L'érection de la chaire de philosophie thomiste à l'Université de Louvain (1880-1882)*, in *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 56 (1958) 479-509; R. BOUDENS, *Le Saint-Siège et la crise de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie à Louvain, 1895-1900*, in *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 8 (1970) 301-322; recently: C.E.M. STRUYKER BOUDIER, *Wijsgerig Leven in Nederland en België 1880-1980*, vol. 5 (cf. *supra*, n. 24), pp. 77-146; R. AUBERT, *Désiré Mercier et les débuts de l'Institut de Philosophie*, in *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 88 (1990) 147-167.

50. H. KILBER, *Institutiones theologicae de gratia, merito et justificatione. Editio in Belgio prima*, Louvain, C. Fonteyn, 1877.

51. This claim offers an additional explanation for the conflicts between the episcopate

Through the practical conception of their task moralists at Louvain showed little interest in the academic aspects of moral theology. Jean Baptiste VERKEST (1795-1858), Jean François D'HOLLANDER (1801-76) and Louis ROELANTS (1832-80), who respectively held the chair from 1834 to 1880, published nothing, not even course texts<sup>52</sup>. Their lectures consisted in commentaries on the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, alternated with some exercises in casuistry. By far the most attention was paid to the treatise *De poenitentia*. This enabled them to prepare the students for their future pastoral work in the confessional.

Jean Baptiste Verkest, the first professor in moral theology, soon abandoned in his teaching the rigoristic theology that was still dominant in Belgian handbooks of moral theology in the beginning of the 19th century. Not without opposition from some seminaries he adopted probabilistic moral theology, which, accompanying the growing interest in Alphonsus Liguori, was triumphing everywhere in Catholic Europe<sup>53</sup>. After Alphonsus' authority was established, discussions in Catholic moral theology concentrated on the issue of the originality of his equiprobabilism. The controversy was started in 1863 by the Roman Jesuit Antonio Ballerini, who contended that the moral system of Alphonsus did not essentially differ from probabilism. In Belgium, too, this so-called 'Liguorian question' was intensively discussed, notably by the Redemptorists and the Jesuits. It is typical of the position of the moral theologians at Louvain, that they never expressed any public standpoint in this discussion. Only Antoine Dupont took a position: he advocated the opinion that Alphonsus' system was not essentially different from probabilism<sup>54</sup>.

Unlike his predecessors, Adolphe VAN DER MOEREN (1836-1913)<sup>55</sup>, who became professor of moral theology at Louvain in 1880, did publish several treatises in moral theology<sup>56</sup>. He too, however, confined his teaching to a

and some professors. For bishops such as Malou and de Montpellier it was obvious that they had to intervene with disciplinary measures as soon as theological instruction at the Faculty did not meet their expectations.

52. Cf. *Annuaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain* 41 (1877) 441-457 (L.G. ROELANTS on D'Hollander); 45 (1881) 473-489, 490-503 (A.J. NAMÈCHE and A.H.H. DUPONT on Roelants).

53. See M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Introduction de la théologie morale de St Alphonse de Liguori en Belgique*, in *ETL* 16 (1939) 468-484. This interest in probabilism, i.e. Alphonsus' equiprobabilism, is expressed in a number of *Theses quas*. It was nearly the only methodological subject being discussed in the theses on moral theology.

54. *Saint Alphonse de Liguori et le Probabilisme*, in *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques* 29 (1874) 32-66; 30 (1874) 544-557; *De l'autorité de S. Alphonse en matière de théologie morale*, in *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques* 29 (1874) 223-235. On the controversy in Belgium see M. BECQUÉ, *Le cardinal Dechamps*, Louvain, 1956, vol. 2, pp. 229-242.

55. Cf. H. DE JONGH, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. le chanoine A.B. Van der Moeren*, in *Annuaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain* 78 (1914) L-LVII.

56. Van der Moeren published treatises on nearly all parts of moral theology: *Tractatus de Justitia, ad mentem S. Thomae et ad normam legis civilis*, Ghent, C. Poelman, 1887; *Introductio in studium Theologiae Moralis. Theologia Moralis generalis seu tractatus de Actibus Humanis, de Peccatis, de Conscientia et de Legibus*, Ghent, C. Poelman, 1887; *Tractatus de Sacramento Poenitentiae, ad mentem S. Thomae et S. Alphonsi de Liguori*, Ghent, C. Poelman, 1888; *Tractatus de Sponsalibus et Matrimonio*, Ghent, C. Poelman, 1889; *Tractatus de Virtutibus in generali, de virtutibus theologicis, de virtute religionis et de virtute temperantiae, ad mentem S. Thomae*, Ghent, C. Poelman, 1890; *Tractatus de Sacramentis in genere, de Sacramentis Baptismi, Confirmationis, Eucharistiae, Extremae Unctionis et Ordinis, ad mentem S. Thomae*, Ghent, C. Poelman, 1891; *Tractatus de Sacrificio Missae, de Indulgentiis, de Censuris et Irregularitatibus et de Statibus Particularibus*, Ghent, C. Poelman, 1892.

Thomas commentary, supplemented for practical questions with digressions on the basis of Alphonsus. The renewal of Thomas interpretation that was enthusiastically attempted by his colleagues, the philosophers at Louvain, did not inspire him at all. Even with regard to moral issues that were posed in a new way in those days, he generally repeated traditional viewpoints<sup>57</sup>. The lack of interest in scientific research in moral theology is perhaps most strikingly demonstrated by the fact that, during the whole period studied, only two doctorates in moral theology were granted<sup>58</sup>.

#### IV. CHURCH HISTORY

From 1834 on, the chair of church history was held for thirty-seven years by Henri Guillaume WOUTERS (1802-72)<sup>59</sup>. In his view the teaching of church history served primarily as a clarification and illustration of the various disciplines of theology. His *Historiae Ecclesiasticae compendium* supplied a lack in Catholic instruction in church history of the time<sup>60</sup>. The work was reprinted seven times and served as a handbook in dozens of seminaries and institutes for ecclesiastical studies throughout Europe. In his *Dissertationes in selecta Historiae Ecclesiasticae capita* Wouters worked out some particular issues in depth<sup>61</sup>. His approach was explicitly led by apologetic intentions: the various studies were meant to repel attacks on the Church by means of historical arguments. Most studies treated questions concerning the history of doctrine and theology, and much attention was paid to the history of the papacy.

Bernard JUNGSMANN (1833-95)<sup>62</sup>, who succeeded Wouters to the chair of church history in 1871, characterized the work of his predecessor as an "apologie complète de la Papauté"<sup>63</sup>. He himself continued this work with the same purpose but with more theological profundity. Up to the present time Jungmann is known as the author of a series of excellent handbooks of dogmatic theology, which he wrote before his appointment to Louvain, when

57. As is illustrated by J. HEALY, *The Just Wage, 1750-1890: A Study of Moralists from Saint Alphonsus to Leo XIII*, The Hague, 1966, pp. 375-376. As contrasted with valuable contributions by contemporary Catholic moralists, Van der Moeren did not provide new insights in this issue.

58. For the sake of completeness, we exceptionally mention a work written by a professor from the *schola minor*, Antoine HAINE (1825-1900), *Theologiae moralis elementa*, 4 vols., Louvain, C. Fonteyn, 1881-84 (5th ed. by R.P.J. BUND, Rome, F. Pustet; Paris, P. Lethielleux, [1907]). This handbook is representative of Catholic manuals of moral theology in the 19th century. See the judgement on Haine's treating of a test case by R. GALLAGHER, *The Systematization of Alphonsus' Moral Theology through the Manuals: The story of transformation, abandonment and rejection as evidenced in the treatment of the habituati et recidivi*, in *Studia Moralia* 25 (1987) 247-277, pp. 267-268.

59. Cf. B. JUNGSMANN, *Notice sur la vie et les œuvres de Monsieur le chanoine Guillaume-Henri Wouters*, in *Annuaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain* 37 (1873) 374-390.

60. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae compendium, praelectionibus publicis accommodatum et in tres tomos distributum*, 3 vols., Louvain, Vanlinthout et Vandenzande, 1842-43 (7th ed., 1893-94; new ed., 2 vols., Naples, Bibliotheca Catholica Scriptorum, 1870-71).

61. *Dissertationes in selectae Historiae Ecclesiasticae capita*, 4 vols., Louvain, Vanlinthout, 1868-72.

62. Cf. J. COPPENS, *Jungmann (Bernard)*, in *Catholicisme* 6 (1967) 1260. Jungmann, like Ledoux and Dupont, was an alumnus of the *Collegium Germanicum*.

63. B. JUNGSMANN, *Notice* (cf. *supra*, n. 59), p. 387.

he taught at the seminary of Bruges<sup>64</sup>. In the Faculty of Theology he could fully apply his dogmatic skills in the field of patrology. From 1879 on he was charged by the bishops to devote a portion of the church history course to patristic questions. His teaching of this new patrology course resulted in a voluminous handbook, which was printed only in autograph. The text was largely based on the *Institutiones Patrologiae*, composed by the Austrian church historian Joseph Feßler. In the 1890's Jungmann produced a revision of Feßler's handbook. In 1896, after Jungmann's death, the third and final volume of this work was published by Adolphe Hebbelynck, his successor to the patrology chair (1891). The volume also contained a new supplement on Syriac and Armenian writers, composed by Thomas Lamy<sup>65</sup>.

Jungmann's main work in the area of church history consisted of seven volumes of *Dissertationes selectae in historiam ecclesiasticam*, which he published in the years 1880-87<sup>66</sup>. In these studies he discussed various questions from the history of Church and theology. Like his predecessor, Jungmann practiced church history with a distinct apologetic intention. In his eyes, the history of the Church revealed itself as "une apologie du christianisme"<sup>67</sup>. This view on church history had its specific methodological consequences: the church historian should complete each historical investigation with a polemical part, containing a reply to attacks against the Church.

Already among his contemporaries, Jungmann's dogmatic approach to church history was criticized for being too apologetic<sup>68</sup>. In Louvain it was superseded by a strictly scientific approach, based on the methodological rules of historical criticism which had been designed in German historiography. This new approach was carried through by Alfred Cauchie, Jungmann's successor to the chair of church history (1895)<sup>69</sup>. Nevertheless, it was Jungmann who laid the foundation for this methodological turn in the teaching of church history at Louvain. In 1890 he started, at the instance of Rector AbbeLoos, practical exercises in church history, in imitation of the seminars that had already been

64. The most important, under the common title *Institutiones Theologiae dogmaticae specialis*, were: *Tractatus de gratia*, Bruges, Vanhee-Wante, 1866; *Tractatus de Deo uno et trino*, Bruges, Vanhee-Wante, 1867; *Tractatus de Deo creatore*, Bruges, Vanhee-Wante, 1868; *Tractatus de Verbo incarnato*, Bruges, Vanhee-Wante, 1869; *Tractatus de quatuor novissimis*, Regensburg - New York - Cincinnati, F. Pustet, 1871; further: *Institutiones Theologiae dogmaticae generalis in usum seminarii Brugensis. Tractatus de vera religione*, Bruges, Vanhee-Wante, 1871. Up to the 1890's these manuals were reprinted several times by F. Pustet in Regensburg.

65. *Josephi Feßler, quondam episcopi S. Hippolyti, Institutiones Patrologiae quas denuo recensuit, auxit, edidit*, 2 parts in 3 vols., Vienna - Regensburg - New York - Cincinnati, F. Pustet, 1890-96.

66. *Dissertationes selectae in historiam ecclesiasticam*, 7 vols., Regensburg, F. Pustet, 1880-87.

67. *Notice* (cf. *supra*, n. 59), p. 379.

68. For instance by Franz Xaver FUNK, from the University of Tübingen, in various reviews of the successive parts of the *Dissertationes*, in *Theologische Quartalschrift* 63 (1881) 493-495; 64 (1882) 663-667; 66 (1884) 157-160; 67 (1885) 522-526; 70 (1888) 476-480.

69. In the opening article of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Cauchie stated: "L'histoire narrative et jusqu'à un certain point pragmatique et dogmatique ont cédé la place à l'histoire scientifique". Cf. A. CAUCHIE, *Les études d'histoire ecclésiastique*, in *RHE* 1 (1900) 5-25, p. 13.

organized in other faculties. Later on this *Séminaire d'histoire ecclésiastique* was integrated by Cauchie into his famous historical seminar<sup>70</sup>.

Whereas Wouters and Jungmann occupied themselves mainly with what could be called historical theology, the real, original research in church history at Louvain was done by other professors. Remarkably, it was Pierre François Xavier DE RAM (1804-65), the first rector of the University, who turned out to be the most prolific writer in this area for decades<sup>71</sup>. De Ram was attached to the Faculty of Theology as a professor of canon law, but soon stopped lecturing to concentrate on his busy activities as a rector. Yet he found enough time to dedicate himself to historical research. De Ram studied history as an amateur in the best sense of the word. He published studies on the most diverse historical subjects and was among the first generation of Belgian archivists – nearly all autodidacts – who devoted themselves with much enthusiasm to editing the numerous documents that lay waiting for publication in the archives of the young nation<sup>72</sup>. The result of his work consisted of dozens of studies and text editions, among which we can only mention those related to Belgian church history and the history of the University of Louvain<sup>73</sup>.

De Ram's interest in the history of the University of Louvain fitted in with his general concern to demonstrate the continuity of the new University with the ancient *Alma Mater*. At the end of the *Annuaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain*, the University's yearbook, he added an appendix, which was entitled *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain*. In this section he published, together with some collaborators and mostly anonymously, all kinds of short studies and documents related to the ancient University. De Ram was particularly interested in the history of the Faculty of Theology during the 16th century. This preference was also expressed in some of his speeches and occasional writings, for example, on the participation of the theologians of Louvain in the Council of Trent, on their declaration against the Reformation, and on their condemnation of Luther<sup>74</sup>. His main publication in

70. Cf. J. TOLLEBEEK, "L'Église n'a pas besoin de mensonges". A. Cauchie en de Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique (1900-1920), in *Liber amicorum Dr. J. Scheerder*, Louvain, 1987, 357-371; French transl. in *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 57 (1987) 199-219.

71. For a more or less comprehensive overview, we are still dependent on two articles, written by contemporaries: V. DE BUCK, *M<sup>or</sup> de Ram, recteur magnifique de l'Université catholique de Louvain*, in *Études religieuses, historiques et littéraires* 7 (1865) 165-191, 358-376, 421-442 (separately printed, Paris, 1865), and J.-J. THONISSEN, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de monseigneur Pierre-François-Xavier de Ram*, in *Annuaire de l'Académie Royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* 32 (1866) 105-194.

72. On "l'âge des archivistes" in Belgian historiography, see F. VERCAUTEREN, *Cent ans d'histoire nationale en Belgique. Tome I (Notre Passé)*, Brussels, 1959, pp. 59-90 (and, on De Ram, pp. 110-112).

73. However, the principal publication by De Ram should not remain unmentioned: in 1854-60 he delivered an edition of the *Chronica Nobilissimorum Ducum Lotharingiae et Brabantiae ac Regum Francorum*, written by Edmond van Dynter, secretary to the Dukes of Brabant in the early 15th century (3 vols., Brussels, M. Hayez, 1854-60). Furthermore, De Ram was also active in the field of hagiography. In the years 1830's, e.g., he published a French edition of Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, based on the edition by Godescard and enlarged with 'Belgian' saints (22 vols., Louvain, Vanlinthout et Vandenzande, 1828-30; rev. ed., 7 vols., Brussels, M. Vanderborgh, 1846-50). He was also involved in the restoration of the Society of the Bollandists in 1837. Cf. P. PEETERS, *L'œuvre des Bollandistes (Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres en des Sciences morales et politiques, 2nd ser., 54/5)*, new ed., Brussels, 1961, pp. 68-77.

74. *Mémoire sur la part que le clergé de Belgique, et spécialement les docteurs de*

this area was the edition of the *Historia Lovaniensium*, written by Joannes Molanus, who was a theology professor at Louvain in the 16th century<sup>75</sup>. This history of Louvain contained, of course, a wealth of information on the University and the Faculty of Theology; the edition was supplemented by De Ram with various additions, notably the statutes of the ancient University. Up to the end of his career De Ram cherished the project of editing, somewhat as a counterpart to the *Corpus reformatorum*, a *Corpus doctorum Lovaniensium*, containing all the works written by the theologians of the ancient Faculty, each of them introduced by a study on the respective authors<sup>76</sup>. He was not able, however, to accomplish this project.

In 1831 De Ram had formed another, still more ambitious project. Under the title *Belgica Sacra*, he planned to publish a complete documentary history of the Belgian Church, from its origins until the end of the 19th century. Previously he had done some work in this area with his edition of the first two parts of the *Synodicon Belgicum*, containing the acts of various synods and pastoral instructions of the Archdiocese of Malines<sup>77</sup>. De Ram was not able to carry through the project, partly due to his activities as rector, but in 1845, he resumed his research. Eventually, however, this project was not realized either<sup>78</sup>.

Finally, De Ram set up the *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de Belgique* (1864), the only periodical that has ever been explicitly devoted to the history of the Belgian Church. After his death direction of the review was taken over by Edmond REUSENS (1831-1903)<sup>79</sup>, who in 1864 was appointed to the newly created chair of Christian antiquity and archaeology. The *Analectes* appeared until 1914 and were almost exclusively devoted to the publication of documents related to Belgian church history<sup>80</sup>. Reusens, like De Ram, was a

*l'université de Louvain, ont prise au concile de Trente*, Brussels, M. Hayez, 1841; *Disquisitio de dogmatica declaratione a Theologis Lovaniensibus anno MDXLIV edita*, Brussels, M. Hayez, 1841; *Disquisitio historica de iis quae contra Lutherum Lovanienses Theologi egerunt, anno MDXIX*, Brussels, M. Hayez, 1843 (these studies were published in the series *Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des sciences, des lettres et des arts de Bruxelles*, nos. 14/17, 14/18, 16/5).

75. *Les quatorze livres sur l'histoire de la ville de Louvain du docteur et professeur en théologie Jean Molanus, publiés d'après le manuscrit autographe, accompagnés d'une notice sur la vie et les écrits de Molanus, de notes et d'appendices* (Collection de chroniques belges inédits), 2 vols., Brussels, M. Hayez, 1861.

76. As for a model of such study De Ram referred to the doctoral dissertation by Edmond REUSENS on Adrian VI: *Syntagma doctrinae theologiae Adriani sexti, Pont. Max. Accedunt anecdota Adriani partim ex codice ipsius Adriani autographo, partim ex apographis nunc primum edita*, Louvain, Vanlinthout, 1862.

77. *Nova et absoluta Collectio Synodorum tam Provincialium quam Dioecesanarum, Archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis. Accedunt illuc spectantia rei ecclesiasticae monumenta, pleraque inedita: omnia diligenter recognita ac in sectiones quinque distributa*, 2 vols., Malines, P.-J. Hanicq, 1828-29.

78. De Ram had given an idea of what he had in mind by publishing the *Synopsis actorum Ecclesiae Antverpiensis et ejusdem dioeceseos status hierarchicus ab episcopatus erectione usque ad ipsius suppressionem*, Brussels, M. Hayez, 1856. This was a preparatory study to the volume on the Diocese of Antwerp in the *Synodicon Belgicum*, which appeared in 1856. The volume on the Diocese of Ghent was published in 1839.

79. Cf. J. L'AVALLEYE, *Reusens (Edmond-Henri-Joseph)*, in *Biographie nationale de Belgique* 31 (1962) 621-625.

80. Since the *Analectes* only contained editions of documents, they are not included among the scholarly periodicals on church history by R. AUBERT, *L'essor des revues*

very prolific writer on the history of the University of Louvain. In this area he published some important works which are still consulted today<sup>81</sup>. His main achievements were in the field of the auxiliary sciences of history. Besides Christian archaeology, he was, from 1881 onwards, the first in Belgium to teach paleography and diplomatic. He published manuals in Christian archaeology and paleography<sup>82</sup>.

## V. CANON LAW

From 1835 to 1850, the chair of canon law was held by the Dutch canonist Marianus VERHOEVEN (1808-50). During his career he was involved in several disputes<sup>83</sup>. The most controversial was his publication, in 1846, of *De regularium et saecularium clericorum juribus et officiis Liber singularis*<sup>84</sup>. The book dealt with the status of the regular clergy in Belgium, which by that time was a rather delicate issue. Since Belgian independence religious orders, especially the Jesuits, had again spread throughout the country and restarted their pastoral and educational activities. The vagueness of their canonical status was a thorn in the side of Archbishop Sterckx, who wanted the orders' exemptions from diocesan authority to be minimal. The tendency of Verhoeven's *Liber singularis* was completely in the same line. Reactions to the book from the part of the regular clergy were very sharp, especially since Verhoeven insinuated that the orders, for example by erecting new churches, did harm to the financial situation of the secular clergy<sup>85</sup>. In 1847 the Bollandists Victor De Buck and Anton Tinnebroek anonymously published a voluminous *Examen historicum et canonicum libri R.D. Mariani Verhoeven*. Their critique of Verhoeven's work was so devastating that both parties dropped the announced sequels to the controversy.

*d'érudition ecclésiastique au tournant des XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *Revue bénédictine* 94 (1984) 410-443, p. 435, n. 107.

81. Well known are his *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain (1425-1797)*, which appeared in the *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de Belgique*, and were published separately (5 vols., Louvain, privately printed, 1881-1903). Reusens edited the first volume of the *Actes ou procès-verbaux des séances tenues par le conseil de l'Université de Louvain* (Brussels, M. Hayez, 1903), and of the *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain* (Brussels, Kiessling - P. Imbreghts - M. Hayez, 1903).

82. *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, 2 vols., Louvain, C. Peeters, 1871-75 (2nd ed., 1885-86); *Éléments de paléographie*, Louvain, privately printed, 1899 (anastatic reprint, Brussels, Moorthamers, 1963).

83. On the careers of Marianus Verhoeven and his above mentioned brother Anton, see H. JACOBS, *Enige mededelingen over de gebroeders Verhoeven uit Uden, professoren te Leuven*, in *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis bijzonderlijk van het oud hertogdom Brabant* 39 (1956) 33-62.

84. *De regularium et saecularium clericorum juribus et officiis Liber singularis*, Louvain, C.J. Fonteyn, 1846. On the controversy surrounding the *Liber singularis*, see J. ART, *Socio-religieuze achtergronden van de twist tussen seculiere en reguliere clerici rond 1850*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 43 (1973) 663-691.

85. Commotion about the publication was increased by the strained relations between the Jesuits and the University. In 1845 the Jesuits had started their own philosophy program at Namur. The University immediately protested against this initiative. The competition was influenced by latent ideological opposition, since the Jesuits disapproved of the traditionalist orientation of philosophy at Louvain. Cf. A. SIMON, *Le Cardinal Sterckx et son temps (1792-1867)*, Wetteren, 1950, vol. 2, pp. 48-93.

More important than this and similar controversies was the work that Verhoeven accomplished in the Faculty. He laid the foundation of a solid formation in canon law at Louvain. His work was successfully continued by his student and fellow-countryman Henri FEYE (1820-94)<sup>86</sup>, who held the canon law chair for thirty-five years. Feye was the only professor from Louvain involved in the preparation of the first Vatican Council. In 1867 he was elected consultor to the Central Commission and the Commission for Church Discipline<sup>87</sup>. In the second half of the 19th century, he became one of the most prominent professors of the University. As a result of his teaching numerous course texts in autograph have been preserved, the most complete among them consisting of ten volumes of *Praelectiones juris canonici*, printed in 1861-73. Under his direction a training course in canon law was developed, which represented the best of what the Catholic world had to offer at that moment<sup>88</sup>. Feye was a specialist in marriage law. Already in his doctoral dissertation he had discussed the question of mixed marriages, which at that time was a highly topical issue<sup>89</sup>. From the 1860's on he published nothing but the successive revisions of his *De impedimentis et dispensationibus matrimonialibus*, a voluminous standard work which earned him an international reputation<sup>90</sup>.

The importance of Feye's handbook on marriage law is equalled by the principal work of his colleague, Ferdinand MOULART (1832-1904)<sup>91</sup>. From 1863 on, he taught a new course in the department of canon law, treating the

86. Cf. R. AUBERT, *Feye (Henri-Jean)*, in *DHGE* 16 (1967) 1359-1360.

87. In the Central Commission he proposed three votes, in the Commission for Church Discipline seven. His votes for the Central Commission were the most important, particularly those concerning the appropriate attitude to be taken in regard to the Anglicans and the Old Catholics. Feye proposed to address no individual invitation to the leaders of the Anglican and Old Catholic churches, considering that neither had maintained a continuous tradition of validly ordained bishops. This suggestion was adopted by the Central Commission. The discussions on the issues treated by Feye can be traced in MANSI 49, cc. 487A-490A (general discussion on the invitation to non-Catholics); 498A-500B (on the Old Catholics).

88. Often quoted is the positive judgment by the eminent German canonist (and Old Catholic) Johann Friedrich von Schulte. According to Schulte, education in canon law at Louvain was not equalled in the Catholic world, with the exception of the German countries. See J.F. VON SCHULTE, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des Canonischen Rechts von Gratian bis auf die Gegenwart*, vol. 3/2-3, Stuttgart, 1880, p. 295; also cited by R. AUBERT, *Le grand tournant* (cf. *supra*, n. 1), p. 82, n. 43.

89. *Dissertatio canonica de matrimoniis mixtis*, Louvain, Vanlinthout et Vandenzande, 1847. In the 1830's the question of mixed marriages had led to the so-called *Kölner Wirren*. In 1847, when this church struggle in the Rhineland was nearly settled, Feye was involved in a pen-controversy with the popular German priest Anton Josef Binterim, who during the *Wirren* had been one of the most fervent opponents of the Prussian government. In the 1840's Binterim reacted against the more lenient policy regarding mixed marriages that was followed by the new archbishop of Cologne. In 1846 he published a booklet in which he took a reserved standpoint concerning the admissibility of the *benedictio nuptialis* at mixed marriages. In 1847 Feye reacted to Binterim's publication and took an even more strict position. At the outcome of the short controversy that followed, Feye proved to be Binterim's superior in the knowledge of canonical principles, but at the same time showed less sensitivity for pastoral concerns. See C. SCHÖNIG, *Anton Josef Binterim (1779-1855) als Kirchenpolitiker und Gelehrter* (Veröffentlichungen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, 5), Düsseldorf, 1933, pp. 171-185.

90. *De impedimentis et dispensationibus matrimonialibus*, Louvain, C. Peeters, 1867 (4th ed., 1893).

91. Cf. M. DE BAETS, in *Annuaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain* 69 (1905) LIII-LXV.



relationship between Church and State. As a course text for these lectures he wrote *L'Église et l'État*, which provoked a controversy in the University in the 1870's<sup>92</sup>. Moulart situated the relationship between Church and State in terms of the notorious distinction between thesis and hypothesis. He was accused of holding a liberal-Catholic position by Charles Périn, professor in the Faculty of Law and one of the leaders of the extreme ultramontanist faction in Belgian Catholicism<sup>93</sup>. The controversy was pushed to the limit due to the investigation of Moulart's book in Rome. The investigation was compromised by a number of misunderstandings but finally turned out to the advantage of Moulart. The publication of *L'Église et l'État* (1878) marked an important evolution in the position of the Roman Catholic Church towards the relation between Church and State. The work became one of the most influential books that were produced at the Louvain Faculty of Theology during the 19th century. The second edition (1879) was translated in German and Hungarian. The German version was adopted by the newly founded *Zentrumspartei* as the handbook for their church-political doctrine.

In 1885 Henri VAN DEN BERGHE (1848-1932) took over the chair of canon law from Feye. Four years later, he was recalled to Bruges, where he was appointed president of the diocesan seminary. He was replaced by Jules De Becker, a doctor *utriusque iuris*, who had taught at the Louvain American College since 1885. In the academic year 1889-90, De Becker and Van Hoonacker started their careers at the Faculty.

**SUMMARY:**

The Louvain Faculty of Theology and Its Professors: 1834-1889 (398-414).

- I. Biblical Exegesis (399-401).
- II. Dogmatic Theology (401-406).
- III. Moral Theology (406-408).
- IV. Church History (408-412).
- V. Canon Law (412-414).

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92. *L'Église & l'État ou les deux puissances, leur origine, leurs rapports, leurs droits et leurs limites*, Louvain, C. Peeters, 1878 (4th rev. ed., Louvain, C. Peeters; Paris, V. Lecoffre, 1895).

93. Several documents concerning the controversy are included in the autobiographical dossier compiled by Périn, which is published by M. BECQUÉ & A. LOUANT, *Le dossier "Rome et Louvain" de Charles Périn*, in *RHE* 50 (1955) 36-124. See also M. BECQUÉ, *Le cardinal Dechamps*, vol. 2 (cf. *supra*, n. 54), pp. 275-313.