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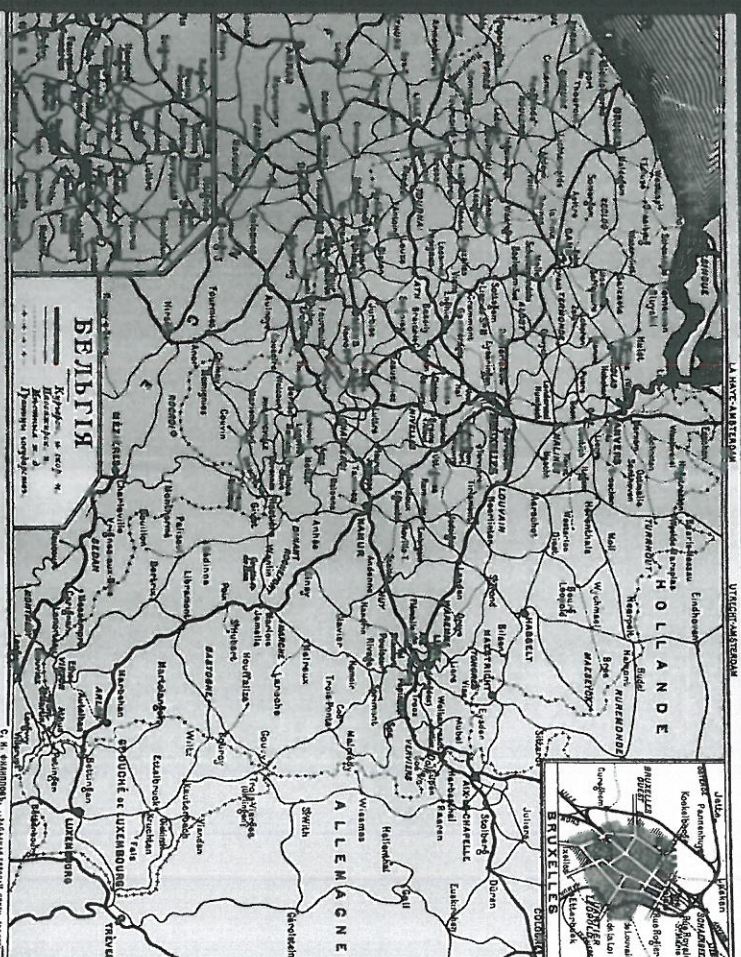
Beyond Belgium: Encounters, Exchanges and Entanglements, 1900-1925

Daniel Laqua, Christophe Verbruggen and Gita Denekere

Guest Editors

- Christophe Verbruggen, Daniel Laqua & Gita Denekere, *Belgium on the Move: Transnational History and the Belle Époque*... 1213
- Geneviève Warland & Mathias Mubell, "Pirème & Co.": The Internationalization of Belgian Historical Science, 1880s-1920s... 1227
- Myriam Mertens & Guillaume Lachena, The History of "Belgian" Tropical Medicine from a Cross-Border Perspective... 1249
- Kaat Wils & Anne Rasmussen, *Sociology in a Transnational Perspective: Brussels, 1890-1925*... 1273
- Christian Müller & Jasmin Van Daele, *Peaks of Internationalism in Social Engineering: A Transnational History of International Social Reform Associations and Belgian Agency, 1860-1925*... 1297
- Maarten Van Ginderachter & Minte Kamphuis, *The Transnational Dimensions of Early Pillarization in Belgium and the Netherlands, c. 1885-1914: An Exploratory Essay*... 1321
- Julie Carlier, *Entangled Feminisms: Rethinking the History of the Belgian Movement for Women's Rights Through Transnational Intersections*... 1339
- Jeffrey Tyssens & Petri Mihal, *Transnational Secular: Belgium as an International Forum for Freethinkers and Freemasons in the Belle Époque*... 1353
- Eric Storm & Hans Vandewoode, *Bierstuben, Cottages and Art Deco: Regionalism, Nationalism and Internationalism at the Belgian World's Fairs*... 1373
- Wouter Van Acker & Geert Somsen, *A Tale of Two World Capitals: The Internationalisms of Pieter Eijlman and Paul Otlet*... 1389

BEYOND BELGIUM: ENCOUNTERS,
EXCHANGES AND ENTANGLEMENTS,
1900-1925



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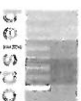
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Christophe VERBRUGEN, Daniel LAQUA & Gita DENECKERE, *La Belgique en mouvement: histoire transnationale et la Belle Époque*

Cet article développe deux arguments principaux. Premièrement : les approches transnationales peuvent porter un éclairage neuf sur l'histoire belge. Deuxièmement : la Belgique est un cas intéressant pour analyser la nature et le fonctionnement des échanges transnationaux. Le référentiel transnational attire l'attention, d'une part, sur les sites où les activistes et les intellectuels se réunissaient et, de l'autre, sur les organisations qui réalisaient des échanges transfrontaliers. Cette analyse transnationale permet également de nuancer la notion d'« exceptionnalisme » national ; en particulier, dans ce cas-ci, les « particularités belges ».

La Belle Époque est une période particulièrement indiquée pour étudier de telles questions. Elle se caractérisait en effet par une interdépendance croissante, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de l'Europe, ainsi que par un dense réseau de contacts culturels – malgré la montée du nationalisme et des rivalités entre puissances politiques. Bien que 1914 soit généralement considéré comme la fin de cette époque, nous formulons l'hypothèse que les changements et les continuités dans les échanges sociaux et culturels devraient être examinés après la Première Guerre Mondiale.

Histoire transnational – approches relationnelles – réseaux intellectuels – historiographie belge – Belle Époque

SAMENVATTING

Christophe VERBRUGEN, Daniel LAQUA & Gita DENECKERE, *België in beweging: transnationale geschiedenis en de Belle Époque*

In dit artikel worden twee belangrijke argumentaties ontwikkeld. Er wordt gesteld dat transnationale benaderingen een nieuw licht kunnen werpen op de Belgische geschiedenis en dat België een interessante casus is voor een onderzoek naar de aard en de werking van transnationale uitwisselingen. De transnationale focus vestigt met name de aandacht op de sites waar activisten en academici bijeen kwamen, en op de organisaties die grensoverschrijdende uitwisselingen mogelijk maakten. De auteurs wijzen er ook op dat transnationale geschiedenis helpt om noties van nationaal exceptionnalisme ter discussie te stellen, in dit geval ideeën over Belgische 'bijzonderheden'.

De *Belle Époque* is zeer geschikt om dergelijke vragen te onderzoeken. Deze periode kenmerkte zich in en buiten Europa door een groeiende economische interdependentie en door een dicht netwerk van culturele contacten in combinatie met de opkomst van nationalisme en rivaliteit tussen de politieke grootmachten. Terwijl 1914 algemeen gezien wordt als het einde van dit tijdperk, wordt onderbouwd dat het de moeite waard is om op de verandering en continuïteit van sociale en culturele uitwisseling na de Eerste Wereldoorlog te traceren.

Transnationale geschiedenis – relationele benaderingen – intellectuele netwerken – Belgische geschiedschrijving – Belle Époque

“Pirenne and Co.”: The Internationalization of Belgian Historical Science, 1880s-1920s

Geneviève WARLAND & Mathias MIDDELL
Facultés Universitaires Sain-Louis, Brussels & Universität Leipzig

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, economic, social and intellectual cooperation resulted in the foundation of a large number of associations as well as numerous international conferences and congresses. Most of these associations and congresses received financial and institutional support from smaller states that hoped to gain international prestige. The diplomatic tool of “governmental internationalism” apply describes Belgian policies, as King Leopold II and his ministers strove to elevate their country beyond the status of a small power⁽¹⁾. However, even if Belgian historians, subject to analysis here, received state support for scientific missions in neighbouring countries, their efforts to internationalize historical science were mainly based on individual motivations and initiatives. The discipline-building and professionalization of history-writing was a process that happened all over Europe and is an excellent example for transnational history⁽²⁾. Nonetheless, it is often described in national categories or analysed in a strictly comparative way which is infected by methodological nationalism⁽³⁾.

Four major historians, often viewed as the “founding fathers” of history in Belgium, played an important role in this dual processes of its professionalization and internationalization: the economic historian Henri Pirenne

(1) See Madeleine HERREN, *Hinterüren zur Macht. Internationalismus und modernisierungorientierte Außenpolitik in Belgien, der Schweiz und den USA. 1865-1914*, Munich, Oldenbourg Verlag, 2000.

(2) For a very early investigation of this process as a transnational one, see Michel ESPAGNE & Michael WERNER, eds., *Transfers. Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (18^e-19^e siècle)*, Paris, Éditions de la Recherche, 1988. On transnational history, see Kiran Klaus PATEL, *Überlegungen zur transnationalen Geschichte*, Berlin, Humboldt-Universität, 2004; and the contributions by Kaeble, Siegrist, Kocka and Middell in Mathias MIDDELL, ed., *Dimensionen der Kultur- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, Leipzig, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007.

(3) We have to confess here that our own research started from such comparative perspective due to the availability of scholarship that primarily focuses on one local or national case: Mathias MIDDELL, Gabriele LINGELBACH & Frank HADLER, eds., *Historische Institute im internationalen Vergleich*, Leipzig, Akademische Verlaganstalt, 2001. See also Gabriele LINGELBACH, *Klio macht Geschichte. Die Institutionalisierung der Geschichtswissenschaft in Frankreich und den USA in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.

(1862-1935)⁽⁴⁾ and the specialist of the Inquisition in the Low Countries Paul Fredericq (1850-1920)⁽⁵⁾, both professors at the University of Ghent; the medievalist Godefroid Kurth (1847-1916)⁽⁶⁾ at the University of Liège; and the Church historian, Canon Alfred Cauchie (1860-1922)⁽⁷⁾ at the University of Louvain. The medievalist Léon Vanderkindere (1842-1906), who taught at the Free University of Brussels, was also part of this group⁽⁸⁾. The second generation comprised the disciples of these scholars. It included three professors at the University of Liège: Karl Hanquet (1871-1928)⁽⁹⁾, who succeeded Kurth in his chair in medieval history, the modernist Eugène Hubert (1853-1931)⁽¹⁰⁾, and the medievalist Herman Vander Linden (1868-1956)⁽¹¹⁾. In addition, we find Pirenne's most famous disciples François-Louis Ganshof (1895-1980), professor at the University of Ghent with international fame as an expert on the Frankish kingdoms⁽¹²⁾, and Guillaume des Marez (1870-1931)⁽¹³⁾, chief archivist of the city of Brussels and professor at the University of Brussels. Finally, there are the economic historian Hubert van Houthe (1872-1948), disciple of Cauchie who became professor at the University of Ghent⁽¹⁴⁾, and Paulin Ladeuze (1870-1940), one of the major actors of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (RHE)⁽¹⁵⁾.

These historians were appointed to public universities such as Ghent and Liège, but also to private universities such as the Catholic one in Louvain

(4) Bryce LYON, *Henri Pirenne. A Biographical and Intellectual Study*, Ghent, Story Scientia, 1974; Sarah KEYMEULEN & Jo TOLLEBECK, *Henri Pirenne Historian. A Life in Pictures*, Louvain, Lipsius, 2011.

(5) Henri PIRENNE, "Notice sur Paul Fredericq", in *Annuaire de l'Académie royale de Belgique* (ARB), vol. 90, 1924, p. 311-352; E.C. COPPENS, *Paul Fredericq*, Ghent, Liberaal Archief, 1990.

(6) Henri PIRENNE, "Notice sur Godefroid Kurth", in *Annuaire de l'ARB*, vol. 90, 1924, p. 193-261.

(7) Léon van der ESSEN, *Alfred Cauchie (1860-1922). L'initiateur - le savant - l'homme*, Louvain, P. Smeesters, 1922.

(8) Henri PIRENNE, "Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Léon Vanderkindere", in *Annuaire de l'ARB*, 1908, p. 73-120; and Léon LECLÈRE, "Vanderkindere (Léon)", in *Biographie nationale*, vol. 29, 1957, p. 826-835.

(9) Paul HARSIN, "Karl Hanquet", in *L'Université de Liège de 1867 à 1935*, I. Liège, Rectorat de l'Université, 1936, p. 452-457.

(10) Félix MAGNETTE, "Eugène Hubert", *ibid.*, p. 340-347.

(11) Fernand VERCAUTEREN, "H. Vander Linden, 1868-1956", in *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire (bcher)*, 125, 1960, p. 124-142; *Id.*, "Notice sur H. Vander Linden, membre de l'Académie royale de Belgique", in *Annuaire de l'ARB*, 1962, p. 35-63.

(12) Adriaan VERHULST, "F.-L. Ganshof", in Theo LUYKX, ed., *Rijksuniversiteit Gent. Liber Memorialis 1913-1960*, I, Ghent, Rectoraat, 1960, p. 245-253.

(13) Henri PIRENNE, "Notice sur Guillaume Des Marez", in *Annuaire de l'ARB*, 1933-34, p. 149-184. See also Claire BILLEN & Marc BOONÉ, "Pirenne in Brussels before 1930. Guillaume Des Marez and the Relationship between a Master and his Student", in *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis/Revue Belge d'Histoire Contemporaine (BTVNC/RHIC)*, vol. 61, 2011, p. 459-485.

(14) Édouard de MOREAU, S.J., "Notice sur Hubert van Houthe", in *Annuaire de l'ARB*, 1951, p. 225-254; Charles VERLINDEN, "Hubert van Houthe (1872-1948)", in *Rijksuniversiteit Gent. Liber Memorialis, op. cit.*, p. 139-142.

(15) See Luc COURTOIS, "Paulin Ladeuze (1870-1940) et les débuts de la *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (1900-1909)", in *RHE*, vol. 95, 2000, p. 430-482.

and the liberal one in Brussels. They varied in their political orientations⁽¹⁶⁾ but were united in their endeavour to establish a Belgian historical school with international reputation. The *Académie royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques* (ARB), established in 1772, and the *Commission royale d'Histoire*, created four years after the establishment of the Belgian state (1834), were instrumental in institutionalizing contacts between the internationally minded historians⁽¹⁷⁾. For non-academic historians such as secondary school teachers or archivists, the *Société pour le Progrès des Études philologiques et historiques*, founded by Fredericq, Kurth and others in 1874, served the same goal: to contribute to a community of Belgian professional historians⁽¹⁸⁾ and to promote criteria for the distinction from the world of "amateurish" historical writing⁽¹⁹⁾.

This article deals first with forms of cultural transfer, linked to the professionalization of history and embodied in specific "transnational practices"; the adoption of the same methodology of historical research in Europe, the cross-border publication in foreign historical journals and the participation in international congresses. Second, the outlined reasons for being international are connected to two claims: on the one side, Belgian historians were eager to promote the idea of a European or even a world scholarly guild; on the other side, they worked for the constitution of a national historical school, which had to be internationally competitive. Finally, we will focus on the impact of the Great War on the interactions between Belgian and foreign historians.

History at the "laboratory": the *Cours pratique d'histoire* – a German model?

By the end of the nineteenth century, a community of historians gradually began to share methodological tools and scientific values across Europe. As Rolf Torstendahl has argued, the correct application of this normative system defined the professional historian. Professional historians were

(16) Among the aforementioned historians, Vanderkindere, Pirenne, Fredericq, Ganshof, Des Marez and Van Houthe were liberals; Kurth, Cauchie and Ladeuze were connected to the political, social and religious world of Belgian Catholicism.

(17) As Fredericq wrote, the *Académie royale* "(...) continue à diriger le mouvement historique belge par ses concours, ses *Bulletins* et les publications de la Commission royale d'Histoire qui est une sorte d'émanation de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie" (Paul FREDERICQ, "Belgique", in *Revue Historique*, vol. 18, 1882, p. 101).

(18) Fredericq contributed to the rejuvenating of this society at the end of the nineteenth century. See *Mélanges Paul Fredericq. Hommage de la Société pour le Progrès des Études philologiques et historiques. 10 juillet 1904*, Brussels, Lamertin, 1904.

(19) As in other countries, many Belgian cities had a learned society composed of erudite and local elites and committed to historical studies. See, for instance, the *Société d'Émulation de Bruges* or the *Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand*. Although some monographs on Belgian learned societies exist – for instance Sven VRIELINCK & Roman VAN EENOO, *Overen voor geschiedenis. 150 jaar Genootschap voor Geschiedenis Société d'Émulation te Brugge*, Brugge, Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, 1989 – there is no overall study that adopts a cultural perspective similar to Jean-Pierre CHALINE, *Sociabilité et érudition. Les sociétés savantes en France 19^e-20^e siècles*, Paris, Éditions du CTHS, 1998.

delimited from amateurs (including popular authors of historical novels), thus separating historiography proper from the field of literature⁽²⁰⁾. Central to this process of professionalization and "disciplinization" was the notion of methods. It suggested that there was a set of patterns to be applied to historical documents and to be learned only at institutions such as the historical seminar⁽²¹⁾, or, according to Belgian terminology at the time, the *cours pratique d'histoire*, which was permanently integrated into history curricula via the 1890 organic law on higher teaching⁽²²⁾. Thus, universities were presented as places where methodologically controlled knowledge production guaranteed its objectivity⁽²³⁾. Methods at the time were above all hermeneutical approaches to text interpretation. It was an increasingly widespread conviction that this set of methods required not only individual talent but also guidance by an experienced historian. Therefore the institutionalization of such learning in specific "seminars" – equipped with the necessary library and run by a professor discussing texts with small groups of students – became attractive to historians in different parts of Europe during the final quarter of the nineteenth century⁽²⁴⁾.

Kurth's introduction of practical exercises in history at the University of Liège in 1874–1875 was based on his observations during a visit to the three German universities of Berlin, Bonn and Leipzig in 1874⁽²⁵⁾. Three years later, Vanderkindere opened a *cours pratique d'histoire nationale* at the University of Brussels. Similarly, Cauchie introduced the creation of a *séminaire historique* at the University of Louvain (1895), which included all practical exercises in history at the Faculty of Arts and at the Faculty of Theology⁽²⁶⁾. Fredericq, who studied higher teaching in history not only in Germany (1881) but also in France (1883), Great Britain (1884) and the Netherlands (1885)⁽²⁷⁾, became one of the major advocates of the new method with his practical course at the University of Ghent. The outcome of

the collaborative work of Fredericq and his students over the years resulted in the publication of the sources on the Inquisition in the Low Countries in a series of volumes – *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticæ privatis neerlandicæ* (5 volumes, 1889–1906) – and in the writing of its history by Fredericq himself – *Geschiedenis der Inquisitie in de Nederlanden* (2 vols., 1892 and 1897)⁽²⁸⁾.

The practical course was supposed to draw history closer to natural sciences, endowing the historian's work with a scientific character⁽²⁹⁾. Similar to science students in their laboratories, Belgian history students were expected to analyse documentary evidence methodologically and to formulate hypotheses on the meaning of the primary sources under the supervision of their professor. They made good use of German handbooks in historical studies, for instance Ernst Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* (1889)⁽³⁰⁾, and of literature in political, institutional, economic, social or Church history, which was more extensive in Germany than in France or other countries.

Young historians were supposed to translate this method into a text edition or a small monograph. The *cours pratique* was seen as the golden way of stimulating scientific research. The number of Ph.D. (doctoratus) increased⁽³¹⁾. The prestige of the Ph.D. thesis as well as of other writings was strengthened when published in such scholarly collections as the *Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, the *Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège* or the *Recueil des travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie* at the University of Louvain.

The founding fathers of Belgian historical science explained such innovation by the impact of the German model on Belgian historical science⁽³²⁾. Hanquet synthesized the development of Belgian historiography in the prestigious volumes on the scientific movement in Belgium, published at the occasion of the universal scientific exhibition in Liège in 1905. He wrote:

"Jusque vers 1870, l'histoire était à tous; l'histoire est aujourd'hui aux historiens. Cette conception nouvelle, qui se contente d'assimiler la science historique aux autres sciences et d'en subordonner la maîtrise à un apprentissage, est un progrès. D'importation allemande, elle a franchi les tonneaux de France, comme les nôtres; si bien même qu'il n'y a plus, comme jadis, deux influences s'exerçant sur le travail belge, l'influence romantique du Midi et l'influence étendue de l'Est, mais une méthode unique, la même partout; un idéal unique de vérité, le même pour tous!"⁽³³⁾.

(20) Rolf TORSTENDAH, "Historical Professionalism. A Changing Product of Communities Within the Discipline", in *Storia della Storiografia*, vol. 56, 2009, p. 15.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 11.

(22) See Paul GÉRIN, "La condition de l'historien et l'histoire nationale en Belgique à la fin du 19^e et au début du 20^e siècle en Belgique", in *Storia della storiografia*, vol. 11, 1987, p. 64–103, esp. 74ff.

(23) For an excellent description of the process in the USA, see Peter NOVICK, *That Noble Dream. The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*, Cambridge-New York-Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 1988.

(24) For the development of the seminar in Germany, see Christoph KÖNIG & Eberhard LÄMMERT, eds., *Konkurrenzen in der Fakultät. Kultur, Wissen und Universität um 1900*, Frankfurt a. M., Fischer Verlag, 1999; for examples from different countries, see Matthias MIDDELL, Gabriele LINGELBACH & Frank HADLER, eds., *Historische Institute im internationalen Vergleich*, Leipzig, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 2001.

(25) Godefroid KURTH, "De l'enseignement de l'histoire en Allemagne", in *Revue de l'instruction publique (RIP)*, vol. 19, 1875, p. 88–100.

(26) See Alfred CAUCHIE, *Le Séminaire historique de Louvain*, 1905; and *Id.*, "The teaching of History at Louvain", in *The Catholic University Bulletin*, vol. 13, 1907, p. 515–561.

(27) Paul FREDERICQ, *L'enseignement supérieur de l'histoire. Notes et impressions de voyage. Allemagne-France-Ecosse-Angleterre-Hollande-Belgique*, Ghent-Paris, Vuysteke-Félix Alcan, 1899.

(28) See Jo TOLLEBEK, *Fredericq & Zonen. Een antropologie van de moderne geschiedwetenschap*, Amsterdam, Bert Bakker, 2008.

(29) P. FREDERICQ, *L'enseignement supérieur de l'histoire*, op. cit., p. 202 and 301.

(30) The handbook went through several editions. Moreover, Langlois and Seignobos's *Introduction aux études historiques* was first published in 1898.

(31) See Léon LECLÈRE, "Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres", in 1909–1934, *L'Université de Bruxelles*, Brussels, Scripita, 1934, p. 59.

(32) À Godefroid Kurth, professeur à l'Université de Liège, à l'occasion du XX^e anniversaire de la fondation de son cours pratique d'histoire, Liège, Imprimerie liégeoise, 1898.

(33) Karl HANQUET, "Les sciences historiques", in *Le mouvement scientifique en Belgique. 1830–1905*, 2, Brussels, 1907, p. 305.

We can observe a similar line of argument in other countries, for instance in France or the USA⁽³⁴⁾. It has, however, been argued by contemporaries as well as by recent scholarship on cultural transfer⁽³⁵⁾ that it was not the far-reaching influence of a superior German model but, rather, the adaptation of a model that emerged from various local, regional, and national traditions, institutional settings, and debates within these different contexts. Therefore, the professionalization of historiography was not a homogeneous process, nor did it lead to homogeneity⁽³⁶⁾.

Specialization in France and in Germany

The professionalization of Belgian historians occurred not only through the adopted "German" model of the practical course but also through the completion of young scholars' education in Germany or France. In fact, all of the second and third generation of professionally trained Belgian historians spent a year abroad. It became the very condition for an academic career. The Belgian government generously provided travel grants (*bourses de voyage*) for young historians to finance stays in German cities such as Berlin, Leipzig or Munich or in France, mostly Paris. In an overview on *Cinquante ans de recherche historique* in Europe and in the world, published by the *Revue Historique* in 1927, Pirenne highlighted: "Il n'est guère d'historien belge de la génération présente qui, ses études terminées, n'ait été chercher à Paris et en Allemagne un complément de formation indispensable à sa tâche future"⁽³⁷⁾. This physical mobility allowed a transnational circulation of ideas important to the formation of the discipline both at the national and the international level.

More practically, the continuation of their education at foreign universities gave young scholars the opportunity to deepen their mastery of a particular method (paleography, diplomatic, historical statistics, etc.) or to open themselves to a theoretical perspective (such as theories in political economy and in economic history) at some of the most prestigious places in Europe and under the supervision of famous professors. Studying at the University of Berlin in 1870, Vanderkindere followed the courses of major German historians – Theodor Mommsen, specialist of the history of Rome; Ernst Curtius, specialist of the ancient Greece; and Johann Gustav Droysen, specialist in Hellenism and in the theory of history. In 1884 and 1885, Pirenne studied diplomatic, and economic and social history, especially with Arthur Giry,

France's leading historian of medieval industry and urban institutions in Paris at the *École des Chartes* and at the *École des Hautes Études*. The following year, he moved to Germany and attended the lectures of Gustav von Schmoller, the leading figure of the German historical school of economics. Furthermore, he specialized in paleography and in heuristic, taught by Harry Bresslau and Reinhold Koser respectively. Looking for a specialization in economic and social history, Van Houste studied medieval history with Karl Lamprecht at the University of Leipzig in 1897-1898. He also spent the spring term of 1902 at the University of Berlin, participating in Schmoller's practical courses. In 1897-1898, Des Marez attended the lectures of the geographer August Meitzen and the economist Gustav von Schmoller in Berlin; he subsequently spent half a year in Paris. Before preparing his *doctorat spécial en histoire* (1895) on *Les Guildes marchandes dans les Pays-Bas au Moyen âge*, Vander Linden spent a year at the universities of Marburg, Leipzig, Berlin and Paris. During the academic year of 1899-1900, Hanquet spent two semesters at the *École des Chartes* in Paris and one semester in Berlin.

Consistently, the Belgian historians who travelled abroad expressed their admiration for the research conditions in Germany, especially the well-equipped libraries. In France they were impressed by the methodological work of the professors at the *École des Chartes*⁽³⁸⁾. In contrast, they expressed their frustrations about the scarce funding of the research infrastructure at Belgian universities. However, Belgian historians also criticized German education. In some cases, they considered German teaching and research to be too nationally oriented and were disappointed by overcrowded classrooms – a situation which was, in their eyes, a consequence of the democratization of access to German universities. French historians visiting German universities, such as Charles Seignobos and Abel Lefranc, confirmed the criticism of their Belgian colleagues⁽³⁹⁾.

Specialization in Belgium

Student mobility and international exchange, however, were not a one-way street from Belgium to France and Germany. During the first decades of the twentieth century, Belgian universities drew students from across Europe and the USA. Foreign students' motivations for choosing a Belgian university, especially at the Faculty of Arts, depended on the professor's international reputation and renown. The *Séminaire historique* of Cauchie and the Faculty of Theology at the University of Louvain attracted Catholic students and

(34) Gabriele LINGELBACH, *Klio macht Karriere. Die Institutionalisierung der Geschichtswissenschaft in Frankreich und den USA in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.

(35) Michel ESPAGNE, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands*, Paris, Seuil, 1999.

(36) See, for instance, Pim DEN BOER, *History as a Profession. The Study of History in France, 1818-1914*, transl. by Arnold J. Pomeroy, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998 and Efi GAZI "Scientific" *National History. The Greek Case in Comparative Perspective (1850-1920)*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 2001.

(37) Henri PIRENNE, "Belgique", in *Histoire et historiens depuis 50 ans. Méthodes, organisation et résultats du travail historique de 1876 à 1926. Recueil publié à l'occasion du cinquantième de la Revue Historique*, Paris, F. Alcan, 1927, p. 51-71, esp. p. 54.

(38) See P. FREDERICO, *L'enseignement supérieur de l'histoire, op. cit.* See also Pierre RION, "La correspondance entre Godefroid Kurth et Henri Pirenne (1880-1913)", in *GRH*, vol. 152, 1986, p. 147-255; and Brice LYON, "Guillaume Des Marez and Henri Pirenne: A Remarkable Report", in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire (RAPH)*, vol. 77, 1999, p. 1051-1078.

(39) On the reports about the University of Leipzig, see Michel ESPAGNE, "Die Universität Leipzig als deutsch-französische Ausbildungsstätte", in Id. & Matthias MIDDELL, eds., *Von der Elbe bis an die Seine. Kulturtransfer zwischen Sachsen und Frankreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1999, p. 353-378.

young priests from Spain, France, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy⁽⁴⁰⁾. In 1909 the *Association des anciens membres du Séminaire historique* was created, featuring a total of 120 members from France, Germany, Canada, America, Italy and Spain. The publication of a scientific bibliography of its members in 1911 is another sign of internationalism⁽⁴¹⁾. Pirenne's reputation drew German and Dutch students to Ghent⁽⁴²⁾. After the war, American students crossed the Atlantic to spend a year studying with him⁽⁴³⁾. Graduate students also exchanged letters with Fredericq and Pirenne to arrange short stays in Belgium, because their doctoral research related to the history of the Low Countries⁽⁴⁴⁾.

The introduction of the practical course and the specialization abroad were preconditions for the establishment of a Belgian historical school with international scope and standards. The internationalism of Belgian historians was motivated by a desire both to be members of the international scientific community and to further strengthen national research. Although this might seem contradictory, it was not so in the eyes of contemporaries⁽⁴⁵⁾. Belgian historians promoted international openness to enhance their scientific status and to deepen the knowledge of the Belgian past.

Collaboration with foreign historical journals and the creation of Belgian ones

Historical journals were the most important way of finding out about foreign research and providing information on one's own research⁽⁴⁶⁾. From 1876, Fredericq edited the section on Belgian historiography in the *Revue Historique*, a role that was taken on by Hubert from 1897 to 1925. Hubert, who reported on Belgian historical research in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für*

Geschichtswissenschaft between 1890 and 1891⁽⁴⁷⁾, also had a column named *Courrier belge* in the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* from 1882 to 1913.

Belgian historians sometimes even served as members of the editorial board. Pirenne was member of the international editorial board of the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (*VSWG*), founded in 1903, which was one of the first European historical reviews publishing articles in French, English, German and Italian.

Moreover, Belgian historians tried to publish their articles in leading French and German journals and, at least before the First World War to a lesser degree, in British and American ones. A good example is Pirenne's publication list⁽⁴⁸⁾. Pirenne published, for instance, the same article in several languages. His speech at the international historical congress in Berlin in 1908 on *La formation et le développement des institutions centrales de l'État bourguignon* was published in English in *The American Historical Review* (*AHR*)⁽⁴⁹⁾ and in German in the *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft*⁽⁵⁰⁾. Furthermore, Pirenne used his privileged position in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* to help Belgian historians publish in the journal. Pirenne insisted on the competitiveness of Belgian historical research and pushed Des Marez to contribute to the journal: "Je voudrais que votre nom figure aussi dans la *Revue* comme une preuve de notre vitalité dans le domaine de ces études"⁽⁵¹⁾. Van Houste might have published two articles in the same journal: *Contribution à l'histoire commerciale de l'Empereur Joseph II* in 1910 and *La législation annonciatrice des Pays-Bas à la fin de l'Ancien Régime et la disette de 1789 en France* in 1912⁽⁵²⁾. Van Houste submitted to *The American Historical Review* in 1911 several unpublished documents found in the *Archives générales du Royaume* in Brussels: *American Commercial Conditions and Negotiations with Austria, 1783-1786*⁽⁵³⁾. Vander Linden

(40) A. CAUCHE, "The Teaching of History at Louvain", *op. cit.*, p. 545-546.

(41) L. VAN DER ESSEN, *Alfred Cauchie (1860-1922)*, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

(42) See the *Manifestation en l'honneur de M. le professeur Henri Pirenne*, Brussels, 12 mai 1912, Mons, Léon Dequesne, 1912, and particularly the speech of Henri Obreen in the name of Pirenne's foreign students (p. 32-33).

(43) See *Études d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne par ses anciens élèves*, Brussels, Nouvelle Société d'Éditions, 1937.

(44) Here we can mention the medievalist Heinrich Sproemberg, who exchanged several letters with Pirenne in the early 1930s: Heinrich SPROENBERG, "Pirenne und die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft", in Manfred UNGER, ed., *Mittelalter und demokratische Geschichtsschreibung: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1971, p. 375-446.

(45) Martin H. GEYER & Johannes PAULMANN, "Introduction", in *Id.*, eds., *The Mechanics of Internationalism. Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 5.

(46) For a comparative overview, see Matthias MIDDELL, ed., *Historische Zeitschriften im internationalen Vergleich*, Leipzig, Akademische Verlaganstalt, 1999. See now also Siegrid STÖCKEL, Wiebke LISNER & Gerlinde RÜVE, eds., *Das Medium Wissenschaftszeitschrift seit dem 19. Jahrhundert. Verwissenschaftlichung der Gesellschaft – vergesellschaftung von Wissenschaft*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009.

(47) On the specific profile of the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* as a forerunner of reform in German historical profession, see Cathrin FRIEDRICH, "... daß die gegenwärtige Lage der historischen Wissenschaften den Fortbestand zweier allgemeiner historischer Zeitschriften als dringend wünschenswert erscheinen läßt". Die Rolle der der Deutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft/Historische Vierteljahrsschrift in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft, in Matthias MIDDELL, ed., *Historische Institute im internationalen Vergleich*, Leipzig, Akademische Verlaganstalt, 2001, p. 93-132.

(48) See Henri PIRENNE, *Hommages et souvenirs*, vol. 1, Brussels, Nouvelle Société d'Éditions, 1938, p. 145-164.

(49) Henri PIRENNE, "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian State (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries)", in *AHR*, vol. 14, 1909, p. 477-502.

(50) *Id.*, "Die Entstehung und die Verfassung des burgundischen Reiches im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert", in *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft*, vol. 33, 1909, p. 896-925.

(51) Pirenne to Des Marez about an article of Des Marez for the *VSWG* (letter from November 1 1903), quoted by Br. LYON, "Guillaume Des Marez and Henri Pirenne", *op. cit.*, p. 164. Apparently, Des Marez never published it.

(52) In *VSWG*, vol. 8, 1910, p. 350-393; and in *VSWG*, vol. 10, 1912, p. 96-119.

(53) In *AHR*, vol. 16, 1911, p. 567-578.

wrote occasionally for *The American Historical Review* and the *Revue Historique*⁽⁵⁴⁾.

The internationalism of the Belgian historians' foreign publishing activities was often, however, restricted to their research fields and ideological affinities. For instance, Fredericq, characterized by Pirenne as one of the most international Belgian historians⁽⁵⁵⁾, published in the *Revue Historique* but also in *The Athenaeum* in London and in Dutch general reviews such as *De Gids*, *Nederlandsch Museum* or *Nederlandsche Spectator*. Engrossed with Flemish language and culture, Fredericq, who taught Dutch literature at Ghent University, was linked with Dutch historians and philologists. His internationalism was thus closely intertwined with his research. Kurth, a fervent Catholic, did not contribute to the *Revue Historique*, which was the French historical journal known for its openness towards international research, founded in 1876 and directed by the Republican Gabriel Monod. Kurth only collaborated with the Catholic *Revue des Questions historiques* (*RQH*) in France and with the *Historisches Jahrbuch*, published by the Catholic *Görresgesellschaft* in Germany. Here, seemingly transnational connections along the lines of religious belief and political orientation mattered more, but the example demonstrates at the same time that the process of professionalization crossed the borders established by the "Kulturkampf"⁽⁵⁶⁾.

In fact, Belgian historians from the 1880s to the 1920s published most of their scientific publications in the *Bulletins* and book series of the *Commission Royale d'Histoire* and the *Académie royale de Belgique*⁽⁵⁷⁾. To improve the level of historical research, Belgian historians followed the international trend and launched new periodicals⁽⁵⁸⁾. In 1899 Kurth founded the *Archives belges. Revue critique d'histoire nationale*, delivering only critical reviews of national and foreign publications related to Belgium's history. In 1900 the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* was published under the editorship of Cauchie and Ladeuze. The journal became to be considered as the first comprehensive Belgian historical review featuring full articles, book reviews, chronicles and a bibliographical repertory. Furthermore, it was viewed as the first international periodical in Church history⁽⁵⁹⁾. In 1922, the *Société pour le Progrès des Études philologiques et historiques* launched the *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, initiated by Pirenne, to match historical periodicals

such as the *Revue Historique* or the *Historische Zeitschrift*⁽⁶⁰⁾. For Belgian historians, the contribution to or creation of historical journals was not only the most obvious way of communicating research results but also proof of their international existence and acceptance.

From scientific networks to scientific communities

The development of transport in the final decades of the nineteenth century facilitated regular international exchange. Belgian historians contacted their European peers through correspondence and archival visits, conferences and meetings of editorial boards.

Most commonly, historians established border-crossing contacts with scholars in their own fields. Fredericq, for instance, regularly exchanged opinions on the history of inquisition with his American colleague Henry Charles Lea and the German Joseph Hansen, the chief archivist of the city of Cologne⁽⁶¹⁾. Lea's book *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages* was translated into French, with a lengthy introduction by Fredericq on the European historiography of the Inquisition⁽⁶²⁾. The book and the introduction were translated into German under the supervision of Hansen⁽⁶³⁾, who was Fredericq's closest German friend.

Similarly, Cauchie and his closest colleague Ladeuze strove to liberate historical research on Church history from dogmatic influences. Both scholars also had scientific links with Catholic historians around the world⁽⁶⁴⁾. As Tollebeek highlighted, "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"⁽⁶⁵⁾. The first issue of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* illustrated this interconnected world and featured contributions by Batifol, rector of the *Institut catholique* in Toulouse, and by Thomas Joseph Shahan, who had founded the Catholic University of America in Washington in 1887. Through the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Cauchie and Ladeuze became the architects of both a national and an international Church history network at the same time⁽⁶⁶⁾.

(54) See Herman VANDER LINDEN, "Alexander VI and the Demarcation of the Maritime and Colonial Domains of Spain and Portugal, 1493-1494", in *AHR*, 22, 1916, p. 1-20; and ID., "Les Normands à Louvain", in *RH*, vol. 124, 1917, p. 64-81.

(55) See H. PIRENNE, "Notice sur Paul Fredericq", *op. cit.*, p. 339.

(56) Christopher CLARK & Wolfram KAISER, eds., *Kulturkampf in Europa im 19. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2003 (*Comparativ*, 12).

(57) See, for instance, the publications list of Des Marex, Hubert, Vander Linden and Van Houite and also of Fredericq, Kurth and Pirenne.

(58) For an overview of historical periodicals in Belgium, see Jo TOLLEBECK, "Voorgeschiedenis en vormverandering. Historische tijdschriften in België, 1870-1922", in *RPH*, vol. 76, 1998, p. 847-870.

(59) See Jo TOLLEBECK, "New Periodicals for New Ideas. On the Birth of the *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*", in *RHE*, vol. 95, 2000, p. 391-429.

(60) ID., "Voorgeschiedenis en vormverandering. Historische tijdschriften in België, 1870-1922", *op. cit.*, esp. p. 866ff.

(61) See ID., *Writing the Inquisition in Europe and America. The Correspondence between Henry Charles Lea and Paul Fredericq* (1888-1908), Brussels, Commission Royale d'Histoire, 2004, p. IX-CXXVI.

(62) See Paul FREDERICQ, "L'historiographie de l'Inquisition", préface to *Histoire de l'Inquisition au Moyen âge* by Henry Charles Lea, Paris, Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, 1900, p. X-XXVIII.

(63) Henry Charles LEA, *Geschichte der Inquisition im Mittelalter*, Bonn, Carl Georgi, Universitäts-Buchdruckerei und Verlag, 1905. See the letter of Fredericq to Lea, 5 April 1901, in J. TOLLEBECK, *Writing the Inquisition*, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

(64) See *Compte rendu du troisième congrès scientifique international des catholiques tenu à Bruxelles du 3 au 8 septembre 1894*, Brussels, Société belge de Librairie, 1895.

(65) J. TOLLEBECK, "New Periodicals for New Ideas", *op. cit.*, p. 408.

(66) *Ibid.*, p. 419.

Pirenne and Lamprecht forged a particularly close bond, because they both understood themselves as belonging to the new anti-historicist school of history, insisting on researching collective (economic) issues. They sought to transcend the limits of the originally very text-centred historical method by arguing for its opening towards the analysis of social structures and cultural artefacts⁽⁶⁷⁾. Since a harsh *Methodenskritik* emerged from the debate in Germany, international solidarity with Lamprecht contributed to the identity formation of a "new historiography", opened to other social sciences such as psychology and sociology⁽⁶⁸⁾. Furthermore, Lamprecht was director of Heeren and Uckert's series *History of the European States* (*Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*) by Perthes, in which Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique* was first published⁽⁶⁹⁾. As for the other side of the Rhine, Pirenne's correspondence reveals the close bond with the French medievalist Maurice Prou, director of the *École des Chartes* and co-editor of *Le Moyen Âge*⁽⁷⁰⁾, one of the leading historical journals in medieval history. After the First World War, Pirenne became a father figure for Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre. Both went on to found the *Annales d'Histoire économique et sociale* in 1927, which was conceived as an alternative to the *RSWG*⁽⁷¹⁾.

Prior to the First World War, the contacts among Belgian historians and their colleagues from neighbouring countries intensified through congress participation. Kurth took part in the meetings of the German *Görresgesellschaft*, which promoted scientific research based on Catholic values⁽⁷²⁾. Fredericq and Pirenne regularly attended the biennial congresses of German historians (*Historikertage*). Attendance at the *Historikertage*, which were the first meeting of professional historians at a national level in Europe, allowed them to follow the trends in German historiography⁽⁷³⁾. Pirenne felt inspired by these congresses. For example, when reviewing one session

from the Nuremberg Congress in 1898 in the *Commission royale d'Histoire*, he reported on Lamprecht's project of historical maps of the Holy German Empire, involving historians of several countries⁽⁷⁴⁾. On occasion, Pirenne delivered a lecture⁽⁷⁵⁾, but he usually attended as an observer who brought information back to his home country.

Belgian historians used the *International Congresses of Historical Science*, starting in 1900, to establish contact with historians from other European countries and from all over the world⁽⁷⁶⁾. These regular meetings helped to build a historical community across national borders. It illustrates a "professional internationalism [...] supported by a fraternity of more or less self-selected experts constituting epistemic communities who were in regular communication with each other and started a series of international meetings"⁽⁷⁷⁾. Fredericq and Pirenne served, together or individually, as delegates of the *Académie royale de Belgique* at the congresses in Rome 1903, Berlin 1908 and London 1913. Participants discussed historical teaching and research in Europe and presented special research in the fields of political, institutional, economic and social or Church history following the divisions between time periods. Fredericq used the venue to reflect on epistemological and didactical matters⁽⁷⁸⁾. Pirenne presented noteworthy speeches on economic or institutional history⁽⁷⁹⁾. Socializing played a major role during these congresses⁽⁸⁰⁾. Both Belgian historians talked with luminaries in their field of research and met with old friends such as Lamprecht and the Dutch historian Petrus Johannes Blok. Conference-going and networking across national borders were two of the characteristics of the modern way of being a professional historian on the eve of the twentieth century⁽⁸¹⁾.

As mentioned before, the Belgian historians who are examined here were members of the *Académie royale de Belgique*, characterized by a

(67) Roger CHICKERING, *Karl Lamprecht. A German Academic Life (1856-1915)*, New Jersey, Humanities Press, 1993.

(68) One of the best illustrations of such interdisciplinarity is given by Henri Berr's *Revue de Synthèse historique*. See below.

(69) Brice LYON, "The Letters of Henri Pirenne to Karl Lamprecht (1894-1915)", in *BCRH*, vol. 132, 1966, p. 161-231.

(70) Brice & Mary LYON, "Maurice Prou, ami de Henri Pirenne", in *Le Moyen Âge*, 71, 1965, p. 71-107.

(71) Brice & Mary LYON, *The Birth of Annales History: The Letters of Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch to Henri Pirenne (1921-1935)*, Brussels, Commission royale d'Histoire, 1991. See also Peter SCHÖTTLER, "French and German Historians' Networks: The Case of the Early Annales", in Christophe CHARLE, Jürgen SCHRIEBER & Peter WAGNER, eds., *Transnational Intellectual Networks. Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities*, Frankfurt/New York, Campus Verlag, 2004, p. 115-133.

(72) See Genevieve WARLAND, "Reception und Wahrnehmung der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft bei belgischen 'Epigonen': Paul Fredericq (1850-1920), Godefroid Kurth (1847-1916) und Henri Pirenne (1862-1935)", in Marnix BEYEN, Greet DRAÏE & Hubert ROLAND, eds., *Deutschlandbilder in Belgien, 1830-1940*, Münster, Waxmann, 2011, p. 219-261.

(73) Peter SCHUMANN, *Die deutschen Historikertage von 1893 bis 1937. Die Geschichte einer fachhistorischen Institution im Spiegel der Presse*, Marburg, Marburg University, 1974 (Ph.D. dissertation), Matthias MIDDELL, ed., *Historikertage im Vergleich*, Leipzig, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1993 (*Comparativ*, 6).

(74) Henri PIENNE, "Rapport sur un projet de publication de cartes historiques", in *BCRH*, 5th s., vol. 8, 1898, p. 387-392. See also ID., "À propos d'une entreprise récente relative à la cartographie historique", in *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand*, 5, 1899 (http://digistore.bib.ulb.ac.be/2006/al2934_000_f.pdf).

(75) In Imshbruck (1896) he gave a lecture on *Les sources de l'histoire urbaine* (see *Henri Pirenne. Hommages et souvenirs*, vol. 1, *op. cit.*, p. 132).

(76) Karl Dietrich ERDMANN, transl. by A. NORTON-GLIE, *Towards a Global Community of Historians. The International Historical Congresses and the International Committee of Historical Sciences, 1898-2000*, New York/Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2005.

(77) M.H. GEYER & J. PAULMANN, eds., "Introduction", in ID., *The Mechanics of Internationalism*, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

(78) See, for instance, the review of the international historical congress in Rome by Philippe SAGNAC, "L'enseignement de l'histoire. Congrès international des sciences historiques de Rome, 1903", in *Revue internationale de l'enseignement*, vol. 46, 1903, p. 49-52.

(79) Such as the above-mentioned speech on the Burgundian institutions as well as the following one on "Les périodes de l'histoire sociale du capitalisme", in *ARA. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, 5th s., vol. 4, 1914, p. 258-299, published in English: "The Stages in the Social History of Capitalism", in *HR*, vol. 19, 1914, p. 494-515.

(80) See, for instance, the reports on the congresses in Berlin and in London respectively in *HR*, vol. 14, 1908, p. 1-8, and *HR*, vol. 18, 1913, p. 679-691.

(81) See Jo TOLLEBEK, "Pirenne and Fredericq. Historiographical Ambitions around 1900", in *BTVG/RBHC*, vol. 61, 2011, p. 383-409, esp. p. 388-389.

cosmopolitan tradition embodied in the exchange of books and bulletins and in the nomination of foreign members. On the eve of the twentieth century, the Academies in Europe strengthened their collaborative work dealing with large-scale projects such as dictionaries and encyclopaedia. Based on a German initiative, an International Association of Academies (*Association internationale des Academies*) was formed in Berlin in 1898 and organized in Paris in 1900. The first meeting took place in Paris in 1901. Fredericq, serving as Belgian delegate, considered this association as the sign of a new era: "[...] elle a prouvé ainsi que le rêve de Leibniz n'est pas une chimère et que sa réalisation est appelée à rendre des services signalés à la science et au rapprochement international sur le terrain des choses de l'esprit" (82).

The steady increase in international cooperation before the First World War testified, in Fredericq's words, to the existence of a "large guild of the European intellectual world" (83). The core of historians' internationalism, however, was based on mostly national institutions. The editorial boards of journals did include foreign members, but the majority came from the national academy, as is the case for the *English Historical Review*, the *Historische Zeitschrift* and the *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*. The international congresses of historians and the International Association of Academies were both lacking a permanent committee before the war.

As we have shown, different forms of internationalization in Belgian historical research followed the lines determined by modes of professionalization. Did, however, Belgian historians interpret their role as being transnational actors beyond national confines? They actually assumed this role in two ways: first, they mediated as reviewers of particular German historical literature, but also of Dutch works for a French-speaking audience. Second, they showed a particular sensitivity for comparative insights.

Belgian historians as cultural mediators

Both by his contemporaries⁽⁸⁴⁾ and in current historiography⁽⁸⁵⁾, Pirenne is perceived as the great cultural mediator who built bridges between French

(82) Paul FREDERICQ, "Compte rendu de la première Assemblée générale de l'Association internationale des Academies, tenue à Paris, au Palais de l'Institut, du 16 au 20 avril 1901", in *ARB. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, 4th s., vol. 3, 1901, p. 469.

(83) By remembering in his journal on 7 October 1914 his stay with Hansen and Lamprecht in the summer 1913 at the country house of the sculptor Max Klinger near Weimar, Fredericq asked himself what happened with the "grootste gilde der europeesche intellectuele wereld" (Bibliothèque Universiteit Gent, HS 3704, IV, p. 213).

(84) See, for instance, François-Louis GANSHOFF, "Henri Pirenne, historien", in *Homages et souvenirs*, I, op. cit., p. 200-201; and the review of Pirenne's articles in the *Revue Historique* by Ferdinand LOT, *Le Moyen Âge*, vol. 3, 1899, p. 90-94. To take a German illustration, Schmoller wrote to Pirenne: "Sie sind in ganz Deutschland hochgeschätzt als einer der heilsamen und notwendigen Vermittler zwischen deutscher und französischer Wissenschaft. Ich glaube, Ihre Schriften werden in Deutschland noch mehr gelesen als in Frankreich, ebenso anerkannt wie in Belgien" (Letter from December 3 1909, in Archives de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, *Papiers Henri Pirenne*, correspondence, 13, 1908-1909).

(85) See, for instance, Br. LYON, *Henri Pirenne*, op. cit., p. 115ff.

and German historiographies. His three articles on the origins of the medieval cities, for instance, summarized German literature on the topic in the *Revue Historique* in the 1890s. He assessed: "La plupart des théories sur l'histoire des institutions urbaines sont encore presque inconnues en France" (86). Pirenne, however, was not the sole intermediary. The French historian Albert Margian translated Lamprecht's first book on the economic history of France in the *Middle Ages* (87), and Georges Blondel reviewed his publications in the *Revue Historique* (88). Furthermore, the philosopher Henri Berr started his *Revue de Synthèse historique* (*RSH*) with one of Lamprecht's articles (89). Kurth reviewed German books for the *Revue des Questions Historiques* (90) and sought to shed critical light on historical production on both sides of the Rhine. His *L'histoire de Clovis d'après Frédégaire* (91) offers a critical account of German Protestant historiography but also of French historiography; his article *Les institutions franques* (92) opposes Fustel de Coulanges, Waitz and others regarding the origins of the Frankish institutions.

Many additional German books were reviewed by Belgian historians in French journals – the *Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, the *Revue Historique* and *Le Moyen Âge* – as well as in the Belgian *Revue de l'Instruction Publique* and in the *Archives belges*. Ladeuze alone wrote thirteen reviews for the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* between 1900 and 1909. Most of them were on German books (93). The language skills of Belgian historians – some of them, such as Fredericq and Van Houtte, taught and wrote in French as well as in Dutch – explain their work connecting France, Germany and the Netherlands. At the *Académie royale de Belgique*, Fredericq presented each volume of Blok's *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk* (1892-1908). This study, written by the well-known historian from Leiden University, was the equivalent of the *Histoire de Belgique* and was reviewed by Pirenne in the *Revue Historique*.

For these Belgian historians, the precondition for doing good research was to work internationally. A professional historian had to use findings from abroad and compare them with the results drawn from the analysis of local, regional or national sources. Pirenne's review of the book *Les finances de la commune de Douai. Des origines au XVI^e siècle* by the French economic historian Georges Espinas provides a case in point:

(86) Henri PIRENNE, "L'origine des constitutions urbaines au Moyen Âge", in *RH*, vol. 53, 1893, p. 52-83, here p. 53. See also the following parts in *RH*, vol. 57, 1895, p. 57-98 and p. 293-327.

(87) Albert MARGIAN, *Études sur l'état économique de la France pendant la première partie du Moyen Âge*, Paris, Picard et Guillaumin, 1889.

(88) See, for instance, Blondel's review of Lamprecht's *Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter*, in *RH*, vol. 35, 1881, p. 371-380.

(89) K. LAMPRECHT, "La méthode historique en Allemagne", in *RSH*, vol. 1, 1900, p. 21-27.

(90) For instance, Godefroid KURTH, "Deux travaux allemands sur Hinemar", in *RH*, vol. 41, 1887, p. 204-209.

(91) In *RH*, vol. 47, 1890, p. 60-98.

(92) In *RH*, vol. 48, 1890, p. 183-204.

(93) See the list in L. COURTOIS, "Paulin Ladeuze (1870-1940)", op. cit., p. 472-473.

"C'est à ma connaissance le premier livre français où l'histoire locale soit envisagée d'un point de vue réellement scientifique, c'est-à-dire non point comme formant son objet à soi-même, mais dans ses rapports avec le développement général de la civilisation urbaine du Moyen Âge. [...] Bref, son livre est une preuve excellente des services que la 'méthode comparative' peut rendre à l'histoire"⁽⁹⁴⁾.

Pirenne, internationally recognized as one of the fathers of the comparative method⁽⁹⁵⁾, not only used the method in the case at hand but also, like his Belgian colleagues, considered it as a general criterion for evaluating the quality of the *Mémoires* presented at the *Académie royale de Belgique*⁽⁹⁶⁾. To be less "particularist" was a quality praised by the Belgians, as Hubert emphasized it in his reports on Belgian historiography in the *Revue Historique*⁽⁹⁷⁾.

Despite international methods and forms of collaboration, Belgian historians defined their research fields mainly within national bounds, using sources related to Belgium's past. Indeed, their goal was the progress of Belgian historical science.

Belgian historians as national historians

The first historical journal in Belgium, the *Archives belges*, aimed to promote Belgian historical publications in the scholarly world. Its task was described as "[...] doter notre pays d'un organe qui représentera dignement l'étude belge vis-à-vis du monde savant"⁽⁹⁸⁾. Similarly, the *Institut historique belge*, founded in 1902 in Rome thanks to the efforts of Cauchie⁽⁹⁹⁾, provided Belgian historians the possibility to work in the Vatican's Archives

(94) *RH*, vol. 88, 1905, p. 161.

(95) See Marc BLOCH, "Henri Pirenne" (from *RH*, 1935), in *Homages et souvenirs*, vol. 1, *op. cit.*, p. 167-175 and Lucien FEBVRE, "Henri Pirenne, historien européen" (from *Revue d'Histoire moderne*, 1933), *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 383-387. See also Peter SCHÖTTLER, "Henri Pirennes Kritik an der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft und seine Neubegründung des Komparatismus im ersten Weltkrieg", in *Sozialgeschichte*, vol. 19, 2004, p. 53-81.

(96) See, for instance, Henri PIRENNE, "Concours quinquennal d'histoire nationale (neuvième période: 1886-1890). Rapport du jury à Monsieur le Ministre de l'Intérieur et de l'Instruction publique", extrait du *Moniteur belge* du 25 août 1891. See also Victor BRANTS's expertise on the *mémoire* to the question, "Étudier l'organisation du travail dans une ville du XV^e siècle", in *ABR. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, 4th s., 1902, p. 184-197, esp. p. 185; as well as Pirenne's following expertise.

(97) Eugène HUBERT, "Belgique (1886-1895)", in *RH*, vol. 65, 1897, p. 135; *Id.*, "Belgique (1899-1901)", in *RH*, vol. 80, 1902, p. 130.

(98) "Avis de la rédaction", *Archives belges*, vol. 1, 1900, p. 1.

(99) See Alfred CAUCHIE, *De la création d'une École belge à Rome*, Tournai, Casterman, 1896; and *Id.*, *Missions aux Archives vaticanes. Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur et de l'Instruction publique*, Brussels, Hayez, 1892. Kurth became the director of the Institute from 1904 to 1916. Cauchie was director from 1919 to his accidental death in 1922. On the history of the institute, see Michel DUMOULIN, Dries VANYSACKER & Vincent VIAENE, eds., *Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome. Instituut historische belge de Rome. Istituto Storico Belga di Roma, 1902-2002. Actes du colloque tenu à Rome les 21-22 novembre 2002*, Brussels/Rome, Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome/Instituut historische belge de Rome/Istituto storico belga di Roma, 2004.

and mirrored institutes created abroad by nations such as Austria, France, Germany and Poland⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

In addition, the *Académie royale de Belgique* and the *Commission Royale d'Histoire* were the foremost places to enhance national historical research in the first half of the twentieth century. Competitions such as the *Prix quinquennal d'histoire nationale*⁽¹⁰¹⁾, submitted dissertations (*mémoires*) as well as books presentations (*homages d'ouvrages*) at the Academy overwhelmingly concerned national questions. The aim of the *Commission royale d'Histoire* was to edit exclusively the sources on national history and to publish articles and monographs on Belgian history.

Even if the writings of Belgian historians reflected historical developments in other countries, Belgium's history at a local, regional or national level was the main research field for all of them, whether medievalist or modernist. Pirenne's economic and social history prioritized the cities of Flanders. Fredericq's history of the Inquisition and Cauchie's Church history were focused on the Low Countries. Kurth wrote the history of the city of Liège. Their disciples, the second generation of Belgian professional historians, did the same: Des Marez specialized in economic, social and law history of medieval Flanders and of Brussels, and Van Houste studied the economic history of the Low Countries in the eighteenth century. Hubert scrutinized the history of Protestantism in the principalities of Hainaut and Luxembourg in the Middle Ages. It clearly means that methodological tools and conceptual frameworks borrowed from other historiographies served the intensive study of Belgian national past, a goal shared by all Belgian historians.

The impact of the First World War

The First World War had two long-term consequences for the historians' international community: first, the International Association of Academies and the international congresses of historians institutionalized their administrative structures. Second, the war signalled Germany's ceding her predominant position⁽¹⁰²⁾ to France and the United States⁽¹⁰³⁾.

Belgian historians remained keen on collaborating with foreign historians, not only to compete intellectually and peacefully at an international level but also for the sake of the rebuilding of an international scholarly guild. Also, due to the death of Cauchie, Fredericq and Kurth, the major figure among the Belgian historians in the 1920s was Pirenne. He continued to

(100) A. CAUCHIE, *De la création d'une École belge à Rome*, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
(101) Among the historians studied here, Fredericq, Kurth, Pirenne and Vanderkindere were laureate before 1914.

(102) In Pirenne's case, he no longer sought contact with German historians and became defiantly critical of developments within German historiography. See Peter SCHÖTTLER, "Henri Pirenne, historien européen, entre la France et l'Allemagne", in *ABPH*, vol. 76, 1998, p. 875-883; and *Id.*, "Henri Pirennes Kritik an der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft", *op. cit.* as well as G. W. WARLAND, "Rezeption und Wahrnehmung", *op. cit.*

(103) See Karl Dietrich ERDMANN, "A History of the International Historical Congresses. Work in Progress", in *Storia della storiografia*, vol. 8, 1985, p. 8sq.

support his disciples who were eager to collaborate with foreign scholars. This is highlighted by the unpublished correspondence between Pirenne and his former student, Fritz Quicke (1895-1957), specialist of early Burgundian history and secretary of the *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*: Pirenne praised him for being an "agent de liaison" between Belgian and Czech historians⁽¹⁰⁴⁾.

Furthermore, Pirenne tried to implement one of his key ideas, that of Belgium as the intermediary among nations⁽¹⁰⁵⁾, at the *Union académique internationale* (UAI), established in 1919, and at the International Committee of Historical Science, created in 1926. During the 1920s, Henri Pirenne and Joseph Bidez (1867-1945), classical philologist at the University of Ghent, were the Belgian delegates at the UAI, headquartered in Brussels. Pirenne was elected president from 1920 to 1923. The two Belgians saw in the creation of this institution, which succeeded the *Association internationale des Académies*, the will to build up a "République nouvelle des Lettres", based on scientific collaboration, to enhance progress in science and in humanity⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. Its main work consisted in the edition of sources and dictionaries. Pirenne was particularly involved in the new edition of the dictionary of Medieval Latin, Du Cange's *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*.

In the aftermath of the First World War, historians from the allied countries boycotted German and Austrian scientific scholarship, which remained excluded from the UAI⁽¹⁰⁷⁾. Belgian historians did the same on the occasion of the first post-war international congress of historical science, which took place in Brussels in 1923 at the initiative of Pirenne, helped by his disciples Des Marez and Ganshof⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. The boycott ended with the first General Assembly of the International Committee of Historical Sciences in Göttingen in 1926. From 1926 to 1928, Pirenne served as vice-president of the International Committee founded in 1925 in Geneva⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. The Committee defined itself

as the "permanent representation of the historians of the world"⁽¹¹⁰⁾ and reassessed the pre-war conception of scientific internationalism⁽¹¹¹⁾. In this scientific circle, Ganshof took the torch from Pirenne. Between 1929 and 1938 he served as secretary of the international commission of historical geography, and from 1938 to 1946 he headed the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

At the congress in Brussels, Pirenne promoted the idea that "la science n'a pas de patrie"⁽¹¹²⁾. Under this credo, Pirenne collaborated with others to revitalize international organizations. He also played a crucial role in the creation of national institutions, which fostered exchanges in higher teaching between Belgium and other countries, especially the USA. Pirenne held several functions at the *Fondation universitaire*, created in 1920 with American funds⁽¹¹³⁾. Thus, Pirenne's international approach was illustrated by his contribution to the creation of national or international institutions.

The war disrupted the contribution of German universities to the specialization of young Belgian scholars during their formative years. France replaced Germany when it came to the completion of Belgian historians' education⁽¹¹⁴⁾. Ganshof, for instance, studied in Paris, at the Sorbonne, the *École pratique des Hautes Études* and the *École des Chartes*. Similarly, Paul Harsin (1902-1983), disciple of Hanquet, who later was the promoter of the demographic and social history at the University of Liège, spent three years in Paris (1925-1928), at the *École des Chartes* and at the Faculty of Law, studying political economy and the history of law. Consequently, they no longer played the bridging role of Pirenne, Kurth, Cauchie and their disciples in reviewing German historiography in Belgian or French historical journals.

Conclusion

To what extent was the internationalization of Belgian historical science a transnational phenomenon? As we have stressed, history was interpreted as a national field of research, dealing with primary sources on Belgium's past. In this sense, the internationalization of Belgian historical research through the adaptation of knowledge and methods borrowed from France and Germany was linked to historians' desire to improve the quality of their work and to

(110) *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, vol. 1, 1926, p. VIII.

(111) *Ibid.*, p. VI.

(112) HENRI PIRENNE, *De la méthode comparative en histoire. Discours d'ouverture du cinquième Congrès international des sciences historiques* (1929-1932), in G. DES MAREZ & F.-L. GANSHOF, eds., *Compte-rendu du 1^{er} Congrès international des sciences historiques*, op. cit., p. 21.

(113) At the *Fondation universitaire*, Pirenne was successively member of the *Conseil d'administration* (1920-1921), president of the *Commission des bourses de voyage* (1925-1928) and member of the *Commission des bourses américaines* (1929-1932).

(114) PAUL HARSIN, "Introduction", in *L'université de Liège de 1867 à 1935*, op. cit., p. 77: "Le développement de l'esprit scientifique semble d'ailleurs se poursuivre sous l'influence de forces nouvelles: à l'action exercée par l'Allemagne jusqu'à la guerre, et qui semblait d'ailleurs décliner depuis le début du siècle, a succédé celle de la France".

(104) See the correspondence from Pirenne to Quicke (May 1921-September 1935) in the collection of the Musée royal de Mariemont, aut. 6044/1-51. On Fritz Quicke, see François-Louis GANSHOF, "Fritz Quicke (1895-1957)", in *RHPH*, vol. 35, 1957, p. 638-642.

(105) This idea was actually shared by other Belgian internationalists, for example, Henri La Fontaine and Paul Otlet, and was taken over by the *Académie royale de Belgique* in its General Assembly in 1925: "[...] voir la Belgique conserver et même étendre le rôle international qui lui a été assigné après la guerre et auquel sa situation géographique, ses traditions et son caractère de petite nation semblent la destiner particulièrement, - et par conséquent de voir établir à Bruxelles tout nouvel organisme de coopération intellectuelle" (*Asb. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, etc., 5th s., vol. 11, 1925, p. 184).

(106) "Rapport de MM. Pirenne et Bidez sur la constitution de l'Union académique internationale", in *Asb. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, etc., 5th s., vol. 5, 1919, p. 627-628.

(107) Concerning Pirenne in particular, see CINZIO VIOLANTE, *La fine della "grande illusione". Uno storico europeo in guerra e dopoguerra. Henri Pirenne (1914-1923). Per una rilettura della «Histoire de l'Europe»*, Bologna, Società editrice il Mulino, 1997.

(108) See Guillaume Des MAREZ & François-Louis GANSHOF, eds., *Compte-rendu du 1^{er} Congrès international des sciences historiques*, Brussels, Weissenbruch, 1932.

(109) Pirenne has even been qualified as a "founding father" of this Committee. See Wolfgang J. MOMMSEN, "Epilogue. After the end of the Great Schism - the International Historical Congresses from 1985 to 2000", in K.D. ERDMANN, ed., *Towards a Global Community of Historians*, op. cit., p. 346.

be internationally competitive. Partly due to the fact that Belgium was too small to be scientifically "self-sufficient", partly due to authentic internationalist feelings, Belgian historians were willing to participate in the historians' community that they progressively built up with their foreign colleagues across the borders. The main media were the historical journals, the historians' congresses and the meetings of the academies. The turn to professional internationalism was reinforced after the First World War, particularly in Pirenne's case, pushing forward the comparative method as a weapon against nationalism.

But was the intellectual openness of Belgian historians a truly Belgian feature? Not really. Book reviews show that French historians were not dependent on their Belgian colleagues but had their own mediators, such as Marignan and Blondel, but also Monod, editor in chief of the *Revue Historique*, and Seignobos. Conversely, German historians were quite independent from Belgian ones in reviewing Belgian or French literature in their own periodicals such as the *Historische Zeitschrift*. Moreover, the *Bulletins historiques* in the *Revue Historique* gave detailed overviews of the scientific historical literature, written by historians from several countries in Europe, Germany among others.

Thus, while Belgian historians played an important role in the establishment of academic inter- and transnationalism, they were hardly alone; rather, they participated in a much broader process of professionalization through the circulation of ideas and the adaptation of practices. In other respects, research interests and publications of Belgian historians indicate that national confines shaped their subject matter: economic, social and institutional history of medieval Flanders or political or religious history of the Low Countries, to mention a few of them. In each case, Belgian territory set the boundaries for investigation. In that sense, it cannot be stated that Belgian historians were particularly "transnational": except for Pirenne and his European-scale studies on the cities and the commerce in the Middle Ages and for Vander Linden with his *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale des peuples européens* (1907-1911), Belgian historians did not publish extensively in other countries like some French historians did before the First World War.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ It is true that they travelled a lot, but very often to collect the documentary evidence they needed in order to write the history of their own country, which was long ruled by the Habsburg dynasty.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ If they were convinced that all historians around the world shared the same methodologies and research values, they were also convinced that the topics had to be embodied in national ground.

As has been suggested in the first part of this article and other publications, the concept of "international nationalism" seems to be the most

(115) We must mention here Alfred Rambaud (1842-1905), who was a specialist in the history of Byzantine Empire and of Russia.

(116) See the many reports of the "missions scientifiques" in foreign archives published in the *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire* during these years. See also Alfred CAUCHIE & Léon VAN DER ESSEN, "Les sources de l'histoire nationale conservées à l'étranger dans les archives privées", in *BCRH*, vol. 78, 1909, p. 45-102.

adequate way of describing the attitudes of historians and other scholars⁽¹¹⁷⁾. Even if not fully in the same sense, this concept may well be applied for later periods in Belgian historiography.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

ABSTRACT

Geneviève WARLAND & Matthias MIDDELL, "*Pirenne and Co.: The Internationalization of Belgian Historical Science, 1880s-1920s*"

How eager were the Belgian historians to dialog with historians from other countries before the First World War? This question points out a twofold process: First, the internationalization of the Belgian historiography aimed at building an international community of historians involved in common projects of dictionaries, source editions and books series. Second, this internationalization served the purposes of creating an internationally competitive Belgian historical school whose topics were embedded in the national framework. Internationalism was then intertwined with nationalism, a fact which did not appear contradictory to historians of this time. This article tackles the issue of what can be called an "international nationalism" by analysing the following topics: the introduction of the *cours pratique d'histoire* borrowed from Germany, the specialization of the Belgian students in France and in Germany and, conversely, the specialization of American students in Belgium, the collaboration to foreign historical journals and the creation of Belgian ones, the building of scientific networks and scientific communities, the role of Belgian historians as cultural mediators, their involvement as national historians and, finally, the impact of the First World War on the relationships between the Belgian historians and their foreign colleagues.

Historiographie – institutionalization – comparison – networks

RÉSUMÉ

Geneviève WARLAND & Matthias MIDDELL, "*Pirenne et Cie: l'internationalisation des sciences historiques en Belgique, 1880-1920*"

Jusqu'où les historiens belges cherchaient-ils à dialoguer avec leurs homologues étrangers avant la Première Guerre Mondiale? La réponse à cette question montre qu'un double processus est à l'œuvre. Premièrement, l'internationalisation de l'historiographie belge visait à créer une communauté internationale d'historiens travaillant sur des projets collectifs de dictionnaires, d'édition de sources et d'ouvrages de synthèse en plusieurs volumes. Deuxièmement, cette internationalisation avait pour

(117) See Jo TOLLEBEK, "Het koppelen van de nationale cultuur. De paradox van de eigenheid in België en Nederland, 1860-1918", in Niele BEKONG, Mary KEMPERINK, Maria MATHIJSEN & Ton SINTOBIN, eds., *Naties in een spanningveld. Tegenstrijdige bewegingen in de identiteitsvorming in negentiende-eeuws Vlaanderen en Nederland*, Hilversum, Verloren, 2010, p. 15-32.

(118) EIS WITTE, *Voor vrede, democratie, wereldburgerschap en Europa. Belgische historici en de naoorlogse politiek-ideologische projecten (1944-1956)*, Kapellen, Pelckmans, 2009.

but la création d'une école historique belge de réputation internationale dont les sujets de recherche portaient essentiellement sur l'histoire nationale. L'internationalisme était donc étroitement lié au nationalisme : cet état de choses n'apparaissait pas contradictoire aux historiens de l'époque. L'article traite de ce que l'on peut appeler un « nationalisme international » en abordant les thèmes suivants : l'introduction du *cours pratique d'histoire* sur le modèle allemand, la spécialisation des historiens belges en France et en Allemagne et celle des historiens américains en Belgique, la collaboration à des revues historiques étrangères et la création de revues belges, la formation de réseaux scientifiques et de communautés scientifiques, le rôle des historiens belges comme médiateurs culturels, leurs réalisations comme historiens nationaux, enfin l'impact de la Première Guerre mondiale sur les rapports entre les historiens belges et ceux d'autres pays.

Historiographie – institutionalisation – comparaison – réseaux

SAMENVATTING

Geneviève WARLAND & Mathias MIDDELL, "*Pyrene en co*": de internationalisering van de Belgische historische wetenschappen, 1880-1920

In welke mate waren Belgische historici er op geband om de dialoog aan te gaan met historici uit andere landen voor de Eerste Wereldoorlog? Het antwoord op deze vraag wijst op een tweeledig proces. Ten eerste kan gesteld worden dat de internationalisering van de Belgische historiografie gericht was op het opbouwen van een internationale gemeenschap van historici die betrokken waren bij gemeenschappelijke projecten zoals woordenboeken, bronnedities en boekenseries. Ten tweede was de internationalisering gericht op de creatie van een internationaal opererende Belgische historische school die zich boog over onderwerpen die ingebed waren in een Belgisch nationaal kader. Internationalisme was verweten met nationalisme, een feit dat toekomstige historici niet als tegensprekend ervoeren. Dit artikel stelt het bestaan van een "internationaal nationalisme" ter discussie door het analyseren van de volgende onderwerpen: de invoering van de *cours pratique d'histoire*, een transfer uit Duitsland, de specialisatie van de Belgische studenten in Frankrijk en in Duitsland en, omgekeerd, de specialisatie van Amerikaanse studenten in België, de samenwerking met buitenlandse historische tijdschriften en de creatie van de Belgische tijdschriften, het opzetten van wetenschappelijke netwerken en wetenschappelijke gemeenschappen, de rol van de Belgische historici als culturele bemiddelaars, hun betrokkenheid als nationale historici en, ten slotte, de impact van de Eerste Wereldoorlog op de relaties tussen de Belgische historici en hun buitenlandse collega's.

Historiografie – institutionalisering – vergelijking – netwerken

The History of "Belgian" Tropical Medicine from a Cross-Border Perspective

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This article examines the development of a "Belgian" tropical medicine at the beginning of the twentieth century⁽¹⁾. It is, however, not simply a history of tropical medicine institutions in Belgium, nor a comparative investigation into what made medical practice in Belgian overseas territories peculiar. Instead, we seek to challenge the pre-fixed national frameworks that characterize much medical historiography concerning the colonial tropics by adopting a relational approach to this past. This allows us to explore how much "Belgian" tropical medicine was in fact constructed through interactions and exchanges across national, colonial and imperial borders, and also how the colonial dimension affected (the interplay between) medical-scientific nationalism and internationalism in the early 1900s.

Modern tropical medicine, the familiar story goes, emerged in Britain and later in other European countries as a distinct and "recognized field of teaching, research and professional practice" in close connection with developments in microbiology and the exigencies of imperialism⁽²⁾. In several ways it has been the subject of a rather nation-centric historiography. For example, as tropical medicine is traditionally seen as a "European concept (...) exported to the colonies", historians have often investigated its institutional development in specific metropolises without really integrating the colonial world within the same analytical frame and thus truly considering colonies' impact on Europe's nation-states⁽³⁾. This fits in with a more general division of labour

(1) List of abbreviations: Archives de l'Institut Pasteur (AIP); Institut voor Tropische Geneeskunde (ITG); League of Nations Health Organization (LNHO); Ministère des Affaires étrangères – Archives africaines (MAEAA).

(2) Michael WOBBOYS, "The Emergence of Tropical Medicine: A Study in the Establishment of a Scientific Specialty", in Gerald LEMANE et al., eds., *Perspectives on the Emergence of Scientific Disciplines*, Chicago, Aldine, 1976, p. 75.

(3) Mark HARRISON, "Tropical Medicine in Nineteenth-Century India", in *British Journal for the History of Science*, vol. 25, 1992, 3, p. 299. For the analytical integration of metropole and colony, see Ann L. STOLER & Frederick COOPER, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda", in F. COOPER & A.L. STOLER, eds., *Tensions of Empire. Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997, p. 158. A similar argument can be found in Douglas M. HAYNES, *Imperial Medicine. Patrick Manson and the Conquest of Tropical Disease*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. Recent histories of European tropical medicine institutions include Roland BAETENS, "Het Prins Leopold Instituut voor tropische geneeskunde te Antwerpen: een overzicht", in *Stadnum*, vol. 2, 2009, 2, p. 116-129; Helen POWER, *Tropical Medicine*