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108

# INCORRUPTA MONUMENTA ECCLESIAM DEFENDUNT

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## *Sigle*

AA.EE.SS.	= Archivio della Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari (oggi II sez. della Segreteria di Stato), Città del Vaticano
AAS	= <i>Acta Apostolicae Sedis</i> , Roma – Città del Vaticano 1909-
ACDF	= Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Città del Vaticano
ADB	= <i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i> , Leipzig 1875-1912
AHP	= <i>Archivum Historiae Pontificiae</i> , Roma 1963-
Ann. Pont.	= <i>Annuario Pontificio</i> , Roma – Città del Vaticano 1912-
APF	= Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, Città del Vaticano
ARSI	= <i>Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu</i> , Roma
ASBR	= Archivio Storico dei Barnabiti, Roma
ASFi	= Archivio di Stato, Firenze
ASLu	= Archivio di Stato, Lucca
ASMi	= Archivio di Stato, Milano
ASR	= Archivio di Stato, Roma
ASRSP	= Archivio della Società romana di storia patria (Archivio della R. Deputazione romana di storia patria), Roma 1877-
ASS	= <i>Acta Sanctae Sedis</i> , Roma 1865-1908
ASV	= Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Città del Vaticano
ASVe	= Archivio di Stato, Venezia
ASVR	= Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma
Att. S. Sede	= <i>L'Attività della Santa Sede</i> , Città del Vaticano 1939-
BAV	= Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano
BBKL	= <i>Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i> , Hamm 1990-
BNF	= Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BS	= <i>Bibliotheca Sanctorum</i> , Roma 1961-2000.
CATH	= <i>Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain</i> , Paris 1948-2000
CC	= <i>Corpus christianorum, series latina</i> , Turnholti 1954-
CSEL	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , Vindobonae 1866-2006
DBE	= <i>Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie</i> , hrsg. von Walther Killy und Rudolf Vierhaus, München [et al.] 1995-1999.
DBF	= <i>Dictionnaire de biographie française</i> , Paris 1933-
DBI	= <i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i> , Roma 1960-
DCA	= <i>Dizionario della Chiesa Ambrosiana</i> , Milano 1987-1994
DDI	= <i>I Documenti diplomatici italiani</i> , Roma 1952-
DHCJ	= <i>Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús</i> , Roma – Madrid 2001
DHEE	= <i>Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España</i> , Madrid 1972-1987
DHGE	= <i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i> , Paris 1912-

DIP	= <i>Dizionario degli Istituti di perfezione</i> , diretto da Guerrino Pelliccia e da Giancarlo Rocca, Roma 1969-2003
DNB	= <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , London – Oxford 1882-
DSI	= <i>Dizionario Storico dell’Inquisizione</i> , Pisa 2010
DSMCI	= <i>Dizionario storico del Movimento Cattolico in Italia</i> , a cura di Francesco Traniello e Giorgio Campanini, Torino 1981-1997
EC	= <i>Enciclopedia Cattolica</i> , Città del Vaticano 1949-1954
EI	= <i>Enciclopedia Italiana</i> , Roma 1949-
EP	= <i>Encyclopédie des papi</i> , Roma 2000
HC	= <i>Hierarchia catholica ...</i> , Monasterii – Patavii 1913-2002
LThK	= <i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> , Freiburg – Basel – Rom – Wien 1993-2001
MEFRA	= <i>Mélanges de l’École française de Rome – Antiquité</i> , Rome 1971-2014
MEFRIM	= <i>Mélanges de l’École française de Rome – Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines</i> , Rome 1989-2015
MEFRM	= <i>Mélanges de l’École française de Rome – Moyen Âge</i> , Rome 1989-
MIÖG	= <i>Mitteilungen des Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i> , Innsbruck 1880-
MORONI, <i>Dizionario</i>	= Gaetano MORONI, <i>Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro fino ai nostri giorni</i> , Venezia 1840-1879
NCE	= <i>New Catholic Encyclopedia</i> , San Francisco – Detroit – Washington 1967-
NDB	= <i>Neue Deutsche Biographie</i> , Berlin 1953-
ÖBL	= <i>Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon</i> , Graz – Köln 1954-
ODNB	= <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography from the earliest time to the year 2000</i> , Oxford 2004
OR	= <i>L’Osservatore Romano</i> , Città del Vaticano 1861-
PASTOR, <i>Storia dei papi</i>	= Ludwig von PASTOR, <i>Storia dei papi dalla fine del Medio Evo compilata col sussidio dell’Archivio segreto pontificio e di molti altri archivi</i> , XVII voll., Roma 1925-1964
PG	= <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> , acurante J. P. Migne, Parisiis 1857-
PL	= <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> , acurante J. P. Migne, Parisiis 1844-
PSB	= <i>Polski Słownik Biograficzny</i> , Kraków 1935-2015
QFIAB	= <i>Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken</i> , Rom 1897-
RHM	= <i>Römische Historische Mitteilungen</i> , Rom – Wien 1956-
RSCI	= <i>Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia</i> , Roma 1947-
S.RR.SS.	= Segreteria di Stato, Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati, Città del Vaticano
Sussidi	= <i>Sussidi per la consultazione dell’Archivio Vaticano. Lo Schedario Garampi – I Registri Vaticani – I Registri Lateranensi – Le «Rationes Camerae» – L’Archivio Concistoriale</i> , nuova ed. riveduta e ampliata a cura di Germano Gualdo, Città del Vaticano 1989.

Péter Tusor\*

A HUNGARIAN BISHOP BEFORE  
THE SACRED CONSISTORIAL CONGREGATION  
WITH THE EDITION OF THE HUNGARIAN  
«REPORTS ABOUT MODERNISM» (1911-1913)

More than a century ago, two significant factors in the life of the papal court were the fight against modernism (*Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, 1907) and the comprehensive curial reform (*Sapienti consilio*, 1908). These two phases of Saint Pius X's pontificate (1903-1914) cannot be separated. The extension<sup>1</sup> of the competency of the Congregation of the Index and especially the placing of the Consistorial Congregation at the centre both served to indicate a more effective conduct against modernism. From 1908, the Consistorial Congregation, which appeared second in the new rank of pope Pius after the *Sanctum Officium*, functioned as the supreme papal authority to appoint bishops and to supervise their episcopal and church administrative duties:<sup>2</sup> «Ad hanc proinde in posterum spectent vigilantia super impletis vel minus obligationibus, quibus ordinarii tenentur», ordered the papal constitution of *Sapienti consilio*.<sup>3</sup>

By revealing the case of Ottokár Prohászka, the diocesan bishop of Székesfehérvár,<sup>4</sup> this study aims to present the role of the Consistorial Congre-

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<sup>1</sup> Niccolò DEL RE, *La Curia Romana. Lineamenti storico-giuridici*, 3<sup>a</sup> ediz. nuovamente rifatta e aggiornata, Roma 1970, pp. 325-329, in particular p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> Louis JADIN, *Les actes de la Congrégation consistoriale concernant les Pays-Bas, la principauté de Liège et la Franche-Comté 1593-1797*, Rome 1935; Tihámér VANYÓ, *Das Archiv der Konsistorialkongregation in Rom und die kirchliche Zustände Ungarns in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, in *Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundertjährigen Bestandes des Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv*, hrsg. von Leo Santifaller, 2 vols., Wien 1949, I, pp. 151-179; DEL RE, *La Curia Romana*, pp. 113-125 and 580-581.

<sup>3</sup> The text of the *Sapienti consilio* can be found in DEL RE, *La Curia Romana*, pp. 522-532, the quotation is at p. 524.

<sup>4</sup> On the protagonist of this paper see Ferenc SZABÓ, *The Life and Work of Ottokár Prohászka (1858-1927)*, transl. by Attila Miklósházy, Budapest 2007.

gation and its head, Cardinal-Secretary Geatano De Lai – who was a key figure of Pius X's pontificate – with the help of the recently opened sources (*Congregazione Concistoriale, Positiones*)<sup>5</sup> of the Vatican Secret Archives.

According to Gaetano De Lai's view, the Church was subjected to “incomprehension” and especially “hostility” in modern society; therefore he refused every way of thinking that was regarded as modern at the time, moreover, he considered such attempt to be pure heterodoxy. He rejected any critical approach, instead he put the classic apologetics in the centre of his thought and church administration. On the basis of such an attitude, he wanted to censor Ludwig von Pastor's history of the popes; exerted his authority to put Maurice Blondel on the Index (who in actual fact professed “modern” theological ideas, like the evolution of dogmatics); banned the reading of Louis Duchesne's work of church history in autumn 1911; moreover, Francesco Lanzoni's examination also appeared on his horizon. According to De Lai, the modernist crisis was the result of the new, unconventional theories: sciences and methods (*doctrine siveversiva*). His most important duty was to prevent the «spread of [this] plague», is as he described it.<sup>6</sup>

It seems there was no proper definition of modernism at that time. In fact, a person was considered a “modernist” if he was regarded as one by the papal court. Moreover, there was not only a theological problem, but also an ideological one too – contemplating the place of the church in the world – that engaged the attention of public opinion.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Székesfehérvár 1, contains the following documents: prott. 174/1910, 1800/1911, 1691/1912 and 1467/1915: 4 letters by Prohászka; prot. 827/1911 «Alba Reale in Ungheria; Circa il modo di agire del Vescovo; 827/11», congregational file with the documentation of Prohászka's case of 1911; prot. 1291/1913, «Székesfehérvár (Alba Reale) (Ungheria). Circa un discorso del Vescovo. 1291/13. Die 19 Iulii 1913. Archiepiscopo Strigoniensi, ut in minuta. Alia Congregatione», another congregational file with the documentation of the case of 1913.

<sup>6</sup> Rocco CERRATO, *De Lai, Gaetano*, in DBI, 36, 1988, pp. 278-280. See Adriányi's analysis (Gábor ADRIÁNYI, *Prohászka és a római Index*, Budapest 2002, pp. 16-19). See also: Karl HAUSBERGER, *Hermann Schell (1850-1903). Ein Theologenschicksal im Bannkreis der Modernismuskontroverse*, Regensburg 1999, pp. 180-181.

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. Giovanni VIAN, *Il modernismo. La Chiesa cattolica in conflitto con la modernità*, Roma 2012; *In wilder zügelloser Jagd nach Neuem. 100 Jahre Modernismus und Antimodernismus in der katholischen Kirche*, hrsg. von Hubert Wolf – Judith Schepers, Paderborn 2010; Peter NEUNER, *Der Streit um den katholischen Modernismus*, Frankfurt am Main 2009; *Catholicism contending with Modernity. Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context*, ed. by Darell Jodock, Cambridge 2000. The main character of the paper, Ottokár Prohászka, writes about modernism in his diary: «God forbid me to support the so called modernism, as a philosophical system, if it is such, I would rather wish a freer scope, the vivid and interesting perspective of the reactions, nothing else. What is modernism, then? If we did a system of it, it would be the employment of Kant's theory of knowledge in philosophy and Hegel's theory of evolution in historical approach; in theology the following of these aspects. – I do not need these and I am far from refusing the basis and ideas of reality; since this

In this context, it was inescapable that Ottokár Prohászka, bishop of Székesfehérvár, came into conflict with the Curia on the account of actively proclaiming the renewal of Hungarian Catholicism and the wider society. The sermons of the translator and devout apostle of the *Rerum novarum* that roused the masses, his widely read writings and the views contained therein, especially the emphatic assertion of the need to reduce the Church estates also evoked the aversion of the Hungarian conservative ecclesiastical circles both within the episcopacy and independent from it. A passage in the *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* – which ordained the establishment of the boards of inquiry that examined the false doctrines in every diocese – made the action against the exceptionally popular prelate possible. In the autumn of 1910, the Council of Vigilance of Esztergom, established by the order of the papal encyclical, found some modernist views published by Ottokár Prohászka in his academic inaugural lecture (*Az intellektualizmus túlhajtásai*).

At the end of the Roman proceedings, in the early summer of 1911 the Congregation of the Index put three writings of Prohászka on the *index librorum prohibitum* which had existed since 1559, to the great astonishment of the Hungarian Catholic public opinion. Namely, it banned their reading on the basis of it being «doubtful of containing modernist views» and dangerous to morals and faith. The *Modern katolicizmus* and the *Több békességet* were two shorter writings. The *Az intellektualizmus túlhajtásai* being the more significant: it was the written form of Prohászka's inaugural lecture on the Academy, where he discussed the problem of the exaggerated belief in the development of science. However, according to the judges in Rome, he was not sufficiently political.

The Index case is well known mainly through the research of Ferenc Szabó SJ and Gábor Adriányi, even if some details remained obscure. Ferenc Szabó examined the case with a theological approach: he analysed so called theological modernism and the curial campaign (integralism) against it which commenced under the Saint Pius X's pontificate. His often quoted thesis is adequate: «Prohászka was modern, but not a modernist».⁸ Gábor Adriányi explored the

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exactly would be the *purus et purus intellectualismus*. «In this sense, I have never believed in modernism, whether be it the theory of Kant, or that of Hegel's; however, I have always thirsted for absorbing the modern ideas and been enthusiastic about science, I attributed great importance to the theological faculties, also to the one in Pest, the thoroughness of which is our pride as well as solace», Ottokár PROHÁSZKA, *Napló I-III*, Székesfehérvár 2011-2013, II, pp. 80-81 e 131-132 (1 July 1911 [2] and 23 November 1911 [4]).

<sup>8</sup> Ferenc Szabó considers Prohászka's theology and views romantic existentialist and places him among the “School of Rome” – which he got to know better during his studies at the Gregoriana – and the modernists (Alfred Loisy, p. Réginald Langrange). See Ferenc SZABÓ, *Prohászka Ottokár és a „Római Iskola” teológiája: a Collegium Romanum szellemi befolyása*, in «Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok-Regnum», 11/3-4 (1999), pp. 127-144 and Ferenc SZABÓ, *Prohászka és a modernizmus*, in *Prohászka ébresztése*, 2 vols, Budapest 1996, I, pp. 73-175, in particular p. 119 *et seq.*

sources in the archives of the Congregation of the Index.<sup>9</sup> He concluded his findings:

With one exception, censorship was not enforced against anybody during the thousand years of the Hungarian church history, but Prohászka. It is a scandal of Church history, since after Péter Pázmány (†1637) he was the most significant character of the Hungarian Catholicism. The responsibility rests upon those few, but influential people who did their utmost to fetter an intellectual giant, a pious, apostolic pastor [...].

As one can learn from Gábor Adriányi researche, in the summer 1911, there was a trial against the bishop of Székesfehérvár in the Congregation of the Index; however, it was not a single case; censorship was not the only question. Besides banning the reading of the above mentioned books, the decree issued 5 June ordered that «the other discussed facts of the files about the author as well as his actions should be presented to the cardinal secretary of State or the Consistorial Congregation». That is to communicate to the Pope, and the papal office in charge, to make a decision and had to be informed for the sake of further measures. The case was taken up by the Consistorial Congregation from the Congregation of the Index. The curial authority that (among others) was responsible for the supervision of the bishops along with the Inquisition was under direct papal guidance; it did not have a prefect of its own.

The “other facts” were concluded by the secretary of the Congregation of the Index, as evident from Thomas Esser in his lengthy letter addressed to De Lai on 14 June 1911. Upon the instruction of his superiors, the cardinal gave a detailed report on the accusations against Prohászka. In an audience on 16 June De Lai gave an account of the content of Esser’s letter to Pius X. His report must have been extremely detailed since he relays the original documentation of the case in full. On the back of the document he noted that the Pope ordered Esser to send him the original documents detailing the «behaviour of the bishop». In his letter of 19 June De Lai asked Esser for the documents. The Dominican sent them on 24 June with some noteworthy remarks. In the summer of 1911 the events clearly indicate that, after including the books on the Index, as canonical penalty, further and even more serious sanctions were being prepared against the Hungarian prelate.<sup>10</sup>

This was truly the case. In vain the bishop of Székesfehérvár obediently bowed to the decision of the Apostolic See in a letter in correct form and content

<sup>9</sup> ADRIÁNYI, *Probászka Ottokár és a római Index*. See also Jenő GERGELY, *Probászka Ottokár. „A napbaöltözött ember”*, Budapest 1994; further literature: Zoltán FRENÝÓ, *Probászka index-ügye száz év távlatából*, in *Probászka-tanulmányok*, 2009-2012, ed. by Gergely Mózeszsy, Székesfehérvár 2012, pp. 142-152.

<sup>10</sup> ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Székesfehérvár 1, prot. 827/11, ff. n. n.; cfr. ADRIÁNYI, *Probászka és a római Index*, pp. 53, note 171, 64-66, 159-161 and 166-171.

on 29 June; yet even this proved to be insufficient. On 7 July, in a letter of the strictest papal obligation of official secrecy («*sub secreto Sancti Officii*») Gaetano De Lai, cardinal-secretary of the Consistorial Congregation, key figure of the curial integralism and of the papacy of Pius X, questioned Cardinal Kolos Vaszary, the archbishop of Esztergom, prince-primate of Hungary and head of the Hungarian hierarchy, about his attitude on the question, which read «although the given prelate lately gave a notice of withdrawing his theories, in your opinion, should not the administration and estates of the diocese of Székesfehérvár be better provided for, if so, how?».<sup>11</sup>

The future of Prohászka fell into the hands of his fellow Hungarian prelate. The hands of this prince-primate did not hinder the council of vigilance that initiated the banning of his theories, moreover, he presented the committee's resolutions in Rome. If Vaszary had taken another step forward, Prohászka would have ceased to be a diocesan bishop. It is known that it did not happen, for which Vaszary deserves credit. On 19 July, 1911 he replied to De Lai from Balatonfüred: «Having considered all the circumstances that should be meditated upon in such an important case, I feel it necessary to beg to inform Your Eminency that under the present circumstances the rearrangement of the governing of the diocese of Székesfehérvár is inappropriate», he wrote. In his opinion the withdrawal of the books was efficient. Besides, he emphasised that «having put Prohászka's works on the Index caused a great stir among Catholics. Furthermore, the enemies of the Church were handed a sword to disrespectfully discuss the highest decision makong of the Apostolic See in the case by being imbued with the wicked spirit of strife».<sup>12</sup>

Seemingly, both being on the Index and its turbulent reception in Hungary surprised Cardinal Vaszary. By this time, the physical and mental state of the 79 year-old prelate left much to be desired. His decreasing faculty of judgement

<sup>11</sup> «*Sed antequam quaestio ipsa examini eminentissimorum huius sacrae congregationis patrum proponam, de hac re consulendam duco eminentiam vestram, quippe quae peculiaria rerum adiuncta optime perspecta habet. Idcirco eminentiam vestram rogo, ut mihi significare velit, an et qua ratione, non obstante nuperrime emissa a memorato antistite suae doctrinae retroactione, tuo iudicio oporteat magis magisque prospicere regmini ac bono dioecesis Albae Regalensis», Rome, 7 July 1911, letter by Cardinal Gaetano De Lai to Kolozs Vaszary, cardinal prince-primate, archbishop of Esztergom, in ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Székesfehérvár 1, prot. 827/1911, f. n. n.*

<sup>12</sup> «*Perpensis omnibus circumstantiis, quae in re tam gravis momenti consideranda veniunt: eminentiae vestrae reverenter significandum duco, inter praesentia rerum adiuncta non esse opportunum, ut regmini dictae dioeceseos Albae Regalensis aliter provideatur. Etenim relatio scriptorum praefati antistitis in indicem librorum prohibitorum animos etiam multorum catholicorum aliquantulum conturbavit, ecclesiae autem hostibus ansam dedit, ut supremum apostolicae sedis iudicium hac in re latum impio dissentionis spiru ducti minus reverenter pertractarent*». Balatonfüred, 19 July 1911, letter by Kolos Vaszary, cardinal prince-primate, archbishop of Esztergom, to Cardinal Gaetano De Lai, *ibid.*, f. n. n.

was indicated by the fact that in the autumn of the following year he did not participate in the 23<sup>rd</sup> Eucharistic Congress in Vienna; however, he was one of the Hungarian patrons of the event together with Franz Joseph and Archduchess Isabella. As a result, the monarch immediately forced him to resign.<sup>13</sup> Prohászka's works were the first (and last) Roman submissions of the newly founded council of vigilance of Esztergom. As a consequence, Vaszary could not have taken any precedent into consideration. Yet, he should have expected that the work would be put on the Index and would have an effect in Hungary when he twice signed the submissions of the board. The fact that Lajos Rajner, auxiliary bishop and vicar general of Esztergom was not satisfied with the effect of the Roman verdict and wanted to see the news of the indexing in episcopal letters, and the prince-primate obviously becoming scared, proves that Vaszary had previously acted under Bishop Rajner's influence.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, in July 1911, when he replied to De Lai, from Balatonfüred, far away from his court in Esztergom, the vicar's will of the vicar could not prevail.

In the summer of 1911 the cardinal prince-primate's letter halted the consistorial procedure, which aimed to seek the resignation of Prohászka after his works had been placed on the Index. In the autumn of 1911, the bishop of Fehérvár, instead of receiving a demand to resign and be deprived of the benefices, received a strict inhibition. He had to renounce his contribution at the following Catholic congress.<sup>15</sup> The papal audience of Cardinal Francesco della Volpe, prefect of the Congregation of the Index, on 9 September, served as the basis for the demand of inhibition. Della Volpe informed Gaetano De Lai – who was proceeding once again – about the content of the audience some days later: «His Holiness pleased to order me to inform the Consistorial Congregation to notify Monsignor Prohászka: according to the will of the Holy See he should abstain from all sorts of manifestations at least for a while».<sup>16</sup>

In late September Prohászka's quick and self-assured answer<sup>17</sup> – at the end of his letter he wished De Lai had read his speeches – was reported to Pius X by the cardinal-secretary on 11 October. According to the notes from the audience, gratitude should be expressed to the bishop for his letter (or rather for his act of obedience). Although, they would still like to read his speeches, therefore he should send them to Rome. An extremely remarkable *nota* followed

<sup>13</sup> Magyarország részvételle a XXIII. Nemzetközi Eucharisztikus Kongresszuson Bécs 1912, Bécs 1913; Kálmán Dániel KEMÉNYFFY, Vaszary Kolos 1855-1905, Esztergom 1905; see also the data of the *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon*, in <<http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/V/Vaszary.html>> (last seen on 31<sup>st</sup> July 2018).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. ADRIÁNYI, *Prohászka és a római Index*, pp. 30-31 and 70-71.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 191-195.

<sup>16</sup> ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Székesfehérvár 1, prot. 827/1911, ff. n. n., Rome, 13 September 1911, original typed letter by Cardinal Prefect Della Volpe addressed to De Lai.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Albae Regalensis, 30 September 1911, original version of Prohászka's letter, also published, from a copy, by ADRIÁNYI, *Prohászka és a római Index*, pp. 194-195, note 21.

the points obviously inspired by De Lai, in particular: «if the bishop sends his given speeches, the Pope suggests that they should be shown to Pater Szabó».<sup>18</sup> Besides Rajner, the Dominican Szádok Szabó was the other Hungarian inquisitor of Prohászka: he played a crucial role in the indexing in Rome and will appear later in this paper.

With wise foresight, the bishop of Székesfehérvár did not send his speeches, obviously suspecting that the Hungarian texts would not be personally read by the *cardinale secretario*. Instead, he forwarded his report as a diocesan bishop on the accomplishment of the anti-modernist measures, which was compulsory on the basis of the *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* encyclical of 1907 and the order of the papal *motu proprio*, *Sacrorum Antistitium* of 1910. He dated his letter 24 December 1911, Christmas Eve, the concluding day of the Nativity Fast and addressed it to the Pope himself.<sup>19</sup> By making the best of the opportunity that had presented itself, the Hungarian prelate who was put on the Index with the accusation of modernism, clearly and abruptly distanced himself from the theses and ideas that were condemned by Rome.

In a lengthy report, he discussed the education of the seminary, the basis of which was the philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas. «I am deeply concerned about it and follow the nature and methods of the teachers with attention», he writes,

likewise, I take good care not to depart from the sacred doctrine. Therefore, I am present at every exam to conceive a notion of the completed curriculum, as well as of the efficiency of the education. In respect of the prefects and teachers of the seminary, I concern myself to appoint such persons who are both devout and scholars. I know it for sure that none of them are tainted by the theses that the Church condemns and none of them praise the ideas that could divert us from the truth.

He elaborated on the fact that his diocese and its centre was of a provincial nature; the priesthood did not publish books, neither did they read, they rather subscribed papers. Nevertheless, he introduced the institution of censorship. He also established the council of vigilance that was designated to stop the spread of the modernist theses (a similar Esztergom body attacked him):

<sup>18</sup> «Ex audiencia Sanctissimi 11 octobris 1911. Si ringrazi il vescovo di quanto a scritto, e che è [sic] fedelmente riferito al Santo Padre. Ma poiché egli soggiunge che desidera che io legga i suoi discorsi, abbia la compiacenza di mandarmeli che ben volentieri li leggerò. Si partecipi al cardinale della Volpe la risposta avuta. Nota. Se il vescovo invierà i detti discorsi il Santo Padre suggerisce di farli vedere al padre Szabó», in ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Székesfehérvár 1, prot. 827/1911, f. n. n.; – two critiques of Szádok Szabó OP on Prohászka's indexed works: Ferenc SZABÓ, Szabó Szádok O.P. jelentései az Index Kongregációnak, in Id., *Prohászka Ottokár élete és művei*, Budapest 2007.

<sup>19</sup> The obligation of reporting was ordered by point 7. In relation to the reporting, the *motu proprio* repeats the regulations of the *Pascendi* word for word by ensuring the content of the encyclical. Cfr. AAS, 2 (1910), pp. 655-680.

As the traces of modernism cannot be found in this provincial part of Hungary, this poisonous tendency cannot supply any material of discussion; therefore, it focused on the knowledge and support of the social institutions, kept the morals of the people and supervised their devotional practices, missions and processions

these letters informed Pius X, as he mentioned that every priest of the diocese took the oath against modernism prescribed by the Holy See.<sup>20</sup>

Only four Hungarian prelates of fulfilled the obligation to report what was ordained in the encyclical letter and then in the *motu proprio*; besides Prohászka, Sándor Párvy, bishop of Szepes, Lipót Árpád Várady, bishop of Győr, and Gyula Glattfelder, bishop of Csadád. It is still unclear why the others did not comply. By examining the related index of the archives of the Consistorial Congregation, one can see that there are no such diocesan bishops' reports among the *Positiones* concerning several dioceses of the world. It is possible that they should be searched in other fonds; however, the visible routine character of the congregational proceeding makes it unlikely.

Knowing the antecedents in the case of Prohászka it is clear why he wrote his report and it is obvious why it is the most elaborated and of a personal tone among the Hungarian ones. Compared to his report, the others are more formal, as it occurs in the texts published in the Appendix to this paper. The reports uniformly inform the Curia that there are no traces of modernism in Hungary, the councils of vigilance are established, the diocesan censorship works, the theological studies in the seminaries are based on scholasticism and the clergy uniformly took the anti-modernist oath. Glattfelder was the only one to mention that one of his priests refused to take the oath by referring to the freedom of conscience, though his reason was his apostasy and marriage. He joined the Calvinists and, under the pretext of modernism, he broached the subject of long refuted anticlerical accusations in papers. Soon his case sank into oblivion.

Similarly to the *ad limina* reports, the elaboration of these reports – that practically did not outlast the Pius X's pontificate – became the task of the Consistorial Congregation. According to protocol, the Prohászka's *relatio de modernismo* was also presented to the Congregation. On 3 January 1912, Cardinal De Lai informed him that «I have read and thoroughly studied the content of the report to my sincere satisfaction».<sup>21</sup>

Yet, despite the sending and acceptance of the report, in 1912 the case against the bishop of Székesfehérvár was not removed from the Consistorial Congregation's agenda. The preparation of another instance of Indexing was hindered by Count János Zichy, Minister of Education of Hungary: in a letter

<sup>20</sup> The report, written by Prohászka himself, is in ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Székesfehérvár 1, prot. 1800/1911, ff. n. n. The text is published in the *Appendix*, document n. 3.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

dated 19 February, he adjured Cardinal Merry del Val to inform Prohászka before forwarding another of his disputed works (*Magasságok felé*) to the Congregation of the Index.<sup>22</sup>

The conduct of the minister, however, did not prevent another inhibition. After the papal audience on 22 March 1912, on behalf of Pius X, De Lai summoned the bishop to avoid the pedagogical course of lectures organized in Budapest.<sup>23</sup> This time, the persona of the lecturer, Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster (1869-1966), educator, philosopher and social ethicist served the reason for the ban. The Curia's demand aroused a strong emotional reaction from Prohászka. On 5 April, in his letter to his friend Count Károly Gusztáv Majláth, the bishop of Transylvania, he wrote the following:

I received a letter from the Congregation that it would be troublesome if I took part in the lectures of Foerster, since the Protestant gentleman's life is objectionable. Right, I am not going; however, I whole-heartedly wish that the Italian monsignors had a life like that of Foerster's. Thus, they also thrust their noses into such cases that are none of their business; or it hits the eye of a good Hungarian Catholic that as opposed to the pedagogy of the twentieth century, we invited a lecturer of Christ! Well, go on, everything will freeze in the end

his letter states.<sup>24</sup>

The aforementioned «good Hungarian Catholic» must have been the Dominican Szádok Szabó. The basis of the prohibition was the notice sent to the Congregation of the Index, on the authority of which also the Dominican Thomas Esser asked the head of the Consistorial Congregation with a detailed justification on 20 March 1912 to «act as the case requires».<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Cfr. ADRIÁNYI, *Prohászka és a római Index*, pp. 85-87 and 203-204.

<sup>23</sup> «Ex audiencia Sanctissimi 22 Martii 1912. etc. Mgr. Prohászka. Relatum est Sanctissimo Domino Nostro quod post proximum Pasca in civitate Budapest habebitur aliquot conventus in quibus professor Förster, acatholicus, e civitate Zurigo, conciones faciet de pedagogia et de aliis argumentis. Porro cum hic vir, quamvis non nimium infensus catholicus nomini, tamen nullo modo bene sentiat de religione et ob suam vitam, prout fertur, non immunis est ab aliqua censura, Sancta Sedes nonnisi cum dolore videret episcopum aliquem catholicum hisce conventibus et concionibus praesidere aut interesse: id insuper catholicis displiceret, et scandalum procul dubia pluribus afferret. Quapropter nomine Sanctitatis Suae te rogo et obtestor, ut abstineas ab his conventibus. Et si in te onus suscepisti eisdem interveniendi aut praesidendi satagas omnino ab hac obligatione prudenter interposita aliqua excusatione te expedire» in ASV, *Congr. Concist., Relat. Dioec. 826, Strigoniensis*, prot. 630/1928 «Strigonia (Ungaria). Relazione diocesana e visita ad limina», f. n. n.

<sup>24</sup> Cfr. ADRIÁNYI, *Prohászka és a római Index*, p. 91. On Förster (also spelled Foerster), see Hans KÜHNER, *Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster. Ein Lebensweg gegen den deutschen Militarismus*, in *Von der freien Gemeinde zum föderalistischen Europa. Festschrift für Adolf Gasser zum 80. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von Fried Esterbauer, Berlin 1983, pp. 169-186; Günter WIRTH, *Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster*, in «Utopie Kreativ», 102 (1999), pp. 5-18.

<sup>25</sup> «Per ordine del mio eminentissimo cardinal prefetto, ho l'onore di portare alla conosenza dell'Eminenza Vostra reverendissima il fatto riferito nei giornali, che dopo Pasqua, il

The last action against Prohászka in Rome was also a consequence of the co-operation of the two Dominicans', Esser and Szabó's. The unique nature of the case is that the Congregation of the Index did not take part in it, though it also started as an attempt of censorship. The Consistorial Congregation – which dealt with Church disciplinary matters – took measures directly. Szádok Szabó – though anonymously, but it could hardly have been anybody else – severely criticized another of Prohászka's inaugural addresses. The bishop read his writing of *Mekkora mélység egy üres madárfészek?* at a Petőfi Society session, similar to the *Intellektualizmus túlhajtásai* of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences hall on 11 April 1913. Two days later, the essay was published in the *Alkotmány*, and it can also be read in the compilation of his works.<sup>26</sup> The well-known Piarist litterateur Sándor Sík describes him in his lecture:

[Prohászka] does not deny reality, he only reduces his own reality to the experienced world. He might find his manifestation most poetically in his kind essay, which was his inaugural lecture at the Petőfi Society: *Mekkora mélység egy üres madárfészek?*<sup>27</sup> He expresses his reflections with a beautiful simile: "Emotion is the blood of the ideas".<sup>28</sup>

Father Szádok Szabó, who translated the speech into Latin for the curial prelates – sometimes in a summarized form – was of a different critical opinion in his *Animadversiones*.<sup>29</sup> In his opinion, Prohászka used the concept of "life" according to the Monists (1); the "emotion", *sensus* – being in the centre of the

professor Förster di Zurigo, protestante, terrà a Budapest un ciclo di conferenze, alle quali monsignor Prohászka, vescovo di Alba Reale, presiederà, prendendovi parte anch'esso. Avendo questo professore da una parte giudizi più equi, che la maggioranza dei protestanti sul cattolicesimo, mentre dall'altra vi trova abbastanza da criticare, considerandolo come degnò di riforma, la scuola degli interconfessionalisti e modernizzanti in Germania si è subito impadronita di lui invitandolo in diversi luoghi a fare delle conferenze, specialmente su questioni pedagogiche, quasi i cattolici avessero bisogno di imparare i sani principii della pedagogia [sic] per la generazione moderna da un protestante, la cui vita di famiglia non può nemmeno servire di modello alle famiglie cristiane. Com'è naturale, questi tentativi di alcuni modernizzanti sono dispiaciuti assai ai sinceri cattolici tedeschi. Sarebbe però addirittura uno scandalo se un vescovo favorisse queste tendenze, facendo nel modo indicato parte commune col Förster. Dopo la lettera che codesta sacra congregazione non ha guari, scrisse a monsignor Prohászka, difficilmente si capisce tale suo contegno. Il congresso di questa sacra Congregazione dell'Indice fun [sic] perciò di parere di richiamare l'attenzione di codesta Sacra Congregazione sopra questo fatto per quei provvedimenti che credesse del caso», Rome, 20 March 1912, letter by Thomas Esser OP, secretary of the Congregation of the Index, to Cardinal Gaetano De Lai, in ASV, *Congr. Concist., Relat. Dioec.* 826, prot. 630/1928, f. n. n.

<sup>26</sup> *Probászka Ottokár összegyűjtött munkái*, sajtó alá rendezte Schütz Antal, Budapest 1928-1929, VIII, pp. 146-158.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151; Sándor Sík, *Probászka Ottokár mint író, Egyetemi előadások*, Szeged 1931/32, II félév, p. 27.

<sup>29</sup> ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Székesfehérvár 1, prot. 1291/1913, ff. n. n.

essay – reflects voluntarist, psychologizing notion (2); both are driven by “evolution”, which occurs as a “universal law” and one cannot comprehend what relation this monistic theory of evolution has with human freedom and divine Providence (3); the objectivity of the cognition, morals, art and culture disappears, everything is lead by “blind emotion”: the individual and the evolution (4). Prohászka «does not seem to differentiate between will, emotion, suffering, soul and body, between nature and the supernatural, but he merges and makes everything equal with emotion and evolution» (5). «Even the nest of faith, in which the author desires to rest, could not rescue him from subjectivity, since in his case this faith is embraced by the emotion and not by the intellect strengthened by the supernatural enlightenment...» (6), aligned his objections.

On the basis of these remarks, the *Animadversiones* bluntly declares: «In short: the essay openly supports the appealing theses of subjectivism and psychological voluntarism and results in relativism and scepticism». Then he continues: «It is necessary to mention that Pius X condemned “faith based on emotions” and the “theory of evolution” with harsh words. Without caring about the author’s endeavours to publicize the theory of evolution and relativity in public». The utterance of both the *sensus religiosus* and the *principium evolutionis* expressly recalls the *Pascendi Dominicus gregis*, which is to say Prohászka openly objects the encyclical letter condemning modernism – the final conclusion states. The *Sacrorum Antistitum* is also cited. On the basis of other examples from the near past,<sup>30</sup> the critic comes to the conclusion that Prohászka «seems to openly contradict the anti-modernist resolutions of the Holy See the oaths which were to be taken».

Finally, the unpleasant closing paragraph of the *Animadversiones* shall be quoted:

And we should add that however the author has high morals and is a zealous bishop, and there is nobody in Hungary who could and want to oppose him openly, since his persona is looked upon as a programme; it is quite obvious that effective remedies should be provided for fear that his public speeches and writings would slowly distort the still existing true Catholic belief in Hungary!

held the warning of the Dominican Father.<sup>31</sup>

The due diligent judgement and Szádok Szabó’s translation were presented to the Consistorial Congregation by Esser on 16 July 1913. He himself also suggested that the opinion of the primate of Esztergom should be asked for. This fact is known from the notes of Gaetano De Lai written three days later on the Latin translation of a letter to the new prince-primate, János Csernoch. De Lai informed that a report had been sent to his congregation, according to which,

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<sup>30</sup> From the issue of the «Katholikus Szemle», 26 (1912), pp. 981-982.

<sup>31</sup> ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Székesfehérvár 1, prot. 1291/1913, ff. n. n.

on 13 April, Ottokár Prohászka, diocesan bishop of Székesfehérvár, made a speech on the occasion of his election as a member of the Petőfi "Literary" Society which was published in a daily paper and «not only seems unique but is not free from false opinion». De Lai asked Csernoch to state «what should be thought of this speech» and «what was his opinion».<sup>32</sup>

The fact that the Consistorial Congregation, which supervised the bishops, directly took measures shows that in the Curia the case was explicitly dealt with as a Church disciplinary matter, especially after the indexing and the repeated inhibition. The future of Prohászka as a diocesan bishop fell into the hands of one of his fellow prelates for the second time in two years.

The prince-primate answered De Lai after a month. He stood up for Prohászka in a five page letter, dated in Esztergom on 21 August 1913. He informed De Lai that he had read the given essay again, yet, he had not found it objectionable. He defends his colleague at lenght and listed theological and philosophical arguments (he obviously had assistance) and emphasised the context: the speech was given in a literary society, therefore it contained aesthetic dimensions. Csernoch claimed: he did not inform the bishop about the most recent Roman action, he did not ask him for a «credible explanation». Namely, he showed absolute loyalty and devotion towards the Holy See and Prohászka «would see the lack of trust in such examination», which would deeply grieve him. He amicably and enthusiastically praised him, he recalled their personal relation of some decades, detailed Prohászka's apostolic, missionary work and his activity in the seminary, furthermore, he accentuated his popularity among different social groups.

In his statement, Csernoch underlined that the essay was not a theological treatise, but a text published in a daily paper, which did not define the concepts. As an example, it did not elaborate on the central concept *sensus*: "emotion", "sense", "perception", "experience" (the first meaning of which is used above). He wrote the following:

I gladly admit and allow that Bishop Prohászka daringly spoke about the power of the emotions when he attributed a sovereign authority to them, though, it is inferable from the context that it was only a hyperbole (*auxesis rhetorica*), since the author by no means states that the light of the sense or the freedom of will would be repressed by the emotions, they only influence their function.

Besides, he called the attention that the speech attracted as being characterised by over-polite adulation towards poetry and at the end of the essay the bishop clearly and beautifully shows the principal power of the ideas and truth manifested by God. According to the last sentence of Csernoch's state-

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* (draft).

ment, Prohászka «does not say that the human emotion is the only reason for future life, but it also strengthens what religion teaches and proves».

The letter of the prince-primate concludes the following:

I declare to Your Eminence that the literary lecture of Bishop Prohászka did not harm the Catholic faith, nobody was scandalized and it did not generate any debates in Hungary. There is no one among the theologians who publicly criticized him, neither did I get any negative remarks privately concerning the paper. Therefore, my statement is the following: the bishop should not be disturbed due to his literary discussion, since he did not make an obvious mistake and did not hurt the God-fearing souls. In my opinion, the whole case should be silently omitted, and any further notice would be unnecessary and useless. If it pleases to Your Eminence, I willingly call Bishop Prohászka's attention to pick his words more carefully in the future and I declare in advance that the attention will not be without any effect. When his other writings were forbidden by the Sacred Congregation of the Index, he complained that he had not received any warnings that he and his episcopate would have deserved.<sup>33</sup>

Prince-primate Csernoch *expressis verbis* called Prohászka the gem of the Hungarian church (*Ipse est apud nos magnum certe decus ecclesiae catholicae*). This letter signalles an end of the Roman trial against Prohászka. De Lai laconically only noted on the top of the letter that he finds the “conclusion” of the archbishop good and he should be answered to that effect; moreover, Eszer should be informed about its content. Soon, at the end of September 1913, Prohászka travelled to Rome, where he immediately met Cardinal Mariano Rampolla, Leo XIII's late secretary of State of, and was seen by Pius X in an audience. This audience signalled his moral rehabilitation. However, his works were not removed from the list of forbidden books until 1966.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> «Eminentiae Vestrae persuadere velim, poeticam episcopi Prohászka paelectionem fidei catholicae nihil nocuisse, nemini scandalum parasse, nullamque disceptationem in Hungaria provocasse. Nemo hucusque ex theologis episcopo publice contradixit, neque familiariter quidquam contra dissertationem audivi. Mea sententia est ergo: episcopum propter poeticam hancce elucubrationem non esse inquietandum, cum obvium errorem non commiserit nec pias aures offenderit. Tota res meo visu tacendo est praeterunda, nec specialem dispositionem in hac causa necessariam vel proficuum esse existimor. Si tamen eminentiae vestrae placuerit, libenter dominum episcopum attentum faciam, ut in semet exprimendi ratione anxia cum scrupulositate deinceps seligat verba, et in antecessum declaro, hanc attentionem non sine effectu mansuram. Iam cum alia eius scripta a sacra congregazione indicis prohibata essent, conquestus est mihi, se nullam prius accepisse observationem, quae et sibi et auctoritati episcopali magis convenisse putat», Esztergom, 21 August 1913, letter by János Csernoch, archbishop of Esztergom, prince-primate of Hungary, to Cardinal Gaetano de Lai, in ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Székesfehérvár 1, prot. 1291/1913, f. n. n.

<sup>34</sup> DEL RE, *La Curia Romana*, pp. 328-329; AAS, 58 (1966), p. 445; *Index Librorum Prohibitorum, 1600-1966*, par Jesús Martínez de Bujanda avec l'assistance de Marcella Richter, Geneva – Montréal 2002. A selected list was published already in the course of Prohászka's

In conclusion, as opposed to previous understanding, the case was not only a matter of indexing; Prohászka faced a more severe challenge in Rome. The true motivation behind the curial process in 1911 was to set an example, namely to canonically deprive Prohászka of his office as diocesan bishop. The indexing was only a way to do this, not a purpose. It was not only wished that he be silenced and “eliminated from the Catholic public life” (which might have been the plan of the members of the council of vigilance of Esztergom), but the Curia wanted to remove him from the Church administration as well. This explains why Prohászka was not asked to give his statement on his questioned works before being put on the Index, yet, according to Benedict XIV’s regulation, being a bishop an explanation should have been demanded from him. Instead, in the well-known Congregation of the Index decree dated 5 June 1911, it expressly occurs that the reading of the above mentioned writings was banned and the Secretariat of State or the Consistorial Congregation should be informed about it. The importance, true purpose and sense of the latter proviso were realized then. In 1913, his other disputed writing was not dealt with by the Congregation of the Index, since speaking of a “recidivist”: the Consistorial Congregation took direct measures in his case as one of the supreme papal authorities of the curial integralism. In the future, the case should be referred to as Prohászka’s “indexing and failed dismissal”, or his “Index- and Consistorial-case”. Two archbishops from Esztergom, Kolos Vaszary and János Csernoch deserve credit for the fact that the Consistorial-case, remained obscure, and was not followed by harsher consequences and was only revealed by historiography due to the careful source-preservation and the Vatican Secret Archives filing system.<sup>35</sup>

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life in Hungary, three works of the bishop can be found on it. Lajos MÜLLER S.I., *A Római Index nevezetesebb tiltott könyvek jegyzéke. A könyvbírálatról és a könyvtalomról szóló legújabb egyházi törvények ismertetésével*, Budapest 1926, p. 84.

<sup>35</sup> See the more detailed *Prohászka-tanulmányok*, 2015-2017. A Székesfehérvári Egyházmegye Prohászka-konferenciáinak előadásai, ed. by Gergely Mózessy, Székesfehérvár 2017, pp. 268-319. Some facsimile can be found at the following website: <<http://institutumfraknoi.hu/repositorium/prohaszka>> (prepared in the HAS-PPCU Vilmos Fraknói Vatican Historical Research Group), last seen on 31<sup>st</sup> July 2018).

## APPENDIX

## 1.

Report by Sándor Párvy, diocesan bishop, addressed to Pius X<sup>36</sup>

Szepesbely, 28 October 1911

Beatissime pater!

De iis, quae in litteris encyclicis *Pascendi Dominici gregis* decernuntur, item de doctrinis, quae in clero praesertim autem in seminario aliisque institutis catholicis, non exceptis his, quae auctoritati non subsunt ordinarii, vigent: sub 5 Octobris 1908 sanctitati vestrae humillime referre sustinui. Tertio iam elapso anno novam ea, qua par sum pietate et devotione relationem ad pedes sanctitatis vestrae profundissima cum veneratione deponere audeo.

Alumni seminarii mei Scepusiensis et in specie theologiae in I-um et II-um annorum auditores iuxta probatissimos auctores instituuntur in philosophia scholastica, sistema sancti Thomae Aquinatis sequendo.

Theologiae studium per constitutos a me magistros debite et diligenter traditur, qui tum vitae integritate tum scientia eminentes ac laurea in sacra theologia sunt insigniti. Utque aedificium theologicum recte exstruatur utque alumni erga traditionem et patres reverentia replenatur, omnes patrologia et patristica imbuuntur.

Praelectiones theologicae et philosophicae in seminario sub mea inspectione fiunt, pluries intersum praelectionibus et examina sub meo vel me impedito vicarii mei generalis praesidio asservantur. Clericos e seminario egredientes ad studia theologica continuanda hortor et moneo. Plures parant se etiam pro examinibus rigorosis, omnes vero attineo, ut examen prosynodale subeant.

Magistri seminarii a nullo excepto ab omni conatu modernismi alieni sunt, cui nec clam nec aperte ne minime quidem favent; cum gaudio nunciare possum sanctitati vestrae praescriptum per litteras encyclicas *Sacrorum Antistitum* de cavendis et vitandis modernismi erroribus iuramentum omnes promptissima mente nuncupasse. Disciplinam ecclesiasticam ad arnussim observant omnes, pulcherrimum praebendo alumnis exemplum.

Prout in magistrorum delectu maximas cum attentione et vigilancia procedo, ita ad sacros ordines illos tantum promoveri permitto, qui in seminario indubia dederunt vocationis signa.

Scripta quae modernismum alent provehunque in diocesi mea non eduntur et libri prohibiti non leguntur.

Fasciculi duo eduntur in dioecesi mea per sacerdotes diocesanos. Horum fasciculorum utpote in spiritu Ecclesiae scriptorum lectio multum conduit ad promovendam fidelium devotionem. Folia hae periodica designatas habent censores.

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<sup>36</sup> ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Spis 1, prot. 1558/1911, «Relazione sul Modernismo», ff. n. n. The document is attached to a letter by Cardinal Secretary of State Merry del Val of 7 November (Nr. 53.469), in which he informs the transfer of the report to the Congregation. Such report – according to his knowledge – could reach Rome through the nunciature of Vienna.

Consilium a vigilantia omni altero mense convenit. Officium censurae pariter suo fungitur munere.

Congressus publici punto V encycliae memorati in dioecesi Scepusiensis non habentur. Asservantur tamen congregations seu conferentiae (collationes) pastorales, quarum finis ex mente Ecclesiae est, ut sacerdotes mutuo se adiuvent et excitent in excolendis necessariis scientiis, ut in praxi ministerii sacri consentiant, ut denique illa pretiosa animarum unione connectantur, quae et ipsis et populo tam proficia est.

Protocolla harum conferentiarum crisi ordinariatus subiiciuntur.

Deo diviti in misericordia perennis sit gratia et iugis gloria, quod in dioecesi mea Scepusensi nulla inveniuntur de doctrinis modernistarum vestigia.

His pro munere meo Sanctitati Vestrae in iam humilitate relatis, altissimae gratiae et apostolicae clementiae demississime commendatus, in devotissimo beatorum pedum osculo profundissima cum reverentia emorior

Scepusii – Szepesheily in Hungaria die 28 octobris anno 1911.

Sanctitatis vestrae humillimus et obedientissimus in Christo filius doctor Alexander Párvy episcopus Scepusiensis.<sup>37</sup>

## 2.

The report of Lipót Árpád Várady, diocesan bishop of Győr addressed to Pius X

Győr, 30 October 1911<sup>38</sup>

Nr. 6.198

Relatio de dioecesi Iaurinesi in Hungaria ad normam  
motu proprio *Sacrorum antistitum*  
Pii X Pontificis Maximi

### I. De studiis philosophicis et theologicis

Philosophia scholastica fundamentum studiorum sacrorum est positum. In seminario enim Iauriensi professor ad hoc constitutus tradit singulis diebus alumnis seminarii philosophiam scholasticam s. Thomae Aquinatis; ita ex hoc capite vix aliquid desiderari debeat.

Nec theologiae studium neglectum iacet. Clerici octo semestrium curriculo absolvunt studia theologica in seminario, ubi foveatur in eis incolumis erga traditionem et Patres reverentia, erga ecclesiasticum vero magisterium obedientia. Studiis in seminario absolutis cleris diocesanis stimulatur ad prosequenda studia theologica etiam per fundationes litterarias a bonae memoriae praedecessore meo Ioanne Zalka ad hoc destinatas, ut quotannis duo ex clero dioecesano in cura animarum constituto pro elucubratione questionum theologicarum praemium accipient. Nec usque huc concursus pro praemiis vacuus fuit.

<sup>37</sup> The signature is by the sender.

<sup>38</sup> ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Györ 1, prot. 1546/1911, ff. n. n. The document is attached to a short accompanying letter dated 2 November 1911 addressed to the Pope by the bishop (Nr. 6.198), and to a letter of the Congregation dated 6 December, which is not only a simple notification but also an encouragement of recognition.

Vigent quoque studia naturalium disciplinarum sed in tantum modo, in quantum necessarium est ad doctrinam fidei illustrandam et contra invasores defendendam. Studia haec praeprimis characterem apologeticum pree se ferunt.

### II. De professoribus

Professores in seminario constituuntur a praesule diocesano. In praesentiarum sunt omnes viri laurea doctoratus ss. theologiae ornati, probatae fidei, morum candore illustres, reiicientes modernistarum errores et amplectentes sacras disciplinas. Nec inter clericos in seminario degentes inveniuntur vestigia modernismi.

### III. De lectione librorum

Scripta modernismum redolentia nec leguntur, nec eduntur a clero in dioecesi Iauriensi. Adolescentes in seminario libros tantum legere possunt, qui illis a superioribus suis commendantur et traduntur. Ephemerides omnes, necnon diaria quaevis aut commentaria exulantur e manibus clericorum ad normam huius motu proprio. Verum non tam facile est auferre scripta nefaria, praeprimis moribus periculosa e manibus laicorum. Clerus curatus una tecum omnem dat operam, ut mala scripta reprimat et e manibus fidelium evellat. Utitur ad finem suum obtainendum ambone et simul divulgatione bonorum scriptorum.

### IV. De editione librorum

In dioecesi Iauriensi iam dudum existit institutum censorum. Censores eliguntur e clero dioecesano illi, qui aetate, eruditione, prudentia et pietate commendantur, qui que in doctrinis probandis improbandisque medio tutoque itinere ire possunt. Quae-libet scripta ex articulis constitutionis officiorum examini subiicienda, examinantur a supradictis censoribus, qui sententiam scripto dant. Et potestas edendi scriptum tunc tantum datur per verbum «imprimatur», quando sententia censoris ei faverit. Observatur quoque articulus XLII constitutionis officiorum quoad diaria et folia periodica, nam nullus e clero dioecesano moderanda haec suscipit sine ordinarii venia.

### V. De conventu sacerdotum

Sacerdotes singulorum decanatum inde ab antiquis temporibus conventum ordianarium habent quotannis bis, scilicet vernali et tempore autumnali. Post auditionem sacri et brevem exhortationem tractantur in hoc conventu quaestiones ad theologiam practicam, nempe ad curam animarum spectantes. Acta referuntur in protocollum per decanum seu vice-archidiaconum et notarium subsignatum. Protocollum quavis vice examinatur ab ordinario dioecesis. Conventus extraordinarii raro admodum, pro temporis necessitate celebrantur et in his discutiuntur quaestiones speciales ab ordinario propositae. Conventibus his extraordinariis ipse Ordinarius praesidere solet.

### VI. De consilio vigilantiae

Consilium vigilantiae iuxta mandatum encyclicae *Pascendi Dominici gregis* iam anno 1908 fuit constitutum. Verum cum usque huc in dioecesi Iaurensi nulla vestigia

inveniantur modernismi, conventus consilii aliquoties tantum celebrabantur.<sup>39</sup> Semper tamen parati sumus ad conventum celebrandum, prout levissima suspicio exorta fuerit, aliquem e clero maculatum esse labe modernismi vel solummodo pronum esse ad curiosius legenda scripta modernistarum.

Iusiurandum pianum in hoc motu proprio praescriptum omnes sacerdotes lubentissime dederunt.

### VIII. De sacra praedicatione

Argumentum praedicationis sunt symbolum Apostolorum, divinus decalogus, Ecclesiae praescripta, sacramenta, virtutes et vitia, cuiusque conditionis officia, no viissima hominis et cetera id genus aeterna vera. Proponuntur autem veritates pro plebis capacitatem secundum regulas sanas eloquentiae sacrae, quas clerici in curriculo studiorum theologicorum theoretice et practice addiscunt. Nec aliis committitur praedicandi munus, nisi, qui prius de vita et scientia et moribus probati fuerint.

Haec sunt, quae ad normam motu proprio Sacrorum Antistitum altiori examini medio iuramento reverenter et candide exhibere sustinui.

Iaurini, die 30 Octorbris anni 1911.

Leopoldus Árpád Váradyi<sup>40</sup> episcopus Iauriensis<sup>41</sup>

### 3.

Report of Ottokár Prohászka, diocesan bishop of Székesfehérvár, addressed to Pius X

Székesfehérvár, 24 December 1911<sup>42</sup>

Beatissime pater

Cum per litteras *Sacrorum Antistitum* episcopo impositum est, ut anno hoc exacto referat ad Sedem Apostolicam de his, quae in illis litteris decreta sunt: ideo offici mei esse duxi Sedem Apostolicam de dioecesis huius Albaregalensis statu informare.

Ad studia, quod attinet, seminarii clericalis nostri, certe ibi pro fundamento sacrorum studiorum philosophia scholastica habetur et philosophia Aquinatis a professore quodam probato traditur. Omnes disciplinae sacrae probatorum auctorum tramite traduntur. Textus paelectionum sunt selecti libri, qui in universa Hungaria plus minus iidem vident. Cordi mihi quoque est explorare, quinam sit professorum spiritus et magisterii ratio, necnon videre, ne a sacra doctrina aliquis deflectat. Ideo examinibus omnibus in persona adsum et ita non tantum theses absolutas, sed et rationem magisterii perspicio.

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<sup>39</sup> The words from *conventus* to *celebrantur* were underlined during the congregational procedure.

<sup>40</sup> The signature is that of the sender. In addition, there is an ink stamp with the bishop's coat of arms encircled by the following inscription: *Sigillum Leopoldi Árpád Váradyi Dei miseratione et apostolicae Sedis gratia episcopi Iauriensis*.

<sup>41</sup> On the top of the page there is a note from the Congregation: «Giavarino. Relazione sul Modernismo. 1546/11». The same note is at the back of the accompanying letter with the following date: «5 decembis 1911. Al vescovo. Alia Congregazione».

<sup>42</sup> ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Székesfehérvár 1, prot. 1800/1911, ff. n. n.

Relate ad moderatores et magistros seminarii omnem curam confero, ut illi se ligantur, qui et pii et docti sint. Certissime mihi constat, doctrinis, quae ab ecclesia damnantur, nullum infectum esse, nullumque laudare tendentias illas, quae nos a veritate abducere possent.

Relate ad opera, typis excudenda, facilis mihi vigilancia existit. Nullum enim scriptum a sacerdote editum est hoc anno. Quod autem ad alibi edita spectat, certe incumbo, ut mali libri non legantur. Hoc officium mihi difficile non evadit. Dioecesis enim haec, ut ita dicam, ruralis est, unicam enim urbem, quae etiam magis oeconomorum et agricolarum est, secus autem pagos universos, ubi populus non multum legit et ideo labe modernistarum non imbuitur. Idem etiam dicendum est de clero, qui aliquas bonas ephemerides quidem sibi comparat, ast libros vix emit, ingentiosioribusque studiis operam non dat. Nihilominus adest institutum censorum. Sunt in hac curia censores ex officio constituti, qui hoc anno aliquas tantum precandi formulas edendas examini subiecerunt.

Praeterito anno duo sacerdotes suscepserunt moderanda folia diaria; nunc autem procuravi, ut redactor responsabilis horum quoque diariorum aliquis bonus laicus constitueretur, ast sacerdotes illi duo censores sunt diarii, qui folia singula integre attente que perlegunt, quae ego quoque perlustro et siquid minus aptum invenio, illos moneo.

Congressus publicos cleris non habuit; nec tales hic unquam erant.

Obtemperavi illi quoque Sanctae Sedis pracepto, ut consilium, quod a vigilancia nominari placuit, insitueretur. Cum autem modernismi indicia in hac rurali Hungaria non inveniantur, argumentum et tractationem consilio huic doctrinae serpentes et tendentiae beneficiae praestare non poterant, et ideo libentius se ad socialia instituta recognoscenda et fovenda applicavi, et populi moribus et pii exercitiis, missionibus, processionibus invigilavit.

Omnia studia confero in id, ut in seminario dignus educetur cleris iunior, qui tamen de anno in annum minoris est intellectualis valoris, etsi secus bene morigeratus. Superbum et contumacem animum, quem Deus odit, certe non pree se fert. Optimum autem habet moderatorem spiritualem, qui acute introspicit, quinam sit singulorum animus, habeantne singuli animum ad parendum docilem et non alte sentientem.

Denique notificum, iuramentum a Sancta Sede praescriptum omnes sacerdotes dioecesis praestitisse. Singuli in antecessum acceperunt fornnilas tum professionis fidei, tum edendi iuramenti, ut eas accurate perlegere, atque prae noscere possent. Praestito autem iuramento omnes nomen subsignarunt fornnilis, quae in curia asservantur episcopali.

In devotissimo sanctissimorum pedum osculo sum humillimus et obedientissimus servus

Ottocarus Prohászka episcopus Albaregalensis

Albae Regiae, die 24 decembris 1911

Albea Reale (Ungheria). Relazione sul modernismo 1800/11<sup>43</sup>

die 30 Decembris 1911, detur attestatio relationis de modernismo<sup>44</sup>

alkia Congregatione<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> On the back of the document, in a different hand-writing.

<sup>44</sup> Another hand-writing.

<sup>45</sup> Another different handwriting.

[enclosed draft of the reply]

1800/11

Reverendissimo padre domino Ottocaro Prohászka  
episcopo Albaregalensia  
Székes-Fehérvár (Ungheria)  
Romae, die 3 Ianuarii 1912

Illustrissime ac reverendissime domine

Huic adnexam ad te remitto consuetam attestationem de exhibita relatione iuxta  
praescriptum constitutionis *Pascendi*.

Quae in eadem relatione asseris attente perlegi, eaque omnia non sine animi mei  
satisfactione revera didici.

Dum itaque felicia omnia tibi a Domino libertissime adprecor, impenso animi  
obsequio me profiteor amplitudinis tuae...

#### 4.

Report of Gyula Galtfelder, diocesan bishop of Csanád, addressed to Pius X

Temesvár, 23 February 1912<sup>46</sup>

Ab Ordinariatu Csanadiensi

Nr. 1304/1912

Beatissime pater!

Ima in humilitate appareo ante thronum Sanctitatis Vestrae rationem redditurus  
de iis, quae secundum mentem encyclicarum litterarum *Pascendi* in hacce dioecesi  
Csanádiensi regimini meo episcopali subiecta acta et observata sunt, satisfacere cu-  
piens mandato earundem encyclicarum, vi cuius de executione praescriptarum earum  
quolibet triennio relatio ab ordinariis ad Apostolicam Sedem est reddenda.

Obsecundans mandato Sanctitatis Vestrae statim post publicatas encyclicas litte-  
ras *Pascendi* consilium Vigilantiae constitutum fuit, cuius membra partim e clero sa-  
eculari, partim e gremio familiarum religiosarum electi per totam Dioecesim dispersi  
obligationi sibi duxerunt vigili oculo invisere, si fors aliquid sive inter clericos sive  
inter laicos vel in scholis molitum fuerit, quod speciem modernismi vel cuiuslibet ha-  
eresis prae se ferret. Attamen magna animi consolatione referre teneor consilium nec  
in imo casu clericum vel fidelem huius dioecesis modernismi arguere debuisse, nec in  
publicis praélectionibus vel congressibus tale quid expertum fuisse, quod periculum  
contaminationis haeresione minaretur.

Quod clerum dioecesanum attinet, omnes sine dubitatione et filiali cum devotio-  
ne decisionibus Apostolicae Sedis acquiescerunt et ad sensum encyclicarum littera-  
rum *Sacrorum Antistitium* ad iuramentum contra modernismi errorem deponendum  
provocati promptissime obedierunt. Unicus inveniebatur iunior sacerdos Andreas

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<sup>46</sup> ASV, *Congr. Concist., Positiones*, Csanad 1, prot. 391/1912, ff. n. n. Certificate (draft) of the Consistorial Congregation about the report's presentation.

Ekert nomine, cooperator in Resciabánya,<sup>47</sup> qui iuramentum denegabat declaratio-  
nibus Apostolicae Sedis libertatem conscientiae laesam esse praetendens. Attamen  
citissime elucebat infelicem hominem non modernistam, sed carnali concupiscentia  
praereptum esse, ducere enim voluit pueram, cum qua turpe habuit commercium, et  
propter quam deinde et ecclesiam et sacerdotium infideliter reliquit ad sectam Cal-  
vinistarum deflectandam. Ea quae deinde in ephemeridibus et pagellis modernistam  
se esse iactitans conscripsit, nullum influxum exercuerunt, cum non modernisticos  
errores sparserit, sed diu refutatas historicas fabulas et absurdas dogmatum exposi-  
tiones recoxerit, qua agendi ratione magis risum, quam scandalum excitavit. Hodie  
mentio eiusdem iam nullibi fit.

In educatione cleri iunioris similiter omnia servata sunt, quae per oracula Pontifi-  
cia sanciebantur. Libri nonnisi probatorum auctorum, quot ecclesiasticam censuram  
subierunt, admittebantur. Professores ss. theologiae theses tradandas ante inchoatio-  
nem praelectionum properabant, quae a modernismi errore et novitatis studio immu-  
nes inveniebantur. Per decursum vero anni plures visitans seminarium et examinibus  
quoque assistens immediate reperiebam ab educatione et instructione iunioris cleri  
omnia abfuisse, quae menti Ecclesiae adversantur.

Ephemerides, qui catholico nomine gloriantur, per consilium vigilantiae similiter  
criticae subiciebantur, attamen necesse non erat eosdem modernismi arguere, imo e  
contra omnia tentarunt, quibus rei catholicae prodesse valerent.

Similiter magno animi gaudio refero non fuisse auditum inter laicos haeresis huius  
visus serpere, nec conventus in favorem huius rebellionis fuisse celebratos. Ii qui  
sectis heterodoxis specialiter protestanticis adscripti sunt, sicut antea nunc quoque  
aversant Ecclesiam, sed temporum horum modernos errores haud propagant.

Omnibus perspectis tuto asserere licet dioecesim hanc Csanádiensem, sicut per  
saecula filialiter adhaerebat Apostolicae Sedi et orthodoxam fidem strenue defende-  
bat, hodie quoque abhorrente modernos errores, Sanctitatique Vestrae semper obedire  
et clerum dioecesanum cum episcopo suo in orthodoxa fide vivere et mori velle.

In reliquo altis gratiis et favoribus paternis impensisime devotus in oscula sancto-  
rum pedum et filiali veneratione perenno

Sanctitatis Vestrae obsequentissimus in Christo filius Iulius Glattfelder<sup>48</sup> episcopus  
Csanádiensis

Temesvár<sup>49</sup> (Hungaria), die 23 februrarii 1912.

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<sup>47</sup> Now in Romania (Reșița).

<sup>48</sup> The letter is signed by the sender. In addition there is an ink stamp with the bishop's  
coat of arms encircled with the following inscription: *Sigillum Iulii Glattfelder de Mór episcopi  
Csanádiensi*.

<sup>49</sup> In Hungary at the time, now in Romania (Timișoara).