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Pius X, Merry del Val and the Cases of Alfred Loisy and George Tyrrell Institutional Aspects of Antimodernism

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Abstract During the modernist crisis the various institutions and persons within the Roman Curia acted in a complex manner. The article explores the different agencies and ways of repression by reconstructing the Roman treatment of the 'cases' of the French theologian Alfred Loisy (1857-1940) and the Anglo-Irish Ex-Jesuit George Tyrrell (1861-1909).

Summary 1 Pius X, the Roman Curia and Alfred Loisy. – 2 Merry del Val and the Case of George Tyrrell.

Keywords Modernism. Pius X. Loisy. Tyrrell. Merry del Val.

The cases of the two 'arch-heretics' of 'modernism', Alfred Loisy and George Tyrrell, were handled very differently by the Roman Magisterium.¹ The case of Loisy enjoyed not only the personal interest of Pius X, but also a full and complex treatment by the relevant Roman Congregations of the Index and the Inquisition leading to the Syllabus of 1907 and the subsequent extended discussion in the Holy Office concerning Loisy's excommunication in 1908. The case of Tyrrell, on the other hand, never came up before the two congregations, but was very close to the heart of Rafael Merry del Val, the Cardinal Secretary of State. This article gives a short comparative presentation of the two cases, in order to explore the institutional complexity of Roman antimodernism.

1 For the making of the modern Roman Magisterium see the seminal study of Unterburger *Vom Lehramt der Theologen zum Lehramt der Päpste?* Cf. also Wolf Hubert, "Wahr ist, was gelehrt wird' statt 'Gelehrt ist, was wahr ist'"; Schmeller, Ebner, Hoppe, *Neutestamentliche Ämtermodelle im Kontext*, 236-59.

1 Pius X, the Roman Curia and Alfred Loisy

'Modernism' is certainly the 'big topic' of the Pontificate of Pius X,² having attracted a considerable international scholarship and even today determining the judgment on Papa Sarto.³ The historiography on 'modernism', which had been very rich since the 1960s⁴ and had come to a certain conclusion and synthesis in the 1990s,⁵ has since been stimulated afresh by the opening of the *Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede* (ACDF)⁶ and by other newly accessible archival material, especially from the 'Segretariola' of Pius X in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* (ASV).⁷ The centenary of the encyclical *Pascendi* in 2007 was the occasion for conferences that led to an aggregation of the new research⁸ and also to some monographic syntheses of the topic.⁹ On the whole, the new archival research has contributed to a more differentiated picture of the workings of the Roman Curia¹⁰ under Pius X and to a more specific evaluation of the different theological orientations which were present within the Curia at the times of antimodernism.

Concerning Pius X himself, it has become clearer that as a part of his immense personal workload, which is mirrored in the mass of his autographical *minutae* in the ASV, the topics of *razionalismo* and *riformismo religioso* have played an important role for him right from the beginning of his Pontificate and not only from 1905/1906 onwards.¹¹ In 1905/1906

2 For the making of the modern Roman Magisterium see the seminal study of Unterburger, *Vom Lehramt*. Cf. also Wolf, "Wahr ist, was gelehrt wird".

3 Cf. Dieguez, Pagano, *Le carte del 'Sacro Tavolo'*, XXIV: Il modernismo è "senza dubbio il 'grande tema' del pontificato piano, quello più indagato, il cui interesse attrae ancora in misura notevole l'attenzione degli storici, sia italiani che stranieri [...] e la cui analisi ha determinato e ancora determina il giudizio che sovente si pronuncia su Pio X".

4 Cf. for instance Poulat, *Histoire, dogme et critique*; Bedeschi, *La Curia Romana*.

5 Botti, Cerrato, *Il Modernismo*; Jodock, *Catholicism*; Wolf, *Antimodernismus und Modernismus*.

6 Helpful tools for research in the ACDF are the volumes „Grundlagenforschung“, ed. by Wolf Hubert in his series "Römische Inquisition und Indexkongregation". Cf. for instance Wolf, Schwedt, Lagatz, *Prosopographie*.

7 Dieguez, *L'Archivio particolare di Pio X*; Dieguez, *Carte Pio X*; Dieguez, "La nuova documentazione", 169-85; Pagano, "Inediti".

8 Wolf, Schepers, "In wilder zügelloser Jagd"; Nicoletti, Weiss, *Il modernismo*.

9 Arnold, *Kleine Geschichte*; Verucci, *L'eresia*; Arnold, Vian, *La condanna*; Vian, *Il modernismo. La Chiesa*. Cf. Vian, "Il modernismo. Un itinerario".

10 On the Roman Curia in general cf. Jankowiak, *La Curie*.

11 This was the opinion of Lorenzo Bedeschi; cf. Bedeschi, *La Curia Romana*, 46-9; Bedeschi, *L'Antimodernismo in Italia*, 20-1.

the works of Paul Viollet, Lucien Laberthonnière and Antonio Fogazzaro were put on the Index, and the Pope himself, in the Encyclical *Pieni l'animo* (July 1906), warned against the infection of the younger clergy by the “atmosfera di veleno” in the secular society.¹² Already in his inaugural Encyclical *E supremi apostolatus* of August 1903 he had addressed the danger of rationalism and semi-rationalism amongst the clergy.¹³ As early as November 1903 the Pope made a momentous decision: the case of Alfred Loisy, which had been dealt with very thoroughly but somewhat dilatorily in the Congregation of Index since 1901, was transferred to the Holy Office, where a condemnation was reached quickly in December 1903.¹⁴ It is clear that Pius X reacted to the wishes of a great part of the French episcopate, especially of Cardinal Richard of Paris, who had handed over a Syllabus of the errors of Loisy to the new Pope in his audience of November 1st 1903. In December 1903 Richard confirmed his fears concerning Loisy in a long letter to the Pope. Parallel to this, Bishop Charles-François Turinaz of Nancy wrote to Cardinal Merry del Val and drew up a far more complex scenario of danger (similar to that which would prevail later in the “Sodalitium pianum”).¹⁵ This scenario included not only theologians like Alfred Loisy and Albert Houtin, but also politicians such as Romolo Murri and Marc Sangnier:

Les Démocrates chrétiens sont une véritable secte, aussi déloyale que celle des Jansénistes, et qui conteste pas seulement quelques dogmes chrétiens, mais qui va à la révolution absolue dans la société et dans l'Eglise, à la négation du surnaturel dans le christianisme et, par conséquent, à une complète apostasie.¹⁶

The personal involvement of Pius X in the case of Alfred Loisy and the (failed) submission of Loisy in 1904 is well known.¹⁷ But at least in this phase of the modernist crisis the Pope left the task of fighting the *reli-*

12 Cf. Vian, *Il modernismo. La Chiesa*, 59.

13 Vian, *Il modernismo. La Chiesa*, 53: “Vigileremo con diligenza somma affinché i membri del clero non siano tratti alle insidie di una certa scienza nuova e fallace, che in Cristo non s'insapora, e che con larvati e subdoli argomenti si studia di dar passo agli errori del razionalismo e semirazionalismo”.

14 For the details cf. Arnold, Losito, *La censure*.

15 Cf. Pagano, “Il fondo”; Weiss, *Modernismus*, 133-203; Unterburger, “Für Familie, Staat und Religion”.

16 Turinaz to Merry del Val, December 10, 1903; Città del Vaticano, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (= ASV) *Segr. Stato*, Anno 1908 rubr. 82, fasc. 8, fol. 124r-125v. Cf. Arnold, Losito, *La censure*, 111 ss.

17 Cf. Poulat, *Alfred Loisy*, 118-27; Guasco, *Alfred Loisy*, 95-117.

gious rationalism mainly to the competent Roman Congregations, namely the Holy Office, and to the Congregation of Index. However, it seems as if the laborious process of the drafting of *Lamentabili* in the Holy Office exhausted the patience of Pius X and his Cardinal Secretary Merry del Val. Especially, since additional pressure by the latter was needed to bring about the excommunication of Loisy in 1908.¹⁸ A certain impatience of the Pope with the slow dealings of the Holy Office and the Congregation of the Index can also be detected in other cases: In 1906 Pius X wanted to put Fogazzaro's *Santo* on the Index without further discussion. The secretary of the Congregation of the Index, the German Dominican Thomas Esser, had to convince him to follow the *règlement* of Benedict XIV.¹⁹ In 1913 the Pope wanted to simplify the latter *règlement* fundamentally, but met the opposition of Benedetto Cardinal Lorenzelli, a notable *Leontreiziste*, who insisted vehemently on the old mode of procedure.²⁰ Before this background it becomes understandable why Cardinal De Lai's Consistorial Congregation started to 'assist the Index with the prohibition of books for the use in seminaries.'²¹ When the majority of Consultors and Cardinals in the Index voted for the censuring of Charles Maurras "Action française" in 1913, strongly antimodernist consultors and members like Pie de Langogne, van Rossum and Joseph Lemius had to appeal directly to the Pope in order to make him suspend the publication of the condemnation.²²

If *Lamentabili* had not quite come out as intended by Pius X, the encyclical *Pascendi* (September 8, 1907) certainly did.²³ *Pascendi* was directly inspired by an antimodernist theologian. The fundamental idea of not addressing this or that wrong proposition but of characterising synthetically the habitus of the modernist heresy, which presented a new quality in the history of heresy, came early in 1907 from the Bavarian Dominican Albert Maria Weiß.²⁴ His Latin letter had been handed on to Pius X by Giuseppe Toniolo. In his famous discourse before the Cardinals in the Consistory of April 17, 1907, which Lorenzo Bedeschi has called a "first theoretical

18 See Arnold, Losito, "*Lamentabili sane exitu*", 75-89.

19 Città del Vaticano, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (=ACDF) *Indice Diarii 1894-1907* (I.22), 215-19. Cf. Semeraro, "Il 'caso' Fogazzaro; Tolomio, *DimENTICARE*, 107-17, 219-27.

20 Verucci, *L'eresia*, 59ss.

21 On De Lai: Vian, *La riforma*.

22 Prévotat, *Les catholiques*, 189 ss; cf. Arnold, "Der Antimodernismus".

23 Cf. for a detailed analysis: Arnold, "Antimodernismo".

24 On him see Weiss, *Modernismus*, 133-203.

outline of antimodernism",²⁵ the Pope used phrases directly from the letter of Weiß.²⁶

The process of the making of *Pascendi* in 1907 can be reconstructed thus: Albert Maria Weiß provided the basic idea for *Pascendi*. Cardinal Vives y Tutò OFMCap, member of the inner circle around Pius X, then sketched the disciplinary part of the encyclical. But Weiß's exposé was too dry and scholastic as to function as a text for an encyclical. It has long been known that finally, with the help of Merry del Val, Joseph Lemius OMI²⁷ was found as draftsman for the doctrinal part of the encyclical,²⁸ and the Roman material accessible today shows that he wrote the moral part and most of the introduction and the end as well. Lemius directed *Pascendi* in the first place against Loisy: his personal interest was to explicitly show the philosophical implications and preconditions of Loisy's exegesis. Apart from Loisy's writings, he used primarily Laberthonnière and the Italian *Quello che vogliamo*.²⁹

Although the main authors of the Encyclical were Lemius, who had Weiß's material at his disposal, as well as Toniolo, Vives y Tutò and Merry del Val (who was involved in the whole process of the final redaction and translation which lay in the hands of Vincenzo Sardi), it is clear that Pius X oversaw the entire project personally. In the heresy which was now called "modernism" he perceived a diabolical danger for the faith of the simple Catholics and a conspiracy within the Church against the Church.³⁰

Pascendi, the multi-tool against all modern heresies (in theory and practice), and not *Lamentabili*, was the kind of document which Pius X,

25 Bedeschi, *L'Antimodernismo in Italia*, 36. Cf. Daly, *Transcendence*, 191.

26 Cf. Arnold, "Antimodernismo", 350-1.

27 On him cf. Boudens, "Le P. Joseph Lemius", 61-76; Winter, "Joseph Lemius".

28 Rivière, "Qui rédigea".

29 *A Pio X. Quello che vogliamo. Lettera aperta di un gruppo di sacerdoti*, Roma 1907. Cf. Bedeschi, *Interpretazioni*, 150-70.

30 This becomes clear from the *minuta autografa* di San Pio X, which was used by Vincenzo Sardi for the redaction of *Pascendi*: "L'implacabile nemico del genere umano non dorme mai; secondo le vicende dei tempi, ed il prodursi degli avvenimenti cambia tatticamente linguaggio, ma sempre pronto alla lotta, anzi quanto più l'errore inseguito dalla verità è condannato a nascondersi e tanto più è da temersi per le pericolose imboscate dietro le quali non tarderà molto a ristabilire le sue batterie sempre micidiali. - Perciò non potremo mai abbandonarci ad una falsa sicurezza senza incorrere in quegli anatemi lanciati contro i falsi profeti che annunciavano la pace dove la pace non era, e cantavano la vittoria quando tutto ci chiamava al combattimento. E se questo è necessario in tutti i tempi, lo è specialmente in questo, in cui la grande cospirazione ordita direttamente contro nostro Signor Gesù Cristo, contro la sua religione soprannaturale e rivelata, contro la sua Chiesa e il suo Sacerdozio, è arrivata al punto che quasi suscitava nello spirito dei popoli i falsi maestri che dicono bene al male e male al bene, *vocantes tenebras lucem et lucem tenebras*, seducendo molte intelligenze che si piegano ad ogni vento di dottrina. - Per questo crediamo sia venuto *il tempus loquendi*." ASV Ep. ad Princ., Positiones et minutae 157, fasc. 35A.

“the conservative reformer” (Roger Aubert),³¹ and his circle (Vives y Tutò, Merry del Val, De Lai) needed. Their concept of a conservative modernization of the Church,³² which implied a centralized and effective control of dissidents, was not always compatible with the slow workings of the Congregations of Index and Inquisition.

On the other hand, the recent studies of Judith Schepers³³ have shown that three years later, in 1910, Pope Pius X confirmed the competence of the Holy Office (and not of De Lai's *Concistoriale*) for the modernist heresy and that he personally entrusted the *Sant'Uffizio* with a new offensive against modernism. This included, among other things, the drafting of the antimodernist oath, which he then published in his *Motu proprio* “*Sacrorum Antistitum*”. The oath was mainly written by Louis Billot and Willem van Rossum as consultors of the Holy Office. When it came to a later discussion on the doctrinal character of the oath and the consequences for dissidents (simple suspension or excommunication), they attributed to it the character of a *professio fidei*. The Cardinals of the Holy Office, however, overruled this interpretation and declared the oath a merely disciplinary declaration of adherence to the magisterium of the Church. This rather momentous decision was also ratified by Pius X.

2 Merry del Val and the Case of George Tyrrell

But now to the case of George Tyrrell, which provides interesting material for comparison. At least in his latter stages, the case of Tyrrell was dealt with almost exclusively by Cardinal Merry del Val (in close coordination with Pius X). The archives of the *Segreteria di Stato* give some new insight into this ‘treatment’ and will be explored here for the first time in this respect. The attractiveness of the relatively new material from the Holy Office should not make us forget the wealth of theologically relevant material in the Vatican Secret Archives and keep in mind that only a wide perspective on all relevant Roman Congregations can fully explain the curial antimodernism.

The ASV *Segreteria di Stato* contains a huge *fascicolo* on Tyrrell, Henri Bremond and Maude Petre under the year of 1910. Curiously enough, but nevertheless very logically, the *fascicolo* has not been filed under *rubrica* 82, where most of the antimodernist material can be found,³⁴ but under

31 Cf. Jedin, *Storia della Chiesa*, 457-577. Cf. anche La Bella, *Pio X*.

32 Cf. the seminal study of Fantappiè, *Chiesa Romana*, and the critique by Vian, “Pio X grande riformatore?”, 167-89.

33 Schepers, “Tra fede e obbedienza”; *Streitbare Brüder*.

34 ASV Segr. di Stato 1908 rubr. 82. Cf. for instance Vian, “La Pascendi”; Losito, “La preparazione”.

rubrica 9, which contains material concerning the religious orders.³⁵ In fact both Tyrrell and Bremond had been Jesuits, and Maude Petre had been the English/Irish Provincial of the “Daughters of Mary”. I first discovered the material in 1995 and had it copied then, but David Schultenover, the great Tyrrell-expert,³⁶ told me later that he had found the *fascicolo* even before. But neither he nor I have used the material since then. One reason why the search for material concerning Tyrrell in the Vatican Archives had not been so thorough before, is the tale that after the death of Merry del Val’s former secretary, the famous Cardinal Nicola Canali,³⁷ all the archival material collected by Canali for the beatification of Merry del Val had been burned in an incendiary in his apartment. Especially Robrecht Boudens³⁸ and Gary Lease³⁹ have highlighted this fact in their treatment of the case of Tyrrell. Now it may well be possible that Canali, who had already pushed the beatification of Pius X in order to make free the way for his hero Merry del Val,⁴⁰ had collected a lot of material. However, Merry’s actions against Tyrrell were not a private enterprise, but part of his job as Secretary of State. Therefore most of the relevant documentation, if not all, should be conserved in the Vatican Archives. Gary Lease has nevertheless substantially advanced our knowledge of the case of Tyrrell by exploring the rich material in the archives of the Archdiocese of Southwark in which Tyrrell lived before his death. Boudens and Lease have highlighted the role of Merry del Val, but we will see more in detail.⁴¹

The ‘case’ of George Tyrrell never came directly before the Holy Office or the Congregation of the Index.⁴² This had to do with his double quality as Jesuit and Anglo-Irishman. Already in 1901, some people found the way Tyrrell was dealt with exemplary: such as the Franciscan David Fleming, secretary of the Biblical Commission and consultor of the Holy Office. When Loisy was denounced to the Holy Office in 1901 Fleming wanted to avoid a dogmatic discussion at any costs. In his *parere* he recommended to act against Loisy *personally*, as it had been done in England with Tyrrell.⁴³ What

35 ASV, Segr. Stato, 1910, rubr. 9, fasc. 3.

36 Schultenover, *George Tyrrell*.

37 Cf. Anger, “Canali”.

38 Boudens, “George Tyrrell. Last Illness”, 341.

39 Lease, “Merry del Val”.

40 This was at least the claim of the (in-)famous Roger Peyrefitte; on him: Berger, “Peyrefitte”.

41 In this context it is a pity that the dissertation of Albert Flores on Merry del Val at the Gregorian is still inaccessible; cf. Flores, “Vigilance Over Rectors”.

42 During the preparation of *Lamentabili* Tyrrell is envisaged only indirectly via a citation of him by Mignot: Arnold, Losito, “*Lamentabili sane exitu*”, 36, 243.

43 Arnold, Losito, *La censure*, 23-4.

did he mean by this?⁴⁴ The Jesuit George Tyrrell first got into trouble in 1899 by his article *A perverted devotion* which criticised the grim eschatology of some ecclesiastical authors. Tyrrell was denounced to the General of the order, Fr. Luis Martin, and amongst the denouncers was Rafael Merry del Val, President of the Pontifical Diplomatic Academy. Merry del Val had been educated in England and remained interested in all English affairs – famously as an opponent of the validity of the Anglican Orders, when serving as secretary of the Commission on this problem which Leo XIII had instituted.⁴⁵ After an internal censuring in the society, Tyrrell was silenced and had to write pseudonymously or for private circulation only. Furthermore, Merry del Val, with the alleged consensus of Leo XIII, inspired the English Primate Cardinal Vaughan to issue a Joint Pastoral Letter of the English bishops against liberalism which was also directed against Tyrrell. David Schultenover has shown that this Pastoral had been written in Rome, organised by Merry del Val, and was then published in England.⁴⁶

Although Merry del Val had functions in the Curia of Leo XIII, the activities mentioned above bear traces of the private crusade of someone who was especially interested in the affairs of the country in which he had grown up and where he had studied theology. As Secretary of State of Pius X, Merry del Val had ample opportunity to indulge in his English interests more officially. Tyrrell's case came up before him after the Jesuit had been expelled from his order. Cardinal Mercier of Mechelen was willing to incardinate Tyrrell in his diocese and wrote to Merry del Val on June 11, 1906 in order to speed up Tyrrell's process of secularisation:

J'obéis à un sentiment de charité en appelant la bienveillante attention de V.E. sur le pauvre George Tyrrell qui récemment a quitté la Compagnie de Jésus. Je suis en possession d'une correspondance intime, secrète, échangée entre l'ex-jésuite et une personne à laquelle il ouvre son âme. Il souffre beaucoup de son isolement moral; il est au fond très pieux et la privation du bonheur de célébrer la Messe le peint vivement.⁴⁷

The charitable tone of Mercier was missing in the covering letter with which Merry sent it on to Cardinal Ferrata, Prefect of the Congregation for the Religious: Merry had presented the matter to Pope Pius X, and the ensuing decision to sharpen the conditions under which Tyrrell's suspension

44 For the following cf. the excellent study of Schultenover, *A View*.

45 Rambaldi, *Ordinazioni*.

46 Schultenover, *A view*, 139-58.

47 ASV, Segr. Stato, 1910, rubr. 9, fasc. 3, fol. 7-8. For the context cf. Kelly, "Medievalism".

should be lifted, paved the way to Tyrrell's eventual excommunication.⁴⁸ Merry wrote to Ferrata:

riguardo alla condizione che egli [l'arcivescovo di Malines] sembra volerli imporre di nulla pubblicare senza il consenso di persona competente designata dall'Arcivescovo, sarebbe opportuno far conoscere a Mgr Mercier che tale condizione potrebbe essere insufficiente, perché il Tyrrell è pericoloso non solo per ciò che può pubblicare a stampa ma eziandio per le corrispondenze epistolari che ama di avere specialmente con giovani studenti.⁴⁹

Clearly, Pius X and Merry were of one mind concerning Tyrrell. Ferrata executed their will, and Mercier was informed that Tyrrell's suspension would be lifted

on the condition that the same Tyrrell pledge himself formally neither to publish anything on religious questions nor to hold epistolary correspondence without the previous approbation of a competent person approved by Your Eminence.⁵⁰

These harsh conditions embittered Tyrrell further and led to a radicalization of his position. Tyrrell attributed the imposition of these conditions to Cardinal Ferrata, and therefore wrote a passionate letter to Merry del Val, in order to appeal to the Pope directly⁵¹ – a vain undertaking as we now know. Very coolly, Merry passed the letter on to Ferrata,⁵² and Tyrrell remained without reply and also suspended.

Merry del Val came back into the story of Tyrrell in October 1907. On the 12th of October Archbishop Amigo of Southwark, in whose diocese Tyrrell resided, wrote to Cardinal Gotti of the *Propaganda Fide* in order to inform him of Tyrrell's articles against *Lamentabili* and *Pascendi*. Amigo expounded:

un grand nombre de Catholiques sont très scandalisés, et peut-être ils le seront encore plus s'ils sauraient qu'il recoit la sainte Communion chaque matin dans mon diocèse. Comme le cas, Tyrrell est bien connu

48 Cf. Boudens, "George Tyrrell and Cardinal Mercier".

49 Merry to Ferrata, 14th June 1906; ASV, Segr. Stato, 1910, rubr. 9, fasc. 3, fol. 6 (draft).

50 Translation of Boudens, "George Tyrrell and Cardinal Mercier", 343. The letter of Ferrata (of 18 June 1906) is published in Petre, *Autobiography and Life*, 504.

51 ASV, Segr. Stato, 1910, rubr. 9, fasc. 3, fol. 11-12. The letter is published in Petre, *Autobiography and Life*, 2: 505-6.

52 ASV, Segr. Stato, 1910, rubr. 9, fasc. 3, fol. 13.

à Rome, et la question est 'sub judice', je ne crois pas que je dois agir sans consulter le saint Siège.⁵³

The letter was duly passed on to the Pope and only five days after he had written to Gotti, Amigo was informed by Merry del Val of the following decision:

Sua Santità, avendo portato la Sua attenzione su quanto la S.V. esponeva, mi ha dato incarico di significarle essere Suo volere che Ella intimi all'anzidetto Signor Tyrrel [sic] *la privazione della partecipazione dei sacramenti*, e gli partecipi in pari tempo che il suo caso è *riservato alla Santa Sede*.⁵⁴

Thus, Tyrrell was excommunicated without much ado and remained so until his death. In the case of Loisy, it had taken four years, between 1904 and 1908, before his excommunication had been decreed by the Holy Office.

Now, as Gary Lease has pointed out,⁵⁵ a special relationship between Merry del Val and Amigo developed, and the direct exchange between Merry and the archbishop of Southwark exceeded the normal ways of communication between the Secretary of State and a Bishop. It seems that Merry dictated the letters to a typewriter in English (if he did not type them himself), and in any case he corrected them in his own hand. Amigo interested Merry for the case of Maude Petre, and Merry's hand was behind the diocesan excommunication of Tyrrell's friend. He also kept him informed about Tyrrell's illness and death, even telegraphically, and finally the documentation explodes in quantity concerning the suspension of Henry Bremond who had officiated at Tyrrell's burial. In fact, the entire documentation of Bishop Amigo concerning Tyrrell's death, letters and telegrams by the Prior of Storrington, letters from Maude Petre and Henri Bremond, have found their way into the Vatican Archives.⁵⁶ Merry was in full control, and any new reconstruction of the battle which was waged on and after the deathbed of Tyrrell should take this into account. It is impossible to present the wealth of material here and so I will end with two points, in which I try to conceptualize the findings concerning Tyrrell.

A first point: Merry did not act without the consent of Pius X - this fits nicely into the picture drawn by Giovanni Vian, Alejandro Dieguez and Albert Flores, who have shown how much Pius X was in control and how loyally Merry del Val behaved. Nevertheless, the pope decided mainly on

53 ASV, Segr. Stato, 1910, rubr. 9, fasc. 3, fol. 15.

54 ASV, Segr. Stato, 1910, rubr. 9, fasc. 3, fol. 17 (draft).

55 Lease G., "Merry del Val", 146.

56 ASV, Segr. Stato, 1910, rubr. 9, fasc. 3, fol. 30-123. For a short summary of the related material in the Southwark Diocesan Archives cf. Lease G., "Merry del Val", 155 fn. 94.

what was presented to him, and Merry had a very special interest and a very thorough engagement in the case of Tyrrell, especially in its later stages. On the other hand, Merry had cultivated special links with Britain before: with Cardinal Vaughan and with Cardinal Bourne.⁵⁷

A second and more comprehensive finding: I think it would not be sufficient to describe the way Tyrrell was dealt with as purely *disciplinary* in comparison to the *doctrinal* treatment of Loisy's case. There were very clear theological and political choices behind the measures taken by Pius X and Merry del Val against Tyrrell. It would be more precise to characterise this way of handling as *executive*. The doctrine of the papal primacy enables the Roman pontiff to act directly and freely at any time, even without the help and advice of his own Congregations in the Roman Curia. Thus, the increased importance of the Secretary of State and of the *secretario-la* of the Pope under Pius X is only logical and an implementation of the Pope's own wish for swift and effective action without long deliberations. This way of doing things executively, and sometimes para-canonically, has remained popular in the Roman Curia as we can see by the recent depositions of bishops.⁵⁸

In comparison to this peculiar way of 'modernization' and centralisation, the dealings of the Index and the Inquisition were comparatively old-fashioned because they involved remainders of the collegial way of church governing, both on the level of the consultors and the members of the Congregations. The re-dimensioning of the two doctrinal Congregations of the Index and the Inquisition under Pius X seems clear to me. It happened in favour of the Secretary of State and, even more effectively, in the *Consistoriale* under De Lai (whose importance has been demonstrated by Giovanni Vian). Ironically, Merry del Val became Secretary of the Holy Office in 1914, which is perhaps one of the most decisive turning points in the curial history of the 20th century. The Holy Office, which had been marginalised under Pius X, was now turned into a repressive powerhouse and remained so for a very long time. Merry del Val achieved this with the help of collaborators like Nicola Canali. Centralisation took place here as well: the Congregation of the Index was re-absorbed into the Holy Office in 1917. Thus, antimodernism first marginalised and then strengthened the power of the Holy Office.

57 Cf. Schultenover, *A View*.

58 Cf. Lüdecke, "Entfernung von Diözesanbischöfen".

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