

Joseph Sauer — Modernist?

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I

The term "modernist" is not a happy one. Born of embittered polemic and carrying with it even now the weight of decades of controversy, the word "modernist" has taken on many, perhaps irreconcilable connotations. It can mean many things; it can mean nothing. It would not be unfair to say that neither during the pontificate of Pius X nor since has consensus been reached on a definition to be given to the term. But if this is the case, how does one recognize a "modernist" when one meets one?

Despite the problematic nature of the word "modernist" there is nonetheless one legitimate and, it seems to me, quite indisputable context within which the word can rightly be used. Such a context is found if one prescind from the abstract, indeed artificial definition of the word given in such papal texts as the encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis*¹ of 1907 and restricts its use instead to a definite historical phenomenon: to that relatively small group of Roman Catholic theologians at the turn of the century who found themselves caught up in an international movement whose chief theorists were Alfred Loisy² and George Tyrrell³ and whose organizer and manager was Friedrich von Hügel⁴. Those men who thus involved themselves⁵ in

¹ ASS 40 (1907), 593–650. For a recent study of *Pascendi* see Peter Neuner, „Modernismus und kirchliches Lehramt. Bedeutung und Folgen der Modernismus-Enzyklika Pius' X.“, *Stimmen der Zeit* 190 (1972), 249–62.

² Alfred Loisy (1857–1940), French biblical scholar, excommunicated in 1908: *LThK*² VI, 1134; *RGG*³ IV, 445–6; and especially *Alfred Loisy. Sa vie – son oeuvre par Albert Houtin et Félix Sartiaux*. Manuscrit annoté et publié avec une Bibliographie Loisy et un Index Bio-Bibliographie par Emile Poulat (Paris, 1960). All further references to Poulat, unless otherwise stated, are to this work.

³ George Tyrrell (1861–1909), British Jesuit, excommunicated in 1907: *LThK*² X, 426–7; *RGG*³ VI, 1098; and M. D. Petre *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell* (two volumes: London, 1912).

⁴ Baron Friedrich von Hügel (1852–1925), German-Scotch philosopher of religion: *LThK*² V, 507; *RGG*³ III, 466–7; Michael de la Bédoyère, *The Life of Baron von Hügel* (London, 1951) and, for a detailed discussion of von Hügel's modernist activities, Lawrence Barmann's *Friedrich von Hügel and the Modernist Crisis in England* (Cambridge, 1972). Although Barmann's work is useful in supplying many details concerning the Baron's modernist period, it is not without its major defects: see the present writer's „The Enigma of Friedrich von Hügel – As Modernist“, *The Downside Review* 91 (1973), 13–34, 123–40, 204–30.

⁵ The element of deliberate choice should be stressed here. There were those, after all, who *chose not* to become involved in the modernist movement even though they

that movement we call modernism were of the widest variety and ranged from the devout and wholly orthodox Giovanni Semeria⁶ in Italy to the self-confessed rationalist Albert Houtin⁷ in France. What united these men was less explicit agreement on a theological programme (though substantial agreement was certainly present, at least as to central aims) than personal ties with Loisy, Tyrrell and von Hügel on whose behalf they came to play the role of supporters and propagandists. It is curious that those few German theologians whose names are now publicly associated with modernism – one thinks especially of Joseph Schnitzer⁸ and Hugo Koch⁹ – had little if any personal ties with Loisy and his friends¹⁰, and, precisely for this reason, were only very late, if at all, involved in a modernist movement. German “modernism” was of its own making and owed little to French, British and Italian thought. It is perhaps this which gives to German modernism its provincial character and makes it so difficult to relate to that more well-known modernism taught us in the standard theological lexica and encyclopaedias. That there was a modernist controversy in Germany is

were largely in sympathy with what they understood to be the aims of the modernists. An especially good example of this kind of „modernist“, largely in sympathy but bent on keeping entirely out of anything resembling a movement, was the British liturgical scholar Edmund Bishop (1846–1917), on whom see Alec Vidler, *A Variety of Catholic Modernists* (Cambridge, 1970), as well as the comments of the present writer in *The Downside Review* 88 (1970), 431–8.

⁶ Giovanni Semeria (1867–1931), Barnabite priest and theologian: see Poulat, op. cit., 402.

⁷ Albert Houtin (1867–1926), French priest historian, excommunicated in 1908: *LThK*² V, 497; *RGG*³ III, 460–1; Poulat, op. cit., 364.

⁸ Joseph Schnitzer (1859–1939), professor of the history of dogma in München from 1902 to 1908, in 1908 „suspensio a divinis“; *RGG*³ V, 1468; Oskar Schroeder, *Aufbruch und Mißverständnis. Zur Geschichte der reformkatholischen Bewegung* (Graz-Wien-Köln, 1969), 419–31. It should be noted that Schroeder at no point mentions in this work the name of Joseph Sauer.

⁹ Hugo Koch (1869–1940), professor of ecclesiastical history and canon law at Braunsberg from 1904 to 1912: *RGG*³ III, 1687. In both editions of *LThK* the names of Schnitzer and Koch, two of the greatest German ecclesiastical historians of their generation, are passed over in silence.

¹⁰ Schnitzer seems to have had some contact, if only at a rather late date, with Alfred Loisy (there are two postcards from him preserved among the Loisy papers at the BN [N. a. f. 15661]), but none whatsoever with Tyrrell and von Hügel in Great Britain. Only with Albert Houtin did Schnitzer stand in close contact. Both sides of the Schnitzer-Houtin correspondence, covering the years 1909–1926, have been preserved: Schnitzer’s letters to Houtin are at the BN (N. a. f. 15733); Houtin’s to Schnitzer are in the possession of the latter’s nephew in Berchtesgaden. Hugo Koch on the other hand seems to have remained an isolated figure; I know of no contact between him and the French, British and Italian modernists, with the single exception of one letter to Houtin now preserved at the BN (N. a. f. 15712).

incontestable – extending from the *Spectator Briefe* of F. X. Kraus¹¹ or from the condemnation of Schell¹² in the late 1890's to the crisis of the years 1910–1913 concerning the anti-modernist oath¹³ – but it remained a controversy conducted on terms and within a context very different from those of France, Italy and Great Britain. Perhaps it is this which accounts too for the embarrassed silence of Alec Vidler¹⁴ and Émile Poulat¹⁵, the two chief living historians of modernism, regarding all that concerns the modernist controversy in Germany.

And yet modernism as a movement did embrace Germany as well. Germany too had its modernist “Colporteurs und Vermittler”¹⁶: men in close personal contact with Loisy and Houtin, with Tyrrell and von Hügel, and who sought to disseminate their thought and writings within the German-speaking world. That this dimension of the modernist controversy remains so little known rests in large measure on the extreme pains taken by the men in question to protect their anonymity. It is an anonymity which even today remains almost wholly intact, although with the ever increasing accessibility of hitherto unknown and unpublished sources for the history of modernism it is an anonymity which neither can, nor ought to be, protected.

Who, then, were the German “Colporteurs und Vermittler” of the modernist movement? the men who stood in close contact with Loisy, Tyrrell and the rest? the men who, whether anonymously or pseudonymously, modernist movement? the men who stood in close contact with Loisy, Tyrrell are above all two men who can stand as representatives of this form of

¹¹ „Kirchenpolitische Briefe“ published under the pseudonym „Spectator“ in the *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* between 1 July 1895 and 2 June 1899 (48 letters in all). Kraus later continued to publish similar articles in the same periodical, but either anonymously or under other pseudonyms: see the Kraus-bibliography, especially items 215, 222, 224–5, 236–7, 239–40, and 246, in Franz Xaver Kraus, *Tagebücher*, herausgegeben von Dr. Hubert Schiel (Köln, 1957), 775–6.

¹² Herman Schell (1850–1906), professor of apologetics at Würzburg from 1884 to his death: *LThK*² IX, 384–5. By a decree of the Holy Office dated 15 December 1898, four of Schell's works were placed on the Index.

¹³ The *Motu proprio* „Sacrorum antistitum“ of 1 September 1910: *AAS* II, 655–80; *LThK*² I, 640–1.

¹⁴ See the work noted above under note 5, as well as the earlier study *The Modernist Movement in the Roman Church* (Cambridge, 1934).

¹⁵ In addition to the work mentioned above under note 2, see also Poulat's *Histoire, dogme et critique dans la crise moderniste* (Paris, 1962), of which the first volume only has so far appeared, and his more recent *Intégrisme et catholicisme intégral: Un réseau secret international antimoderniste: La „Sapinière“ 1909–1921* (Paris, 1969).

¹⁶ The phrase is Friedrich von Hügel's, a self-description found in his letter to Joseph Sauer of 16 July 1904 (original preserved in Freiburg among the Sauer papers, „Institut für christliche Archäologie“).

“German modernism“: Otto Rudolphi (1862–1925)¹⁷ and Joseph Sauer (1872–1949). The role of the former cannot be discussed here; of the latter, however, at least enough must be said to call attention to a hitherto unknown dimension of the modernist controversy. It can be left to future researchers to fill out and amplify the story of which, in the pages that follow, only the rough contours are given.

II

„Nun weiß ich doch jemand, der Kraus fortsetzen wird¹⁸.“ These are words given us by Joseph Sauer himself, and with evident self-satisfaction, as spoken to him in October 1902 by a friend and admirer of Franz Xaver

¹⁷ Ordained priest in 1885, Rudolphi served as parish priest in the remote village of Gestraz in Allgäu from 1898 to his death in 1925. During the modernist period he was a frequent contributor, but always anonymously or pseudonymously, to such periodicals as *Das Neue Jahrhundert* (earlier published under the titles *Freie Deutsche Blätter* and *Das 20. Jahrhundert*), to which he contributed many „kirchenpolitische Briefe“, and the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, where he appeared between the years 1908–1914 as one of several Catholic theologians employing the pseudonym „Spectator Novus“. Rudolphi was on the closest terms with Joseph Schnitzer, with Bishop Bonomelli of Cremona, with Albert Ehrhard, with both Alfred Loisy and Albert Houtin in Paris. Large quantities of letters from Rudolphi to each of the five men just mentioned have been preserved. Joseph Sauer too knew Rudolphi and more than once visited him in Gestraz. He is often mentioned in Sauer’s diaries (discussed in note 18 below): „Auch Rudolphi lernte ich kennen. Er ist ein großer schöner Mann, nicht sehr tief, etwas stark unruhig und von sich in recht naiv klingender Weise eingenommen. Über seine eigentliche Anschauung wurde ich nicht recht klar. Einige Tage später ging ich in sein Pfarrdorf . . . Wir saßen da in Brugg beisammen beim Bier und plauderten meist über Italien und Reform“ (entry for 4 October 1902). Rudolphi was certainly one of the central figures in the modernist world of Germany, but to this date nothing whatever has been written about him, and this although there is more than adequate unpublished material for a detailed study of his activity during the years of the modernist crisis. Of Rudolphi’s published writings special attention should be called to the „Briefe von Bischof Bonomelli von Cremona“ published in *Freie Deutsche Blätter* 15 (1915), 322–30, 429–44, 498–516, 570–87, 657–73. These letters were published anonymously by their recipient, but Rudolphi’s responsibility for their publication is confirmed by his letter to Albert Ehrhard of 4 January 1915 (original: Abtei Scheyern): „Jetzt soll ich für die erste No. der Fr. D. Blätter Erinnerungen an Bonomelli schreiben.“ Rudolphi’s „Erinnerungen“ are of special interest since they contain a great deal of autobiographical information about himself. For still another typical article from Rudolphi’s pen see note 11 below.

¹⁸ Diaries of Joseph Sauer, entry for 4 October 1904, page 109 of the typed transcript preserved in Freiburg in the „Institut für christliche Archäologie“. The originals of Sauer’s diaries no longer exist, but the transcriptions made after his death, although they contain minor errors (e. g. “Tyrrel“ for “Tyrell“, or “Goskett“ for “Gasquet“), are nonetheless reliable. Of the diaries I have consulted only two sections: Sauer’s “Reisejournal“ for 22 November 1900 to 10 January 1901 (Paris-Lyon-Marseille-Italien), in which he describes his first personal encounter with Loisy, and the second section of the diaries proper covering the period 9 December 1901 to 11 August 1916.

Kraus¹⁹. Sauer was then 30 years of age. Kraus had died less than a year before. It was during this period in his life that Sauer stood in the shadow of his master Kraus. He found himself the heir, not merely of the ideas, but even of the friends and acquaintances of the man of whom he himself remarked: „ich hänge an Kraus . . . ich verehere Kraus als Lehrer und bewahre ihm Dankbarkeit“²⁰. Just as Sauer made his own, and was profoundly marked by, many of the ideas of his teacher and patron Kraus, so also he took on, as a matter of course, the wide circle of friends in Germany and abroad which had been that of Kraus. Had there been no Kraus, “Joseph Sauer the modernist” would never have been born.

It was the name of Kraus which gave Sauer *entrée* to a world which would otherwise never have been his. It was the name of Kraus which provided for so many of Sauer’s acquaintances the context within which to place and to understand him: „der fein gebildete junge Dr. Joseph Sauer, Kraus’ens Jünger“, wrote Friedrich von Hügel to Albert Ehrhard in 1902²¹. Four years later, writing from Freiburg, George Tyrrell related to a friend in England: “Yesterday he [Sauer] took me to the grave of Kraus – his god“²². In 1904 on the second anniversary of Kraus’ death Sauer himself, in a moment of the deepest discouragement, could write: „Mir winken keine goldenen Sterne; einsam wandere ich meinen harten Pfad; die Lebensfreude und Lebenslust ist früh in mir erstickt worden. Der letzte Funken erlosch heute vor 2 Jahren am Sarge von Kraus“²³. The “modernist Joseph Sauer” would be unintelligible had he not been preceded by the *liberalkatholisch* Franz Xaver Kraus.

That Joseph Sauer should have found himself involved in the modernist movement was therefore, if not inevitable, certainly understandable and perhaps predictable. And yet how can we account for the fact that this side of his life should have been so little known? that “the modernist Sauer” should have remained a secret kept even from his closest friends? Of the necrological notices published at Sauer’s death in 1949 there is only one, that of his student and friend Alfons Maria Schneider²⁴, which even hints at the existence of a modernist Sauer, though in a manner calculated less to

¹⁹ Franz Xaver Kraus (1840–1901), from 1878 to his death professor of ecclesiastical history in Freiburg: *LThK*² VI, 596, and especially his *Tagebücher* (see above under note 11). For the relationship between Kraus and Sauer see the necrological notice by Alfons Maria Schneider recorded below under note 25.

²⁰ Diaries of Joseph Sauer, entries for 3 and 4 July 1902, pages 80–1 of the typed transcript.

²¹ Letter of 15 May 1902 (original: Abtei Scheyern).

²² Letter to Miss Maude Petre, 9 March 1906 (original: British Museum Add. Mss. 52367).

²³ Diaries of Joseph Sauer, entry for 1 January 1904, page 133 of the typed transcript.

²⁴ Alfons Maria Schneider (1896–1952), archaeologist, lecturer in Göttingen from 1939 to his death: *LThK*² IX, 440.

illuminate than to obscure the actual truth. Schneider's words deserve to be cited here at length. While they do not tell the whole truth, they do hint at some of the reasons why Sauer managed to keep that truth from becoming known.

„Da er die Menschen kannte, war er klug genug, sich nicht in den Vordergrund der Öffentlichkeit zu stellen. Er mochte dabei nach dem Rezept Gracians handeln, der meint, wer die Narren nicht kenne, sei selber einer und noch mehr, wer sie kenne und sie sich nicht vom Leib halte. Geduld und Vorsicht konnte er deshalb nie genug empfehlen – und vor allem handelte er selber dieser Maxime gemäß. Ob er nun aus den Erfahrungen seines Lehrers Kraus gelernt hatte, oder ob auch er ‚in die Hand gebissen wurde‘, weiß ich nicht – allzuoft wird solches sicher nicht vorgekommen sein! Jedenfalls griff er nie in öffentliche Diskussion ein – ‚Kirchenpolitische Briefe‘ zu schreiben war für ihn sicher keine Versuchung –, sondern er wußte auf dem Weg des persönlichen Gesprächs und an der richtigen Stelle ohne viel Lärm das durchzusetzen, was er wollte. Denn er kannte die Männer, auf die es ankam und noch viele andere dazu. Und er wußte sie, schlau lächelnd und über seine goldgeränderte Brille blinzeln durch unzählige Anekdoten auf trefflichste zu schildern, mochte es sich nun um absonderliche Abbés, um Duchesne's spitzen Esprit und seine langhaarigen Katzen, oder um Tyrrells [sic] und Loisy's Odyssee, um Brémonds [sic] Unfälle oder um die Schnurren des Barons von Hügel . . . Sein geduldiges Wirken, das jedoch niemals der Festigkeit und wo es nötig war, selbst der Schärfe nicht ermangelte, diente immer nur der Sache: ohne der *honorum caeca cupido* zu huldigen, verschwand er völlig hinter der Aufgabe, die ihm gesetzt war²⁵.“

It would seem that although Schneider, like other close friends of Sauer, knew something of his ties with men such as Bremond, Duchesne²⁶ and Loisy in France, and with von Hügel and Tyrrell in Great Britain, the full truth concerning Sauer's involvement with these men during the modernist controversy remained, as far as we can gather, known to Sauer alone. „Kirchenpolitische Briefe zu schreiben war für ihn sicher keine Versuchung“? The fact of the matter is that this had been for Sauer not merely a temptation, but one to which he rather frequently succumbed. Like Kraus before him, Sauer published „kirchenpolitische Briefe“ in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*²⁷ and in other periodicals as well: e. g. in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* and the

²⁵ „Joseph Sauer †,“ *Historisches Jahrbuch* 62–69 (1942–1949), 981–2.

²⁶ Louis Duchesne (1843–1922), French ecclesiastical historian, from 1895 to his death director of the *Ecole Française de Rome*: *LThK*² III, 593; *RGK*³ II, 177–8; Poulat, *op. cit.*, 348.

²⁷ For two typical contributions of Sauer to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* see note 6 below. There is every reason to believe that these were not the only „kirchenpolitische Briefe“ that Sauer published in the pages of this journal. As late as 1906 George Tyrrell could write from Freiburg to Albert Houtin: “Dr Sauer here is one of the élite & will, I am sure, be delighted to notice it [Houtin's *Question biblique au commencement du*

*Straßburger Post*²⁸. And again like Kraus before him, Sauer published these writings anonymously. It is only now, on the basis of Sauer's unpublished correspondence and of his diaries preserved in Freiburg²⁹, that the actual proportions of his journalistic activity during the modernist crisis can be determined. What emerges from an examination of these sources is the picture of a man „klug genug, sich nicht in den Vordergrund der Öffentlichkeit zu stellen“, but more than enough won over to the cause of Loisy and von Hügel to do what was in his power to disseminate modernist writings throughout Germany, whether by encouraging the translation of these writings into German³⁰ or by reviewing them favourably in suitable

XX^e siècle (Paris, 1906)] in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* for which he writes“ (letter of 25 March 1906: original at the BN, N. a. f. 15743, f. 13). Four years earlier, in his letter to Loisy of 25 August 1902, Sauer mentions his intention to publish a review of Houtin's *Question biblique au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1902): “J'ai commencé la lecture de son livre amusant et instructif dont je voudrais écrire une plus longue relation.“ Still later he announces his plan to write a review of Paul Desjardins' *Catholicisme et critique. Réflexions d'un profane sur l'affaire Loisy* (Paris, 1905): “Avec le plus grand intérêt j'ai suivi le livre de Desjardins; j'espère trouver bientôt le temps suffisant d'écrire [sic] un rapport sur la dernière phase de votre mouvement“ (letter to Loisy, 30 December 1905: originals of both letters to Loisy preserved at the BN, N. a. f. 15661, ff. 356–7, 362–3). Sauer's journalistic activity on behalf of what he calls „votre mouvement“ seems to have extended over a period of at least five or six years, with writings scattered among numerous German periodicals.

²⁸ Sauer himself admits to the publication of „kirchenpolitische Briefe“ in these two journals: see his diaries for 4 October 1902 (page 103) and 14 July 1903 (page 127). It should be noted, on the other hand, that on more than one occasion Sauer denied in the most formal way the rumour that he had contributed unsigned articles to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and other journals; see for example his diary entry for 4 July 1902 (pages 81–3), an account of an interview during which he was asked point blank, on behalf of the Archbishop of Freiburg, Thomas Nörber (1846–1920), “ob ich für die *Allgemeine Zeitung* schreibe, ob ich dafür geschrieben habe, was ich feierlich verneinte.“ This denial may, one must admit, have been true enough at the time; I am able to verify articles of Sauer in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* only after this date. Under similar circumstances in 1904, Sauer formally denied contributing to two other journals, the *Freiburger Zeitung* and *Das 20. Jahrhundert* (diary entry for 3 July 1904, pages 140–1 in the typed transcript).

²⁹ Sauer's diaries confirm his personal contact with a host of other figures, not mentioned in this article, who were active in some fashion in Catholic reform movements at the turn of the century: William Gibson, William O'Connell, Odilo Rottmanner, Charlotte Lady Blennerhassett, etc. All of these, it should be noted, were friends and acquaintances of F. X. Kraus and are mentioned in the *Tagebücher* of Kraus.

³⁰ On the basis of Sauer's letters to Loisy, especially that for 5 November 1903 (printed below in full), there is every reason to believe that it was Sauer who arranged for, and supervised the German translation of, Loisy's *Evangelium und Kirche*. It was Sauer who sent to Baron Friedrich von Hügel a copy of this work (now preserved as part of von Hügel's personal library at the University Library, St Andrews). Sauer's inscription reads: “F. von Hügel in Verehrung von Jos. Sauer. Neujahr 1904. Veritas liberabit vos.“ Loisy's book had been placed on the Index two weeks before, on 16 December 1903.

German periodicals. Here especially Sauer shows himself the modernist „Colporteur und Vermittler“, though this is a dimension of his early life which would later be left wholly in the dark. There does exist, for example, what seems on the face of it to be an exhaustive bibliography of Sauer's published works, published in 1942 as a *Festschrift* to mark his seventieth birthday³¹. Conspicuous for their absence in this bibliography are Sauer's anonymous and pseudonymous writings of the first decade of the century. But by his seventieth birthday Sauer's modernist activity had become a thing of the remote past. The *Festschrift* of 1942 was formally dedicated to „Josepho Sauer . . . Praelato Sanctae Sedis Domestico“.

Yet if Sauer for his part took pains to conceal the full import of his modernist activity, he was aided in this endeavor by luck – or shall we call it providence? It is curious, for example, that although Sauer appears several times in Alfred Loisy's *Mémoires*³², it would take a determined reader to find these stray references in the work's more than 1800 pages: by a chance oversight Sauer's name was not recorded in the „Index alphabétique“. And so it is with all the other major works on the modernist controversy. One will search in vain for information on „the modernist Joseph Sauer“.

What are, however, the now extant sources for reconstructing this story? In addition to Sauer's personal library³³, which includes signed presentation copies from Loisy, Paul Sabatier³⁴, Bremond, Friedrich von Hügel and others, there exists a surprisingly large number of unpublished primary sources out of which one can reconstruct the story of Sauer's modernist past. Most important is the large collection of papers and letters left by Sauer himself and now preserved in the „Institut für christliche Archäologie der Universität Freiburg i. Br.“ Including among this material are Sauer's diaries, from which we have already drawn several passages³⁵, as well as letters addressed to Sauer from such friends as Félix Klein³⁶, Bremond,

³¹ Ludwig Mohler, *Verzeichnis der Schriften Josef Sauers dargeboten von der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Freiburg i. Br. zu seinem 70. Geburtstag 7. Juni 1942*. Unter freundlicher Beihilfe von Freunden des Jubilars (Freiburg, 1942).

³² Alfred Loisy, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire religieuse de notre temps* (three volumes: Paris, 1930–1931). Sauer is mentioned by name in volume II, 83; referred to, though not by name, II, 270 (see note 2 below).

³³ The dedication, in Bremond's hand, of his *Newman: Essai de biographie psychologique* (Paris, 1906) is characteristic: „au Dr Sauer, au plus aimable des „professeurs“, son ami reconnaissant Henri Bremond.“

³⁴ Paul Sabatier (1858–1928), protestant historian: *LThK*² IX, 187–8; *RGG*³ V, 1258; Poulat, op. cit., 399–400.

³⁵ It cannot be sufficiently stressed that Sauer's diaries, as well as the large collection of letters to him which have been preserved, deserve the most careful and thorough examination. On the basis of this material a decisive chapter in the history of the modernist controversy could well be written.

³⁶ Félix Klein (1862–1953), French priest, intimate friend of Loisy: see Poulat, op. cit., 369.

Loisy, Tyrrell and von Hügel. Of these it is the letters of Friedrich von Hügel for the years 1902–1922 which are especially valuable. They constitute the largest collection of the Baron's letters now preserved in Germany and represent a highly important primary source for the history of modernism. It can only be hoped that these letters will be published in a critical, integral edition in the near future³⁷.

In addition to Sauer's personal papers in Freiburg, however, there are his own letters now preserved in archives and libraries throughout Europe: his letters, for example, to Loisy and Houtin at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris³⁸, to Friedrich von Hügel in Scotland³⁹, to Albert Ehrhard at Abtei Scheyern⁴⁰. It is on the basis of these letters especially that Sauer's journalistic activity can be reconstructed and the character and extent of his modernist sympathies determined. Two such letters are presented in full below, one from an early stage in the modernist controversy (1903), the other from a later (1909).

But if this mass of unpublished material can clarify Joseph Sauer's role as a modernist, it can also shed light on his own character, both as he understood himself and as he was seen by his modernist friends. We possess, for example, several brief but penetrating sketches of Sauer from the pen of his friend George Tyrrell which, despite – perhaps because of – Tyrrell's mordant wit have preserved for us a glimpse of the young Sauer which would otherwise have been lost to us:

"Sauer is a fat soft German, rather encumbered with the multitude of his books & interests; the number of his loquacious friends; the violence of his anti-Jesuitism. I expected a torpedo-boat & found a whale; groaning & rolling; but rather ineffectually⁴¹."

"S. is a dear old thing; but a caution against too much learning & a multitude of books. The adjustment between nutrition & output is very difficult. Bremond who picks about like a sparrow produces more in a year than Sauer could in ten⁴²."

But although there is no doubt more to be said about Joseph Sauer, whether in his role as a modernist or in his role as the young German

³⁷ These letters have until now remained quite unknown to von Hügel scholarship and have never been drawn upon for the study of the Baron's life and thought.

³⁸ On Sauer's letters to Loisy see note 1 below; one letter of Sauer to Houtin is preserved at the BN (N. a. f. 15732, f. 148).

³⁹ Only one letter of Sauer to von Hügel is preserved among the latter's papers at the University Library, St. Andrews. It is printed below in full. On the unaccountable disappearance of the other letters of Sauer to von Hügel, see note 14 below.

⁴⁰ There are eighteen letters of Sauer, covering the years 1901–1932, preserved among the papers of Ehrhard at Abtei Scheyern.

⁴¹ Tyrrell to Miss Maude Petre, 9 March 1906 (original: British Museum, Add. Mss. 52367).

⁴² Tyrrell to Friedrich von Hügel, 18 March 1906 (original: British Museum, Add. Mss. 44929).

academic, it seems preferable to let Sauer himself have the last word, to speak on his own behalf. Through the two letters written by Sauer which are printed below, he can be left to introduce himself – as a modernist – to the reader. One can only express the hope that thus introduced, Joseph Sauer will take his rightful place in the history of Roman Catholic modernism, and that the nature of the role he played during the modernist controversy will be made the subject of still more examination and research. Of Sauer, the “very affectionate admirer” of Alfred Loisy⁴³ and of other modernists, there is surely more to be said.

⁴³ From a letter written in English by Henri Bremond to Alfred Loisy, 5 June 1905 (original: BN, N. a. f. 15650, f. 9). In a letter of 27 October 1905, again written to Loisy from Freiburg, Bremond uses of Sauer a similiar phrase: “un excellent homme, Sauer, qui vous est très dévoué” (BN, N. a. f. 15650, f. 21).

Text 1: Joseph Sauer to Alfred Loisy (original: Bibliothèque nationale, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises, Fonds Loisy, 15661, ff. 358–9)¹.
Freiburg i. Br., le 5 nov. 03²
Kaiserstraße 10

Cher Monsieur le Professeur! Il y a longtemps que moi aussi aurais [sic] voulu vous écrire; dernièrement j'avais déjà commencé, puis j'ai voulu attendre que la traduction de votre livre³ ait paru, afin de vous en féliciter. Aujourd'hui je peux le faire, et je le fais de tout mon coeur; ce soir j'ai reçu avec votre lettre⁴ un exemplaire relié de ‚Evangelium & Kirche‘. L'extérieur en est simple, mais bien distingué, imitant celui de ‚Wesen des Christen-

¹ Four letters of Sauer to Loisy are preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale (N. a. f. 15661, ff. 356–63): 25 August 1902, 5 November 1903, 2 January 1904, and 30 December 1905.

² It is to Sauer's letter that Loisy almost certainly refers when he cites the following passage from his diaries in his *Mémoires* II, 270: “7 novembre. Lettre annonçant que la traduction allemande de *L'Évangile et l'Église*, *Evangelium und Kirche*, a paru.”

³ Alfred Loisy, *Evangelium und Kirche, autorisierte Übersetzung nach der zweiten vermehrten, bisher unveröffentlichten Auflage des Originals von Joh. Grière-Becker* (München: Kirchheim'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904). According to Emile Poulat the translator of Loisy's work was *Johanna* Grière-Becker; her husband, “ancien novice jésuite, de nationalité française, avait été étudiant de lettres à l'Institut Catholique de Paris du temps où Loisy y enseignait encore” (Poulat, op. cit., 306).

⁴ Four letters from Loisy to Sauer are preserved among the latter's papers in Freiburg: 4 November 1903, 5 January 1904, 21 February 1904, and 3 January 1906. It is to the first of these that Sauer refers, a letter which Loisy wrote “pour vous remercier des bons soins que vous avez donnés à la traduction allemande de *L'Év. et l'Église*.” At least one other letter from Loisy to Sauer, that for 27 July 1902 (mentioned by Sauer in his letter to Loisy of 25 August 1902), seems not to have been preserved.

tums⁵; cependant l'impression est plus claire et plus agréable que dans Harnack. J'espère que vous en aurez aussi des exemplaires quand vous lirez ces lignes; que ce livre, si plein de lumière et de vie, si captivant par son ingéniosité, son esprit, les grandioses perspectives, et dans le même temps si basé sur le lois solides de l'histoire et sur les résultats inébranlés de l'expérience, acquière dans son nouveau [sic] habit aussi chez nous beaucoup d'amis! J'en écrirai sur le champ un compte-rendu pour le supplément de *Allgemeine Zeitung* à München⁶ qui circule beaucoup au [sic] monde des lettrés; j'attends seulement votre nouveau petit livre⁷ que me paraît un heureux complément de votre livre „L'Évangile et l'Église“ et aussi un commentaire éloquent des attaques qu'il avait [sic] à subir, d'après le compte-rendu que je viens de lire dans la „Rassegna Nazionale“ (1 nov)⁸.

Je trouve que la traduction sera la meilleure recommandation; au printemps j'ai essayé d'écrire un petit avertissement pour l'un ou l'autre de nos journaux catholiques⁹. Mais ils sont trop disciplinés par l'étroitesse des jésuites pour prouver ce que ceux-ci désapprouvent. J'ai vu bientôt [sic] que la seule et la meilleure réclame en sera l'édition d'une traduction; c'est pour cela j'étais [sic] bien aise de ce que Mr Kirchheim¹⁰ suivait [sic] mon conseil. J'avais espéré toujours de [sic] pouvoir faire paraître dans les mêmes temps une traduction des discours de Mgr Mignot¹¹; mais je ne suis pas

⁵ Adolf von Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1900), against which Loisy's book had ostensibly been written.

⁶ "Evangelium und Kirche," *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (16 and 17 December 1903), 513–5, 522–5, published anonymously over the signature ξ. Two months later Sauer published still another article in the same journal over the same signature: "Der Fall Loisy," *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (15 February 1904), 289–92; Sauer's authorship of this second article is confirmed by his letter to Loisy of 2 January 1904 (BN, N. a. f. 15661, ff. 360–1). Neither of these articles is recorded by Ludwig Mohler, *op. cit.*, in his Sauer-bibliography.

⁷ Loisy's *Autour d'un petit livre* (Paris: Picard, 1903). This, with four other works by Loisy, was placed on the Index by a decree dated 16 December 1903.

⁸ I am unable to trace the specific article in question.

⁹ At this period (1902–1904) the Catholic periodicals for which Sauer wrote book reviews were the *Literarische Rundschau* and the *Theologische Revue*, neither of which carried a review of Loisy's work.

¹⁰ Director of the publishing firm which had published Loisy's *Evangelium und Kirche*. Of Kirchheim's death in 1904 Sauer himself wrote: "Zu Pfingsten starb Kirchheim, also eine weitere Stütze der Reformbewegung gebrochen: viele gute Anregung und Pläne sind mit ihm ins Grab gesunken" (diaries, entry for 28 June 1904, page 136).

¹¹ Eudoxe-Irénée Mignot (1842–1918), in 1890 bishop of Fréjus, from 1900 to his death archbishop of Albi: *DThC* X, 1743–51; *LThK*² VII, 411. The addresses to which Sauer refers, and which had originally appeared in the *Revue du Clergé français* and other periodicals, were later published in *Les études ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1908), and *L'Église et la critique* (Paris, 1910). No translations of Mignot's works seem to have appeared in German, but his "La méthode de la théologie" (first published in November

encore venu à bout de la traduction; je vois aussi que je n'ai pas tous les fascicules de la Revue du Clergé franç.¹² qui contiennent ces discours. Je crois qu'il me manque la deuxième lettre sur la philosophie.

Quant à votre livre, je l'ai lu d'un seul trait avec un intérêt augmenté avec chaque page. Je ne saurais vous dire toute la part que j'ai prise à votre sort. Combien de fois j'aurais voulu vous écrire et vous exprimer tous mes sentiments; mais pendant tout le printemps j'étais [sic] fort et longtemps malade. Grâce à l'amabilité de mon ami, Mr le baron de Hügel, j'eus toujours des renseignements sur vous.

Je suis ici depuis le dernier hiver [sic] en qualité d'un professeur agrégé à l'Université; je fais cet hiver des cours sur le Concile de Trente et sur l'art chrétien du moyen-âge. Depuis que notre ami Kraus est mort, combien la situation s'est-elle changée! [sic] Vous connaissez la conférence indiscrete injuste et véhémement de Mgr Keppler¹³; c'était l'alarme du parti réactionnaire. Une méfiance universelle, un rage inquisitoriale contre toute libre vie, l'acharnement d'Hérostrate contre la science, ce sont les marques caractéristiques de notre situation en Allemagne; et rien n'annonce un meilleur temps.

Agréez, Monsieur le professeur, l'expression de mes félicitations et de mes sentiments affectueux. Votre tout dévoué Jos. Sauer.

1901 in the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* of Toulouse) was noticed in two German periodicals: by Rudolf Eucken, "Ein wissenschaftliches Programm des modernen Katholizismus," *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (21 February 1902), 337-9; and by "R.G." (= Otto Rudolphi, Pfarrer zu Gestraz, Allgäu), „Mignots 'Méthode de la théologie'," *Das 20. Jahrhundert* 2 (19 July 1902), 339-41.

¹² Edited from 1898 to 1920 by Joseph Bricout (1867-1930), a former student of Loisy: see Poulat, *op. cit.*, 335.

¹³ Paul Wilhelm von Keppler (1852-1926), from 1883 professor in Tübingen, from 1894 in Freiburg, bishop of Rottenburg from 1898 to his death. Sauer refers to Keppler's *Wahre und falsche Reform. Rede... gehalten auf der freien Konferenz des Kapitels Rottenburg am 1. Dezember 1902* (Stuttgart, 1902; second and third enlarged editions 1903). Keppler's polemic was directed chiefly against F. X. Kraus, who had died in late 1901, and at Albert Ehrhard's *Der Katholizismus und das zwanzigste Jahrhundert im Lichte der kirchlichen Entwicklung der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart und Wien, 1902). On the controversy surrounding Ehrhard's book and Keppler's polemic see Alois Dempf, *Albert Ehrhard: Der Mann und sein Werk* (Kolmar in Elsaß, 1944), 111-27). There is an interesting passage in Sauer's diaries (19 April 1909, page 162) on Bishop Keppler's efforts in that year to retrieve some letters of his after the death of their recipient: "Die Angst vor Kompromittierung," writes Sauer, "sie beweist übrigens die Unaufrichtigkeit seines [Keppler's] Charakters. Ein Mann muß jederzeit für sein geschriebenes Wort einstehen können. Wenn man dieses Wort freilich wie die Rolle eines Schauspielers gibt, dann kann man allerdings besorgen müssen, daß eines Tages unliebsame Dinge unter die Nase gehalten werden." For a later (and altogether different) view of Keppler by Sauer, see items 101 and 120 in the Sauer-bibliography prepared by Ludwig Mohler, *op. cit.*

Text 2: Joseph Sauer to Friedrich von Hügel (original: University Library, St Andrews, Scotland, MS 2962)¹⁴.
Freiburg, 22. VII. 09

Verehrtester Herr Baron! wertester Freund – Sie können sich denken, wie mich die Nachricht über Freund Tyrrells¹⁵ so gänzlich unvorhergesehenes Hinscheiden¹⁶, die ich vorgestern durch den *Corriere della Sera*¹⁷ erhielt, erschüttert hat. Ich wollte mich sofort brieflich an Sie wenden, erhielt aber dann Ihren Brief, der mir ja leider die tief schmerzliche Nachricht bestätigte¹⁸. Wie unsagbar tragisch das alles, u. nicht zum wenigsten auch das Schicksal seiner sterblichen Reste¹⁹. Ich bete für den teuern Hingegangenen, der droben einen barmherzigeren Vater gefunden haben möge als es seine Stellvertreter hinieden sind, die über allen Principien das herrliche, große Beispiel der Liebe u. Barmherzigkeit, das aus den Evangelien uns entgegen-

¹⁴ The letter reproduced here is the only one from Sauer now preserved among the papers of Baron von Hügel at St Andrews. Since the Baron did preserve Sauer's letters and since these letters were at the disposal of Bernard Holland when he edited the Baron's *Selected Letters 1896–1924* (London and Toronto, 1927), their subsequent disappearance poses a mystery. Holland refers to Sauer explicitly on page 67 as one of the foreign correspondents with whom the Baron "had long and consecutive correspondence... as I know from their letters preserved by him." And yet the Sauer letters were not among the "von Hügel papers" later donated to St. Andrews. At some point after Holland consulted Sauer's letters but before the Baron's letters and papers were given to St Andrews, the letters in question were withdrawn from the larger collection. But by whom? and why? Since the Baron's heirs seem to have permitted other friends of von Hügel to reclaim their letters – certainly Loisy retrieved his (now preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale, N. a. f. 15632–15633) – it seems to me likely that at his own request Sauer's letters to von Hügel were returned to him. And yet the letters do not seem to be among "the Sauer papers" now preserved in Freiburg. Were they destroyed by Sauer? to eliminate incriminating evidence which would have revealed the true proportions of his involvement in the modernist controversy?

¹⁵ The appellation "Freund" is not misplaced. Certainly Tyrrell for his part was genuinely fond of, and amused by, his "dear dear Herr Doktor", as he addressed Sauer in his letter of 3 December [1907]. The letter in question is one Tyrrell would only have written to someone he trusted and with whom he felt comfortable; it is full of light banter, affectionate, and signed at the end "Moses", the nickname used for Tyrrell by both Bremond and Sauer.

¹⁶ Tyrrell had died on 15 July, only a week before.

¹⁷ I am unable to identify the exact article to which Sauer refers. Baron von Hügel himself had published a letter in the *Corriere della Sera* setting out the circumstances of Tyrrell's death, but this appeared after Sauer's letter and cannot be the article to which he refers. The Baron's letter to the *Corriere della Sera* was translated back into English and appeared in Great Britain as well: *Daily Graphic* 79 (31 July 1909), 12.

¹⁸ Von Hügel's six-page letter of 19 July 1909, informing Sauer of Tyrrell's death and the events surrounding it, is preserved with Sauer's papers in Freiburg.

¹⁹ The Roman Catholic bishop of Southwark, Dr. Peter E. Amigo (1864–1949), in whose diocese Tyrrell was living at the time of his death, refused him Catholic burial. Tyrrell was therefore buried in the "English (i. e. Anglican) churchyard" in Storrington.

strahlt, nicht mehr sehen. Ihnen aber drücke ich wie Freund Bremond²⁰, der wohl bei Ihnen weilt, die Hand in herzlicher Anteilnahme; Sie haben viel an dem welt- u. menschenfremden Idealisten verloren, der in unsere Zeit mit ihren harten, rücksichtslosen Grundsätzen nicht mehr hineingepasst hat, der aber den wenigen Ehrlichen, die mehr in Christentum suchten denn eine Polizeiorganisation, Worte u. Gedanken des Lebens zu sagen hatte. Sie haben zu dritt am Sarg des toten Freundes den schönsten Freundschaftsdienst vollbracht, den der Mensch zu leisten vermag.

Auch ich werde Tyrrell in dauernd treuem Andenken festhalten; die kurze Zeit, die er hier zubrachte²¹, zählen zu den geistig angeregtsten, die ich hier verbringen konnte; mein Wunsch, dass sich dieser Besuch bald wiederholen würde, hat sich leider nun nicht mehr verwirklicht. Diesen Sommer hatte ich mir vorgenommen, nach England zu kommen u. meine dortigen Freunde zu sehen. Storrington²² ist nun leider für mich tot. Wenn Sie irgend eine Photographie von Tyrrell oder sonst eine bildliche Wiedergabe seiner leiblichen Züge haben, u. Sie eine solche mir zugehen lassen können, wäre ich Ihnen herzlichst dankbar dafür. Sein geistiges Bild lebt in dem fort, was er uns allen geschenkt, u. wills Gott, kommt auch noch einmal die Zeit, da man in weiteren Kreisen anders über diese Schriften denkt²³.

Ich schreibe diese paar Worte in aller Eile u. grüsse Sie herzlich Ihr J. Sauer.

²⁰ Bremond had hastened from Paris to England upon hearing of Tyrrell's grave illness, was present at Tyrrell's bedside when he died on the morning of 15 July, and six days later officiated at Tyrrell's burial. On Tyrrell's death and burial see Petre, *op. cit.*, II 420-46.

²¹ During the five week period 2 March to 8 April 1906, Tyrrell and Bremond lived in Freiburg (Pension Bellevue, Güntertalstrasse 59) and met each day with Sauer: "Our days are simple. At 7 he [Bremond] says, I hear Mass; after breakfast, a visit to Sauer in his hothouse frame; work till lunch..." (Tyrrell to von Hügel, 18 March 1906: original: British Museum, Add. Mss. 44929). This was Tyrrell's only visit to Germany; Bremond on the other hand visited Sauer on several other occasions. See, for example, Bremond's letters to Maurice Blondel for the period May-July 1905, all addressed from Pension Bellevue, Freiburg: *Henri Bremond et Maurice Blondel Correspondance, établie, présentée et annotée par André Blanchet*: II, *Le grand dessein d'Henri Bremond 1905-1920* Paris, 1971), 12-25.

²² Storrington, Sussex, the village in southern England where Tyrrell died and now lies buried.

²³ For the definitive bibliography of Tyrrell's printed works see: Thomas Michael Loome, "A Bibliography of the Published Writings of George Tyrrell (1861-1909)," *The Heythrop Journal* 10 (1969), 280-314; 11 (1970), 161-9.