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Ultramontanism and Catholic Modernism: An Analysis of Political-Ecclesiastic Controversy in Germany of the 19th Century

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I. Introduction

The relationship between the Catholic Church and modernity - in its most varied aspects, theoretical, technical and practical - was a conflict at least until the Second Vatican Council, between 1962 and 1965. Therefore, throughout the 19th century and half of the 20th century, modernity was seen by the Catholic Church, at its institutional and papal level, as an enemy of Christianity to be fought, sometimes externally, sometimes internally to the institution itself. In Germany, in a special way, the consolidation of modernity took place in a process that united both technical advancement and the discursive dispute for the political and cultural legitimacy of building national identity. There, therefore, the Catholic Church found itself caught up in political, cultural and theological disputes that culminated in the persecution from the German State, newly unified in 1870, to the institution, through a set of laws called *Kulturkampf*.

However, despite the clashes between the papacy and triumphant modernity in the 19th century, several movements within the Catholic Church have emerged over these nearly two centuries in support and attempt to adapt the institution to the modern world. From the Enlightenment to the Catholic modernism, the Church went through conflicts not only external, but, above all, internal to remain antimodern in a world in constant transformation.

Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to analyze the roots of Catholic modernism in Germany from previous intellectual and theological movements, such as Catholic Enlightenment. Therfore, this paper analyzes the internal and external conflicts of the Catholic Church in Germany during the process of consolidation of modernity, in the 19th century, until culminating in the modernist movement and its consequences in the beginning of the 20th century.

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II. The Enlightenment and the Roots of Catholic Modernism in the 18th and 19th Centuries

The crisis of the *Ancien Régime* in Europe triggered political, cultural and ideological upheavals in the western world also within institutions that were in force with it in the form of an absolutist monarchical system. However, even though strongly criticized by the Enlightenment (main adversary of the *Ancien Régime*), the Catholic Church remained active throughout the European continent. Whether in its political aspect or in its cultural dynamics, the Catholic Church has survived the collapse of all the institutions that have supported it since the Roman Empire, adapting to new circumstances and reshaping its dialogue with the society that surrounds it. The context of the rise and consolidation of the modern world was no different. Although the Roman central curia took more than a century to adapt to the moral, political, cultural and social transformations of modernity, at the local level, several adaptations made possible the survival of Catholicism in the face of the collapse of the regimes on which it was based.

In Germany, in a specific way, it is possible to affirm that the survival of Catholicism in the country that was the cradle of the Protestant Reformation was the result mainly of two main factors: on the one hand, by the vigor of popular Catholicism widely supported by lay management in a country marked by religious contrast biconfessional [1]; and, on the other, the emergence of an Enlighted Catholicism[2], which made it possible for the

[1] The "popular Catholicism" in nineteenth-century Germany treated here refers, in general, to the practices of lay Catholicism popularly accepted and widespread in the German kingdoms until the rise of ultramontanism and the end of *Vormärz* in 1848. About popular Catholicism in Germany nineteenth century, see: SPERBER (1984).The expression *Vormärz* (in free translation, "before March"), which is widely used by German historiography about the 19th century, refers to the period between the end of the 18th century and the liberal revolutions of March 1848.

[2] "Enlighted Catholicism" refers to a late 18th century Catholic tendency to adapt the Church to the Enlightenment's intellectual

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rising bourgeois class to institutionally support Catholicism in Germany.

Unlike its neighbors in Europe, Germany at the end of the 18th century had neither a unified state nor a single established religious confession - two essential factors in understanding the nature of German Illustration. The Enlightenment in Germany, therefore, was the product of an educated middle class, of readers and writers who increasingly found themselves at the service of the State or the Church. The Catholic aspect of Enlightenment thought, in turn, was only possible due to a series of historical factors from the end of the 18th century that allowed the middle class and Catholic bourgeoisie in Germany to have a social self-awareness that prompted them to rethink their own religious institution belonged. According to Michel Printy,

> In the eighteenth century, German Catholics rethought the church in a series of efforts at practical reform. Their efforts were made possible by a confluence of crisis and opportunity. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the papacy seemed to be at a political low point. The easing of confessional tensions in Germany – as well as the perception that Catholics and Protestants could make common cause against freethinking as well as superstition – rendered the need for defensive postures less acute. The rethinking of the church, threfore, proceeded in a pragmatic and detailed fashion, but it could not anticipate the total colapse of the Empire. (PRINTY, 2009, p. 214).

In this sense, we can affirm that the attempt to reform the Catholic Church at the end of the 18th century through the bias of Enlightenment thinking was mainly due to both the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* in general and the rise of the German Catholic bourgeoisie and middle class which, in confluence with the end of the most serious tensions of the religious wars of the previous centuries, they began to see in Protestants a kind of socioeconomic model in which the Catholic Church could mirror.[3]

However, although mirrored in the Protestant bourgeoisie, the middle class and Catholic bourgeoisie in general projected on themselves the attempt to model the Church according to their needs, and not a pure adherence to the Protestant model. Like this, "on one side, German Catholics laid claim to the nation against similar attempts of their Protestant counterparts. On the other side, they sought to assert their vision of social, moral, and religious reform as part of a broader *Aufklärung* [Enlightenment]." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 07).

Therefore, the 18th century Catholic reform intended by Enlighted Catholicism, although socially mirrored in Protestantism, rejected an abandonment to the institution (although it wanted independence from it), intending, on the contrary, to adapt it to the political, cultural and temporal transformations by which the modern world passed. This non-abandonment of the Catholic bourgeoisie from its own religious institution is justified in the fact that, although they desired their political independence from Rome, these bourgeois, still Catholics, were spiritually dependent on the Church. This means that an analysis of such eighteenth-century reformers (whether lay or clergy) should not dispense with the substantial fact that religious belief is a determining factor in the way of thinking and acting of such subjects. As the Franco-German historian and philosopher Bernhard Groethuysen reiterates,

> In order to understand the development of bourgeois consciousness in its relation and opposition to the church, we must not proceed from particular views of the church which allow themselves to be presented and formulated, but rather from the shape of ecclesiastical life itself [kirchliche Leben]. In the eighteenth century, the Catholic church remains "reality." In large measure it still determines the thoughts and feelings of an entire segment of the population: it is a social reality … Millions of people continue to go to church, to confess, to follow processions. They continue to live in the ecclesiastical community: indeed, most of them could not even imagine life outside this community. It is this social-historical reality that the bourgeois must confront.(GROETHUSYEN, 1927, p. 52).

Thus, "in rethinking the church, educated German Catholics 'scrutiniza [ed] the signs of the times' and imagined a Catholicism that, they felt, would do away with outworn accretion and would be suited to the world in which they lived." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 144)The Catholic Church imagined by German Enlighted Catholicism, therefore, should be "independente of, though still in communion with, Rome. Led by educated, 'Enlightened' German Catholics in partnership with the state, the church they envisioned would satisfy the link between religion, civilization, and morality." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 144).

But after all, against what, or who, should Enlighted Catholicism fight? Who was the enemy to be defeated, or convinced in this battle for the internal reform of the Church and the conduction of it to "civilization and morality"? Despite the fact that the "century of lights" has produced several enemies external to the Catholic Church, especially coming from liberalism, Freemasonry and the Enlightenment ideas themselves, it was an internal enemy against whom the German Catholic Enlightenment side invested its campaign: the popular Catholicism.

claims to freedom of thought and progress through reason. Although it was not an exclusivity of Germany, in the specific case highlighted, this aspect attempted to found a national Catholic Church, independent of the Roman Church, but in dialogue with it. On the subject, see: PRINTY (2009); KRAUS (1993); MIDELFORT (2005).

[3] According Michel Printy, "Over the course of the eighteenth century, educated middle-class Catholics would progressivey try to model themselves on their Protestant counterparts." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 142).

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Popular Catholicism prevailed strongly in German Catholic states as the main fruit of the Ancien Régime. The strength of this Catholicism, however, stems from a double aspect: on the one hand, from the strength of the noble tradition, which, in general, benefited from the structure of the *Reichskirche*,[4] given the way the benefits were distributed between nobility and clergy; and, on the other, the strength of the peasant tradition, which, at the other end of the social spectrum, has rooted practices of piety and devotions that are still felt today in the way Catholics deal with their saints, patrons, relics, parties, etc.[5]In this sense, we can affirm that the rethinking of the Catholic Church by the Enlighted Catholicism was, therefore, turned in two directions: "first, against the structure of the *Reichskirche* and the ways that the predominance of the nobility threatened to make the church too worldly; and second, against the practices of the broad population which many reformers perceived as superstitious." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 126).

The Holy Empire and the *Reichskirche*, on the one hand, were seen as "a regrettable hindrance to Germany's emergence as a nation-state", and later, "as a prime culprit in the pathology of a misdeveloped German modernity" (PRINTY, 2009, p. 126). Popular practices, on the other hand, represented superstition and, with it, a medievalism that must be overcome to achieve the desired modernity. These two elements, therefore, demonstrate the willingness of Enlighted Catholicism in adapting the Catholic Church to the emerging modern world. In the words of Otto Weiβ, "the demand for a 'rational' religion meant not only the dismantling of pagan forms of popular piety, but also the internalization and priority of feelings over all formulas and regulations of state or Church authorities." (WEIβ, 1995, p. 38).

Overcoming the *Reichskirche*, however, was facilitated by Napoleonic rule as early as the 19th century; popular religiosity, seen as superstitious, on the other hand, needed a longer process, whose victory, evidently, was not achieved.[6]

In this sense, while German Enlighted Catholicism saw the need to reform the national clergy in favor of Catholic adaptation to modernity on the rise, the Roman Church, in contrast, was increasingly moving in the opposite direction to this trend, seeing itself also on the verge of reforming their clergy to preserve themselves from these same modern transformations, the culmination of which would take place in the following century with ultramontanism. The consequence of this imbroglio was the clash between the bishop-princes and the Roman Catholic Church, whose core was the struggle for the authority of reform of the German Catholic clergy. Thus, although the initial struggle of Enlighted Catholicism attacked the *Reichskirche* and the noble tradition of the Church in Germany, insofar as the Roman See behaved as an agent of difficulty in the intended reform, the alliance with the German clerical nobility was inevitable, especially when it comes to the increasingly imminent need to found a national Catholic Church.

In this way, the dialogue and adaptation of the local Church with the Enlightenment ideas, already in the agonizing absolutist regime, allowed the confessional identities of the late 18th and early 19th centuries to develop "out of the religious establishments of Old Regime Germany and that, more importantly, these identities survived the collpase of the legal and institutional underpinnings that had been worked out in the Reformation settlements of the sixteenth century." (PRINTY (2009, p. 3-4).For Michael Printy, therefore, the Enlightenment was the agent of this possibility of Catholic institutional transition from the Ancien Régime to modern conditions. Although undermined by nineteenth-century ultramontanism, in the transition from the 18th to the 19th century it was attempts to create an Enlighted Catholicism that led to a

> [...] rethinking the relationship of Christianity to the state, to civil society, to notions of progress and human nature, and to history, Germany's religious Enlightnment enabled the transition from the 'Holy Roman Empire of the two churches' to the modern dilema of competing Protestant and Catholic ideas of what it meant to be German.(PRINTY 2009, p. 4).

The relationship between the Catholic Church and the advent of modernity in nineteenth-century Germany is therefore paradoxical. On the one hand, Catholicism represented medievality, popular piety, the Ancien Régime, etc., on the other hand, it was precisely these elements that Enlighted Catholicism was confronted with. Throughout the 19th century, therefore, the Holy Roman Empire and the persistence of German popular Catholicism represented major obstacles to a coherent historical narrative. Thus,

> German Catholicism was cast as an anomaly in a nation widely – if incorrectly – believed to be essentially Protestant in nature. The Catholics seemed out of place and puzzling in, when not downright

[4] By *Reichskirche* it is possible to understand the long period of cooperation between German Catholic Church and German States that lasted from the beginning of the medieval era until the beginning of the 19th century. Through this political-religious regime the Church remained linked to the State, yielding to this great interference in their internal affairs while receiving financial support and the status of nobility from it for bishops and other members of the high clergy. On the subject, see: DECOT (2001).

[5] On this double aspect from which German popular Catholicism derives, see: FORSTER (2008); CHÂTELIER (1997).

[6] The fight against popular Catholicism by the illustrated Catholic reformers took place on two main fronts: on the one hand, the elimination of the notion of miracle, replacing, with it, the notion of sin and punishment by moral duty; and on the other, the blaming of the regular and missionary clergy for the condition of medievality of popular Catholicism. On the subject, see: GOMES FILHO (2019).

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disruptive of, the land of Luther, Ranke and Bismarck. (PRINTY 2009, p. 18).

As a result of this paradox, while modernity was unfolding on the horizon of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, German illustrated Catholics realized that the forms of expression of the devotion and traditional religiosity of popular Catholicism had become a sign of obsolescence of his own Church, especially under the specter of superstition.[7]Thus, German Catholic intellectuals rethought the Church and its devotions in the language of their own time, and, in doing so, sought to create a new form of religiosity that they saw as appropriate to modern times, while still faithful to the traditions and doctrines of Church.

In addition to a practical project to reform the Church and create an autonomous national institution, however, these adaptations needed internal legitimation, something that only the intellectual and philosophical field, within the Enlightenment perspective, could build and legitimize. Among the Catholic intellectuals charged with producing a history of the German Catholic Church that favored such a project, Michael Ignaz Schmidt stood out, above all.

Born in Arnstein (Germany) in 1734, Schmidt was a Catholic priest and professor of history of the German Empire *[deutschen Reichsgeschichte]* at Würzburg University and director of the Archives of the Austrian States *[Österreichisches Staatsarchiv]* from 1780 until his death in 1794. On account of his works and the importance of his ideas from the historical-philosophical point of view, Schmidt can be considered as the main name of the German Catholic intellectuals of the 18th century. More than that, according to Christina Sauter-Bergerhausen, Schmidt would have been the first to try a history German culture on a national scale in the spirit of Enlightenment philosophical history, so he was called in the early 19th century "the first German historian." [8]

In his great work, *Geschichte der Deutschen* [History of the Germans] published from 1778 in a total of 6 volumes, Schmidt synthesizes a series of ideas on which he based his intellectual production throughout his career. In all of them, in general, the author seeks to argue that, instead of a factor of backwardness and medievality, the Catholic Church in Germany would have been the main civilizing element and, therefore, one of the main agents of modernity in the empire[9]. In general, therefore, "Schmidt's vision of the civilizing role of religion in German history was in part a projection of Reform Catholics' ambitions to make the church an agent not only of religious and moral education, but also of Enlightenment."(PRINTY, 2009, p. 200).Such a project, however, failed, since the Catholic universalism from which the bourgeois class was unable to detach itself was incompatible with the cosmopolitan proposal of Enlightenment thought.

In addition to an inconsistency inherent in the very project of Enlighted Catholicism, however, the Catholic Church's attempts at adapting to modernity, historically legitimizing it as a civilizing agent, came up against a problem that became increasingly crucial in the formation of identity German national: the Protestant Reformation.

The consequences of the Protestant Reformation were crucial elements in the arguments about the Catholic or Lutheran religious legitimacy in the formation of German national identity at the end of the 18th century. Contrary to what prevailed in the anti-Catholic liberal ideas of the following century, Schmidt's central thesis in his sixth volume of his *Geschichte der Deutschen* is that the Reformation broke the path towards the progress, social, cultural and religious illustration of the German people. In other words, for Schmidt, the Reformation should not be seen as a cultural landmark in the formation of German identity, but as a tragedy in its history.

In general lines, therefore, the thinking of Michael Ignaz Schmidt represents the example of a Catholic attack in the intellectual field in favor of rethinking the Church about itself in adapting to the transformations underway in the modern world. The debate between Catholics and Protestants then left the combat arenas of the 30 years' war to orient themselves in the intellectual field, seeking both parties to establish themselves, through History, as bastions of progress and, mainly, as the main defining element of German national identity.

In this sense, with regard specifically to Enlighted Catholicism, Catholic participation in German national identity meant a triumph in the religious dispute against Protestantism. Generally speaking, illustrated Catholics needed to situate themselves both in relation to an international and socially diverse Catholic community, and in relation to the notion of what German identity was in the face of the rise of Prussia and the solidification of a vernacular literary culture increasingly associated with Protestantism. This same Protestantism, on the other hand, built "a powerful narrative that

[7] The question of superstition was one of the main motives of Catholicism illustrated in its struggle to adapt the Church to nascent modernity. Regarding this relationship between Enlighted Catholicism and its fight against popular superstition in Germany, we recommend Rudolf Schlögl's studies on the North Rhine region: SCHLÖGL (1995).

[8] See: SAUTER-BERGERHAUSEN (1996).

[9] Among Schmidt's various arguments in his *Geschichte der Deutschen*, for example, his description of the supposed transition from barbarism to Christian civilization in Germany and France stands out from the union between Charlemagne and the Catholic Church. In addition, Schmidt further proposes that the refinement of everyday practices in Germany as part of what Norbert Elias would later call the "Civilizing Process" owes fundamentally to Catholic missionary practices. On the subject, see: BAUMGART (1996).

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emplotted German nationalism as a rejection of Roman Catholicism." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 01).

Internally, however, there were many practical and theoretical challenges that Catholic intellectuals should face in order to try to guarantee a position of importance in the construction of the German nation. The most important of them, from a theoretical point of view, refers to the double universality with which an Enlighted Catholicism should deal: on the one hand, Catholic universalism, and on the other, Enlightenment cosmopolitanism, for which the idea of the "national" represented a real obstacle.[10]From a practical point of view, the obstacle was precisely the universalist and centralized claim of the Roman curia. The theoretical-practical result thought by the German Enlighted Catholicism was the attempt to create a German Catholic Church (therefore, national and independent), but still linked theologically to Rome. As such, the nation provided a model for rethinking the Catholic Church at the national level, while the Catholic model (as a religious and non-political system) offered an identity model for thinking about the nation. Thereby, "in trying to reform the Church, educated Catholics in the Holy Roman Empire questioned not only what it means to be Catholic, but also what it meant to be German, and in the process they created German Catholicism." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 21).

This alleged balance between a national church and a universal church has, of course, failed. Although the German Catholic Church was born in a moment of political weakness in the papacy throughout the 18th century, the implementation of these ideals - at the end of the century - coincided with a peculiar political moment in Europe. In addition to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars undermining its political and social bases of support, the creation of this supposed national-universal church occurred in the midst of two movements of centralization of power: on the one hand, the consolidation of the secular absolutist state, and, on the other, the strengthening of the pope's political figure since the rise of Pius VII in 1800.

Thus, the results of German Catholic adaptation efforts to modernity through enlightenment were thwarted in the early 19th century, with Napoleon Bonaparte's victories over Austria in 1805 and Prussia in 1806, which dismantled the already weakened Sacro-Empire Germanic Roman and with him the *Reichskirche*. The destruction of the *Reichskirche* eliminated the practical conditions that would allow German illustrated Catholics to rethink the Church on a national and independent model from Rome, because, although essentially bourgeois, this attempt at reform was openly dependent on the power and nobility influence on the structure of the National church. However, this does not mean that the whole effort was in vain. Instead, "in rethinking the church in the eighteenth century, German Catholics entered a new century of revolution and upheaval with a greater sense of identity and cohesion than they had at the close of the seventeenth century." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 212).

Indeed, German illustrated Catholics envisioned the possibility of institutional reform that would produce an independent Church adapted to the coming transformations of nascent modernity. What German Enlightenment Catholicism did not foresee, however, was that the institutional (and international) Catholic Church would be able to mobilize religious allegiances throughout the 19th century and become a powerful political force in the era of liberalism and nationalism. In this sense, we can affirm that the defeat of the ideals of an Enlighted Catholicism was not exactly due to the victories of Napoleon and the fall of the *Reichskirche*, but, years later, with the rise of ultramontanism and an unequaled strengthening of the Church and Roman clergy (and romanizing) among the population. Thus, it was the victory of ultramontanism in the 19th century that ended the plan for adapting Catholicism to modernity at that time. Thus, "given that the nineteenth-century church was by some measure more ultramontane, populist, and even superstitious (by the standards of the *katholishe Aufklärung*) than it had been at the close of the eighteenth century, it would seem that the break with the Catholic Enlightenment was total." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 214).

The limbo created between the end of the Reichskirche in 1805 and the definitive rise of ultramontanism from 1850 onwards created a fertile field for missionary action that produced a real political rise and social influence of Catholicism. More than that, from a socioeconomic point of view, ultramontane Catholicism concentrated on the popular strata, leaving aside a bourgeois project that was largely supported by Enlighted Catholicism. This preference would lead the German Catholic bourgeoisie to support – in general – liberalism, leaving the German middle class, to use Thomas Mergel's expression, "between the class and the confession" (MERGEL, 1994). For Michel Printy, this idea of "middle ground" of the German Catholic middle class, "rather than representing a 'peculiarity' of German Catholicism, was indeed its defining feature, a situation that fundamentally changed only after 1945." (PRINTY, 2009, p. 216).

In any case, the fact is that the Catholic experience with the Enlightenment gave German Catholicism the conditions to fight with Protestantism for the foundation of the German nation, as well as for the legitimacy also to fight for modernity and progress - at least until the rise of 19th century ultramontanism. However, in the course of the 19th century, ultramontane identity reached such hegemony in Catholicism that, in the words of Franz Schnabel, "in Protestant and liberal

[10] On this dual universality of German Enlighted Catholicism, see: MAURER, (2005).

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Germany almost never made a sincere effort to distinguish between Catholics whoever was 'liberal' or 'Roman'". (SCHNABEL, 1951, p. 269).

III. From Enlighted Catholicism to Ultramontanism: Romanticism as a Transition

The Napoleonic crisis and, with it, the Catholic Enlightenment itself in Germany, led the German scene to an important transition whose result would be the rise and strength of the ultramontane movement. However, this transition was marked by another important movement of opposition to the Enlightenment ideals that, as a consequence, would open the doors directly to ultramontane radicalism: romanticism.

Thus, in the face of the first major crises of meaning in nascent modernity, the fruit of results achieved through bloody battles, whether in the French revolution itself or in the Napoleonic wars, the West found itself on the verge of the transit of a rationalism and belief in objectivity for a tendency increasingly centered on the subjective individual, on the mystique and on the predilection for a lyrical past, whose medieval aspects would come to be highlighted as the opposite of the obscurity believed by the Illuminists of the previous century. This aspect of idyllic appreciation of the medieval past by Romanticism was in stark contrast to the look always on the future, which for decades sustained the Enlightenment. This contrast of temporal perspective was further widened with the rise of ultramontanism, which, by appropriating this overvaluation of the medieval, underpinned a radically anti-modern posture of the German Church.

From literature to philosophy, fine arts and religion, romanticism can be described as the intellectual movement "more specifically German of all" (CARPEAUX, 2013, p. 89) [11]. Born in the university city of Iena (close to Weimar), under the influence of Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), German romanticism spread as a direct opposition to Napoleonic enlightenment, rationalism and imperialism [12]. With important names in intellectual production - such as brothers August and Friedrich Schlegel, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Johann Gottfried von Herder, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, Friedrich von Schiller, among others - romanticism opened the necessary path for overcoming enlightenment and his ideals not only in philosophy and arts, but especially in religion. Thereby, "German Catholicism benefited from the change in mentality in Romanticism. Just think of the intellectual conversions of names like Friedrich Schlosser, Zacharias Werner and Friedrich Schlegel." (WEISS, 1983, p. 158).

In practical terms, romanticism exerted an important influence on German Catholicism in the first decades of the 19th century with a significant "emphasis on the irrational, the mystical and the magical" (WEISS, 1983, p. 31), making possible - and to some extent, habitual - a approach with mystical secret societies, such as Rosicrucian and groups linked to Kabbalah, or even - from a scientific-philosophical point of view - with mesmerism. [13]

In Bavaria, in particular, the most influential name in Catholic romanticism was the theologian and respected university professor Johann Michael Sailer. [14] Sailer'sirenist stance, as well as his political and religious influence in Bavaria, earned him the formation of a true "school" of followers, among whom King Louis I stands out (who greatly influenced his characteristic of romanticism), and other important and controversial names in Catholic theology and Bavarian politics in the following decades, such as the president of the Lower Bavarian government Johann Baptist von Zenetti, the theologian Joseph Franz von Allioli, the priest and later pastor founder of the Allgäu Protestant revival, Martin Boos, and the Bavarian theologian and historian, founder of the Altkatholik, Ignaz von Döllinger.

The so-called "Sailer School" *[Sailerschule]*, or Sailer Circle *[Sailerkreis]*, consequently, became the biggest influence in the so-called "spiritual revival" of the Catholic clergy in Bavaria in *Vormärz*, acting, in a special way, in the formation of all a generation of priests between the 1820s and 1840s, and thereby becoming a new model in the country's clerical formation. According to Werner Blessing:

> This model has grown in the priestly formation of the Bavarian dioceses [...]. Concentrating on this narrow clerical role further widened the gap between the

[11] Carpeaux also emphasizes in his argument that "it is enough to compare this German romanticism, of Novalis and Brentano, Eichendorff and Arnim, Tieck and Fouqué, with the French romanticism of Chateaubriand, Lamartine and Hugo or with the English romanticism of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley to understand the profound difference." (CARPEAUX, 2013, p. 89).

[12] Fichte himself, in his Speeches to the German Nation (Reden an die deutschen Nation), delivered between 1807 and 1808 at the Berlin Academy shortly after Napoleon's victories over Prussia, highlighted, according to Carpeaux, "the first impulses, the complex of superiority and terms of future German nationalism." (CARPEAUX, 2013, p. 91).

[13] Otto Weiss (1983, p. 34), points out that "'mesmerism'was fashionable during the romantic period. Philosophers like Franz von Baader, Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert, Carl Gustav Carus, physicians and naturalists have extensively focused on magnetism and somnambulism, sometimes associated with 'supernatural' phenomena, such as ghosts, obsession, clairvoyance, or even hypnotic state."

[14] Of Jesuit formation, son of a shoemaker and born in the small town of Aresing in 1751, Johann Michael Sailer can be considered one of the most influential religious people in Bavaria in the first half of the 19th century. With easy transit between the main politicians of the time, and adept in an irenist political-religious stance, Sailer moved and dialogued with ease both with Catholic enlightenment in its heyday, and with romanticism in the early decades of the nineteenth century. On Sailer's relationship with Catholic Enlightenment and its subsequent adaptation to romanticism, see: (VONDERACH, 1958).

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> priestly level and the "world". At the Lyceum and at the Seminar, their seclusion from society was rehearsed, as well as the elimination of popular pleasures, especially the visit to the taverns, the spiritual habit, the "dignified" appearance, without bad "mundane" habits such as smoking, and even political abstinence. For a "spiritual renewal of the clergy" the reading of the Bible, prayer, frequent reception of the Sacraments and spiritual exercises were strongly prescribed. (BLESSING, 1982, p. 87.)

In summary, therefore, it is possible to state that "Sailer's example shows how the connection between Catholic Enlightenment, traditional Jesuit religiosity and experience with mystical theology in romanticism achieved a fabulous synthesis, which led to a profound religious renewal in followers of Sailer." (WEISS, 1984, p. 38). If, on the one hand, at the end of the 18th century the Catholicism of the Bavarian intellectuality and bourgeoisie presented itself as one of the great centers of a possible religious enlightenment, on the other hand, between the second and the fourth decade of the 19th century, it was the Catholic romanticism that gave the tone in the way the new generation of priests would direct the religious life of the local population, rekindling in the daily practices the mystical and miraculous character that the Illustration had tried to erase, and thus anticipating in at least two decades a religious revival claimed by the ultramontanism in the other German states. As Blessing rightly noted, "Bavaria, after two decades as a stronghold of rationalism, has again taken on a decidedly Catholic profile, whose real scope of that mentality corresponds to something more than this picture can show." (BLESSING, 1982, p. 111).

In any case, the revaluation of popular religiosity through the emphasis given to the mystical experience as opposed to the enlightenment rationalization also opened space for an important ascending trend in the Catholic Church, whose appropriation of that same religiosity with the purpose of centralizing and strengthening the institution itself (especially compared to the ecumenical tendency of the Sailer Circle) was strongly expressed in ultramontanism.

The transition from romanticism to ultramontanism in the mid-1840s in Germany took place in a very tumultuous context. Concomitant to the growing industrialization, the rural exodus and the consequent class clashes, several academic productions, especially in the areas of Philosophy and History (the latter already in the process of consolidation as a discipline), started to debate something that the Catholic Enlightenment from the previous century has managed to camouflage to some extent: the historical existence of Jesus. Authors such as Johannes Voigt, Ludwig Büchner, Arnold Ruge and Jacob Moleschott produced several works of impact and religious challenge. Nothing, however, compared to Friedrich David Strauß's famous *Das Leben Jesu*, published in 1835 and the philosophical materialism of Ludwig Feuerbach in his 1841 *Das Wesen des Christentums*. According to Sérgio da Mata,

> The publication of The Life of Jesus (1835) would place Strauss at the center of an unprecedented controversy - and not just in theological circles. At a time already shaken by growing liberal political unrest, Strauss shook German public opinion in a way that would only be surpassed, thirteen years later, by the publication of the Communist Party Manifesto. Applying to the figure of Jesus the method of "allegorical interpretation", he dared to search the symbolic axis of Christianity, questioning its "historical" authenticity. (MATA, 2010, p. 50).

In the face of this turbulent context of social (which would culminate in the 1848 revolutions) and ideological transformations - in which historicism and materialism, as well as liberal/modern ideals, came to represent an intellectual threat to the rising mystical religiosity - German Catholicism it began to project itself more and more markedly in a radical discourse of Catholic unity under the banner of the Pope and total rejection of liberal-modern and non-Catholic ideological tendencies in general. This general change in the German Zeitgeist, as Otto Weiss points out, led to the rise of the ultramontane spirit so that, "a real encounter with time has been avoided and has only reinforced [among Catholics] the isolation in society and culture."(WEISS, 1987, p. 161).

Romanticism, therefore, served as an important bridge between the overcoming of Catholic Illustration and the rise of ultramontanism in Germany. Notwithstanding its equal opposition to rationalism, however, the romantic movement in Catholicism has far distanced itself from ultramontane papist fundamentalism, adopting tendencies closer to ecumenism and the national autonomy of the German Church, typical of the claims of Catholic Enlightenment. The result, however, was the ultramontane victory, predominant in German Catholicism from the 1840s.

IV. Ultramontanism and the Catholic Fight Against Modernity

In general terms, the ultramontane movement can be described as "a series of attitudes by the Catholic Church, in a movement of reaction to some theological and ecclesiastical currents, to the regalism of Catholic states, to the new political trends developed after the French Revolution and the secularization of the modern society." (SANTIROCCHI, 2010, p. 24). In this sense, it has some characteristics, such as: the defense of the overlapping papal authority over national states, the return to scholasticism as a basic doctrine for Catholicism, the reestablishment of orders and missionary activities (such as the Society of Jesus and

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Redemptorists), and, among other things, pointing out the "dangers" and "enemies of the Church" (Galicanism, Jansenism, regalism, liberalism in all its aspects, modernism, Protestantism, Freemasonry, socialism, separation between Church and State, etc.). This Catholic current became predominant in positions of importance for the management of the institution, especially during the papacy of Gregory XVI (1831-1846) and Pius IX (1846-1878) culminating in the First Vatican Council, held between 1869 and 1870.

From a more incisive point of view, ultramontanism can still be seen as a kind of "papal absolutism" [15], especially when considering its character not only anti-modern, but, fundamentally, its opposition to democracy, individual liberties and free thought, of in order to centralize the political and cultural power in the figure of the Pope and the Church. Thus, from this "Catholic fundamentalist turn" (MATA, 2007, p. 225), it is possible to affirm that the Church in the 19th century "is at that point that Émile Poulat defined as 'absolute zero' of dialogue with modernity."(MATA, 2007, p. 226).

The rise and consolidation of ultramontanism in German states from the second quarter of the 19th century is directly linked to the effects of the liberal revolutionary upheavals of 1848 and 1849. With a large majority of supporters from the German countryside, Catholicism also became imperative among the mass of urban workers, the result of the rural exodus in Germany's industrialization process. (SPERBER, 1984, p. 39).

The result of this migratory movement was, therefore, the reinforcement of social stratification, especially in urban areas, whose religious character stood out in the class division itself. In general, even in areas of Catholic majority, the Protestant minority was disproportionately bourgeois, made up especially of merchants, industrialists, bureaucrats and professionals. In contrast, in the working class the Catholic majority predominated, which, in general, was largely confined to the lower strata of the population, working in factories and mines as day laborers, or, at most, as small independent entrepreneurs or masters of the trade.

These new social configurations aggravated the climate of instability that preceded the revolutions of 1848 and 1849. In general, the news of the March 1848 uprisings in Berlin, as well as the serious economic crisis and the progress of socialist and liberal-democratic criticism about the current political system, generated widespread social unrest in several states of the German Confederation.[16]

Faced with this climate of social tension, whose strength was mainly in the hands of the popular masses (mostly Catholic), the Catholic Church rose as the main arm of the State in containing political and social instability. In addition to the political counter-revolutionary measures[17], the Prussian State (which divided sovereignty over the states of the Confederation with the Catholic monarchy of Austria) saw in the ultramontane Catholic Church an important ally against the social unrest of the masses.

With broad support gained among the secular and regular clergy throughout the first half of the 19th century (taking advantage especially of the desire for reform fostered, but not realized, by the Enlighted Catholicism of the previous century), ultramontanism saw in crises and revolts from 1848 the opportunity to gain space with the Prussian State. Concomitantly with the Frankfurt Assembly, where King Frederick William IV of Prussia debated solutions with the liberals and democrats for social upheavals, the bishops and archbishops of the German Catholic dioceses met in Würzburg (just over 100 km from Frankfurt) to evaluate the situation of the confederate states and planning a counter-revolution[18]. For the clerics in Würzburg, at the end of their meeting, the revolts were not just the result of political, economic and social problems, but, above all, "cause and effect, they reasoned, of a failure of religion and morality that threatened the church as much as monarchical authority." (GROSS, 2011, p. 30).

The outcome of both the assembly in Frankfurt and Würzburg was a successful counter-revolution that appeased political (with democratic concessions that, in the last analysis, very little altered the nobility benefit regime) and popular, giving real opening from the Prussian state to ultramontane action between Catholic and non-Catholic faithful. The victory of the counterrevolution produced an informal alliance between Church and State that would last for two decades; enough for a radical transformation of Catholic influence both in the population and in politics, something that aroused the mistrust and open

[15] Although imprecise, the idea of a "papal absolutism" here refers, on the one hand, to the ultramontane political tendency in support of the monarchical regime that prevailed in pre-French Revolution Europe (known by historiography as Old Regime, or absolutism), and, on the other, for the defense that all spiritual and temporal power be submitted to the pope and the Church. Other authors referring to the theme even coined expressions such as "papist Shi'ism" to refer to the secular policy of ultramontanism. Cf.: MATA, 2007, p. 226.

[16] German Confederation *[Deutscher Bund]* was the economic and political association created at the Vienna Congress in 1815 by which the German states dissociated from the Rhine Confederation (started by Napoleon in 1806 after it has dissolved the Holy German Empire) were united, bringing together a total 39 states (among kingdoms, duchies and free cities) under the hegemony of Austria and Prussia. The German Confederation actually existed until 1866, when Prussia defeated Austria and created the North German Confederation *[Norddeutscher Bund]*, which the end result of was the unified German Empire from 1871. On the subject, see: (BLACKBOURN, 2003).

[17] In order not to dwell on descriptions of the political contours of this historical period, we recommend for this discussion: BLACKBOURN (2003); BROSE (1997).

[18] About the role of the Catholic Church as a counterrevolutionary agent in the 19th century, see: JAEGER (1976).

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opposition not only of liberals and democrats, but of the Prussian Protestant state itself, culminating in the so-called *Kulturkampf*.[19]

A factor of significant importance in this process of the rise of ultramontanism, both in Germany and in Europe in general, was the progressive proliferation of means of communication linked to the most radical Catholic interests. Thus, the formation of Catholic newspapers and magazines in line with his perspective marked a fundamental strategy to establish a discursive space in which "the press could play a crucial consciousness-raising role." (CLARK; KAISER, 2003, p. 24). That way,

> In the Italian states, the few Catholic titles sucessfully launched during the Restoration era were mainly of ultramontane inspiration. In France, the single most importantejornal of Catholic opinion in the 1840s was L'Univers, initially founded by Abbé Migne in 1833 for purposes of general edification but subsequently transformed by its new editor-in-chief, Louis Veuillot, into the most combative and influential organ of European ultramontanism. In Spain, the 'New Catholic press' of the 1840s – La Revista Católica of Barcelona, El Católico of Madrid and La Cruz of Seville – focused Catholic attention on incidentes of government harassment and provided a forum for ultramontane opinion in the parishes. In Germany, too, where a detailed survey has been made of the Catholic press in the Restoration era, journals of ultramontane orientation accounted for the lion's share of the ninety-five new titles launched between 1815 and 1847. (CLARK; KAISER, 2003, p. 24).

These publications represented an institutional direction of the Catholic Church that was moving towards the centralization of ecclesiastical power in Rome, or more specifically, in the figure of the Pope. Although initially reaching a small audience, these initiatives already presented some evidence of the Catholic search for the dissemination of its precepts in the popular imagination.

This trend has intensified over time, causing the papacy itself to develop "a broad-circulation press organ of its own." (CLARK; KAISER, 2003, p. 26)Thus, in 1850, the foundation of Civilità Cattolica was born, a newspaper that gained international notoriety as a kind of official voice of the pontificate of Pius IX, so that "provided the pope with a potent means of influencing public opinion." (CLARK; KAISER, 2003, p. 29).

Through these means, and papal encyclicals, Catholicism - and, more specifically, ultramontanism - conditioned a worldview in which the composition of European society was divided binary, in such a way that "the forces of Christ were arrayed against those of Satan." (CLARK; KAISER, 2003, p. 39)In this way, the Church instigated the idea that all those who did not align themselves with the norms given by the Holy See were necessarily involved with the forces of evil.

In addition, the very way in which the Holy See built its image fueled the upsurge of these conflicts, because in addition to condemning its opponents, it treated itself as a victim of the onslaught of secular powers, in such a way that "there was a widespread tendency to equate the Sacred Heart of Jesus with the person of the 'suffering' pontiff." (CLARK; KAISER, 2003, p. 22)In this way, the Holy See expanded its legitimacy in the eyes of the faithful, begging itself for the position of martyr.

All this rhetorical apparatus guided the lines by which ultramontanism conditioned its action in the discursive field. In the practical field, there were also important actions carried out by missionary movements (especially Jesuits and Redemptorists) in an attempt to appropriate popular religiosity, under the institutional support of the Holy See.

Fulfilling its role as a counterrevolutionary agent, already in the wake of the upheavals of 1848 and 1849, the Catholic Church called for its missionary crusade in favor of reversing the contesting political framework and, more importantly, revitalizing the clerically controlled Catholic faith. The counterrevolutionary environment and the broad support of the State greatly benefited the Catholic Church.

In practically every mission call, clergy called on Catholics to repent of the revolutionary uprisings of previous years. In return, the civilian authorities expanded as far as they could the area of influence of counterrevolutionary Catholicism. After the mission in Düsseldorf in 1851, for example, the local police commissioner ordered the Jesuit sermons to be printed and distributed to the public, "in order to restore order in a city that had once been a center of democratic radicalism during 1848 and 1849." (GROSS, 2011, p. 42).

This ultramontane and, therefore, reactionary and papist character of the missionary congregations left the Catholic middle and bourgeois class divided, especially those who descended from the attempts to create a national and illustrated Church. On the one hand, religious loyalty, but on the other, a Church that became increasingly averse to the modern project and eagerly approached ignorant peasants, reinforcing the pietistic and devotional practices of a Baroque Catholicism, while still justifying the system of privileges of the aristocracy. In addition, for the traditional local clergy, as well as for many episcopal authorities, ultramontanism often seemed coercive and repressive.

In any case, despite localized suspicions, missionary activities in the 19th century were unquestionably successful and resulted in the revival of institutional Catholicism in a surprising way. Men and women who had not confessed or received the

[19] About the Kulturkampf, see: GOMES FILHO, 2019.

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Eucharist for decades did so piously in missionary activities. Many of those who had been "seduced" by Enlighted Catholicism or modern ideas appeared as signs of victory in reports by various pastors and missionaries. On January 20, 1859, for example, a priest from the city of Worbis in the Diocese of Paderborn reported that "The indifference that ran like a thread through the so-called illustrated strata and that also often infected the working class [...] was now transformed into religious conviction." [20]In the small town of Jücken in the Diocese of Cologne, young people of the upper class, "who had become indifferent and morally depraved as a result of reading and traveling", now recanted their ridicule of religion and declared their loyalty to the Church." [21]As early as 1853, the Bishop of Eichstätt, Georg von Öttl, declared with joy that "a fear of God and Christian propriety blossomed again"; those "bedazzled by the arrogance of a false Enlightenment were awakened again to belief in God by the power of the divine word." [22]

In this way, the Holy See called upon its clergy and faithful to adhere to the Chair of Peter, in order to preserve the Catholic faith from the investiture of perceptions which it considered impious.[23] In addition, this line of action led to a whole process of missionary expansion that widened the means of influencing public opinion.

Thus, the "civilizing" mission bequeathed to ultramontanism against the impious forces of the modern world identifies a strong combative content in dealing with the nuances that mark the period. This whole strategy, however, raised an inherent paradox in this conflict, because at the same time that the Church takes a reactionary position regarding the progress of the world identified by modern currents, it sees itself as the bearer of the legitimate narrative as opposed to "profane debacle" that it believes to be present in what, later on, would be called pejoratively by itself "modernism".

V. Catholic Identity: The Modernist Case and the *Altkatholische* in Germany

The period following the papacy of Pius IX is marked, despite the decline of ultramontanism as an influential force within the body of the Church, still for the preservation of the discourse contrary to the modern world. However, differently from the height of ultramontanism, from the papacy of Leo XIII (1878-1903), the struggle against modern influence passed from the outside to the interior of the Church, therefore, with a focus on the clergy, reaching the tendencies to update Catholic theological that became pejoratively known as "modernisms".

As a result of Catholic adaptations to modern political, cultural and theological trends - and, indirectly, heir to Catholic Jansenism, Galicanism, Irenism, Enlightenment and Liberalism - the so-called "Catholic modernism", in general, was opposed to the "backwardness of science ecclesiastical, as they said, in relation to secular culture and scientific discoveries." (POULAT. *Apud*: LE GOFF, 2013, p. 174) Despite its pluralities, Catholic modernism was thus named by Pius X (1903-1914) as if it were a single movement.[24] For the pontiff, it was the new enemy to be fought, and this one should be sought no more "among declared enemies; but, which is a lot to feel and fear, they hide in the very heart of the Church, thus becoming more harmful as less perceived."(PIO X, 1907, p. 2).

This new "declaration of war" of the papacy against modernity, it is necessary to realize, has in the speech of the "internal enemy" a very important differential. It is no longer a struggle against national states, nor against modernization and its practical effects. Rather, this new Catholic stance appears to be averse no longer to the modern world itself, but to the modern world not institutionally controlled by the Church. Therefore, a new possibility of expectations for nineteenth-century Catholicism opens up: it is necessary to adapt to modernity, but not to allow it to be "corrupted"; a survival in the inevitable future, assuring "the guarantees of the Catholic name."(PIO X, 1907, p. 2).

The disputes, which would become even more accentuated in the twentieth century, begin to gain, therefore, a new character, much more abstract and focused on issues of the Catholic Church's own faith and apologetics. In spite of this, the maintenance of an entire body of clergy oriented to the formation and conditioning of an imaginary contrary to modernism continued to be an important issue in this period,

[20] Pf. Huschenbett na Bischof Konrad Martin, Worbis, 20 Jan. 1859. *Aktenstücke*, 276. Apud: GROSS, (2011, p. 54).
[21] Pf. Döhler na den Erzbischof Paulus von Köln, Jüncken, 21 Jan. 1868. *Aktenstücke*, 373. Apud: GROSS, (2011, p. 54).
[22] Fasten-Hirtenbrief des Bischofs Georg Öttl von Eichstätt, Eichstätt, 23 Jan. 1853*Aktenstücke*, 186. Apud: GROSS (2011, p. 54).
[23] In the words of Pope Pius IX himself, the main name of ultramontanism: "[...] errors that not only try to ruin the Catholic Church, with its healthy doctrine and sacrosanct rights, but also the eternal natural law engraved by God in all hearts and still right reason." (PIO IX, Papa. *Quanta Cura*. MONTFORT Associação Cultural. Sítio eletrônico: http://www.montfort.org.br/index.php?secao=documentos&subsecao=enciclicas&artigo=quantacura.Acesso: 13/02/2020)
[24] According to Pius X, "And since modernists (such is the name by which they are commonly and rightly called) with astutious deception tend to present their doctrines uncoordinated and together as a whole, but dispersed and as separate from each other, in order to to be considered doubtful and uncertain, while in fact they are firm and constant, it is fitting, Venerable Brothers, to first show the same doctrines here in one frame, and show them the nexus with which they form one body, and then to inquire into the causes of errors and prescribe remedies to curb their harmful effects." (PIO X, 1907, p. 3)

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creating institutional spaces just as in the predecessor papacy. About this institutional paradigm shift, therefore, it is possible to say that:

> The church's leaders, the popes and their secretaries of state, attempted to freeze their policy in relational forms that were no longer possible. As that struggle became more and more impossible, there occurred a retreat from all effective foreign policy and a concentration upon the inner forum: the minds, hearts, wills and consciences of the institution's members. A review of the Vatican's foreign ministers and their policies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will reveal that the anti-Modernist spasm at the turn of the century represents the final stage of a failed foreign policy program of almost a century's duration. (LEASE, 2000, p. 32).

In other words, with the decline of the ultramontane movement and the irreversibility of the triumph and consolidation of modern, liberal and republican ideals, the Catholic Church turned to itself in order to preserve the values it considered correct, since the very success of the modernist proposal had also infiltrated the institution itself. This need, moreover, was already marked in the papacy of Leo XIII, in such a way that they understood that "a Church State was absolutely essential for Christian civilization to flourish and for Europe to enjoy tranquility." (LEASE, 2000, p. 47)But it is in the next papacy, in Pius X, that the expression of this proposal becomes more latent, as it progressed "notion of an internation treaty that would confirm the independence of the Holy See." (LEASE, 2000, p. 49).

Another point to stand out from the papacy of Pius X, also, concerns his secretary of state, Merry del Val, who had, during his life, very close links with ultramontanism. According to Gary Lease:

> [...] Merry del Val, under the direction of Pius X, abandoned any attempt to achieve reconciliation or accommodation with the new political constellations in Europe, North and South America, and the East. Instead, their reaction to the collapse of a Church State and the resultant decline in the political power and role of the Vatican was to refocus the church's attention and energies upon the so-called inner forum, namely the consciences of the faithful. If one cannot control the actions and policies of other countries and their governments, then one can at least control what their populations believe.(LEASE, 2000, p. 50).

In this way, the internal policy of the Catholic Church maintained its fundamentalist character, adopting a kind of post-ultramontanism that continues, under other guidelines, to fight the modern world, now under the banner of "modernism" within the very heart of the Church. Above all, Pius X's policy has therefore become "na anti-Modernist campaign to protect the substance of faith."(LEASE, 2000, p. 51)This campaign can be seen in the main papal document released on the subject, the encyclical *Pascendidominicigregis*, published by Pope Pius X in 1907. In it, according to the pontiff,

> [...] Modernism emerges as an orchestrated movement, constituting an assault upon orthodoxy on many fronts. The Modernist appears now as philosopher, then as apologist, elsewhere as historian or critic, other times as reformer or as theologian. The encyclical gathers up these fragments and organizes them into a coherent system that their dispersive presentation conceals, thus revealing Modernism as "the synthesis of all heresies"-a step beyond the errors of Protestantism, teetering on the brink of atheism. (TALAR, 2007, p. 493).

In other words, the encyclical Pascendi guides a whole discourse that is contrary to the propagation of the modernist ideology within the heart of the Church, since it understands that "what is intended to 'modernize' is the conception and the same structure of the Faith."(FELÍCIO, 2002. p. 374) To this end, the encyclical itself makes use of some measures in order to develop control mechanisms to confront such ideas, in such a way that:

> [...] these countermeasures, augmented by a campaign of denunciation conducted by so-called "integralists," succeeded in creating their own climate of fear that inhibited Catholic scholarly initiatives in a number of theological subdisciplines for decades. (TALAR, 2007, p. 493).

In this way, the Church restrained the advance of modernism within religious institutions and seminaries. And even the very substance of the modernist faith, according to anti-modernists, provoked a sense of betrayal to the Church, which understood this disruptive factor as an affront to the Catholic faith. In this way, the apologetic changes proposed by the modernists were viewed in a pejorative way by those who were in tune with Pius X's discourse. Therefore, it was common to transpose immanence as the foundation of faith, according to the modernists, for whom:

> The negative principle of agnosticism finds its complement in a positive principle of vital immanence; the two provide for a naturalistic basis for the religious sense. This sense evolves, and with it evolves the symbolic expressions that derive from it - in short, a third principle of evolutionism that Modernists apply to dogmas. (TALAR, 2007, p. 496).

Much influenced by philosophy and science, the modernists transferred the character of faith from transcendental revelation to an immanent feeling that affects the faithful, in which "the religious feeling, which by vital immanence arises from the hiding places of the subconsciousness, is therefore the germ of all the

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religion and the reason for everything that has been and will still be in any religion". (PIO X, 1907, p. 6)This proposal, in addition to individualizing the faith, consequently depriving the Church's imbued function of conceiving dogmas necessary to the faith, establishes a profusion of possibilities that marks the opening to a magnitude of strands of interpretation of the faith, even because the modernists understood, according to the Holy See, that "dogmas can not only, but positively must evolve and change"(PIO X, 1907, p. 6), then proclaiming an ecumenical sense of faith; tendency, by the way, hindered by the Catholic Church at least until the Second Vatican Council, already in the second half of the 20th century. In response to this problem, therefore, it was suggested that the only way to escape this principle "lies somewhere in the turn to transcendence, that is, through the full hearted love of some good beyond life." (TAYLOR, 1996, p. 27).

Upset, the modernists bluntly asserted that "there are modernisms rather than a Modernism" (TALAR, 2007, p. 498)and, therefore, the Church's attempt to model a single, standardized system was improper, causing them to formulate criticisms of the institutional *modus operandi* established by the Holy See, since:

> [...] this aroused the protest of the scholars concerned who managed to prove that they had no common philosophical presuppositions but only a sincere desire to understand and accept the general development of scientific knowledge. (BERTALOT, 1959, p. 25).

Despite this, Bertalot leads us to the reasoning that, in spite of not constituting itself as a system as described by the Church, the formation of modernist thought, in its most varied forms, was raised through a cornerstone, since "the Modernists' notion of immanence is the vital a priori of their theology." (BERTALOT, 1959, p. 26).

This complete mismatch between the accusations made by the Holy See and the respective defense of the modernists produced, at times, a certain paradox. The case of the Italian modernist Ernesto Buonaiti is interesting in this sense, because although he contradicted the Church's accusation that the modernists were giving priority to philosophy and placing the Church under the yoke of the philosophers' opinions, he also assumed that "in experience there is an implicit philosophy that waits to be properly formulated."(BERTALOT, 1959, p. 30)This contradiction, on both sides, was present in almost the entire period of existence of the battle between Catholic modernism and the Holy See.

Still regarding this change in conceptions about Catholic apologetics, the anti-modernist wing defined modernism as "the view that believers draw the object and motive of their Faith from within, denying historically revealed truth and the teaching authority of the Church." (ERB, 2015, p. 259)Basically, there was an opposition to the consensus of objective truth marked in the apologetic philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, for a proposal of faith based on subjective truths arising from the religious feeling of each believer. Like this:

> Dogmas, such as that concerning marriage, can be altered radically, because the identity of a nature is changeable according to circumstances, desire, or, as the modernists say, "life." For Aquinas, by contrast, a nature is not an accidental feature of life, but refers to the necessities of the species itself. (ERB, 2015, p. 265-66).

From this, a conflict of narratives was drawn that lasted for decades, between two poles of meaning. These perspectives fostered a vacuum of meaning in the constitutive of the Catholic faith, bringing up a problem of latent identity. This sense "is nothing more than a complex form of consciousness: it does not exist in itself, but it always has an object of reference" (BERGER; LUCKMANN, 2004, p. 39).and, from the moment that this objective reference is undermined, there is an emptying of identification in this process. With the insertion of a multitude of competing proponents of meaning, therefore, "where the modern form of pluralism is fully developed, the orders of values and the reserves of meaning are no longer common property" (BERGER; LUCKMANN, 2004, p. 39),that is, with the proliferation of modernist apologetics. and the diversity of propositions defended by them, the Catholic identity closest to the outdated ultramontanism would begin to collapse and fall apart, since it would no longer represent a safe nucleus of meaning. Overtime:

> With self-referentiality, the distance, the independence, the isolation that separates man from the relationship with the divine and with Nature, grow by force, like Narcissus, so much to look and fixate on himself. And, at the same time, the process of decomposing the balances advances, the harmony of the whole is dissipated, the awareness of crisis and the undefined symptom of the day that gets dark worsens. In its dispersion, each fragment has a history to invent the drift of a world that shattered. And he clings to that fiction as a castaway who, in the uncertainty of the moment, can still hold him to the absolute of life. (ABREU, 2016, p. 26.)

To solve the problem of this identity crisis, the Church proposed a return to Thomism, revisiting its premises and advocating for the objective truth in the Catholic faith, found, according to Aquinas' philosophy, in the revelation of Jesus Christ. This return to Thomism, however, had been proposed since the papacy of Leo XIII.

> With the encyclical Aeterni Patri (August 4, 1879) he enjoined a return to the traditional metaphisics of St.

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> Thomas Aquinas. With the Providentissimus Deus (November 18, 1893) he expressly condemned the "disquieting tendencies" in biblical interpretation. (BERTALOT, 1959, p. 7)

It is in this scenario that, therefore, under the banner of defending the substance of the Catholic faith, the Holy See established modes of action against the modernist onslaught, imbuing itself with the legitimacy to obstruct the modernist incursion, in such a way that:

> If, therefore, at a glance we look at the whole system, no one will be surprised to hear us define them, claiming to be the synthesis of all heresies. What is certain is that if someone proposed to add, as it were, the distillate of all errors, which have been raised up to date with regard to faith, it would never be able to reach a more complete result than the modernists have achieved. So far have they gone, as we have already noted, that they have destroyed not only Catholicism, but any other religion.(PIO X, 1907, p. 26).

In its struggle against modernism, therefore, the Church established seven guidelines to be followed, in the conflict between the imaginary between the modernist and anti-modernist bodies. The first one concerned changes in the teaching of the seminaries, so that "scholastic philosophy is taken as the basis of sacred studies." This option for scholasticism and, let it be used, primarily through the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, aimed at preserving the objective substance of faith. It is also worth remembering that they considered that "for the future the doctorate of theology and canon law must never be conferred on anyone who has not first of all made the regular course of scholastic philosophy; if conferred, it shall be held as null and void." (LEMIUS, 1908, p. 119).

The second, more practical guideline concerned the appointment of directors and professors at Catholic seminaries and universities. The attention to the choice guided the perception that "everyone who has modernist tendencies, whoever he is, must be removed from both positions and teaching; and if you already have possession, it must be removed."(PIO X, 1907, p. 32)The third corroborated the control of reading, in order to "ensure that the books of the modernists already published are not read, and that new publications are prohibited." (PIO X, 1907, p. 33)The fourth constituted the control of the printing of books, ordering that "there are, therefore, in all the episcopal Curias censors for the revision of writings in the process of publication." (PIO X, 1907, p. 34)The fifth guided the attempt to prevent the meeting of the modernists. The sixth promulgated the establishment of councils of men whose task it was to examine, in its local context, the profusion of modernist "errors". Finally, the Church still establishes a final norm, so that:

> [...] one year after the publication of these Letters, and then, after every three years, with diligent and sworn exposition, the Bishops inform the Holy See about what is prescribed in these Letters and the doctrines that circulate in the clergy. and particularly in seminaries and other Catholic Institutes, not even those who are exempt from the authority of the Ordinary. We have ordered the same thing to the Superiors general of the religious Orders, in relation to their subjects. (PIO X, 1907, p. 37).

All the formation of this institutional apparatus in order to combat modernism demonstrates, above all, the impregnation of modernist theology within the very heart of the Church and its attempt to reject it. The "cultural wars" experienced in the 18th and 19th century,[25] as demonstrated in the previous sections, bequeathed to the turn of the century a relationship of duality in the Catholic vs. Catholic's modernism opposition. At the same time that the context of the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth marks the sedimentation of national states and the victory of political and cultural models promulgated by modernist movements, an inexorable feature of the solidification of modernity as such, Catholic modernism encountered strong internal resistance of the Church itself, still preserving traces of the ultramontane fundamentalism of the last century. This duality ended up causing an instability in the Catholic identity, which was shaken in some of its basic aspects.

In the German case, whose prominence we give in this article, Catholic modernism found an even more conflicted environment, whose context was still inserted in the so-called *Kulturkampf*. Even so, it is worth noting that, in the German case, a current derived from Catholic modernism, originating in the liberal bourgeoisie and in intellectual circles, gained special attention: the self-styled *Altkatholische*.

Founded out of opposition to the declaration of papal infallibility in 1870, and still of a highly charged character by the intellectualism of Enlighted Catholicism, the small but significant group of the *Altkatholische* was very well accepted by liberalism and the German State, especially for their declared allegiance to emperor and opposition to ultramontane Catholicism and its values.

For Roman Catholics, however, the group was seen as an anti-Catholic and arrogantly intellectual sect. In a pastoral letter of 1874, the bishop of Paderborn, Konrad Martin, referred to the *Altkatholische* as "a church of statesmen and professors" (SPERBER, 1984, p. 236). Already at a meeting at the Mainz Association in Düsseldorf, a local speaker referred to the group as "men of German scholarship who esteem their academic arrogance more highly than they esteem the Pope and the bishops" (SPERBER, 1984, p. 236).

[25] The term "Culture Wars" to describe this context is by Christopher Clark (2003).

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Roman Catholics' opposition to the *Altkatholische* became more tense from 1875, when the *Reichstag* passed a law that defined the sectarian group as an independent religious confession. Because of this status, this law guaranteed that in the area where there was a considerable number of followers of the said confession, the Roman diocese should share its temples with the new religious segment.

The consequence of the new legislation was a set of violent revolts by Roman Catholics, encouraged primarily by the ultramontane clergy who saw the *Altkatholische* not only as apostates, but as traitors to the political cause of Catholicism and the papacy in the newly created empire. In Lippstadt, for example, a reportedly *Altkatholisch* priest, Friedrich Michelis, was attacked when he tried to preach. In Witen (Bochum district), a group of *Altkatholische* was attacked by an angry mob after they performed their first services in a Catholic church that the authorities had given them. (SPERBER, 1984, p. 231) In Cologne, according to Jonathan Sperber, the men who joined the sectarian group were afraid to make their public adherence, keeping it secret even from their wives, fearing their pious wrath from women who were very involved in the Ultramontan Catholic revival throughout the second half of the century. (SPERBER, 1984, p. 234).

Not only women, but the significant majority of the Catholic laity made the practical application of *Kulturkampf* laws gradually inoperative. Not only in expressive political support for the Catholic candidates of the Center Party during the elections, but especially in the indisputable allegiance to the clergy, the Catholic laity frustrated each year that the liberal expectations for the transformation of the German empire succeeded from the annulment of Catholicism. In 1874, for example, the Bishop of Paderborn, Konrad Martin, issued a pastoral letter condemning the *Altkatholische* and summoning all of his pastors to read it in his sermons. Although the provincial governor of Westphalia was determined to prosecute, under the law of the pulpit, every priest who read the letter, the authorities had enormous difficulties in finding witnesses who assumed they would remember the incriminating sermon. Called to testify about the church process in Paderborn, for example, the local schoolmaster explained that he was on the organ and could not hear the sermon; already another witness of the same case stated that he had a headache that day and therefore did not pay attention; other witnesses claimed to have suffered sudden memory losses and, therefore, said that they knew nothing about the said sermons.(SPERBER, 1984, p. 249).

The condemnation of the *Altkatholische*, as well as in modernism itself, by the German Catholic Church, therefore, followed the trend already outlined throughout the entire 19th century of a real "cultural war", whose specific context of the *Kulturkampf* very much corroborated for the theme it did in fact reach physical conflicts and, ultimately, matters of state.

VI. Conclusions

The Catholic modernist movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries should not be seen as the result of its specific context alone. On the contrary, the theological, political and cultural disputes within the Catholic Church for the adaptation or not of the institution to the modernity in consolidation took place through important internal movements, such as Catholic Enlightenment, Romanticism, Ultramontanism, the Alkatholische and, finally, Modernism. Such movements, more than internal Catholic disputes, should be seen as examples of the vast cleavage of ideas and the gradient of possibilities that exist within a complex institution such as the Catholic Church.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the struggles between the Catholic Church and modernity throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries demonstrate, on the one hand, the complex context of consolidation of the modern world in view of the traditions rooted in the world that preceded it, and, on the other hand, the need to realize that modernity, although triumphant in the 19th century, was never a univocal and coherent process.

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