

RUPERT KLIEBER

PAPAL REIGN BY SYMBOLIC ACTION AND EMOTIONAL COMMUNICATION

OPPORTUNITIES AND STRATEGIES TO INFLAME THE « ROMAN SPIRIT » IN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

« How many divisions does the Pope have? ». Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili, otherwise known as Joseph Stalin, is reputed to have asked this question in 1944. His cynicism was occasioned by discussions on whether the Holy See under Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) should be involved in negotiations on the reorganisation of Europe. Stalin had been one of the not inconsiderable number of contemporary figures to cause sleepless nights already for Pius XI. According to the 1926 *Annuario Pontificio*, Pius' « divisions » comprised a few companies of the Swiss Guard, the *Guardia Palatina di Onore* und the *Gendarmeria Pontificia*, along with 17 officers and, in addition, 93 members of the *Corpo delle Guardie Nobili Pontificie*.¹ It goes without saying that the significance and influence of the Popes in the period after 1870 was not rooted in this token fighting force. Rather their power depended directly on the presence and acceptance of the highest Catholic office and of its incumbents – above all among the Catholic population and consequently in the context of the era's power games in national politics. Using Austria and Hungary as examples, this article discusses a number of questions with reference to the symbolic and emotional aspects of the reign of Pius XI: Are there signs of a specific « policy of emotions and symbols »? If so, which traditional or new instruments served this policy, and with what success? To what degree did curial ambitions encounter resistance or limitations posed by social conditions in a particular country?

Austria and Hungary undoubtedly belonged to the countries that lost most as a result of the First World War. The peace treaties of St Germain and Trianon transformed the two core territories of the great Habsburg Monarchy into small, humbled states which fell victim to considerable social and political tensions in the immediate post-War years. As a result, the public position of the churches came under multiple threat,

¹ AP, 1926, p. 628-631, 710.

particularly at the time of Béla Kun's Soviet Republic in Hungary in 1919.² The undisguised anti-clericalism of the political left and numerous right-wing groups, along with a fear of governments which could limit the legal privileges and social influence of the dominant Roman Catholic Church, once again mobilised a variety of forces in the Catholic camp. In Hungary in particular, the national traumas of the Soviet republic of Béla Kun 1919 and the Trianon treaty of 1920 gave rise to an unprecedented awakening and «Catholic renaissance» (Norbert Spannenberger) in the following decades.³ The ambitious goal of these efforts was a comprehensive «rechristianisation» of society, regarded as the only remedy for the prevailing tensions. That was also the declared aim of the pontificate of Pius XI with its motto of *Pax Christi in regno Christi*. The Pope wrote on this theme in a number of programmatic treatises and overtly encouraged increased curial efforts to strengthen the symbolic presence and emotional acceptance of the Papacy in the Catholic world.⁴ His ambitions became evident on several levels.

The Revaluated Signification of the Nuncios

One of them was the clearly increased importance attached to the political and symbolic role of the nuncios. Their influence in realpolitik grew particularly in the context of the post-1918 Vatican monopoly on the appointment of bishops as a consequence of the promulgation of *Codex Iuris Canonici* in 1917 and the rebuilding of Europe after the Great War. In Austria and Hungary the nuncios exploited the demonstrably good relations between the national governments and the Holy See and their own privileged contact with individual members of these governments to influence ideologically driven legislation and administrative measures.⁵ Conversely, Catholic politicians succeeded in promoting the ecclesiastical career of their preferred candidates through their influence on the papal envoy.⁶ This revaluation of the

² See for example: G. Adriányi, *Geschichte der Kirche in Ungarn*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna, 2004, chapter XXXII: «Die Kirche zur Zeit der Räterepublik», p. 251-255.

³ See especially: N. Spannenberger, *Die katholische Kirche in Ungarn 1918-1939. Positionierung im politischen System und «Katholische Renaissance»*, Stuttgart, 2006; J. Wittenberg, *Church Institutions and Electoral Continuity in Hungary*, Cambridge, 2006.

⁴ Compare the summarizing treatises of J.-M. Mayeur on *Pie XI* and *L'enseignement social et politique de la papauté*, in J.-M. Mayeur (ed.), *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours, XII: Guerres mondiales et totalitarismes (1914-1958)*, Paris, 1990, p. 18-25 and 30-37.

⁵ Compare A. Csizmadia, *Relation entre la Hongrie et le Saint-Siège pendant l'Entre-Deux-guerres*, in *Études historiques hongroises 1980 - publiées à l'occasion du XV^e Congrès international des Sciences historiques par la Commission nationale des historiens hongrois*, Issue II, Budapest, 1980, p. 351-390.

⁶ With regard to Austria: R. Klieber, *Die Annulierung der „Salzburger Privilegien“ und die Salzburger Bischofswahl 1934 im Lichte Vatikanischer Quellenbestände zum*

nuncios attained symbolic expression through ostentatious demonstrations of respect in the context of solemn Catholic Assemblies or National Jubilees. This tendency even increased with the new forms of Catholic mobilisation established in the context of Catholic Action, a movement encouraged by Pope Pius XI himself. New organisations, such as the Hungarian youth movement Svivgarde, made the Nuncio in Budapest the focal point for celebrations of allegiance to the Pope.⁷

Splendid Catholic Festivities in and out of Rome

A further symbolic manifestation of the Papacy were the splendid festivities in Rome, to which Catholics from all over the world were invited. For example, after the 10-year interval imposed by war, Pius XI staged a series of jubilee celebrations to rebuild public awareness of Rome as a place of pilgrimage and thus also of the papacy.

Among them were 26 canonisations, including some of special significance for German-speaking countries, such as those of Petrus Canisius in 1925, Albertus Magnus in 1931 and, in 1934, Konrad of Parzham. Furthermore, Pius XI named the years of 1925 and 1933 as Holy Years, which excited much interest among the Catholics of Austria and Hungary⁸ and among their representatives in parliament. In the Holy Year of 1925, Austrian members of parliament, led by Chancellor Ignaz Seipel (†1932), made a pilgrimage to see the Holy Father, while Hungarian parliamentarians followed suit in the jubilee year of 1929, which was dedicated to the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Pope's priesthood. Recalling the glory days of papal jubilees under Leo XIII (1878-1903), Pius XI's Priest's Golden Jubilee was the pretext for lavish celebrations in all dioceses⁹.

Pontifikat Pius XI., in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 151 (2011), p. 317-361.

⁷ ASV, Arch. Nunz. Vienna, b. 46, fasc. 6 (« Congressi cattolici, Azione Cattolica »), fol. 263-265: Report by Nuncio Rotta to State Secretary Pacelli 13.7.1934: « Venerdì sera, in corteo con fiaccolata, vennero alla Nunziatura per fare atto di omaggio al Santo Padre con discorsi e canti davanti al palazzo. Naturalmente affacciandomi io al balcone, dissi due parole di circostanza impartendo a tutti, in nome del Santo Padre, la Benedizione ».

⁸ ASV, Arch. Nunz. Vienna, b. 848, fasc. 4, fol. 668: Report of the Catholic magazine *Schönere Zukunft*, citing the *Osservatore Romano* 1/1/1926 in comparing the numbers of pilgrims from Catholic countries (inter alia Austria: 2.783; Hungary: 4.782; France: 11.593; Belgium: 5.285).

⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 871: Archbishop Piffl to Sibilia, Vienna 13/12/1928: « In ogni diocesi si costituirà sotto la direzione dell'Ordinario un comitato diocesano a scopo di preparare e condurre a buon fine le solennità in questione. / Oltre alle solennità religiose, le quali si faranno in tutte le chiese della diocesi (panegirico e messa cantata), si terranno pure seconde le circostanze delle adunanze secolari a fine di dar occasione ai fedeli di dimostrare il loro amore ed attaccamento verso la Santa Sede. / Poi si stabilirà in ogni diocesi un'opera di Carità alla memoria di questo giubileo e tutte le elemosine dei fedeli,

In addition, papal legates were summoned to lavish public Catholic events, at which they conveyed messages and greetings from the Holy Father in Latin, or maybe with a few lines in the local language. The state authorities and the Catholic population could be relied upon to give the legates a big welcome.

In 1930 Cardinal Luigi Sincero (†1936) took part in the splendid opening ceremony for the celebration of the 900th anniversary of the death of St Emeric/Imre (†1031), the son of King Stephen, holy founder of the state of Hungary.

In contrast to the patriotic emphasis of the established annual festivities in honour of St. Stephen, the promoters of the Jubilee were at pains to highlight the specifically «Catholic» character of Hungary's national consciousness, and endeavoured to prevent any Protestant participation¹⁰. The presence of a Papal Legate and other cardinals was intended to strengthen the message. The complex structure of Hungary's political establishment subjected the Papal Legate to invitations to a strenuous schedule of receptions during his short stay in Budapest:

Poi procurai di trovarmi presente la dove il Cardinal Legato andava, compresi i numerosi e noiosi inviti a pranzo e colazione, che furono non una delle minori... fatiche pel Cardinal Legato e gli altri. / Il Governo in proposito si è voluto distinguere: colazione dal Reggente, colazione dal Presidente del Consiglio con brindisi improntati a molta deferenza verso la Santa Sede, colazione dal Ministro degli Esteri, colazione del Ministro dei Culti con brindisi,

collettate tal giorno, saranno messe alla disposizione della Santa Sede. Finalmente dei pellegrinaggi a Roma sono progettati». For the celebrations in times of Leo XIII see for example R. Klieber, *Efforts and Difficulties in Financing the Holy See by means of Peterspence – or can Ultramontanism be quantified?*, in V. Viaene (ed.), *The Papacy and the New World Order. Vatican Diplomacy, Catholic Opinion and International Politics at the Time of Leo XIII 1878-1903 / La papauté et le nouvel ordre mondial. Diplomatique vaticane, opinion catholique et politique internationale au temps de Léon XIII*, Leuven, 2005, p. 287-302.

¹⁰ AA.EE.SS., Ungheria 1929-1934, pos. 47-50 P.O., fasc. 45, fol. 74-76: Report of Nuncio Rotta to Pacelli, Budapest 23/8/1930 - «Le feste ebbero un carattere schiettamente cattolico, e mostrarono come l'anima nazionale e la sua tradizione storica vada strettamente congiunta coll'idea cattolica. Si era qualche anno fa tentato di dare colore puramente patriottico alla festa di S. Stefano col trasformare così la processione in un corteo civile, anche se a base cristiana, a cui pigliassero parte anche ufficialmente i protestanti: fu sventato allora il tentativo, e la magnifica cerimonia di mercoledì è stata come il sigillo definitivo del carattere vero della manifestazione. / Perché realmente il protestantesimo come tale fu assente, e le persone del Reggente e del Presidente del Consiglio e gli altri protestanti addetti al Governo, si sentivano come a disagio in una simile cerimonia, che è l'espressione genuina dell'anima del popolo ungherese. / Queste feste perciò, anche collo splendore assunto per la presenza di Cardinali e Vescovi stranieri che mettevano in così chiara luce l'universalità e la potenza della Chiese cattolica, sono riuscite altamente utili, non solo come risveglio di coscienze, ma anche come valorizzazione di idee a noi care».

Garden-Party dal Reggente. Si aggiungano poi una colazione dall'Arciduchessa Isabella, del Cardinal Primate ad Estergom, pranzi dall'Arciduca Giuseppe e della Legazione di Polonia. Vostra Eminenza vede che anche in questo campo il... lavoro non è mancato¹¹.

Another occasion for « papal presence » north of the Alps was the All-German « Katholikentag » (Catholics Day) in Vienna in 1933, where the Patriarch of Venice, and former curial cardinal, Cardinal Pietro La Fontaine (†1935) represented the Pope.¹²

The event was organized to mark the 250th anniversary of the liberation of Vienna from the Turkish siege of 1683 and to celebrate 500 years since the completion of the only tower of the city's St. Stephen's Cathedral, and thus of the entire edifice. The Viennese Cardinal Theodor Innitzer (1932-1955) defined the goal of the event as follows:

to generate clear awareness to the Catholic people of its religious and cultural duty in our times, excluding any political thoughts, and to inspire the Christian Occident to Catholic acts as was done 250 years ago. Just as our peoples then came together to protect their religious assets, so should this « Katholikentag » become a demonstration of Catholic community spirit¹³.

Adolf Hitler's assumption of power in January 1933 gave the event unexpected explosive force, since it was the first All-German Katholikentag to take place outside Germany – and in Austria – since Innsbruck in 1867. The only All-German Katholikentag previously staged in Vienna had taken place eighty years earlier, in 1853. Austrian politicians were afraid the event would be hijacked by pan-Germanic or National Socialist political groups¹⁴. But events unfolded differently. The new Nazi regime imposed a so-called 1000 Mark Barrier

¹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 75v.

¹² Illustrated contemporary report of the assembly and the festivities framing it: *Allgemeiner Deutscher Katholikentag 1933 / 7. bis 12. September*, ed. by Friedrich Funder, Vienna, 1934.

¹³ ASV, Arch. Nunz. Vienna, b. 855, fasc. 1 (« Katholikentag 1933 »), fol. 3-4, Innitzer to Nuncio Sibilia, 17/11/1932: « dem ganzen deutschen Volk unter Ausschaltung jedes politischen Gedankens seine religiöse und kulturelle Aufgabe in unserer Zeit klar zum Bewusstsein zu bringen und das gläubige Abendland wie vor 250 Jahren wieder zur katholischen Tat zu begeistern. So wie damals unsere Völker sich zur Verteidigung ihrer religiösen Güter zusammengefunden haben, so soll auch dieser Katholikentag eine Kundgebung katholischen Gemeinschaftsgeistes werden ».

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 48, Nuncio Sibilia to Pacelli, 19/3/1933: « alcuni suoi discorsi e il programma stesso hanno dato origine a qualche timore nelle alte sfere politiche, che il medesimo Congresso possa offrire al famoso Hitler qualche opportunità per i suoi fini politici, essendo coadiuvato in ciò suoi seguaci austriaci particolarmente i pangermanisti e gli antichi liberali, o socialisti nazionali. [...] L'Emmo. Innitzer, compresa appieno la delicatezza del Dr. Dollfuss e del Generale Vaugoin, disse loro che non potendo tornare indietro darebbe gli ordini opportuni affinché all'indetto Congresso Cattolico venissero invitati non solo i cattolici tedeschi, ma ancora i cattolici delle altre nazioni ».

(« Tausend-Mark-Sperre »), obliging every German citizen to pay a fee of 1,000 Reichsmark if travelling to Austria; needless to say, this sanction interrupted almost all traffic to the Alpine Republic. It was only in mid-July that the government made clear that there would be no exceptions for participants in the Katholikentag and that the German Reichsbahn (railways) would not provide any special trains to Vienna. At that time, more than 38.000 German Catholics had already applied for the event, and 76 trains had already been booked to transfer them to Vienna¹⁵. These blatant machinations by the regime directed public attention still more closely towards the programmatic statements of the event and to the behavior and statements of the Legate.

The Katholikentag took place between 7th and 12th September 1933. Despite Nazi restrictions, around 33,000 participants from foreign countries found their way to Vienna to attend the festivities, which culminated in a Celebratory Mass in the gardens of Schönbrunn palace on Sunday 11th with a congregation of more than 300,000, 136.000 from outside Vienna¹⁶. In his Breve to Legate La Fontaine, Pope Pius XI stated that the legate's presence in Vienna meant that, figuratively speaking, he himself was present in the city. Without making concrete reference to that year's political events, he encouraged all participants to fight against atheism, the new enemy of Christianity, with the same determination the united Christian forces had shown 250 years previously in liberating Vienna:

Just as that glorious victory over a fierce enemy was not achieved by the army of just one people, but by the troops of the allied Christian nations, so, outside the walls of Vienna did they not fight solely for a city or for an empire, but for the Catholic religion itself, for the civil and Christian culture of Occident. [...] We participate in the forthcoming celebrations with all Our heart and wish, so to speak, to be present Ourselves. [...] For this We delegate you in Our name, in view of the new threat to the Catholic religion, as many souls stray from the belief of their fathers, and Christian practice finds itself in danger [...]. In this case not only do the prayers seem remarkable to Us [...] but also the intention to unite Catholic efforts in defense against imminent dangers, in particular rampant atheism. Verily, a timely intention!¹⁷

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 49-50, copy of a Report Sibilia to Montini, 27/7/1933: « avevano già manifestato la loro adesione oltre 38.000 cattolici tedeschi con 76 treni speciali, capitanati dai tre Emmi. Cardinali tedeschi ».

¹⁶ See official documentation: *Allgemeiner Deutscher Katholikentag 1933... cit.*, 1934, p. 13-15. According to ASV, Nunz. Vienna, b. 855, fasc. 1, fol. 49, copy of a Report Sibilia to Montini, 27/7/1933, there came in special trains: « 7.500 Cecoslovacchi, 1.500 Polacchi, con l'Emmo. Hlond e probabilmente con l'Emmo. Kakowski, 2.500 Ungheresi con l'Emmo. Serédi, 500 Italiani, 500 Svizzeri, 1.000 Rumeni, 1.000 Jugoslavi, 500 Francesi, 500 Alsaziani, 500 Olandesi, e 500 del Lussemburgo. / Tutti questi, complessivamente 16.500, verranno con treni speciali ».

¹⁷ Only a German translation of the Latin Breve of Pius XI to Legate Cardinal Fontaine is published in *ibid.*, p. 30-32.

The Austrian government, under Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss (†1934), used the forum as an opportunity to proclaim Austria the «better» German state. In a separate secular assembly on the very anniversary of the battle against the Turks (12th September), Chancellor Dollfuss, who since March had been governing Austria without a parliament, declared his intention to establish a new corporate state by implementing the Papal Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* of 1931¹⁸. The presence of the Papal Legate at this celebration could be regarded by the public as an agreement of the Holy See to these plans.

The highpoint of papal representation north of the Alps was doubtlessly the delegation of Eugenio Pacelli to the Eucharistic World Congress in Budapest 1938. The nomination of the «closest collaborator of the Pope» was regarded as a special honour for Hungary, whose government had adopted a Christian nationalist direction at that time:

Come era da aspettarsi la nomina dell'Eminenza Vostra Reverendissima a Legato Pontificio per il prossimo Congresso Eucaristico, per quanto non del tutto inattesa, ha suscitato qui viva soddisfazione, sia perché essa significa un tratto di benevolenza del tutto speciale verso l'Ungheria da parte del SANTO PADRE che ha voluto affidare sì augusta rappresentanza a Chi Gli è Collaboratore così vicino e così autorevole sia anche perché la persona di Vostra Eminenza, ben nota qui attraverso l'opera instancabile ed illuminata che presta da lunghi anni a servizio della SANTA SEDE, aggiunge nuovo lustro a tale sovrana designazione. / I giornali hanno riferito la notizia con commenti intonati a viva simpatia, e dando pure cenni biografici dell'Eminenza Vostra [...] e tutto fa sperare in un successo trionfale, anche se i recenti avvenimenti politici abbiano portato un po' di sconcerto¹⁹.

The «sconcerto» mentioned in the nuncio's report referred to the heated parliamentary discussions on a first Hungarian law on the Jews at a time when preparations were underway for the congress and the exalted visit from Rome. The intention of this law was to limit Jewish participation in any economic sector to a maximum of twenty percent. The Hungarian Primate Jusztinián György Serédi (†1945), anointed in 1928 by Pius XI himself, was among those who made no fundamental objections to the law during debates in the upper house of the

¹⁸ Compare with hints for further historiographical literature: R. Klieber, *Quadragesimo anno e lo «Ständestaat» d'Austria Nuova (1934-1938)*, in C. Semeraro (ed.), *La Sollecitudine Ecclesiale di Pio XI. Alla luce delle nuove fonte archivistiche*, Vatican City, 2010, p. 347-362.

¹⁹ AA.EE.SS., Ungheria, 1937-38, pos. 71-73, fasc. 54, fol. 32-33: Nuncio Angelo Rotta to Pacelli, Budapest 2/3/1938. In regard to the authoritarian Hungarian policy of these years see: B. Bodó, «Do not Lead us into (Fascist) Temptation»: *The Catholic Church in Interwar Hungary*, in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (June 2007), p. 413-431.

Hungarian parliament, though he requested extensive exemptions for converts (« baptised Jews »)²⁰.

The Eucharistic World Congress took place from the 25th to the 30th May 1938. A Pullman carriage from Rome and then a special train from Trieste were offered by the Hungarian government to State Secretary Eugenio Pacelli for his trip to Budapest, where he was to preside at the Eucharistic World Congress as Papal Legate. His visit to the Hungarian capital was modelled on a recent state visit by the King of Italy.

The extraordinary extravagance of official and Catholic Hungary's protocol in honour of Papal Legate Pacelli is duly documented in the Hungarian National Newsreel of the time. It also shows Pius XI recording the radio message broadcast to participants at the congress in Budapest²¹.

The « symbolic presence » of the Pope in Budapest also motivated leading Catholic intellectuals and politicians in France to encourage the « Father of Christianity » to make a powerful appeal for peace in order to prevent a new war, already looming on the horizon.

Before the celebrations, those prominent representatives of French lay Catholicism sent Pacelli a petition for the Holy Father, expressing the urgent wish of 108 signatories (for example, Maurice Blondel, Paul Deschamps, Maurice Jaubert, Jacques Maritain, Robert Schuman, François Veuillot) for a message of peace to be conveyed to Christendom by the congress in Budapest:

Il nous semble que si, à l'occasion des assises solennelles de Budapest, et devant le Corps Sacré qui est sur nos autels le mémorial de la Charité de Dieu – ubi caritas et amor, ibi Deus est – le Saint-Père daignait éléver de nouveau la voix [...] pour réveiller les consciences en proclamant, une fois de plus, que l'Evangile du Seigneur Jésus interdit le culte de la violence et de la guerre, le recours à n'importe quel moyen pour s'assurer le succès: les haines de classes, et les haines de races²².

²⁰ C. Gerlach, G. Aly, *Das letzte Kapitel. Realpolitik, Ideologie und Mord an den ungarischen Juden 1944/1945*, Stuttgart-Munich, 2002, p. 42-44. Nuncio Rotta hoped that the congress could calm down dangerous tendencies: « Cosí per il tempo del Congresso le acque saranno acquetate, e le passioni politiche un po' attenuate: è sperabile che il Congresso stesso porti della serenità anche agli animi mossi ed agitati dal succedersi di avvenimenti destinati per loro natura non certo a portare la calma agli spiriti, ma piuttosto a farvi nascerne e sviluppare tendenze estremiste e pericolose ». See: AA.EE.SS., Ungheria, 1937-38, pos. 71-73, fasc. 54, fol. 32-33: Rotta to Pacelli, Budapest 2/3/1938.

²¹ See reports of the Hungarian National Newsreel: <http://filmhiradok.nava.hu/watch.php?id=3205>; <http://filmhiradok.nava.hu/watch.php?id=2809>; <http://filmhiradok.nava.hu/watch.php?id=2814>

²² AA.EE.SS., Ungheria, 1937-38, pos. 71-73 P.O., fasc. 54, fol. 39: Report by Nuncio Valerio Valeri to Pacelli, Paris 18/3/1938; *ibid.* fol. 41-45: original « supplice », Paris 17/3/1938, with five pages of signatures.

In the neighbouring German Reich, to which Austria had been annexed in March 1938, the voice of the Pope and his legate could only make itself heard to a limited degree, and exclusively via communication channels within the church. The Nazi authorities even forbade the remaining Catholic newspapers, such as *Germania* and the *Märkische Volks-Zeitung*, to make any report on the event, and over the relevant period, any German citizen intending to visit Hungary, or to make a transit through the country required a special authorization²³. Some journals close to the Nazi regime attacked the Papal Legate Pacelli as a political agitator («Popular-Front Pacelli agitates in Budapest»)²⁴. By means of encoded reports to the Apostolic Delegate in the United States, the State Secretary of the Holy See ensured that these machinations of the Nazi regime became known in the free world²⁵.

The following parts of the article however will concentrate on a closer examination of one specific aspect of these «politics of symbols and emotions».

Pius XI as «heir» to the emotion felt for the lost monarchy: The organisation of the Papal Coronation Day for the «Festa del Papa»

In 1924, with the following introduction, Bishop Johannes Rössler of St. Pölten made his first call for each church in his diocese to stage celebrations on the Sunday (10th February) preceding the Pope's Coronation Day (12th February). Like the rest of Austria's bishops, he had only been instructed to do this a few days earlier:

At a time when empires were being destroyed, and kingdoms and principalities smashed to pieces, only one power remained unshaken amidst the tangle of peoples and it now stands stronger than ever: the Papacy. We can see no peace, no order; everything is changing shape around us. Only the church stands fast, unshaken on the rock on which the Saviour built it [...]. Wherever there is need and misery, the Pope seeks to bring succour. We Catholics can be glad that we have such wearers of the Papal Tiara, and it is our duty to thank the Lord for this grace. The Pope too deserves our gratitude and our love. Therefore, not just in Austria, but also in other countries where Catholics live, the anniversary of the Pope's coronation must be celebrated as a special day of festivity and joy²⁶.

²³ *Ibid.*, fol. 35: Uditore Carlo Colli to Pacelli, Berlin 16/3/1938: «tutti i cittadini del Reich Germanico che vogliono recarsi in Ungheria, o anche solo transitare per essa, debbono avere sul passaporto una dichiarazione, che espressamente loro permetta tale viaggio. Alle Autorità di frontiera viene fatto obbligo di vigilare sull'osservanza di tali disposizioni e sono passibili di pena i viaggiatori che le trasgredissero».

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 60-61: copy of some pages from the magazine *Der Angriff*, n. 124, 25/5/1938, printed in Berlin.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 72: «Telegramma cifrata» Tardini to the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Rome 10/6/1938.

²⁶ *St. Pölten Diözesanblatt*, No. 1 (1924): «In einer Zeit, in der Kaiserreiche vernichtet, Königreiche und Fürstentümer zerschlagen wurden, blieb nur eine Macht

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Wiener Kirchenblatt, 11/2/1934, N°17-6 : Number dedicated to the Papal Coronation Day of 1934.

The political upheavals caused by the First World War had left Pius XI as Europe's only remaining «absolute monarch», a status that Italy also finally recognised in the Lateran Treaties of 1929. A large proportion of the population in the various new republics of Europe was bemoaning the loss of a monarch who could stand as a kind of God-given Archimedean point on the political landscape, as an emotional lynchpin and a stabilising factor amidst the growing confusion and antagonism of national politics. As becomes clear from a number of sources now available, the Roman curia, probably prompted by the Pope himself, actively sought to occupy this emotional void in the hearts of many believers. On 30th November 1923, State Secretary Pietro Gasparri urged Nuncio Enrico Sibilia (and probably the rest of his colleagues around the world) to rethink and upgrade practice – until then conceived in purely diplomatic terms – in his sphere of influence:

Dalle relazioni di alcuni Nunzi fu rivelato con sommo piacere che in qualche paese si celebrò con straordinaria solennità la festa dell'Incoronazione del Santo Padre. / La fausta ricorrenza dette luogo non solo al consueto scambio di cortesie e di auguri ufficiali da parte dei pubblici poteri e delle Missioni diplomatiche, ma servi d'occasione a raggruppare in festa intorno all'Invitato Pontificio le diverse rappresentanze del Clero, dell'Episcopato e del laicato cattolico, convenute tutte per manifestare i sentimenti della loro fede, della loro devozione, del loro attaccamento alla Sacra Persona del Successore di S.Pietro. [...] Attivare pertanto questa propaganda di amore verso il Papa, far opera costante, sagace, infaticabile di penetrazione in tutti i cuori e in tutte le coscienze per creare in esse la devozione, l'ammirazione, l'interessamento, vorremo dire la passione per tutto ciò che riguarda il Papa, la Sua Persona, le Sue iniziative, il prestigio e l'influenza della Sua grande Missione nel mondo, ecco la preoccupazione costante che deve stare in cima a tutti i pensieri degli Inviati Pontifici. / E la festa dell'Incoronazione dovrebbe così poter diventare «il giorno del Papa» e assurgere al significato e all'importanza di un universale plebiscito di amore, in cui i cattolici di tutte le Nazioni del mondo facessero a gara a festeggiarlo con quella tenerezza e con quei sentimenti di orgoglio e di fierezza con cui i figli sogliono celebrare la festa del loro Padre. / Veda pertanto V. S., collo zelo e con tatto che la distingue, di far opera preparatoria e d'intensificare a tal uopo il suo ardore fra i Vescovi, il Clero e codesto laicato cattolico: sicché la prossima ricorrenza possa riuscire in tutto degna e rispondente a queste belle speranze. Farà opera di grande merito per la causa del Signore, per il trionfo della sua Chiesa e del suo Regno nel mondo²⁷.

in diesem Völker gewirre unerschüttert und steht heute fester denn je, das Papsttum. Nirgends sehen wir Ruhe, nirgends Ordnung, alles ist in Umgestaltung begriffen. Nur die Kirche steht fest und unerschüttert auf dem Felsen, auf den sie der Heiland gebaut hat. [...] Wo immer Not und Elend sich zeigt, sucht der Papst Abhilfe zu bringen. Wir Katholiken können uns freuen, solche Träger der Tiara zu haben und es ist unsere Pflicht, dem Herrn für diese Gnade zu danken. Auch der Papst verdient unseren Dank und unsere Liebe. Nicht nur in Österreich, auch in anderen Ländern, wo Katholiken wohnen, wird darum der Jahrestag der Papstkrönung als besonderer Fest- und Freudentag gefeiert werden».

²⁷ ASV, Arch. Nunz. Vienna, b. 848, fasc. 4, fol. 491-492: Letter Gasparri to Sibilia, Vaticano 30/11/1923.

Nuncio Enrico Sibilia forwarded this proposal to the Archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Friedrich Gustav Piffl (†1932)²⁸, who then circulated it to his Episcopal confrères across Austria. The Austrian bishops then decided unanimously that the Sunday before the Coronation Day should from thenceforth be celebrated as Pope's Day with a High Mass, to include a sermon making due reference to the occasion and to the Papacy and to be rounded off with a closing Te Deum. Where local circumstances permitted, the service was to be followed by a «dignified secular celebration». Remarkably enough – at least in the Archdiocese of Vienna – the service subsequently followed the model of past celebrations in honour of the Emperor:

Ne tenni subito parola coll'Emmo. Cardinale Piffl, che accolse con entusiasmo l'idea e se ne fece il promotore inviando all'uopo una Circolare all'Arcivescovo di Salisburgo e a tutti gli altri Vescovi di Austria. / Ieri il medesimo Emma. disse che qui a Vienna e in tutta la sua Archidiocesi i festeggiamenti per l'incoronazione di SUA SANTITÀ saranno uguali a quelli che si facevano prima per S. M. l'Imperatore²⁹.

This conscious adherence to forms familiar from pre-1918 celebrations of the Emperor is a clear indication of the intention to transfer the people's royalist emotions to the Pope. In the following weeks many Austrian bishops reported positively on the ecclesiastical and secular festivities for Pope's Day³⁰. In the years that followed, the church media, and the media close to the church, frequently took advantage of the occasion to produce special editions or detailed back-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 493-495: Letter-concept Sibilia to Piffl, Vienna, 26/12/1923.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 499: Letter-copy Sibilia to Gasparri, Vienna, 4/2/1924.

³⁰ See corresponding reports for 1924: *Ibid.*, fol. 525 (Bishop Rössler, St. Pölten), fol. 530 (Archbishop Rieder, Salzburg), fol. 536 (Bishop Schuster, Graz); respectively summarizing report Sibilia to Gasparri (copy), 15/2/1926 («Festa del Papa»), *ibid.*, fol. 650-652: «L'augurio che la "Festa del Papa", la cui annua celebrazione si è ormai felicemente introdotta in tutte le diocesi dell'Austria, trovasse un'eco sempre più vasta e profonda in tutte le masse del popolo, si è realizzato nel modo più splendido e completo. Tanto spontanea e generale è stata la partecipazione così dei fedeli, senza distinzione di classe, come delle pubbliche Autorità, da riuscire un solenne ed imponente attestato dell'attaccamento e del figliale affetto, che, nonostante l'influenza antireligiosa degli ebrei e dei socialisti, uniscono sempre più i cattolici austriaci alla Santa Sede. / La nota predominante di tali manifestazioni sta nell'omaggio voluto rendere al Santo Padre dai figli devoti, molti dei quali ebbero la sorte di vedere Sua Santità nello scorso Anno Santo, ed udirne nella lor propria lingua, i paterni ammonimenti. / Un altro particolare carattere assunsero questi festeggiamenti, per il fatto che non si limitarono al solo splendore esterno delle ceremonie, ma furono invece principalmente diretti, colle prediche, cogli scritti, colle Accademie, a mettere nel maggior rilievo la divina missione, e quell'influenza sempre crescente del Papato, che è pegno sicuro del trionfo della "Pace di Cristo nel Regno di Christo". / A questi concetti si ispirarono i sacri oratori che, in ossequio alle disposizioni degli Ordinari, nella domenica 7 corr., in tutte le Parrocchie d'Austria, parlarono della Festa del Papa».

ground reports on the Papacy or on Pius XI himself. As early as 1925 these Austrian papal celebrations had taken on forms that would last beyond the papacy of Pius XI. Vienna mounted a High Mass in St Stephen's Cathedral to which, through the mediation of the Federal Chancellery, the diplomatic corps was also invited³¹. Almost all the high officials of Vienna seemed to be present at the service and at a teatime reception held at the nunciature, where guests were welcomed by a brass band playing in front of the building. The occasion was also marked by a gathering in Vienna's Konzerthaus (which currently holds 1.865 seats) with several celebratory speakers and music, and by an « Academic Papal Celebration », arranged primarily by professors of the Theological Faculty³². An undoubtedly high-point in the non-partisan acceptance of this new papal celebration came in 1928, when the nunciature played host to both the state president, Michael Hainisch, who, with no official affiliation to a political party, held German Nationalist and pan-Germanic beliefs, and also, for the first and last time, the social democrat Mayor of Vienna, Dr. Karl Seitz:

Sarebbe troppo lungo enumerare i nomi di tutti gli intervenuti: tra questi basterà citare l'Eminentissimo Cardinal Piffl, il Presidente della Repubblica, Mgr. Seipel, i Ministri del Governo, il Corpo Diplomatico, il Presidente e Vicepresidente della Camera dei Deputati, [...] membri dell'Aristocrazia austriaca, [...] e, notato da tutti, il sindaco socialista di Vienna, Dr. Seitz. Tra gli intervenuti [...] regnò una cordialità non comune, tutti occupati in animate conversazioni. / L'ultimo a lasciare il palazzo della Nunziatura fu il sindaco di Vienna, il socialista Seitz³³.

After the events of 1927, a crisis-ridden year which saw street battles in Vienna and the Palace of Justice set alight by socialist demonstrators, the mayor's visit to the Papal Emissary must be considered an explicit gesture of reconciliation. In the following year Seitz excused himself again from attending the reception (*sebbene siasi cortesemente scusato*), an action attributed at the time to the discomfort of socialist politicians at the Lateran Treaties with Mussolini – which no doubt accounted for the presence of the Italian ambassador, attending the event for the first time³⁴. In 1934, on the Pope's Coronation Day

³¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 503: Circulaire de la Chancellerie fédérale / Département des Affaires étrangères.

³² *Ibid.*, fol. 620-621: Printed invitation to the « Akademischen Papstfeier » with the programm. « 1. Largo von Georg Friedrich Händel / Dekan Dr. Ernst Tomek: Begrüßung / 3. Professor Dr. Konstantin Prinz Hohenlohe: Papsttum und Recht / 4. Theologen-Chor mit dem Lied: Gott ist mein Schild / 5. Dr. Ernst Klebel: Papsttum und Deutschtum / 6. Papsthymne ».

³³ *Ibid.*, Sibilia to Gasparri, Vienna, 13/2/1928.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 707-710: Sibilia to Gasparri, Vienna 13/2/1929, reports about the positive echo in Austria to the treaties of the Holy See with Italy, with the exception of the social democrat *Arbeiterzeitung* - « giornale ebraico-massonico-socialista, ha ripe-

itself, socialist forces attempted an uprising against the authoritarian Catholic regime of Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, who consequently suspended Karl Seitz and all other social-democrat politicians from their posts.

In Hungary too the new papal celebration soon gained a firm place in the annual festive calendar. The first anniversary of the Pope's coronation was celebrated in Budapest as early as 1923, as the *Pester Lloyd* newspaper reports, with a celebratory mass led by the Prince Primate János Csernoch in the so-called «coronation church», St Matthew's, and with a performance of Mozart's «Coronation» Mass, though it seems that there was no public participation or attendance by secular notables.³⁵ Here too the celebrations would have been prompted by the nunciature (1920-25: Lorenzo Schioppa, previously auditor to Nuncio Pacelli in Munich; 1925-30: Cesare Orsenigo, who then succeeded Pacelli in Berlin; 1930-45: Angelo Rotta). Detailed reporting on the celebration was only initiated in 1926, thanks to Nuncio Orsenigo, who had expressed his dissatisfaction with existing practice in an undated comment in a document (*La festa è troppo protocollare e il popolo rimane assente*)³⁶. A review of 1931, however, notes the popularisation of the festival that had occurred by that time:

tutto ciò che scrisse scioccamente, non fa molto, di Mgr. Seipel, cioè: "che ogni despota ha bisogno della Religione per rendere stupide le masse. In Italia, già da tempo, ogni bastone fascista trova una goccia di aqua santa, e ogni bandiera fascista trova un Cardinale per benedirla. Ora vediamo la Chiesa Cattolica unirsi con tutti i più grandi nemici del popolo e degli operai. Questa dovrebbe esser una ragione di più per separarsi da tale Chiesa che tradisce il popolo unendosi al capitalismo".

³⁵ ASV, Arch. Nunz. Ungheria, b. 32, fasc. 9 («Festa del Papa»), fol. 580: Report of the Budapest Newspaper *Pester Lloyd*, 12/2/1923 - «Aus Anlaß der Jahreswende der Krönung des Papstes Pius XI. fand Sonntag in der Matthias-Krönungskirche in Ofen ein Gottesdienst statt, den Kardinal-Fürstprimas Csernoch mit großer geistlicher Assistenz zelebrierte. Als der päpstliche Nuntius Monsignore Schioppa in der Kirche erschien, wurde er vom Bischof Nemes an der Spitze der Geistlichkeit empfangen. Unter den Klängen Ecce Sacerdos Magnus begaben sich die Geistlichen in das Sanktuarium, worauf der Gottesdienst seinen Anfang nahm. Während der Messe trug der Chor der Krönungskirche Mozarts „Krönungsmesse“ mit seltener künstlerischer Vollkommenheit vor. Die zur Messe kommandierte Ehrenkompanie gab an der entsprechenden Stelle des Gottesdienstes eine Ehrensalve ab».

³⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 577; first report of the coronation day in presence of Nuncio Orsenigo, *Ibid.*, fol. 581, exemplar of the *Osservatore Romano* 19/2/1926 with a report from Budapest: «il Corpo Diplomatico al completo in grande uniforme, i ministri, il sindaco della città. La Santa Messa fu intercalata da un breve e succoso discorso, per lumeggiare i grandi e benefici lavori che contraddistinsero questo quarto anno di pontificato di Pio XI, onde riaccender sempre più gli animi all'amore verso il Vicario di Cristo. [...] Se si considera il progresso e rapido intensificarsi delle manifestazioni di amore verso il Vicario di Cristo, che da qualche anno si va verificando, in ogni nazione, non si può a meno di riconoscere il prestigio incomparabilmente sovrano, che il Papato va acquistando dovunque, e auspicarne lieti giorni non solo per la Chiesa, ma anche per la tranquillità e il civile progresso dei popoli».

Anche quest'anno la lieta ricorrenza dell'anniversario dell'incoronazione del SANTO PADRE è stata celebrata con grande solennità in ogni città di questa nobile Nazione, di cui è ben noto il tradizionale attaccamento alla Santa Sede. / In tutte le chiese si sono innalzate preghiere di ringraziamento e per la conservazione dell'amato Sommo Pastore, di Cui dai pulpiti si è illustrato il glorioso fecondo Pontificato³⁷.

During those years the main celebration in Budapest consisted of a lavishly conceived High Mass with much accompanying ceremony, generally held in St Matthew's Church on the castle mount and attended by many notables, such as members of the House of Habsburg, a representative of the (Protestant) regent Miklós Horthy, the mayors of Budapest and the entire diplomatic corps. The Nuncio also held two tea receptions at his embassy, one for secular dignitaries and the other for Catholic notables. In 1931 an exceptional media first on Coronation Day provided the main topic of conversation at the papal celebrations in Hungary and Austria:

La profonda impressione prodotta dal fatto straordinario del giorno, il discorso cioè del Santo Padre, trasmesso per radio, e che i presenti avevano avuto la più grande soddisfazione di udire ben distintamente pochi istanti prima. [...] Né minore è stato l'interessamento per la parola del Papa da parte della massa del popolo, che nelle case private, nelle sale di riunione, nei pubblici uffici e persino nelle pubbliche vie, a mezzo di altoparlanti, si affollava ieri ovunque per udire l'augusta e grave parola di pace, di amore, di conforto e di incoraggiamento dell'unico e vero Padre universale³⁸.

It was probably the introduction in 1925 of the Feast of « Christ the King » that most clearly expressed Pius XI's ambitions to redirect dispossessed royalist emotions to religion and the Church. In spite of the constant emphasis on the « strictly religious » nature of the festival (or maybe because of that emphasis), it became the most « political » celebration of Pius XI's entire reign and, above all in the Nazi era, gave rise to the strongest ecclesiastical declarations of « resistance »³⁹. In papal panegyrics it presented an opportunity to draw bold analogies between the « kingship » of Christ and that of the Pope:

³⁷ ASV, Arch. Nunz. Ungheria, b. 35, fasc. 1/4 (« Festa del Papa »), fol. 75-77, copy of the report Orsenigo to Pacelli, Budapest, 13/2/1931.

³⁸ ASV, Arch. Nunz. Vienna, b. 848, fasc. 4, fol. 748-760, Report Nuncio Sibilia to Pacelli, 13/2/1931. The corresponding report from Budapest: ASV, Arch. Nunz. Ungheria, b. 35, fasc. 1/4 (« Festa del Papa »), fol. 75-77, copy of the report Orsenigo to Pacelli, Budapest 13/2/1931: « La fortunata coincidenza dell'ora del ricevimento alla Nunziatura con quella in cui il Santo Padre per la prima volta parlò al mondo colla Radio, permise che molti degli intervenuti potessero ascoltare con non celata commozione la parola del Sommo Pontefice e riceverne la Benedizione, attraverso la Radio, installata all'uopo nelle sale del Palazzo ».

³⁹ Compare C. Joosten, *Das Christkönigsfest. Liturgie im Spannungsfeld zwischen Frömmigkeit und Politik*, Tübingen-Basel, 2002.

Before the eyes of the entire world, Pius XI has acknowledged Christ, the Son of Man, as King of Mankind, and dedicated a crown to him which shines over everything. And, in turn, the Lord of Creation has furnished His representative in His earthly realm, the Pope in Rome, with a spiritual kingship which fills this entire pontificate with blazing glory. The incomparable diadem that Pius has set on the Lord's divine brow in return throws a heavenly glow onto his own papal tiara. The Pope's kingdom is rooted in Christ's kingdom. From Christ's kingly glory flow the blessed kingly workings of the Holy Father. From the *Regnum Christi* comes the *Regnum Pii*⁴⁰.

To summarise: Amongst others (for example the increased importance of the Papal ambassadors or the emission of Legates to international Catholic festivities) especially the example of the *Festa del Papa* is representative of the curia's active policy of strengthening the presence and acceptance of the papal office through symbolic and emotional action. This undoubtedly served to increase Pius XI's room for manoeuvre in his administration, characterised by a strong desire to shape events. These efforts were, however, compromised by antagonistic forces in the societies of both Austria and Hungary (the socialist left in the former and the Protestant elite in the latter) which could be only partially overcome.

Rupert KLIBER

⁴⁰ ASV, Arch. Nunz. Vienna, b. 848, fasc. 5 (« Giubileo Sacerdotale »), fol. 923-928, exemplar of *Die Volksseele. Religiös-sozial-caritative Monatsschrift*, Nr. 61, 1/12/1929, quoting the celebratory speech of a jubilee-assembly of the « Canisiuswerk » (i.e. an organisation to promote vocations to priesthood) in the Viennese « Großer Musikvereinssaal » on the 27th of October 1929. « Pius XI. hat vor den Augen der ganzen Welt Christus den Menschensohn als König der Menschheit anerkannt, ihm eine Krone geweiht, die alles überstrahlt. Und umgekehrt, hat der Herr der Schöpfung seinen Stellvertreter im irdischen Gottesreich, den Papst in Rom, mit einem geistigen Königtum ausgerüstet, das dieses ganze Pontifikat mit Glanz und Glut erfüllt. Das unvergleichliche Diadem, das Pius dem Herrn auf die göttliche Stirne gesetzt, wirft himmlischen Schimmer auf seine eigene Papst-Tiara zurück. Im Christkönigtum wurzelt das Papstkönigtum. Aus der Königsglorie Christi fließt das begnadete Königswirken des Heiligen Vaters. Aus dem Regnum Christi das Regnum Pii ».

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Composition : Hélène Franchi

Achevé d'imprimer
en octobre 2013
sur les presses de la
Scuola Tipografica S. Pio X
Via degli Etruschi, 7
00185 Roma

LE GOUVERNEMENT
PONTIFICAL SOUS PIE XI

COLLECTION DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE DE ROME
467

LE GOUVERNEMENT PONTIFICAL SOUS PIE XI

PRATIQUES ROMAINES
ET GESTION DE L'UNIVERSEL

Études réunies par Laura PETTINAROLI

ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE DE ROME
2013

Le gouvernement pontifical sous Pie XI: pratiques romaines et
gestion de l'universel / études réunies par Laura Pettinaroli
Rome: École française de Rome, 2013
(Collection de l'École française de Rome, 0223-5099; 467)
ISBN 978-2-7283-0957-3 (br.)

1. Pie XI (pape; 1857-1939) -- Actes de congrès 2. Papauté --
Politique et gouvernement -- 20e siècle -- Actes de congrès 3. Église
catholique -- 20e siècle -- Actes de congrès I. Pettinaroli, Laura

CIP – *Bibliothèque de l'École française de Rome*



ISO/CD 9706

© - École française de Rome - 2013

ISSN 0223-5099

ISBN 978-2-7283-0957-3

À la mémoire de Catherine Garbin

TABLE DES ABRÉVIATIONS

AACI	Archivio dell’Azione Cattolica Italiana « Paolo VI »
AAS	<i>Acta Apostolicae Sedis</i>
AAW	Archives of the Archeparchy of Winnipeg
ACA	Assemblée des cardinaux et archevêques (France)
ACDF	Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede
ACEC	Archives de la Congrégation pour l’Éducation Catholique
ACJF	Action catholique de la Jeunesse française
ACL	Archives du Carmel de Lisieux
ACO	Archivio della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali
ACPF	Archivio della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide
ACS	Archivio Centrale dello Stato
ACV	Archivio della Congregazione per i Vescovi
ADSS	<i>Actes et documents du Saint-Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre mondiale</i>
AEE	Archives of the Eparchy of Edmonton
AA.EE.SS.	Segreteria di Stato, Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati, Archivio Storico (Città del Vaticano), fondo Archivio della Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari (AA.EE.SS) ¹
AF	Action française
AGOP	Archivum Generale Ordo Fratrum Praedicatorum
AHAP	Archives Historiques de l’Archevêché de Paris
AMAE	Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères (France)
AMEP	Archives des Missions étrangères de Paris
AMEV	Archives Musée ethnographique du Vatican
AMVA	Archives du Monastère de la Visitation d’Annecy
an.	anno

¹ La réalisation de cet ouvrage ayant eu lieu au moment du transfert de ce fonds des Archives secrètes vaticanes aux Archives de la Secrétairerie d’État (Section pour les Rapports avec les États), son mode de citation se révèle parfois « hybride ». Il suit le modèle suivant: AA.EE.SS., pays, position, fascicule. Cependant, de l’ancien mode de citation, on retrouve parfois les indications de la « période » (IV notamment) ou encore le sigle P.O. qui suivait le numéro de la position. Ces indications supplémentaires n’affectent en rien le repérage des documents mais nous prions le lecteur de nous excuser pour la gêne occasionnée.

<i>ANP</i>	<i>Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae</i>
<i>AOSBM</i>	<i>Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basillii Magni</i>
<i>AP</i>	<i>Annuario Pontificio</i>
<i>APC</i>	<i>Annuaire pontifical catholique</i>
<i>ArOSBMR</i>	Archivio della Curia Gen. dell'Ordine Basiliano di San Giosafat, Roma
<i>ARSI</i>	<i>Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu</i>
<i>ASV</i>	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
<i>AT</i>	Archives Tisserant
<i>AVJ</i>	Archief Vlaamse Jezuïeten
<i>b.</i>	Busta
<i>BBKL</i>	<i>Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i>
<i>BC</i>	<i>Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Andreas Szeptyckyj</i> (Rome, 1964-1965)
<i>BC SPSFS</i>	<i>Bulletin-Circulaire de la Société des Prêtres de Saint François de Sales</i>
<i>BEFAR</i>	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
<i>BIT</i>	Bureau international du Travail
<i>c.s.sp.</i>	Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (Spiritains)
<i>CADN</i>	Centre des archives diplomatiques de Nantes
<i>card.</i>	Cardinale, cardinal
<i>CC</i>	<i>La Civiltà cattolica</i>
<i>CIC</i>	<i>Codex Iuris Canonici</i>
<i>CL</i>	Censura Librorum
<i>Congr. Concist.</i>	Congregazione Concistoriale
<i>CPEJ</i>	Commission pour la Protection de l'Enfance et de la Jeunesse
<i>CUA</i>	Catholic University of America
<i>DAG</i>	Divisione affari generali (ACS)
<i>DBE</i>	<i>Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie</i>
<i>DBF</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de Biographie Française</i>
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</i>
<i>DC</i>	<i>La Documentation catholique</i>
<i>DDI</i>	<i>Documenti diplomatici italiani</i>
<i>DDS</i>	<i>Documents Diplomatiques Suisses</i>
<i>DGPS</i>	Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza (ACS)
<i>DHGE</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i>
<i>doc.</i>	Document, documento
<i>DPP</i>	Divisione di Polizia Politica (ACS)
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Encyclopédia cattolica</i>
<i>EFL</i>	<i>Encyclopédie Française Larousse</i>
<i>ELPDF</i>	<i>Écho de la LPDF</i>
<i>env.</i>	Enveloppe
<i>EP</i>	<i>Encyclopédia dei Papi</i>
<i>fasc.</i>	Fascicolo
<i>FCO</i>	Foreign and Commonwealth Office (archives)

fds.	Fonds
FUCI	Federazione universitaria cattolica Italiana
GIAC	Gioventù Italiana di Azione Cattolica
JOC	Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique
LFACF	Ligue féminine d'action catholique française
LFF	Ligue des femmes françaises
LPDF	Ligue patriotique des Françaises
MEFRIM	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée</i>
MEP	Missions étrangères de Paris
MI	Ministero dell'Interno (ACS)
n. ; no.	Numero
n. n.	Non numerato / senza numero
n. pag.	No pagination
NC	Nuova Compagnia (ARSI)
NRT	<i>Nouvelle Revue Théologique</i>
NS	Nuova serie (fondo ACPF)
ODIS	<i>Online Database Intermediary Structures Flanders</i> (www.odis.be)
ONMI	Opera nazionale maternità e infanzia
OR	<i>L'Osservatore romano</i>
PCPR	Pontificia Commissione Pro Russia
pos.	Posizione
PPI	Partito popolare italiano
prot.	Protocollo
RDA	<i>Revue du Diocèse d'Annecy</i>
RIEVM	<i>Revue illustrée de l'Exposition Missionnaire vaticane</i>
R-SS	Rome-Saint-Siège (CADN)
rub.	Rubrica
S. C.	Sacra Congregazione
s. d.	Senza data, sans date
s.j.	Societatis Jesu
s.l.d.	Senza luogo e data
sc.	Scatola
SCI	Sacra Congregatio Indicis
SDN	Société des Nations
sess.	Sessione
SO ; S.O.	Sant'Ufficio
tit.	Titolo
UDCI	Unione fra le donne cattoliche d'Italia
UILCF	Unione internazionale delle leghe cattoliche femminili/Union internationale des Ligues catholiques féminines
UP	Unione Popolare (AACI, fondo UP)
VKZG	Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeit-geschichte
vol.	Volume
VRP	Voti, relazioni, pareri