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THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF THE PAPAL DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, 1909–1967

BY

DAVID ALVAREZ*

Traditionally, diplomatic historians have been preoccupied with the substance of foreign policies as manifested in dramatic crises or the behavior of prominent political personalities. Recently, however, there has been increasing interest in the organizational context within which policies develop and personalities operate. This new interest in the institutional structure and administrative machinery of diplomacy has produced several studies of foreign offices and diplomatic services. These studies suggest that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the international system underwent a diplomatic revolution; a revolution marked less by changes in the balance of political forces than by a quiet change in the organization of diplomacy. This change had many elements, but two were especially prominent: the increasingly bureaucratic nature of diplomatic administration and the increasingly professional nature of diplomatic personnel.¹

This paper will consider the organization of papal diplomacy in the period 1909–1967 through an examination of the Secretariat of State of His Holiness, the curial office which served as the foreign ministry of the Holy See. This description will provide a glimpse at the twentieth-century Curia and the men who serve in it. It will also indicate the degree to which the Secretariat of State in particular, and the Curia in general, responded to developments which were changing the administrative structures of secular states.²

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¹Paul G. Lauren, *Diplomats and Bureaucrats: The First Institutional Responses to Twentieth-Century Diplomacy in France and Germany* (Stanford, 1976); Zara Steiner, *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1898–1914* (Cambridge, 1970); Zara Steiner (ed.), *The Times Survey of the Foreign Ministries of the World* (Westport, Connecticut, 1982); Richard H. Werking, *The Master Architects: Building the United States Foreign Service, 1890–1913* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1977).

²In mid-1908 the Roman Curia was reorganized under the apostolic constitution *Sapienti Consilio*. After 1908 the administrative structure remained unchanged until the end of 1967, when the apostolic constitution *Regimine Ecclesiae Universalis* reorganized it again. The

At the beginning of this century several offices in the Curia shared responsibility for the foreign relations of the Holy See (Figure 1). The Secretariat of State, tracing its origins to the fifteenth century, was the senior institution. Under the direction of the Cardinal Secretary of State, this office conducted the routine affairs of papal diplomacy. It dealt with foreign representatives accredited to the Holy See and supervised the nuncios in foreign capitals. The Cardinal Secretary was assisted by the so-called "Substitute" (who also bore the title Secretary of Ciphers) and by a handful of clerks and archivists.³

The Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs was a relative newcomer to the Curia, having been organized in 1793 to deal with problems arising from the French Revolution. Theoretically the jurisdiction of this office was wide, extending to all matters not falling within the competency of other congregations. In particular, it had jurisdiction over issues relating to the negotiation and implementation of the Church's concordats or agreements with civil governments. The congregation consisted of a committee of cardinals with the Cardinal Secretary of State as prefect or chairman. A secretary, undersecretary, and a few clerks provided administrative support. While the Secretariat of State was an executive office which sent and received dispatches, assigned papal diplomats, and interviewed foreign representatives, the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs was a consultative body which made recommendations to the Pope but had no direct contact with foreign governments.⁴

Three less prominent offices, the Secretariat of Briefs, the Secretariat of Briefs to Princes, and the Secretariat of Latin Letters, were marginally involved in diplomatic affairs. These offices were responsible for awarding papal decorations and titles of nobility and composing papal communications to kings, princes, bishops, and people of rank.⁵

As head of the Secretariat of State and prefect of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, the Cardinal Secretary of State was the undisputed "foreign minister" of the Holy See. The division of respon-

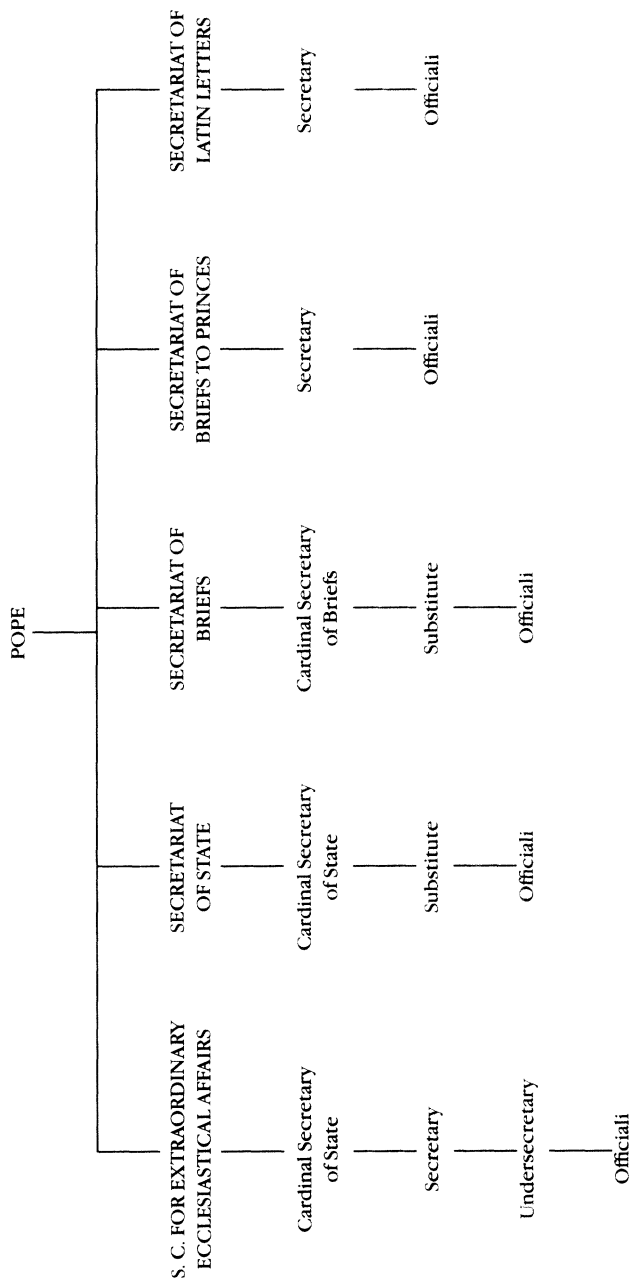
period 1909-1967, therefore, represents a time of organizational stability which corresponds in its early stages to the period of diplomatic reforms in other states.

³Nicholas Hilling, *Procedure at the Roman Curia* (New York, 1907), pp. 110-113. On the development of the Secretariat of State see Robert A. Graham, *Vatican Diplomacy: A Study of Church and State on the International Plane* (Princeton, 1959), pp. 127-143.

⁴Hilling, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-97; Lajos Pasztor, "La Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari tra il 1814 e il 1850," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 6 (1968), 191-318.

⁵Hilling, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-115.

Figure 1. The Organization of Papal Diplomacy, 1908.



sibility among several offices, however, encouraged duplication of effort and administrative confusion. In the summer of 1908 Pope Pius X, in an effort to rationalize and streamline the entire Curia, promulgated a new apostolic constitution, *Sapienti Consilio*.⁶ Under the reorganization the Secretariat of State became the principal institution of papal diplomacy. The Secretariat of Briefs was incorporated into the Secretariat of State while the offices for Briefs to Princes and Latin Letters were more closely subordinated to the main Secretariat. The Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs was reduced, in fact if not in theory, to an appendage of the Secretariat of State by the transfer of its staff to the Secretariat (Figure 2).

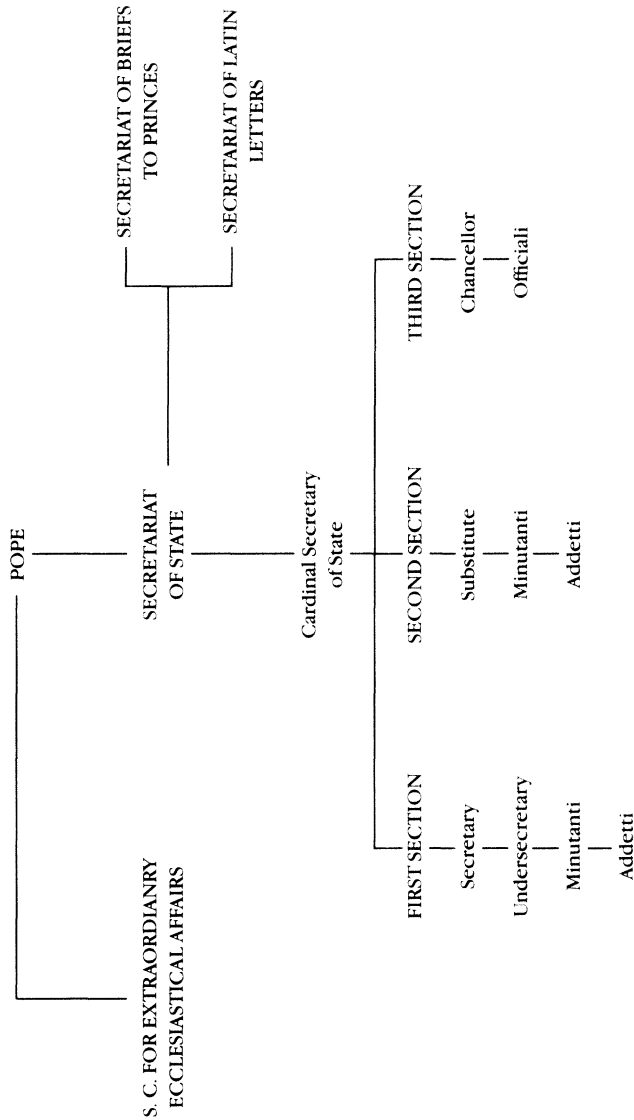
The reforms reorganized as well as enlarged the Secretariat by establishing three functional sections. The First Section, designated "Extraordinary Affairs," was responsible for political issues arising from the Vatican's relations with foreign governments, especially issues relating to concordats. In short, this section performed the tasks previously reserved to the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs; indeed, its first officials merely moved from the Congregation to the Secretariat at the time of the reform. The First Section was directed by the Secretary for Extraordinary Affairs who was assisted by the Undersecretary. The Second Section, "Ordinary Affairs," performed the routine tasks of the department including the appointment and transfer of nuncios, the analysis of reports, and the preparation of instructions. The Substitute directed this section. The Third Section, "Apostolic Briefs," composed papal communications of a formal or ceremonial nature under the supervision of the Chancellor for Apostolic Briefs. This section played no role in the formation and conduct of papal diplomacy. In each section a small staff supported the senior officials.⁷

The basic structure of the Secretariat remained intact throughout the period under study. Over time there was a further division of tasks within each section as the staff were gradually reordered into *minutanti* (chief clerks), *addetti* (attachés), *archivisti* (archivists), and *scrittori* (typists). Within the First Section personnel and work were divided along geographic lines with officials responsible for particular regions or countries. In the Second Section the division was along linguistic and functional lines with officials supervising correspondence in a particular language or performing particular administrative tasks such as finance or personnel. Thus, in the First Section there would be a "Latin American

⁶Giuseppe Ferretto, "La Riforma del B. Pio X," *Apollinaris*, 25 (1952), 69-70, 76-79.

⁷Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

Figure 2. The Organization of Papal Diplomacy, 1909-1967.



desk," while in the Second Section there would be a "Spanish language desk."⁸

Throughout the period under study the Secretariat remained a small organization. In 1909, twenty-eight men staffed the offices in the Apostolic Palace and of these only fifteen worked in the First and Second Sections. The strength of the Secretariat increased gradually over the years, but the increase did not keep pace with the expansion in the Vatican's diplomatic activity. Thus, while the number of nunciatures almost tripled between 1909 and 1938 (increasing from twelve to thirty-five), the combined staff of the First and Second Sections grew by only two (from fifteen to seventeen). Significant expansion occurred during World War II and continued into the fifties. The "political" sections reached a peak complement of eighty-eight men in 1958, but dropped down to seventy-three by the end of the period.⁹

The personnel, especially in the middle and upper levels, were remarkably homogeneous. During the period twenty-two men served in the executive offices: secretary and undersecretary in the First Section and substitute in the Second Section. All were Italians and all were priests of the secular clergy. Recruitment to these senior positions was almost exclusively from within the Secretariat with only one of the group entering office without experience in papal diplomacy. Selection policies, thus, guaranteed that only men with substantial and relevant experience would direct the Secretariat of State.¹⁰ Turnover was low, especially among the secretaries and substitutes, who, on the average, held their offices for roughly eight years.¹¹

The experience, however, was rather narrow. Administrative experience within the Secretariat rather than diplomatic experience abroad

⁸Personal communication, Most Reverend Iginio Cardinale to author, October 26, 1978, and January 30, 1979. The late Archbishop Cardinale was a career papal diplomat and a well-known student of papal diplomacy.

⁹*Annuario Pontificio* (Vatican City, 1909-1968).

¹⁰The seven men who served as secretary during the period had an average of twelve years of experience in papal diplomacy at the time of their respective appointments to office. Four of the seven had fifteen years or more of experience. The eight men who held the office of substitute averaged 13.2 years of experience at the time of their appointments. The undersecretaries averaged eleven years of experience. Several of these officials held more than one executive office during their careers.

Unless otherwise indicated all information concerning the personnel of the papal diplomatic service is drawn from the series *Annuario Pontificio*.

¹¹Average tenure in office for executives was as follows: secretaries, 8.2 years, substitutes, 7.8 years, and undersecretaries, 4 years.

was preferred. Of the twenty-two executives in the study only seven (32%) had previously served in an apostolic nunciature or delegation. Apparently foreign service was considered relevant preparation for promotion to Secretary for Extraordinary Affairs, since four (57%) of the men who held this office had such service. Foreign experience, however, was not required for selection as undersecretary or substitute. Of the thirteen undersecretaries only three (23%) had served abroad, while only two (25%) of the eight substitutes had foreign experience.

The attitude toward professional formation meant that the Secretariat was administered by men who had substantial experience with the internal operation of their own organization in particular and the Curia in general, but who had little or no personal experience with conditions and personalities abroad or with the problems and perspectives of a diplomatic representative in a foreign capital. While it is easy to exaggerate the importance of foreign service, it is interesting to contrast the practice of the Secretariat with that of other foreign ministries which, early in the century, began to require foreign service of their higher officials.¹²

The leadership of the Secretariat was recruited primarily from the officials of Section I. Of the twenty-two executives sixteen (72.7%) had served in "Extraordinary Affairs." Only two had served in Section II, and one of these had also served in Section I. Service in the First Section was practically a prerequisite for promotion to undersecretary; all but one of the thirteen undersecretaries (92.3%) had such experience. Five of the eight substitutes (62.5%) and four of the seven secretaries (57.1%) had served in Section I.

The *minutanti* formed the middle level of the Secretariat. They analyzed incoming dispatches and memoranda, prepared summaries and added comments reflecting previous correspondence on the particular subject. The papers were then passed to the office of the secretary or substitute for review and action. The position was one of responsibility and, occasionally, influence.¹³ The position was also important as a recruiting ground for executives, a majority of whom (63.6%) had been *minutanti*.

Fifty-four men served as *minutanti* between 1909 and 1968. One was a layman and the remainder were priests of the secular clergy.¹⁴ All but

¹²Lauren, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 104-141; Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹³Personal communication, Most Reverend Igino Cardinale to author, October 26, 1978.

¹⁴The layman, Raimondo Campa, entered the Secretariat in 1877 and served until 1913.

one were Italian. Like their superiors in executive offices, the *minutanti*, collectively, had little foreign experience. Only a small minority (11.1%) had served abroad. For most of the period new *minutanti* were not recruited from other positions in the Secretariat of State. Young priests were recruited directly from Roman universities or, as was especially true in Section I, entered the Secretariat as *minutanti* from other departments of the Curia. In 1952 Section II began to fill vacancies by promoting *addetti* or *archivisti*, but until then the *minutanti* had been, in effect, a separate service within the Secretariat. Indeed, they represented two separate services, since there was, at this level, practically no interchange of personnel between the sections. Turnover was low. The average tenure in office was 8.5 years, but nineteen (35.2%) of the group held their office for more than ten years and eight (14.8%) held office for twenty or more years.

The *addetti* appeared as a separate group in the early thirties, but their number remained small until World War II. The position provided administrative and clerical support for the *minutanti*, but it also served two other purposes.

The Secretariat used the position to provide an apprenticeship for aspirants to the papal diplomatic service who would serve two or three years as *addetti* under the supervision of senior officials. The arrangement allowed superiors to assess the qualities of the entrant and allowed the entrant to become familiar with diplomatic practice and the routine of the Secretariat. Previously, novice papal diplomats (except the handful recruited as *minutanti*) were immediately posted abroad where they learned their trade as secretary to a nuncio. The new policy brought the Secretariat of State into line with practice at other foreign offices which, since the turn of the century, had assigned novices to probationary service at home before posting them abroad.¹⁵

Of the 191 men who served in the Secretariat as *addetti* ninety-two (48.1%) did so as entry-level officers. The majority of these (73.9%) served their apprenticeship in the Second Section. After probationary service slightly less than half (43.5%) of the novice diplomats were sent abroad as secretaries to various nunciatures or delegations. The remainder stayed in the Secretariat as *addetti* and formed (with the *minutanti*) a "home service" of career functionaries who never served abroad.

This position also allowed the Vatican to integrate better its diplomatic service. Previously the Secretariat of State, like the foreign offices of

¹⁵Lamar Cecil, *The German Diplomatic Service, 1871-1914* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 11-12; Steiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

secular powers, had been, in practice, divided into two services: a foreign service of nuncios, delegates, and diplomatic secretaries who served abroad and a home service of executives and *minutanti* who worked in Rome. There was little interchange between the two groups. Early in the century the European powers began to integrate their respective services by requiring officers to serve both in the field and at home. The new approach fostered collective effort, enhanced institutional identity and morale, broadened the experience of officers, and discouraged professional parochialism.¹⁶

In the late 1930's the Secretariat began to recall from abroad mid-career officers for temporary service at the Vatican. These men would serve as *addetti* in Sections I or II for two to four years before reassignment abroad. Between 1938 and 1968, ninety-two men were rotated through the Secretariat in this way. Seventeen of this group served two tours of duty in the Secretariat, and one served three.

As a group the *addetti* introduced into the Secretariat a certain diversity which was in notable contrast to the homogeneity of the executives and *minutanti*. Three were laymen and the rest were priests of the secular clergy. Most were Italian, but from the beginning rosters contained such names as Spellman, Bernier, Wustenberg, Zabker, Clancy, and Garcia. Twenty-eight (14.6%) of the group had clearly non-Italian names.¹⁷ The *addetti* also brought a certain cosmopolitan air to the Secretariat, since, collectively, they had served in every diplomatic capacity short of chief of mission in capitals around the world.

Between 1900 and 1920 the major foreign ministries of the world embarked on a series of reforms which increasingly bureaucratized the administration of foreign policy. The reformed ministries were characterized by hierarchical organization with clear lines of authority and responsibility, differentiated positions with clearly defined and specialized duties, professional administration by a stable corps of career officials, and substantial integration of foreign and administrative services.¹⁸ The apostolic constitution *Sapienti Consilio*, by centralizing responsibility in the Secretariat of State and reorganizing the Secretariat along functional lines, aligned the Holy See with administrative developments in secular states. Furthermore, recruiting practices combined with low

¹⁶Cecil, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13, 63; Lauren, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-107; Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁷A layman was appointed in 1947 and served until 1960. Two others were appointed in 1961 and served through the end of the period. None of the three served abroad.

¹⁸In addition to the previously cited works by Cecil, Lauren, and Steiner see the excellent study by Edward A. Whitcomb, *Napoleon's Diplomatic Service* (Durham, 1979), pp. 152ff.

turnover among personnel to create a corps of experienced career administrators.

The alignment, however, was not perfect. The Secretariat lagged behind other foreign ministries in integrating its foreign service of nuncios, delegates, and diplomatic secretaries with its administrative service of executives and *minutanti*, and in requiring foreign experience of its high officials. Also the functional division of labor among the three sections disintegrated in practice. The distinction between extraordinary affairs and ordinary affairs was not as clear in practice as it was in theory, and the result was frequent administrative confusion and duplication of effort. Since the Secretariat was always understaffed, tasks within each section were often assigned to whichever *minutante* or *addetto* was available. Finally, well into the second half of this century administrative practices and personnel policies throughout the Curia remained paternalistic. Entry and preferment often depended less on the bureaucratic principles of merit, seniority, and non-personal relationships than on the intervention of ecclesiastical patrons on behalf of their clients.¹⁹

If by 1967 the bureaucratic revolution in the Secretariat of State was incomplete, the changes in the Vatican's foreign service were substantial and comparable to changes in other diplomatic services. As the foreign offices of the powers became more bureaucratized, their foreign services became more professional. The trend reflected a conviction that the demands of modern diplomacy required a corps of professional practitioners who, through training and experience, had absorbed the methods and developed the skills of diplomacy. In embassies and legations the dilettante, the political favorite, and the retired army officer gave way to the professional diplomat who viewed diplomacy as a career and who had accumulated valuable experience through years of service in various diplomatic positions at home and abroad.²⁰

A certain professionalism had always characterized the officials in the Secretariat of State, where there was a tradition of long service. The tradition, however, was never as strong among the men who served in the apostolic delegations and nunciatures. Between 1909 and 1967, however, the Vatican developed a professional foreign service and the pro-

¹⁹Alberto Cavallari, *The Changing Vatican* (Garden City, New York, 1967), p. 84; Jean Neuvecelle, *The Vatican: Its Organization, Customs, and Way of Life* (New York, 1955), pp. 75-76; Peter Nichols, *The Politics of the Vatican* (New York, 1968), p. 169; Peter Nichols, *The Pope's Divisions: The Roman Catholic Church Today* (New York, 1981), pp. 114-115.

²⁰Robert D. Schulzinger, *The Making of the Diplomatic Mind: The Training, Outlook, and Style of United States Foreign Service Officers, 1908-1931* (Middletown, 1975), *passim*.

cess is apparent in the types of men selected as nuncios and delegates in that period.

Tables 1 and 2 provide profiles of the men who received their first appointments as chiefs of mission in the period 1909-1967. Table 1 provides information on those whose first appointments were as nuncios, while Table 2 provides similar information for those whose first assignments were as delegates.²¹

Until the late twenties the foreign service of the Holy See exhibited few signs of professionalism. Less than half of the nuncios receiving their first appointments between 1909 and 1928 were career officials. The majority of appointments went to "lateral entrants," men without diplomatic experience who entered the service at the top from some other position in the Church. Francesco Cherubini, for example, was a curialist who served in the Apostolic Penitentiary (an ecclesiastical tribunal) and the Sacred Congregation for Religious before his selection in 1916 as nuncio to Haiti. Similarly, Giovanni Cardinale, successively bishop of Civitavecchia and Perugia, had no diplomatic experience when he became nuncio to Argentina in 1923.

Between 1929 and 1948 there was significant change in the pattern of nuncio selection. There appeared a clear preference for career officers. During this period twenty-three men received their first appointments as nuncios, and twenty-one (91.3%) of these were career diplomats with substantial experience in foreign affairs. The bishop or curialist on temporary assignment as a nuncio was replaced by men like Carlo Chiarlo, who received in 1919 the La Paz nunciature after ten years of diplomatic experience in Lima and Warsaw, or Antonio Taffi, who served in Haiti, Argentina, and Costa Rica before his appointment in 1947 as nuncio to Cuba.

In the postwar years the proportion of careerists remains high as does their average experience. There is, however, dramatic change in the

²¹The tables represent only those officials receiving in each period their first assignment as chief of mission, either as nuncio or delegate.

Ranks in the papal diplomatic service differ from those in secular services. An apostolic nuncio is the equivalent of an ambassador. In particular circumstances the Vatican may assign to a representative the title of pro-nuncio, internuncio, or regent. For the sake of clarity and brevity I have treated all representatives of the Holy See accredited to foreign governments as nuncios. An apostolic delegate is the representative of the Vatican to the hierarchy, clergy, and faithful of a country with which the Holy See has no diplomatic relations. The delegate is not accredited to the government and has no formal diplomatic status. In practice, however, he maintains contact with the government and acts like a diplomat. Igino Cardinale, *Le Saint Siège et la Diplomatie* (Paris, 1962), pp. 92-100.

Table 1. Professional Background of Newly Promoted Nuncios, 1909-1967

No.	Career Officer*	Mixed Service*	Average Experience**	Italian*	Secular Clergy*
1909-18	7 (43.7)	1 (6.2)	4.8	16 (100)	13 (81.2)
1919-28	10 (47.6)	2 (9.5)	5.1	21 (100)	18 (85.7)
1929-38	12 (85.7)	2 (14.3)	10.4	11 (78.6)	12 (85.7)
1939-48	9 (100)	1 (11.1)	14.2	7 (77.8)	8 (88.8)
1949-58	20 (83.3)	16 (66.7)	11.9	16 (66.7)	23 (95.8)
1959-67	21 (80.8)	13 (50.0)	15.3	21 (80.8)	25 (96.1)

Table 2. Professional Background of Newly Promoted Delegates, 1909-1967

No.	Career Officer*	Mixed Service*	Average Experience**	Italian*	Secular Clergy*
1909-18	1 (8.3)	1 (8.3)	1.2	9 (75.0)	8 (66.6)
1919-28	2 (13.3)	1 (6.7)	.8	10 (66.7)	9 (60.0)
1929-38	6 (30.0)	1 (5.0)	2.4	13 (65.0)	15 (75.0)
1939-48	0 (00.0)	0 (00.0)	0.0	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)
1949-58	8 (57.1)	7 (50.0)	9.6	8 (57.1)	11 (78.6)
1959-67	12 (92.3)	9 (69.2)	16.5	11 (84.6)	13 (100)

*number and percentage

**in years

nature of their experience. Previously, the diplomatic background of newly selected nuncios had been mainly in nunciatures and delegations. Very few had served in the Secretariat of State. Between 1949 and 1967, however, a significant majority of the new nuncios bring to their missions a mixed experience of service at home as well as abroad. This "new look" in nuncios is illustrated in the career of Giuseppe Sensi, who served in Rumania, Switzerland, and Belgium before his recall to the Secretariat. After five years as an *addetto* in the Second Section, he served briefly in France and then received, after twenty-two years in papal diplomacy, the nunciature in Costa Rica. Vittore Ugo Righi entered the papal diplomatic service in 1936 as an attaché in the apostolic delegation in Syria. During the war he served in Turkey and in the First Section of the Secretariat. After the war he served successively in Uruguay, Brazil, and Guatemala before returning to the Vatican for a year in the Second Section. Subsequently, he held appointments in Portugal and Haiti before receiving, in 1959, his own mission as internuncio to Iran.

For most of the period under study the apostolic delegates remained less professionalized than the nuncios. Traditionally, delegates were amateurs who entered papal diplomacy laterally from positions as bishops, curialists, and missionaries. Until the late 1950's, but especially before World War II, the proportion of career diplomats among the newly selected delegates was well below the figures for the nuncios. The fact that most delegations were the direct responsibility of congregations (Propaganda Fide, Congregation for Eastern Churches) other than the Secretariat of State may have retarded the development of diplomatic professionalism. These congregations may have favored the selection of delegates from among their own officials rather than from the diplomats in the Secretariat. Also, since many of the delegations (East Indies, Philippines, East Africa, etc.) were in areas subordinated to the great powers as colonies or dependencies, diplomatic experience was, perhaps, a less important criterion in the selection of delegates. Given the international system that existed between 1909 and 1958, the Cardinal Secretary of State would have been reluctant to assign one of his career officers as delegate in Mombassa when there was a vacancy in the Berlin nunciature.

After World War II delegates were increasingly selected from among the career officials of the Secretariat of State. The international system was changing. New nations replaced the old colonial empires, and diplomacy became less Eurocentric. As the diplomatic responsibilities of delegates became more significant than the pastoral, the Secretariat of State undoubtedly exerted greater influence over personnel.

The delegations remained the preserve of amateurs long after the professionals came to dominate the nunciatures, but by the sixties newly appointed delegates were indistinguishable from their colleagues among the nuncios. Indeed, career officers now rotated frequently between the two types of posting. The career of Saverio Zupi is typical of the new pattern. Zupi joined the papal service in 1943 and received an apprenticeship in the Second Section of the Secretariat. During the next eighteen years he rose through the ranks serving in Costa Rica, Lebanon, and Belgium and once again in the Secretariat. In 1961 he was appointed delegate to Korea, but after a year was reassigned as nuncio to Pakistan. Five years later he became nuncio to Turkey. His colleague Giovanni Panico was, in succession, delegate to Australia, nuncio to Peru, delegate to Canada, and nuncio to Portugal.

Tables 1 and 2 describe the growth of professionalism in the Vatican's diplomatic service. They also provide interesting information concerning the personnel policies of the Secretariat of State. Religious orders, for instance, play little role in papal diplomacy during the period under study. The Secretariat of State was, in effect, staffed entirely by priests of the secular clergy with members of religious orders appearing only infrequently and in minor capacities as copyists and translators. In the selection of chiefs of mission there was a clear preference for secular priests. Only among the delegates in the early decades of the period was there a significant number of priests from religious orders. At the time delegates in missionary territories were often selected from the religious orders working in the areas. Also religious orders may have been better represented in the councils of those congregations (Propaganda Fide, Eastern Churches) which, until World War II, had a strong voice in the administration of the delegations. In the postwar period, however, secular clergy became the rule among delegates as well as nuncios.

The papal diplomatic service also exhibited a preference for Italians. Between 1909 and 1967 Italians controlled the middle and upper level positions in the Secretariat. Only among the *addetti* did non-Italians appear and then infrequently. The pattern is similar for the chiefs of mission. Between 1909 and 1929 only Italians received appointments as nuncios. After 1929 and especially after World War II, the Secretariat, perhaps in response to Pius XII's desire to internationalize the Curia, appointed more non-Italians as nuncios. Under John XXIII and Paul VI, however, the number of non-Italians declined again.

As a group the delegates were more international than the nuncios. Local representatives of missionary orders were often appointed delegates in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, and these men were usually

nationals of the power (Britain, France, the Netherlands) that controlled the territory. Such delegates were always amateurs in diplomacy. As the papal service became more professional, the number of non-Italian delegates declined until it became, as with the nuncios, mainly symbolic.

The prevalence of Italians in the senior positions should not obscure the Secretariat of State's effort to develop a multi-national, professional staff. This effort is especially evident in the experience of the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy, the school for papal diplomats. Established in 1701 as the Pontifical Academy for Noble Ecclesiastics, the institution gradually evolved from a house for the priestly formation of young noblemen into an establishment for the preparation of priests for responsible positions in the administration of the Papal States. After the loss of the Papal States, the Academy developed a special relationship with the Secretariat of State, which frequently attracted the brightest graduates to its staff.

During the period under study, the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy became the center for the formation and training of papal diplomats. Upon invitation, young priests would enter the Academy for a two-year course of study in diplomatic history and practice, international law, geography, economics, and languages. Each student was also expected to possess a doctorate in canon law or ecclesiastical history from a pontifical university. In 1944 Pope Pius XII, a former professor of diplomacy at the Academy, directed that the course include periods of practical work in the Secretariat of State.²²

In maintaining a special school for the training of its diplomats, the Holy See was far in advance of secular powers such as Britain, France, Germany, and the United States, all of which lacked comparable institutions. A diploma from the Academy was not a formal condition for entry into the papal diplomatic service, nor did it automatically guarantee a priest a post in the service. Nevertheless, the great majority of entry-level positions went to graduates of the Academy. Of the 117 priests who entered the service in junior positions (diplomatic attachés or secretaries) between 1951 and 1967, all but two were graduates of the Academy. These graduates, moreover, represented a variety of national backgrounds. After World War II the Academy tried successfully to develop an international student body. Thirty-eight percent (38%) of the students who attended the school in the period 1951-1967 were non-Italians drawn from twenty-four countries. The tendency over time

²²Tommaso Ricci, "I Diplomatici al servizio di Sua Santità," *30 Giorni*, January 1, 1985, pp. 32-36; Paolo Savino, *La Pontificia Accademia ecclesiastica, 1701-1951* (Vatican City, 1951).

was to increase the proportion of non-Italians; of the students who attended in the period 1960-1967, 49% were non-Italians.²³ Thus, not only did the Academy provide the Secretariat of State with a corps of professionally trained diplomats, but it also laid the foundation for the future internationalization of the papal diplomatic service.

Between 1909 and 1967 the Vatican developed a modern diplomatic service. In so doing it followed in the steps of secular powers such as Britain, France, and Germany. The experience of the papal diplomatic service is very suggestive. There is a tendency to view the modern Papacy as a unique phenomenon; one that must be studied, described, and evaluated in a special context. It may be the case, however, that the Papacy (at least as a political/administrative structure) is not unique; that it is very much like other political structures (such as national governments) with which historians have experience; and that it responds in roughly the same way, at roughly the same time, to the same concerns which influence the behavior and organization of those other structures. The example of the papal diplomatic service is, to be sure, rather narrow. It suggests, however, that historians might profitably consider the past century of papal history as a period of institutional accommodation and structural modernization; a period when the Papacy was in the mainstream rather than the backwaters of European political development.

²³Alumni lists provided by a former student of the Academy.