

‘When the House is on Fire’. Cardinal Mercati, Paul Kehr, the *Pius-Stiftung* and the Case of Madam Ludwig

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Abstract

This research-based essay discusses interwoven cases connected to wartime destruction and disarray in relation to cultural heritage – libraries, manuscripts and research collections. It is based mainly on archival material in collections in the Vatican City, mostly sections of the correspondence of Cardinal Librarian Giovanni Mercati that are as yet uncatalogued and have hitherto not been available for research. The essay focuses on lost research material in the chaos and turmoil of war, such as the scholar Paul Kehr's manuscript and library collections, as well as the so-called *Pius-Stiftung*: research funds provided by the Holy See.

Note

The author is aware of current controversies concerning Pope Pius XII. Although Pius XII is referred to in the text, he is not the focus of this essay on wartime heritage protection.

Introduction: A Papal Pointer

The quote in the title is from an analogy by Pope Pius XII on recovery after the Second World War, directed to the Roman nobility in an address in January 1944, during the German wartime occupation of Rome: “When the house is on fire, a first concern is to call for help to extinguish the flames, but after the destruction it is fitting to repair the damage and to reconstruct the building”.¹ The ‘house’ that Pope Pius referred to was metaphorical; he accentuated the need to look ahead and focus on its post-war reconstruction. Yet actual flames were to consume the locations where some library and manuscript collections under scrutiny here had been placed for safekeeping during the Second World War, such as *Schloss Wässerndorf* in Bavaria, to which we shall return.

This research-based essay discusses interwoven cases connected to wartime destruction and disarray in relation to cultural heritage – in this case libraries, manuscripts and research collections. Rather than focusing on one specific case study or question, a canvas is presented with interrelated circumstances based on archival findings in the Vatican apostolic archive and apostolic library. The essay concentrates on the apostolic library and on Cardinal Librarian Giovanni Mercati (Vian 2000a; Vian 2000b), a centrally placed key figure in scholarly networks before, during and after the war. Mercati was appointed cardinal in 1936, and librarian and archivist of the Holy Roman Church a few days later. His brother, Angelo (Vian 2015), was prefect of the Vatican archive in the same period; they would both merit more international and interdisciplinary attention.

During a scholarship period in Rome in 2020–2021, I worked on significant sections of Giovanni Mercati’s correspondence in the Vatican library, the “Carteggi Mercati” (Mercati correspondence; Pasini and Rodella 2019), much of which has not yet been catalogued and has consequently not previously been available for research. In other words, this is the first time this archival material sees the light of day.

The Vatican City State offered a neutral haven during the Second World War and the German occupation of Rome. The papal system of museums and libraries was employed to safeguard art and library collections – indeed an extensive topic, outside the scope of this essay. What is covered here, however, is arguably important and can provide useful pieces for future puzzles in various fields, e.g., history, art history, library studies and the history of scholarship. The contexts and details provided are new in the sense that the material on which they are based has not been made use of before.

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Giovanni Mercati was one of the well-placed individuals to which the surrounding world of scholarship would turn. The overall object here is to shed light on instances of individual influence in relation to institutional structures. The essay zooms in on lost research material, casualties in the chaos and turmoil of war – the scholar Paul Kehr’s missing manuscript and library collections – as well as missing research funds: the so-called *Pius-Stiftung* (see below). By illustrating Mercati’s influence and “academic diplomacy”, as well as the protection of the neutral Vatican library as instrumental to safeguarding enduring research undertakings and institutional continuity, the essay emphasizes networks and personal contacts in scholarship, its organization and its funding.

Paul Kehr

The historian and archivist Paul Fridolin Kehr is a key figure in this story. He was appointed professor of history at the universities of Marburg and Göttingen in the 1890s. In 1903, Kehr was named the director of the Prussian Historical Institute, the present German Historical Institute in Rome (Esch 1997; Grafinger 2004; Matheus 2007; Matheus 2009). In 1915, he took on the directorship of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH), a monumental series of published primary sources on Northwestern and Central Europe, founded as a text publication society (in 1819). The MGH was taken over by the state during the Nazi regime as the *Reichsinstitut für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* (National Institute for Older German History), but was revived with its original name after the Second World War. It has been based in Munich since 1949, its work continues to this day, and its publications are available online.²

Paul Kehr was a significant scholar in the Roman research community with far-reaching connections to the Vatican and its archival holdings (Esch 1992; Esch 2000; Matheus 2009). Cardinal Librarian Giovanni Mercati was a focal point of that community. He had known Kehr and corresponded with him regarding his scholarly work for almost half a century,

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with early correspondence between the two scholars dating to 1897.³ When Kehr was about to retire from the German Historical Institute and from the MGH in 1935, he referred to Mercati as “one of the first [of his] old friends”.⁴

The above-mentioned Schloss Wässerndorf was one of the homes of the von Pölnitz family (another was *Schloss Hundshaupten*, north of Nuremberg), and accommodated collections that were destroyed in April 1945 (more on this below). Baroness Gudila von Pölnitz was Kehr’s daughter, and he stayed with the family towards the end of the war. Kehr passed away at Wässerndorf in November 1944. The news of his death was conveyed to Giovanni Mercati in Rome by Giovanni Battista Montini, later Pope Paul VI (Vian 1999) in the secretariat of state of the Holy See.⁵

The Pius-Stiftung

Paul Kehr’s work became connected with the so-called *Pius-Stiftung*, the Pius-Foundation, set up in 1931 by Pope Pius XI, who had himself formerly been prefect of the Vatican library. As pope, he had entrusted Kehr with a sum for continued work on a large-scale research project, the *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, which resulted in large-scale and ambitious publication series. Two of these were the *Italia Pontifica* and *Germania Pontifica* undertakings. The *Italia Pontifica* scheme was presented by Paul Kehr in 1896: all papal documents until Pope Innocent III (1198) were to be published in a series of volumes on different regions in Italy. The *Germania Pontifica* series was to achieve the same result for Germany, broadly defined.⁶

During the war, the existence of the *Pius-Stiftung* was, according to Mercati, known by “at least four people” (not including himself) who may or may not have survived the conflict. One person who appears to have been informed was Bartolomeo Nogara, director general of the papal museums and art galleries (from 1920), and a key figure in the safeguarding of cultural heritage with the Vatican during the Second World War (Various authors 1945; Vian 2008; Serlupi Crescenzi and Calvano 2012; Whitling 2019). The fund, Pius XI’s aforementioned donation, was known as the Pius-Stiftung (*Pius-Stiftung für Papsturkunden und für mittelalterliche Geschichtsforschung*, or the Pius-Foundation for Papal Documents and for Mediaeval Historical Research). It was to have been transferred to a Swiss bank but had since gone missing. Investigations were made by the *nuncio* (papal ambassador) to Switzerland, Filippo Bernardini, but to no initial avail.⁷

According to Mercati, the historian Friedrich Bock, a convinced national socialist, and an erstwhile colleague of Paul Kehr’s at the German Historical Institute in Rome, had been charged by Kehr to withdraw some of the money in 1942 (or earlier), and Mercati speculated that the funds

might be found with Friedrich Bock, who had persuaded Kehr that he would finish the research and the publication series. Mercati also thought it likely that Bock had been sought out by the Allies or the Russians. He stressed the “general scientific interest of the continuation of the two works/publications” and that the fund was not to be considered German public or private property; it did not belong to Bock, Kehr, von Pölnitz or anyone else for that matter. On the contrary, there was the possibility that the fund be restituted to the Vatican, should there be a legal way to do so. Mercati ensured that this would have been “the sentiment [...] of Kehr and of all honest people”.⁸

War, Conflict, and the Cities

Several places are involved here in relation to the theme of this issue: the Vatican City, Rome, Berlin, Munich and Eichstätt, along with other locations in Bavaria. The essay format admittedly does not allow for excessive detail – it scratches several surfaces – but within its scope I address the roles and influences of individuals, on institutional, local, national and international levels. I have elsewhere employed the concept of ‘academic diplomacy’, a potentially useful conceptualization of the grey zone between official diplomatic representation and networks in scholarship. This may be helpful in grasping also, for example, Giovanni Mercati’s well-connected position and well-positioned connections.

Not long after the liberation of Rome from German occupation in the summer of 1944, the neutral Vatican and Cardinal Mercati were contacted by members of the Allied so-called ‘subcommission’ (the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives program).⁹ He was a most valuable contact. Another well-placed person was the apostolic nuncio (ambassador) to Germany, Cesare Orsenigo. He had been nuncio to the Netherlands and to Hungary in the 1920s and had replaced Eugenio Pacelli – the future Pope Pius XII (Stehlin 1984; Stehlin 2009) – as nuncio to Germany in 1930. He remained in this position until 1945, when the nunciature in Berlin was bombed (in February), and Orsenigo moved it to Eichstätt, northwest of Ingolstadt in Bavaria.¹⁰

Several months before he left Berlin, Cesare Orsenigo communicated with Giovanni Mercati about Eichstätt and a list of belongings of Paul Kehr’s colleague, the priest and historian Paul Maria Baumgarten.¹¹ As an example of German-Vatican research relations, Cesare Orsenigo sent two boxes with documents from Baumgarten’s research on church and institutional (for example Jesuit) history with a lorry “from Germany to the Vatican City” at the end of June 1945, or in other words, after the German capitulation. The material arrived safely and was taken to the Vatican library; it ended up in the Vatican archives after a decision by the pope.¹²



Figure 1: *Pope Pius XI watches over researchers in the Vatican Apostolic Library manuscripts reading room* (photograph by Frederick Whitling, 2021).

The Kehr Affair

During the temporary move of the papal nunciature in Germany to Eichstätt in the spring of 1945, the nuncio Cesare Orsenigo occupied himself with the ‘Kehr affair’, as the fate of Paul Kehr’s research records – manuscripts, notes, documents, books – were in the disarray of the end of the war. Giovanni Mercati was kept in the loop by Giovanni Battista Montini.¹³ Orsenigo communicated with the professor-priest Martin Grabmann, a historian of Medieval philosophy who had studied in Rome and has been referred to as the “greatest Catholic scholar of his time” (Rosemann 2000, 55). Grabmann functioned as a go-between with Kehr’s relatives. He pointed out that the calamities of war meant that finding people’s whereabouts was becoming increasingly cumbersome, and that it was possible that much was indeed “lost in the flames that recently have devastated Berlin”.¹⁴

Paul Kehr appears to have brought all or most of his research material to Bavaria for safekeeping together with a deposit by the MGH “in a castle near Bamberg, [later] in the American occupation zone”. The castle in question was the von Pölnitz family’s Schloss Wässerndorf, the place of Kehr’s passing in 1944.¹⁵ The castle had been occupied by the family since 1910, despite having been expropriated by the Nazis in 1936. As mentioned above, it was destroyed – burned – in April 1945, together with thousands

of boxes of archival material and art objects in storage there, seemingly including much of Kehr's material, along with "a part of the archive of the University of Munich".¹⁶ Giovanni Mercati was worried that the staff of the MGH might want to claim Kehr's material, if it indeed had survived the flames, together with a deposit there of MGH material. The outcome of the affair, Mercati believed, "depended to a large extent on the comprehension and good will of the Anglo-American allies".¹⁷

In mid-August 1945, the nuncio Cesare Orsenigo still had no definite answer regarding whether Kehr's research material had survived the war. He had managed to confirm that Kehr for some time had resided with his son-in-law, Görtz *Freiherr* (Baron) von Pölnitz, in the family residence at Wässerndorf. Book collections from Munich had been placed in the castle for safekeeping, including possibly Kehr's notes: "The castle has however been burned to the ground" (in April 1945).¹⁸ In September, Orsenigo informed Mercati that Martin Grabmann intended to seek out Paul Kehr's "possible surviving relatives".¹⁹

Cesare Orsenigo passed away at Eichstätt on 1 April 1946. After the defeat of Nazi Germany, the nunciature lost its official status; no new nuncio was in fact appointed until 1951. Carlo Colli, Orsenigo's aide and papal *chargé d'affaires* (chief of mission) at Eichstätt, was kept abreast of the Kehr affair and attempts at locating the Pius-Stiftung. The secretariat of state (Giovanni Battista Montini) clarified that the fund had indeed been "earmarked" by Pius XI, and that the Holy See intended to claim it to avoid it being used for purposes other than publication or considered a private German asset by the Allies.²⁰ In September 1945, Montini had conveyed this to the nuncio Filippo Bernardini in Bern, and presumably to Orsenigo in Eichstätt.²¹ The Pius-Stiftung fund needed a new home, and it was feared that the money might vanish were it regarded a German asset (private or public) as part of the post-war Allied liquidation of German assets as war reparations.

The Case of Madam Ludwig

Meanwhile, a Margarete Ludwig – of Vienna, dates unknown – conveyed to Giovanni Mercati that the British Military Government had made her aware in May 1945 of the existence of an account in the national bank in Zürich in the name of Paul Kehr for *Italia Pontificia*, containing the tidy sum of at least 250 000 Swiss Francs. According to Ludwig, the money ought to return to the Vatican after Kehr's death; she sought out general Mark W. Clark and Pope Pius XII in this connection.²² Margarete Ludwig appears to have been one of the few sources for the existence of this bank

account. The Apostolic archive holds a document outlining the issue by her (in French, from July 1945). According to this, Friedrich Bock had been authorized to dispose the fund together with Paul Kehr “until 1942”.²³ Margarete Ludwig had seemingly met with Kehr in 1938, and had also met with the aforementioned Friedrich Bock in Berlin during the war. In a separate document, she emphasized that “there was a great possibility that some authority would appropriate the money via the German embassy in Switzerland (or similar)”.²⁴

Giovanni Mercati alerted the nuncios in Switzerland and Germany, Filippo Bernardini and Cesare Orsenigo, as well as the “English and American authorities” and the direction of the Swiss National Bank.²⁵ Bernardini in turn contacted Paul Rossy, vice president of the *Banque nationale suisse*, about what he referred to as “the case of Madam Ludwig”, although the information provided had not been sufficient for the bank to locate what he referred to as Kehr’s deposit.²⁶ Margarete Ludwig, however, felt “alienated and offended” for not being rewarded for providing information on the alleged existence of the assets.²⁷ Mercati replied to her (in German) about a possible confirmation and recognition of the right of the Holy See to obtain these funds that the Allies “had failed to obtain”.²⁸ Ludwig again affirmed that the money belonged to the Vatican and that she had done her duty by reporting it.²⁹ Mercati informed Giovanni Battista Montini, who in turn notified the pope.

At about the same time, Martin Grabmann passed on the information that Baron Görtz von Pölnitz, Paul Kehr’s son-in-law, had placed material relating to Kehr’s papal research “in a room in the Prussian Academy of Sciences”, today the Berlin State Library.³⁰ Mercati also communicated with Montini about attempting to recover Kehr’s research material. This involved informing the art historian Charles Rufus Morey – acting director of the American Academy in Rome (1945–1947) and cultural attaché at the American embassy (Kent 1964; Bottum and Dalin 2004; Chadwick 1977; Sjöqvist 1996 [1956]) – and giving him and others a copy of a wartime letter from Pope Pius XII “in favour of Jewish and other scholars forced to emigrate by the Nazis and Fascists”, “if there are any copies of it”.³¹ In one of his many audiences with the pope, Mercati may well have discussed Kehr’s material and the missing funds with Pope Pius.³² Mercati’s access to the top of the papal pyramid of power in combination with his scholarly repute and standing in the Vatican system gave him perhaps more influence than has often been acknowledged, and provided him with a certain leeway for implementing his own ‘academic diplomacy’. His pen, in this sense, was mighty. His voice was reckoned with.

Bavarian Castles, German Libraries

The American art historian and cultural attaché Charles Rufus Morey was the first president of the so-called “Unione” of institutes in Rome, founded in early February 1946, a few months after the establishment of Unesco. The new Unione was charged with the major issue of the libraries and future fate of the main German scholarly institutions in Italy in the world of archaeology and art: the archaeological and historical institutes in Rome, the *Bibliotheca Hertziana* (for art history) in the same city, and the *Kunsthistorisches Institut* in Florence (Whitling 2019, 167–172).³³ The archivist Giulio Battelli had worked on safeguarding archives and library collections during the Second World War, and provided a report on the status of the three above-mentioned German libraries in Rome, and interventions by the secretary-general of the Unione (and the president of AIAC), Erik Sjöqvist, director of the Swedish Institute in Rome (Billig, Billig and Whitling 2015; Whitling 2023a).³⁴

Charles Rufus Morey had asked Federico Pfister (Rosetti 2010), Secretary-General of AIAC, another new international organization in Rome, for classical archaeology, and a Swiss citizen, to make enquiries about the Kehr affair in Switzerland. Morey provided Giovanni Mercati with Pfister’s contact details.³⁵ A month later, Mercati was able to report to him that the library of the MGH was situated in the eighteenth-century *Schloss Pommersfelden* (also called *Schloss Weissenstein*, near Bamberg), and was to be transported to Munich, where its work would be resumed by the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.³⁶

In May 1946, more light was shed on the Kehr affair in a letter to the church historian Hubert Jedin from an unknown source with a previous connection to the German Historical Institute in Rome (possibly Friedrich Bock). In a letter that reached Mercati, Hubert Jedin was informed that the segment of Kehr’s material that had been deposited at Schloss Pommersfelden had been saved from destruction and had been sent to von Pölnitz at Schloss Hundshaupten. Von Pölnitz’ other castle at Wässerndorf had suffered the fate of some of Kehr’s material: “a victim of the flames”.³⁷

Solid and reliable information was, as we have seen, hard to come by. Another report indicated that Kehr’s library had indeed succumbed to the flames at Schloss Wässerndorf in April 1945, but that the material for the last volume of the *Italia Pontificia* had been saved. Material pertaining to the German Historical Institute in Rome had been “fetched by the Military government” from Schloss Pommersfelden and had been deposited at Schloss Hundshaupten. The report exultantly announced that “it is currently located there!”.³⁸

The search for the missing money continued. The Pius-Stiftung had been deposited in Zürich by the historian, archivist and politician Hans Nabholz. Attempts to access the fund had allegedly been made by the academies in Göttingen in Berlin as well as by the MGH “during national socialism”, and the foundation’s original statutes had been destroyed in the castle fire. The report stated that the amount of money deposited in Switzerland was “substantial” (*erheblich*), without specifying the sum.³⁹ It stressed the need for meetings with Mercati in Rome and with Hans Nabholz in Zürich, and ended with the suggestion that Baron Görtz von Pölnitz and Friedrich Bock might carry out the necessary further research in order to complete the publications in libraries in Rome and southern Italy, particularly in Sicily. Kehr had brought the work to near completion before the war: “the largest part by far of the very difficult material has already been collected at Hundshaupten”.⁴⁰

In January 1947, Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber, archbishop of Munich, asked Giovanni Mercati for the “legal authority to convey unnamed important letters to Baroness [Gudila] von Pölnitz”, Kehr’s daughter.⁴¹ In March, Giovanni Battista Montini passed on a note from nuncio Filippo Bernardini in Bern about the continued search for “the fund given by the Holy See to Prof. Kehr”.⁴² The search produced some results; a copy of the statutes of the Pius-Stiftung appeared to have been located by Peter Vieli, director general of the *Credit Suisse* bank.⁴³ At this time, Mercati informed Friedrich Bock about a report that was anticipated from Gudila von Pölnitz about Kehr’s last will and plans to publish “the end of Italia Pontificia”.⁴⁴ In February 1948, Görtz von Pölnitz wrote to Mercati apropos his personal involvement in the scientific board of the Pius-Stiftung, and in continued work on the Italia Pontificia.⁴⁵ We leave them there as we zoom out again.

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Conclusion

Since the opening of the Vatican archives for research in the late nineteenth century (1881), museums, libraries and archives have been the beating heart of the Vatican, also in times of conflict, such as the one discussed here. The Kehr affair remained inconclusive after the war based on the archival evidence dealt with here. Fragments and hearsay, scraps of evidence pieced together; a common situation with preserved source material. This essay has aimed to illustrate examples of the disarray at the end of the Second World War and the immediate post-war period.

Recalling the earlier papal wartime quote about measures for the metaphorical 'house being on fire', the figurative flames were eventually extinguished here. The damage was repaired, the building was reconstructed, research was resumed. The Pius-Stiftung still exists, based in Zürich (Hiestand 2003). Since 1948, the foundation has been supervised by a commission with one representative each from the Vatican archive, the Vatican library, the MGH, the Institute for Austrian Historical Research and the Swiss Society for History, under the direction of the chairman of the philological-historical class of the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen.

The theme here has been heritage protection under wartime pressure – with the fate of manuscripts, research material and library collections during and after the Second World War; in this case private or semi-private collections enabled by funding from the Vatican. The conclusions are fragmentary, as are the available sources. This reflects the quality of archival material as pieces of a puzzle. Museums, libraries and archives all have the dual function as research institutions and repositories.

The general answer to the question raised in the introduction here – of what roles, agency and representations individuals might simultaneously embody – is, perhaps unsurprisingly, that they can express and encapsulate multiple levels of representation and several interests at the same time. Individuals can, thereby, simultaneously speak for themselves and others, as well as institutions, organizations, states and nations, in this instance including the Vatican City State. Yet the essay also shows that self-interest vis-à-vis the common good is perhaps seldom exposed more clearly than when significant amounts of money are at stake.

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Endnotes

¹ Pius XII, “Patriziato e nobiltà romana”, 19 January 1944: “Quando la casa è in fiamme, una prima sollecitudine fa certamente chiamare al soccorso per spegnere il fuoco; ma dopo la rovina conviene riparare i danni e rialzare l’edificio”. Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (AAV), Carte Pio XII, Discorsi, box 7, file 1.

² Cf. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum Online* (papsturkunden.de, accessed 1 June 2023).

³ Correspondence from Paul Kehr to Giovanni Mercati between 1897 and 1936 (the last year in the inventory) can be found in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (henceforth BAV), Carteggi Mercati (CM), boxes 4–53 (various references). Mercati ostensibly discussed Kehr’s work with Pius XI on several occasions, cf. audience, 18 April 1929. BAV, CM, box 42.

⁴ Paul Kehr to Giovanni Mercati, 30 December 1934 (“i vecchi amici, fra i quali Ella ha uno dei primi posti”). BAV, CM, box 48. Cf. Doris Kehr to Cesare Orsenigo (?), 14 November 1944 (from Schloss Wässerndorf, Würzburg); Orsenigo to Doris Kehr, 16 November 1944 (condolences); and Orsenigo to Giovanni Battista Montini, 24 November 1944 (telegram, notification for Mercati on Kehr’s death). AAV, Arch. Nunz. Berlino, box 126 (“Archiv S. E. Orsenigo”), file 100.

⁵ Giovanni Battista Montini to Giovanni Mercati, 30 December 1944. BAV, CM, box 61, file 4. Cf. obituary, Kehr (by “Frau Doris Kehr, geb. vom Baur, Gudila Freifrau v. Pölnitz, geb. Kehr, Götz Freiherr v. Pölnitz, Gisela Freiin v. Pölnitz”). AAV, Arch. Nunz. Berlino, box 126, file 100.

⁶ Giovanni Battista Montini to Giovanni Mercati, 15 December 1945. BAV, CM, box 62, file 6. Cf. Mercati to Charles Rufus Morey, 20 April 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 2. The first volume in the *Italia Pontificia* series (Kehr et al. 1906[–1975]) was published in 1906; the first volume in the *Germania Pontificia* series (Kehr et al. 1911[–]) appeared five years later.

⁷ Giovanni Battista Montini to Giovanni Mercati, 15 December 1945. Cf. handwritten notes by Mercati on “la morte del [...] P. Fr. Kehr” and the “memoria” of Margarete Ludwig, Vienna. BAV, CM, box 62, file 6.

- ⁸ Handwritten notes by Giovanni Mercati: “la morte del [...] P. Fr. Kehr”: “levarne denari”; “l’interesse generale della scienza per la continuazione e il compimento delle due opere”; “il sentimento [...] del Kehr e di ogni altro onesto”. BAV, CM, box 62, file 6. Cf. Giovanni Battista Montini to Mercati, 3 January 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 1. For Friedrich Bock, see for example Klinkhammer 1992 and the *Nachlaß Friedrich Bock*, MGH-Archiv NLB 1-197. Cf. also MGH-Archiv B 584. For funding and the Vatican more generally, see Pollard 2005.
- ⁹ Cf. Bernard M. Peebles (sergeant) to Giovanni Mercati, 31 August 1944. BAV, CM, box 61, file 3. See for example Rémond 1987.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Giovanni Battista Montini to Giovanni Mercati, 15 January 1945, on a telegram from Orsenigo, Berlin; telegram, Orsenigo, Berlin, 20 February 1945. BAV, CM, box 62, file 1.
- ¹¹ Cesare Orsenigo, Nunzio, Berlin (“Nunziatura Apostolica Germania”), to Giovanni Mercati, 5 September 1944. Cf. Montini to Mercati, 10 September 1944, quoted telegram from the nunzio in Berlin: “Cassa [...] fu trasferiti presso Vescovo di Eichstatt”. Added (Mercati?): “Deve essere cassa scheda dell R. O. P. Baumgarten”. Cf. also typewritten “Elenco dei documenti di proprietà del Prof. Baumgarten”. BAV, CM, box 61, file 3; and Montini to Mercati, 24 February 1945 (Baumgarten – another 4 000 “marchi per la Consegna di nuovi documenti”). BAV, CM, box 62, file 1. For Baumgarten, cf. AAV, Arch. Nunz. Berlino, box 116.
- ¹² Cesare Orsenigo had made inquiries regarding Paul Baumgarten’s parents which were thus far without result, partly as they could not yet “extend to the Berlin zone of Russian occupation”. Orsenigo to Giovanni Mercati, 21 June 1945: “non possono finora estendersi alla zona berlinese di occupazione russa”. Cf. Mercati, description of the content of the two boxes of Baumgarten’s material. BAV, CM, box 62, file 2. Cf. also Orsenigo to Mercati, 13 August 1945. BAV, CM, box 62, file 4. A third box of documents relating to Paul Maria Baumgarten’s research sent by Orsenigo had reached the Vatican by the end of the year. Cesare Orsenigo to Giovanni Mercati, 22 November 1945. BAV, CM, box 62, file 6.
- ¹³ Giovanni Battista Montini to Giovanni Mercati, 6 April 1945, message from Cesare Orsenigo (Berlin, 24 March): “si è occupato dell’affare Kehr”. BAV, CM, box 62, file 2.
- ¹⁴ Cesare Orsenigo to Giovanni Mercati, 25 May 1945: “perito nelle fiamme, che devastarono tanto recentemente Berlino”. BAV, CM, box 62, file 2.
- ¹⁵ Giovanni Mercati to Charles Rufus Morey, 20 April 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 2.
- ¹⁶ Giovanni Mercati to Charles Rufus Morey, 20 April 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 2.
- ¹⁷ Giovanni Mercati to Charles Rufus Morey, 20 April 1946: “per una gran parte dipenderà dalla comprensione e buona volontà degli Alleati Anglo-Americani”. Cf. Giovanni Battista Montini to Mercati, 16 April 1946, regarding a “Nota Verbale della Legazione di Gran Bretagna presso la Santa Sede relativa alla somma affidata da Pio XI di s.m. al compianto Prof. Kehr per due lavori scientifici”. BAV, CM, box 63, file 2.
- ¹⁸ Cesare Orsenigo to Giovanni Mercati, 13 August 1945: “Invece il castello è totalmente bruciato”. BAV, CM, box 62, file 4.
- ¹⁹ Cesare Orsenigo to Giovanni Mercati, 27 September 1945: “gli eventuali parenti superstiti”; Mercati was at the same time informed that the Bavarian state library was in ruins. Martin Grabmann (?) to Mercati, 30 September 1945: “ein Trümmenhaus”. BAV, CM, box 62, file 5.
- ²⁰ Giovanni Battista Montini to Carlo Colli (“Incaricato d’Affari della S. Sede Eichstaett”), 11 July 1946. AAV, Arch. Nunz. Berlino, box 126, file 99. Cf. Helbach 2002; Alsheimer 2003.
- ²¹ Giovanni Battista Montini to Filippo Bernardini, 27 September 1945. Cf. “Promemoria”, 19 January 1945 (on Kehr, for Bernardini?); memorandum (Bernardini), 27 February 1946; Giovanni Mercati to Bernardini (?), undated). AAV, Arch. Nunz. Svizzera, box 102.
- ²² Margarete Ludwig to Giovanni Mercati, 15 January 1946. Cf. Mercati, note, 4 January 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 1.
- ²³ Margarete Ludwig, 8 July 1945 (handwritten memorandum, translation?) and original (in German): “Denkschrift der Frau Margarete Ludwig”, 8 July 1945. Cf. Giovanni Battista Montini to Filippo Bernardini, 27 September 1945; Giovanni Mercati to Bernardini? (undated); Bernardini (?) to Montini,

- 3 December 1945; Montini to Bernardini, 18 January 1946; Montini to Bernardini, 1 February 1947 (quoting a letter from Friedrich Bock to Mercati). AAV, Arch. Nunz. Svizzera, box 102.
- ²⁴ “Denkschrift der Frau Margarete Ludwig”, 8 July 1945: “Es bestand in grosse Ausmasse die Möglichkeit, dass irgendwelche nationalsozialistische Behörde über die Deutsche Botschaft in der Schweiz (oder ähnlich) sich das Geld aneignen wurde”. AAV, Arch. Nunz. Svizzera, box 102.
- ²⁵ Giovanni Mercati, note, 4 January 1946 (reference also to a possible second letter from Margarete Ludwig in May 1945; as well as a letter from Mercati to Montini, 23 June 1945). BAV, CM, box 63, file 1.
- ²⁶ Filippo Bernardini (?) to Paul Rossy, 5 December 1945: “le cas de Madame [...] Ludwig”. AAV, Arch. Nunz. Svizzera, box 102; Giovanni Battista Montini to Giovanni Mercati, 8 March 1946. BAV, CM box 63, file 2.
- ²⁷ Margarete Ludwig to Giovanni Mercati, 15 March 1946: “Dass Sie mir eine Belohnung nicht zuerkennen wollen, befremdet und kränkt mich”. BAV, CM, box 63, file 2.
- ²⁸ Giovanni Mercati to Margarete Ludwig, n.d.: “seitens der Alliierten zu erlangen fehlgeschlagen ist”. BAV, CM, box 63, file 2. Cf. Ludwig to Mercati, 27 May 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 3.
- ²⁹ Margarete Ludwig to Giovanni Mercati, 27 May 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 3.
- ³⁰ Martin Grabmann to Giovanni Mercati, 24 January 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 1. Grabmann was in continued contact with Mercati until his death in January 1949. Cf. Martin Grabmann to Giovanni Mercati, 15 November 1946; Grabmann to Mercati, 17 November 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 6; Grabmann to Mercati, 6 March 1947. BAV, CM, box 64, file 2; Grabmann to Mercati, 23 November 1947. BAV, CM, box 64, file 5; Grabmann to Mercati, 22 December 1947. BAV, CM, box 64, file 6; Grabmann to Mercati, 22 July 1948. BAV, CM, box 65, file 4; and Grabmann to Mercati, 10 September 1948. BAV, CM, box 65, file 5.
- ³¹ Note, Giovanni Mercati (“con S. E. Montini 20 II 1946”): “la lettera di Pio XII in favore degli Ebrei ed altri dotti costretti dai Naz. e dai Fasc. ad emigrare [...] se ci sono copie”. BAV, CM, box 63, file 1.
- ³² Audience with Pius XII, 16 March 1946, envelope with notes, 14 March 1946, Giovanni Mercati. BAV, CM, box 63, file 2. The nuncio Cesare Orsenigo passed away at Eichstätt two weeks later, although the nunciature continued to correspond with Gudila von Pölnitz about the Kehr material. Carlo Colli (?) to Gudila von Pölnitz-Kehr, 26 October 1946. Cf. unidentified sender to Colli/the nunciature, 30 November 1946. AAV, Arch. Nunz. Berlino, box 126, file 99.
- ³³ Cf. Leo Bruhns, “Memoriale”, 9 June 1946, on the transport of the Bibliotheca Hertziana. BAV, CM, box 63, file 3; as well as Giovanni Mercati to Morey, 16 March 1947; and Mercati to Friedrich Bock, 24 July 1947, on the deposit of the library of the Deutsches Historisches Institut in the Vatican. BAV, CM, box 64, file 2.
- ³⁴ Giulio Battelli, memorandum (?), 29 April 1946. Cf. Battelli, memorandum (separate document), 29 April 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 2. Cf. various authors 1945; Ward-Perkins 1977; Billig; Klinkhammer 1992; Battelli 1996; Billig, Nylander and Vian 1996; Nylander and Vian 1996; Vian 1996; Battelli 2000; Esch 2007; Petrucciani 2007; Vian 2008; Whitling 2008; Whitling 2011; Serlupi Crescenzi and Calvano 2012; Matheus 2013; Matheus 2015a; Matheus 2015b; Whitling 2016; Whitling 2019; Whitling 2023b.
- ³⁵ Charles Rufus Morey to Giovanni Mercati, 27 March 1946. Cf. Mercati to Morey, 20 April 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 2; and Morey to Mercati, 28 May 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 3.
- ³⁶ Giovanni Mercati to Charles Rufus Morey 26 April 1946. BAV, CM, box 63, file 2.
- ³⁷ Report, German Historical Institute, Rome (Friedrich Bock?) to Hubert Jedin, 30 May 1946 (Pommersfelden): “ein Raub der Flammen”. BAV, CM, box 63, file 3. Cf. Giovanni Mercati to Bock, 24 July 1947. BAV, CM, box 64, file 2. Jedin had worked in the Vatican for many years. During the German occupation of Rome 1943–1944, he was unable to leave the Vatican due to his mother’s Jewish descent, which had forced him to leave Germany. He lived under papal protection at the German catholic cemetery in the Vatican City, the *Campo Santo Teutonico* (Matheus 2015b).

- ³⁸ “Bericht der Nachforschungen über die ‘Piusstiftung’”, n.d. (1946?): “von dort das Material des Röm.Instituts durch die Militärregierung abgeholt wurde”; “Dort liegt es derzeit!” AAV, Arch. Nunz. Berlino, box 126, file 99.
- ³⁹ “Bericht der Nachforschungen über die ‘Piusstiftung’”, n.d. (1946?): “noch in nationalsozialistischer Zeit”; “Die in der Schweiz erhaltenen Mittel sind erheblich!” AAV, Arch. Nunz. Berlino, box 126, file 99. Cf. Hans Nabholz, 22 February 1947, memorandum (?), on the Piusstiftung; and Giovanni Battista Montini to Peter Vieli (*Credit Suisse*), 24 July 1947. AAV, Arch. Nunz. Svizzera, box 102 (“Somme d’argent remise par S.S. PIE XI au prof. KEHR Pro-memoria du Card. Mercati et de Mme Marguerite Ludwig” (1942–1943)).
- ⁴⁰ “Bericht der Nachforschungen über die ‘Piusstiftung’”, n.d. (1946?): “Der weitaus grösste Teil des sehr schwierigen Materials ist allerdings bereits in Hundshaupten gesammelt”. AAV, Arch. Nunz. Berlino, box 126, file 99. Cf. Margarete Ludwig, 8 July 1945 (handwritten memorandum, translation?). AAV, Arch. Nunz. Svizzera, box 102.
- ⁴¹ Michael von Faulhaber to Giovanni Mercati, 2 January 1947: “Vollmacht [...] wichtige Briefe an Baroness Gudila von Pöllnitz und Kehr zu übermitteln”. BAV, CM, box 64, file 1. Cf. for example (?) Bertolini (“La Sapienza”, Rome) to Mercati, 16 April 1947, regarding a letter from the ancient historian Gaetano De Sanctis “per la [Baronessa] Pöllnitz-Kehr”. BAV, CM, box 64, file 2. Cf. also Gudila von Pöllnitz to Carlo Colli (?), 6 September 1946. AAV, Arch. Nunz. Berlino, box 126, file 99.
- ⁴² Giovanni Battista Montini to Giovanni Mercati, 13 March 1947: “il fondo dato dalla Santa Sede al Prof. Kehr”. BAV, CM, box 64, file 2.
- ⁴³ Peter Vieli to Filippo Bernardini, 29 May 1947; Vieli to Bernardini, 17 June 1947 and Giovanni Battista Montini to Filippo Bernardini, 14 July 1947. Cf. Vieli’s business card; Montini (?) to Pierre Vieli, 24 July 1947; and Vieli (unidentified sender) to Montini, 21 August 1947. AAV, Arch. Nunz. Svizzera, box 102. Vieli had been Swiss minister in Rome during the war, 1942–1943 (he was previously first secretary at the Swiss legation from 1924 until 1931).
- ⁴⁴ Giovanni Mercati to Friedrich Bock, 24 July 1947. Cf. Wolfgang Hagemann to?, 25 July 1947. BAV, CM, box 64, file 2.
- ⁴⁵ Görtz Freiherr von Pöllnitz to Giovanni Mercati, 5 February 1948, on the “Pius-Stiftung”. BAV, CM, box 65, file 1.