

Places of Power, Spaces of Peril:  
Pilgrimage and Borders in Western Central Europe, c. 1770–1810

by

Kilian Harrer

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The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Suzanne M. Desan, Professor, History

Laird Boswell, Professor, History

Giuliana Chamedes, Associate Professor, History

Kathryn Cianza, Associate Professor, History

Thomas DuBois, Professor, Folklore



## Abstract

This dissertation analyzes Catholic pilgrimage during the French revolutionary era. Focusing on the regions between French- and German-speaking Europe, I show how pilgrims shaped the coming of modernity by transforming the politics of religion as well as by navigating and challenging new border regimes, from parish to empire and beyond. Enlightened reformers and French revolutionaries sought to radically curb religious ‘superstition.’ Around the same time, governing elites, most notably those of Napoleonic France, redrew the map of Europe and promoted a new, increasingly intense regime of territorial control. Thus, as France expanded on its northeastern frontier and as the supporters of Enlightenment and Revolution tried to implement their religious policies there, pilgrims faced stark challenges around the many well-frequented shrines of the region. In this situation, Catholic pilgrims and pilgrimage promoters did more than resist, prove resilient, or adapt their practice of mobility and devotion. Rather, they emerged as active, politically salient, and frequently successful players in the race to mobilize and (re-)construct social order after the Old Regime had been destabilized by the Enlightenment and then obliterated by the Revolution. For example, pilgrims confronted the burgeoning national imaginary, subverted revolutionary authority by multiplying their encounters with the Virgin Mary, and reasserted the sacred prestige of cities affected by secularization efforts. Moreover, the story of pilgrims in the decades around 1800 is a story of passports, customs controls, and clandestine crossings, of shrines located in enclaves, of attempts to escape the policing of worship by exploiting spatial confusion. It is the story of how Catholics—from lay villagers to bishops—used and exposed the border as the territorial Achilles heel of the emerging modern state. Through this analytical emphasis on borders, the dissertation foregrounds a new approach to the spatial aspects of religious renewal and Catholic politics on the threshold of

modernity. Without neglecting the local and national dynamics that have garnered most attention so far, I also explore pilgrimage as a transnational and transimperial practice. In sum, pilgrims and pilgrimage organizers impacted the culture of revolutionary-era Europe by deftly negotiating both sacred space and volatile geopolitics.

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A pilgrim relies on many people's hospitality as well as on various places in which to find material and spiritual sustenance. I vividly remember sitting in a youth hostel room in Kraków, Poland in January 2019 and realizing that I had, in some sense, become a pilgrim myself while doing research on pilgrimage in revolutionary-era Europe. In hindsight, it seems to me that the realization struck me surprisingly late; Josh Skłodowski led me to that moment of clarity, and I thank him. In a similar vein, I thank Chance McMahon, with whom I had my last conversation about pilgrimage and political conflict before my dissertation defense. More generally, as I reach the goal of my journey toward the Ph.D. after many scholarly and personal peregrinations, I am finally able to take a breath and express my immense gratitude to all those who have provided hospitality, sustenance, and help along the way.

This project took shape at the University of Wisconsin–Madison and I can say with great confidence that going there for graduate school was one of the best decisions I have ever made. My dissertation advisor and mentor, Suzanne Desan, has poured an incredible amount of enthusiasm, patience, critical insight, and sheer human sensitivity into helping me become a better writer, teacher, and thinker. Her teaching and scholarship kindled my interest in the time of the French Revolution. Suzanne recognized the full potential of my project before I did. Later on, she always found ways to cheer me up and get me back on track when I got discouraged and confused over where my own research was headed. I am deeply indebted to the other members of my dissertation committee as well. Laird Boswell introduced me to the field of modern French and European history, read and offered constructive criticism on innumerable drafts of papers and grant applications, and graciously accompanied my outbursts of Francophilia. With a unique and perfect mix of energy, rigor, and kindness, Giuliana Chamedes helped me understand modern Catholicism and work through such tricky concepts as “Ultramontanism” and “territory.” Kathryn Cianza guided me through the thickets of transnational history and remained interested in my work even after I had abandoned my plan to write a chapter on Kalwaria Zebrzydowska and other Polish pilgrimage places. Thomas DuBois immediately agreed to serve as my outside reader and has offered amazing support even though he has never met me in person, as I first reached out to him in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Beyond my dissertation committee, I have had the great fortune of working with many excellent faculty members in the UW History Department and beyond. Pernille Ipsen got me to think more sharply about the uses of theory and helped me out at a crucial stage of the grant application process. Lee Palmer Wandel pushed me to gain a richer understanding of early modern Christianity. Karl Shoemaker served on my second-year review committee and told me exactly what I needed to hear in one especially difficult moment. Daniel Ussishkin gave me opportunities and frameworks for considering the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in tandem. Elizabeth Hennessy and William Cronon taught me much of what I know about space and place. Thomas Broman provided broad perspectives on the Enlightenment as well as deep insight into the implications of pilgrims' encounters with the state.

It is hard to overstate the formative, felicitous influence that my friendships and intellectual exchanges with UW graduate students have had on me. Special thanks go to Robert Christl, John Ryan, Charlotte Whatley, and all the other members of my History program cohort:

I feel not just grateful but genuinely honored to have belonged to this outstanding group. Across cohorts, I was lucky to join a thriving and extraordinarily supportive community of “Frenchies,” especially my fellow adepts in French revolutionary history, Alice Main and Patrick Travens. Two former graduate students—Skye Doney and Katie Jarvis—have provided great mentorship and exciting examples of how to write about the history of pilgrimage and the French Revolution, respectively. Finally, I would like to say thank you to the staff of the History Department, above all to Leslie Abadie, who is quite possibly the best Graduate Program Coordinator in the world.

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Countless conversations with scholars on both sides of the ocean stimulated my thinking throughout the research and writing stages of the project. Conference and workshop audiences in Munich, Saarbrücken, Trier, Bern, Paris, Madison, and Tallahassee listened closely and charitably as I tried to make sense of what I had found in the archives. I also had the surprisingly good luck of getting opportunities to talk about my research to experts in many informal settings. I keep a fond memory of each of these interactions, but it would seem fastidious to enumerate all of them. Suffice it to say, then, that I was particularly impressed with the generosity of Vincent Denis, Christophe Duhamelle, Laurent Jalabert, Dominique Julia, and Sébastien Schick in Paris, Philippe Martin in Lyon, Claude Muller in Colmar, Maren Annette Baumann, Jort Blazejewski, and Bernhard Schneider in Trier, Karl Solchenbach in Malberg, Christian Windler in Bern, and Father Thomas at Einsiedeln.

Born and raised in Germany, I came to appreciate history in German and French academic settings, long before I even considered writing my dissertation at a U.S. university. Ever since my undergraduate days at the University of Munich, I have benefited immensely from the mentorship of Moritz Baumstark, Arndt Brendecke, Susanne Friedrich, Mark Hengerer, and Jorun Poettering. I also thank Jorun – as well as Marc Lerner – for giving me invaluable feedback on a draft of Chapter 1. In 2012/13, during my exchange year at the University of Tours, Ulrike Krampl and Robert Beck not only encouraged me for the first time to delve into the vast and gorgeous world of the archives but also taught me how to think and write coherently about what I discovered there. Moreover, my stay in Tours marks the origin point of two especially long-standing and important friendships with Renée Pera Ros and Jared Smith.

Last but not least, I could never have embarked on this pilgrimage if it was not for the familial love and support I have received throughout my life. My grandparents, parents, and siblings have all embodied the values of perseverance and care that have enabled me, quite simply and quite crucially, to get things done. *Danke*.



## Bibliographical Abbreviations

AAEB	Archives de l'ancien Évêché de Bâle (Porrentruy)
ADBR	Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin (Strasbourg)
ADHR	Archives départementales du Haut-Rhin (Colmar)
ADM	Archives départementales de la Moselle (Saint-Julien-lès-Metz)
ADV	Archives départementales des Vosges (Épinal)
ADioc Lux	Archives diocésaines de Luxembourg
ADipl	Archives diplomatiques (La Courneuve, France)
AEA	Archives de l'État à Arlon
AGR	Archives générales du Royaume (Brussels, Belgium)
AM Lux	Archives municipales de Luxembourg
AN	Archives nationales (Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France)
AN Lux	Archives nationales de Luxembourg
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BA Tr	Bistumsarchiv Trier
DAL	Diözesanarchiv Limburg
KAE	Klosterarchiv Einsiedeln
KrA Bit	Kreisarchiv Bitburg-Prüm
LA Sp	Landesarchiv Speyer
LHA Ko	Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz
PfA WND	Pfarrarchiv Sankt Wendel
SHD	Service historique de la Défense (Vincennes, France)
StA Tr	Stadtarchiv Trier
StA WND	Stadtarchiv Sankt Wendel
StBib Tr	Stadtbibliothek Trier

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## Introduction

A pilgrimage craze was sweeping through the northeastern parts of revolutionary France in the summer of 1799. Such, at least, was the alarming impression that the municipal administrators of Hochfelden, a small Alsatian town thirty kilometers from Strasbourg, conveyed to the French ministry of police. “Each day,” they wrote, “fanatics show up at our office to obtain passports” for trips to the “counter-revolutionary” holy well and apparition site of Hoste in the neighboring Moselle Department.<sup>1</sup> A slew of other police reports confirms that hundreds of thousands of Catholics had been hitting the road as pilgrims during those spring and summer months. They all were eager to visit Hoste and numerous related places of Marian apparitions, in the Moselle as well as in surrounding departments. Yet the passport requests indicate that Catholics’ thirst for an encounter with the miraculous did not obliterate their awareness of the profane territorial boundaries they would need to cross. Then again, just how profane were these boundaries? The administrators of Hochfelden raised that question with great flourish: as part of a plan to reestablish “the Altar and the Throne on the blood-spattered debris of Liberty,” the proliferating “evil” of pilgrimage and miracles “seems to be wreaking havoc across the sacred territory of the Republic.”<sup>2</sup> With these words, local revolutionaries captured the dramatic stakes of the relationship between holy place and sacralized territory, or between pilgrimage and borders.

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<sup>1</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 64, municipal administration of Hochfelden to minister of police, Hochfelden, 25 thermidor an VII (August 12, 1799): “D’après l’invitation, que vous nous avez faite par votre lettre du 20 messidor d(ernie)r, de vous fournir tous les renseignements sur le pèlerinage fanatique établi à Host, nous ne pouvons pas hésiter un moment, de vous assurer, que cet établissement contrerévolutionnaire est fréquenté plus que jamais. Journellement des fanatiques se présentent dans notre secretariat, pour obtenir des passeports, pour s’y rendre.”

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.: “un mal, qui tient sa source (peut être) des Departemens du Midi, et qui doit faire ses ravages [à] travers le territoire sacré de la Republique, et qui ne tente que d’eriger l’autel et le trône sur les debris sanglans de la Liberté.”

In this dissertation, I argue that pilgrims and pilgrimage organizers shaped Europe's revolutionary era through their devotional pursuits, especially by transgressing, contesting, and using borders. In the regions I cover—northeastern France, Luxembourg, and neighboring parts of present-day western Germany—pilgrimage endured and intermittently even flourished throughout the challenging period of Enlightenment reforms, the French Revolution, and Napoleonic imperialism. What is more, pilgrimage prompted Catholics to participate actively and massively in the transition to modernity. For example, pilgrims during those decades developed national awareness and wove new threads of religious worship into the secularizing fabric of urban public life. Catholics routinely crossed and confronted borders to reach their destinations as pilgrims or to promote local shrines, and in doing so developed tactics that enabled them to become serious players in nineteenth-century contexts. In sum, I suggest, the history of pilgrimage in the revolutionary era offers important clues to the riddle posed by recent, revisionist theories of the secular: if churches and religious communities did not simply flounder and shrink in Europe's transition from the Old Regime to a post-revolutionary world, then how did they manage instead to adapt and contribute to that transition?<sup>3</sup>

By posing the question in this way, I build on these revisionist approaches, which treat Christian traditions not as the reactionary or residual other of the modern but as inventive major participants in an undecided race to determine the shape of modernity. The metaphor of the open race signals a contingency and competition that I consider fundamental to the “Age of Mobilization,” as philosopher Charles Taylor has described the nineteenth and early twentieth

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<sup>3</sup> The defining revisionist work on secularism is Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003), esp. 32–5 on the momentous implications of Enlightenment and Revolution. See also Hans Joas, *Die Macht des Heiligen: Eine Alternative zur Geschichte von der Entzauberung* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2017) for a brilliant book-long critique of the twin sibling of secularization theory, namely Weberian disenchantment theory.

centuries.<sup>4</sup> Once the Enlightenment reached its full critical potential and once the French Revolution toppled an entire system of ranks, privileges, and monarchical power, political and cultural order was up for grabs. Catholics and Protestants, supporters and enemies of revolution, Napoleonic authoritarians and early radical leftists all scrambled to impose their respective visions of order. Europeans thus entered an age of mobilization by positioning themselves more and more numerous vis-à-vis democracy, nationalism, state-sponsored anticlericalism, and the new kind of imperialism pioneered by Napoleon. Traditionalist Catholics, for instance, quickly recognized the profound challenge to the notion of divinely preestablished order that had still largely pervaded the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century culture of the Baroque.<sup>5</sup> Not all Catholics hoped for the restoration of that order. But all understood that something fundamental had changed and that they needed to mobilize in new ways in order to respond effectively. This understanding bound them and their competitors together in a shared sense of modernity.<sup>6</sup> So how did they go about the task of mobilization?

For western and central European Catholicism, more than three decades' worth of work on revolutionary-era religious renewal has produced valuable and numerous answers to that question.<sup>7</sup> One especially vibrant debate concerns the Catholic Enlightenment. Some historians

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<sup>4</sup> Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), esp. 471.

<sup>5</sup> The best description, by an intellectual historian, of this process of recognition is Darrin M. McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>6</sup> Even the modernity of royalism in revolutionary France is now being explored, whereas previous generations of historians would have seen only traditionalism or reactionary attitudes. Cf. Paul Chopelin, "Royalismes et royalistes dans la France révolutionnaire," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 403 (2021): 3–28, esp. 4. Seminal on the modernity of miracles, but with a focus on the later nineteenth century: Thomas A. Kselman, *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1983).

<sup>7</sup> Works of synthesis and historiographical reflections attentive to religious vitality and renewal include, among others, Bernard Plongeron, "Débats et combats autour de l'historiographie religieuse de la Révolution: XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 76, no. 197 (1990): 257–302; Raymond Darteville, "Révolution et Religion: Nouvelles enquêtes et orientations méthodologiques," in *Recherches sur la Révolution: Un bilan des travaux scientifiques du Bicentenaire*, ed. Michel Vovelle (Paris: La Découverte, 1991), 181–211; Bernard Plongeron, ed., *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours. Tome X: Les défis de la modernité (1750–1840)* (Paris: Desclée, 1997), 301–617; Nigel Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France, 1780–1804* (Houndmills,

argue that the movement of enlightened “Reform Catholicism” prepared the Church for the reorganizing and mobilization that became necessary around 1800.<sup>8</sup> Yet most scholars think that the Catholic Enlightenment represents a historical cul-de-sac because its intensified battles against ‘superstition’ alienated the bigger part of the laity. Instead, these historians emphasize the formative actions of clergymen who decided to work *against* the forces of enlightened reform and revolution by forging new, durable, and powerful alliances with their flocks.<sup>9</sup> Whether

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London: Macmillan, 2000); Nigel Aston, *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe, 1750–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Jacques-Olivier Boudon, *Napoléon et les cultes: Les religions en Europe à l’aube du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1800–1815* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), esp. 99–109 on “renouveau religieux”; Régis Bertrand, “De l’histoire de l’Église à l’histoire religieuse de la Révolution,” in *La Révolution française au carrefour des recherches*, ed. Martine Lapiet and Christine Peyrard (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l’Université de Provence, 2003), 249–61; Dale K. van Kley, “Christianity as Casualty and Chrysalis of Modernity: The Problem of Dechristianization in the French Revolution,” *American Historical Review* 108, no. 4 (2003): 1081–1104; Suzanne Desan, “The French Revolution and Religion, 1795–1815,” in *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660–1815: The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 7, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 556–74; Philippe Bourdin and Philippe Boutry, “Introduction. L’Église catholique en Révolution: L’historiographie récente,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 355 (2009): 3–23; Andreas Holzem, *Christentum in Deutschland 1550–1850: Konfessionalisierung – Aufklärung – Pluralisierung*, 2 vols. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2015), esp. 775–931.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Michael Printy, *Enlightenment and the Creation of German Catholicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), esp. 212–20; Michael Müller, *Fürstbischof Heinrich von Bibra und die Katholische Aufklärung im Hochstift Fulda (1759–88): Wandel und Kontinuität des kirchlichen Lebens* (Fulda: Parzeller, 2005), esp. 430–1. A similar conclusion might be drawn from the success of enlightened pious literature in some provinces of France toward the end of the Old Regime: Philippe Martin, “1770–1780: Une vie religieuse renouvelée ?,” in *Lumières, religions et laïcité: Rencontres historiques de Nancy, novembre 2005*, ed. Louis Châtellier, Claude Langlois, and Jean-Paul Willaime (Paris: Riveneuve, 2009), 73–97. For superb recent overviews of the Catholic Enlightenment, see Ulrich L. Lehner, *The Catholic Enlightenment: The Forgotten History of a Global Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016) and (on the current state of research) Jürgen Overhoff, “Die Katholische Aufklärung als bleibende Forschungsaufgabe: Grundlagen, neue Fragestellungen, globale Perspektiven,” *Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 41, no. 1 (2017): 11–27. Also enormously helpful: Dale K. van Kley, “Conclusion: The Varieties of Enlightened Experience,” in *God in the Enlightenment*, ed. William J. Bulman and Robert G. Ingram (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 278–316. On “Reform Catholicism” as a politico-ecclesiastical movement that should not be equated with the totality of the Catholic Enlightenment, see Dale K. van Kley, *Reform Catholicism and the International Suppression of the Jesuits in Enlightenment Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), esp. 46–56.

<sup>9</sup> This argument is made most forcefully by scholars working on Italy: Pasquale Palmieri, *La santa, i miracoli e la rivoluzione: Una storia di politica e devozione* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2012); Marina Caffiero, *La fabrique d’un saint à l’époque des Lumières* (Paris: Éditions de l’EHESS, 2006 [1996]); Michael Broers, *The Politics of Religion in Napoleonic Italy: The War against God, 1801–1814* (London: Routledge, 2002); Mario Rosa, “Conclusion,” in *Religions en transition dans la seconde moitié du dix-huitième siècle*, ed. Louis Châtellier (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), 281–93 (on Italy and beyond); Mario Rosa, *Settecento religioso: Politica della ragione e religione del cuore* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1999), esp. 124–7. But see also Raymond Anthony Jonas, *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart: An Epic Tale for Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 54–90; Laurence Cole, “Nation, Anti-Enlightenment, and Religious Revival in Austria: Tyrol in the 1790s,” *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 2 (2000): 475–97; Daniel Drascek, “Der Papstbesuch in Wien und Augsburg 1782: Zum Wandel spätbarocker Alltags- und Frömmigkeitskultur unter dem Einfluß süddeutscher Gegenaufklärer,” in *Volkskundliche*

framed as cultural, political, intellectual, or Church history, the bulk of this scholarship proceeds from the assumption that clerical leadership meant priests were mobilizing laypeople rather than vice versa. While my study of pilgrims and pilgrimage promoters will by no means give short shrift to clerical influence, I will delineate not just the ambitions but also the limits of that influence and of clerical control more broadly. As pilgrims, lay Catholics often took their own initiatives, experienced the dramatic changes of their time in their own ways, and pursued different goals than did clerical elites. In this respect, I build on insights most forcefully developed by historians of gender, whose work has put in perspective the power of the male clerical establishment during the revolutionary era.<sup>10</sup>

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*Fallstudien: Profile empirischer Kulturforschung heute*, ed. Burkhart Lauterbach and Christoph Köck (Münster: Waxmann, 1998), 25–44. Often, this development is framed as an origin story of Ultramontanism: Lehner, *The Catholic Enlightenment*, 214–16; Francisco Javier Ramón Solans, “Le triomphe du Saint-Siège (1799–1823): Une transition de l’Ancien Régime à l’ultramontanisme ?,” *Siècles. Cahiers du Centre d’histoire “Espaces et Cultures,”* no. 43 (2016), <http://journals.openedition.org/siecles/pdf/3047>; Gérard Pelletier, *Rome et la Révolution française: La théologie et la politique du Saint-Siège devant la Révolution française (1789–1799)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004); and a classic article by Otto Weiß, “Der Ultramontanismus: Grundlagen – Vorgeschichte – Struktur,” *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 41 (1978): 821–78, esp. 840–1. On the Catholic Enlightenment as a historical impasse, cf. also Harm Klueting, “‘Der Genius der Zeit hat sie unbrauchbar gemacht’: Zum Thema *Katholische Aufklärung* – Oder: Aufklärung und Katholizismus im Deutschland des 18. Jahrhunderts. Eine Einleitung,” in *Katholische Aufklärung: Aufklärung im katholischen Deutschland*, ed. Harm Klueting, Norbert Hinske, and Karl Hengst (Hamburg: Meiner, 1993), 1–35. An interesting intermediate case, the city of Lyon, where enlightened and Counter-Enlightenment Catholics shaped the 1790s and both groups left a strong post-revolutionary legacy, is finely analyzed by Paul Chopelin, *Ville patriote et ville martyre: Lyon, l’Église et la Révolution, 1788–1805* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 2010), esp. 429–30.

<sup>10</sup> Some scholars of the French Revolution have traced a formative shift in gender dynamics to this period, in which women more often took the social and political initiative in defense of the faith even as many men disengaged to some extent from religious practices. Cf. Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, “Introduction: Confréries et dévotions à l’épreuve de la Révolution,” in “Confréries et dévotions à l’épreuve de la Révolution,” ed. Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, special issue, *Provence historique* 39, no. 156 (1989): 129–32, esp. 130; “Table ronde,” in *Pratiques religieuses, mentalités et spiritualités dans l’Europe révolutionnaire (1770–1820): Actes du colloque, Chantilly 27–29 novembre 1986*, ed. Bernard Plongeron, Paule Lerou, and Raymond Dartevelle (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 19–45, esp. Claude Langlois’s remarks on 40–41; Claude Langlois, *Le catholicisme au féminin: Les congrégations françaises à supérieure générale au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1984), 67–151. More recently, the critical debate on the ‘feminization of religion’ thesis has emphasized that, in the transition to modernity, Catholics—both women and men—found many deeply gendered ways to revalorize their faith and mobilize in favor of it. The best recent intervention in the feminization debate, deftly synthesizing research published in five languages, is Raúl Mínguez Blasco, “¿Dios cambió de sexo? El debate internacional sobre la feminización de la religión y algunas reflexiones para la España decimonónica,” *Historia contemporánea* 51 (2015): 397–426. In addition to the literature cited by Mínguez Blasco, see Caroline C. Ford, *Divided Houses: Religion and Gender in Modern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Carol E. Harrison, *Romantic Catholics: France’s Postrevolutionary Generation in Search of a Modern Faith* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), esp.

Above all, however, I seek to reorient the debate about religious change and its mobilizing effects by highlighting the difference that pilgrimage made as a spatial practice in the revolutionary age. Historians have noted frequently—and, as a rule, quite briefly—that pilgrimage remained important and popular among European Catholics throughout that period.<sup>11</sup> Yet by and large, the interdisciplinary study of pilgrimage has periodized its subject matter as if it had been in eclipse during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>12</sup> This assumption seems plausible at first glance because it rests on the widely shared insight that pilgrimage shaped Catholic piety most obviously in the periods that precede and follow the revolutionary era. In the culture of the Baroque, which dominated most of Catholic Europe from the late sixteenth through the mid-eighteenth century, nothing proved as effective as pilgrimage in fusing

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13–19; Paul Chopelin, “Une affaire de femmes ? Les résistances laïques à la politique religieuse d’État sous la Révolution française,” in *Genre et christianisme: Plaidoyers pour une histoire croisée*, ed. Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée and Magali Della Sudda (Paris: Beauchesne, 2015), 155–79. For eighteenth-century pilgrimage, detailed gender analysis shows that female as well as male Catholics participated massively (but in different ways) in a “world of miracles”: Elisabeth Lobenwein, *Wallfahrt – Wunder – Wirtschaft: Die Wallfahrt nach Maria Luggau (Kärnten) in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Bochum: Winkler, 2013), quote on 305.

<sup>11</sup> Most important on this theme of resilience, but largely confined to France during the early years of the Revolution: Dominique Julia, *Le voyage aux saints: Les pèlerinages dans l’Occident moderne, XV<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Éditions de l’EHESS, 2016), 128–45. See, moreover, the dispersed remarks concerning various parts of France in Boudon, *Napoléon et les cultes*, 106–7; Jonas, *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart*, 80–2; Thierry Blot, *Reconstruire l’Église après la Révolution: Le diocèse de Bayeux sous l’épiscopat de Mgr Charles Brault (1802–1823)* (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 336–7; Philippe Boutry, “Le procès *super non cultu* source de l’histoire des pèlerinages: Germaine Cousin et le sanctuaire de Pibrac au lendemain de la Révolution française,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes* 154, no. 2 (1996): 565–90, esp. 577–80; Roger Devos, “Pèlerinages et culte des saints à l’épreuve de la Révolution: L’exemple du diocèse de Genève,” in “Confréries et dévotions à l’épreuve de la Révolution,” ed. Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, special issue, *Provence historique* 39, no. 156 (1989): 317–26; Jehanne Roche, “Création de cultes autour de nouveaux ‘corps saints’ victimes de la Révolution,” in *Pratiques religieuses, mentalités et spiritualités dans l’Europe révolutionnaire (1770–1820): Actes du colloque, Chantilly 27–29 novembre 1986*, ed. Bernard Plongeron, Paule Lerou, and Raymond Darteville (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 618–25; Claude Langlois, *Le diocèse de Vannes au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (1800–1830)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1974), 547–52; Albert Soboul, “Sentiment religieux et Cultes populaires pendant la Révolution: Saintes patriotes et martyrs de la liberté,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 148 (1957): 193–213, esp. 197–9. On Germany, in addition to the literature cited below in the next notes: Christophe Duhamelle, “Le pèlerinage dans le Saint-Empire au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Pratiques dévotionnelles et identités collectives,” *Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte* 33, no. 2 (2006): 69–96. On Italy: Palmieri, *La santa*, 192–202; Broers, *The Politics of Religion*, 54–5. On Poland: Bolesław Kumor, “Austriackie władze zaborcze wobec kultu Królowej Polski i pielgrzymek na Jasną Górę (1772–1809),” *Studia Claromontana* 1 (1981): 77–97, esp. 85–91. The long eighteenth century is woefully underrepresented in Luc Chantre, Paul d’Hollander and Jérôme Grévy, eds., *Politiques du pèlerinage du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014).

<sup>12</sup> My use of the metaphor ‘eclipse’ here is indebted to Julia, *Le voyage aux saints*, 111.



anti-Protestant triumphalism, communal cohesion via shared leisure, liturgical splendor, and popular devotion to Mary and the saints. This fusion especially characterized the collective, processional, short-to-mid-distance type of pilgrimage called *Wallfahrt* in German.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the militant “new Catholicism” of the mid-to-late nineteenth century relied heavily on the devotional power and public spectacle of pilgrimage to outrival both Protestantism and liberalism.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, historians of modern Europe habitually use the topic of pilgrimage to support the idea that, no matter what occurred around 1800, *real* religious renewal only kicked in during the 1830s and 40s in both French- and German-speaking lands.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The best synthesis of this argument is in Peter Hersche, *Muße und Verschwendung: Europäische Gesellschaft und Kultur im Barockzeitalter*, 2 vols. (Freiburg, Basel, Vienna: Herder, 2006), 2:794–838. In lieu of an endless parade of other historians making the same point, I will quote Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 104: “pilgrimage piety came to define what it meant to be Catholic.” For a perceptive historiographical essay, see Louis Châtellier, “Pèlerins et pèlerinages à l’âge baroque,” *Annales de l’Est*, no. 1 (1998): 193–203. And for confirmation from folklorists, see Hans Dünninger, “Zur Geschichte der barocken Wallfahrt im deutschen Südwesten [1981],” in *Wallfahrt und Bilderkult: Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Wolfgang Brückner, Jürgen Lenssen, and Klaus Wittstadt (Würzburg: Echter, 1995), 305–20; Klaus Guth, “Geschichtlicher Abriss der marianischen Wallfahrtsbewegungen im deutschsprachigen Raum,” in *Handbuch der Marienkunde*, ed. Wolfgang Beinert and Heinrich Petri, 2nd, completely rev. ed., 2 vols. (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1997 [1984]), vol. 2, 321–448, esp. 396–422; Iso Baumer, *Wallfahrt als Handlungsspiel: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis religiösen Handelns* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1977), 42–3.

<sup>14</sup> Christopher Clark, “The New Catholicism and the European culture wars,” in *Culture Wars: Secular–Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 11–46, esp. 15–17. Cf. also Hersche, *Muße und Verschwendung*, 2:1057–9; Guth, “Geschichtlicher Abriss,” 423–43; and, from a sociological perspective, Michael N. Ebertz, “Ein Haus voll Glorie, schauet ...’: Modernisierungsprozesse der römisch-katholischen Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Religion und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfgang Schieder (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993), 62–85, esp. 82–3.

<sup>15</sup> A classic French synthesis that popularized this periodization is Gérard Cholvy and Yves-Marie Hilaire, *Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine: 1800–1880* (Toulouse: Privat, 1985). Similar: Nicolas Champ, *La religion dans l’espace public: Catholiques, protestants et anticléricaux en Charente-Inférieure au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest, 2010), 383–98; Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism 1789–1914* (London: Routledge, 1989), esp. 229–32; Michael R. Marrus, “Cultures on the Move: Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Nineteenth-Century France,” *Stanford French Review* 1, no. 2 (1977): 205–20, esp. 217. Most recently, despite its title, Roger Price, *Religious Renewal in France, 1789–1870: The Roman Catholic Church between Catastrophe and Triumph* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) focuses almost entirely on the July Monarchy and especially the Second Empire. Historians of modern Germany debate whether religious revival began during the *Vormärz* (1830–48) or after 1850, thus ignoring the first decades after 1800: James M. Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), esp. 260; Clark, “The New Catholicism,” 15. The early nineteenth century is simply not discussed in Mary Heimann, “Catholic Revivalism in Worship and Devotion,” in *World Christianities c.1815–c.1914: The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 8*, ed. Brian Stanley and Sheridan Gilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 70–83.

This periodization scheme has caused the study of pilgrimage in the decades around 1800 to revolve around a single question: how successful were enlightened ambitions to control and restrict pilgrimage? Scholars have provided overwhelming evidence that such ambitions circulated among church and state authorities as well as reformist writers, who routinely denounced pilgrims' practices as almost inherently superstitious, unduly raucous if not politically suspect, and a collective waste of time that resembled vagabondage and slowed down the economy. We also know that enlightened elites tried seriously to implement their restrictive agenda, although with varying degrees of severity depending on whether they subscribed to a moderate Catholic Enlightenment, more radical Josephist ideals, an uncompromising revolutionary anti-fanaticism, or a post-revolutionary ideology of order and "liberal authoritarianism."<sup>16</sup> Keenly aware of this far-reaching agenda, historians have usually concentrated on determining how effectively it eroded lay Catholics' participation in pilgrimage. Some argue that the word 'revival' applies quite literally to mid-nineteenth-century

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<sup>16</sup> On this anti-pilgrimage agenda, see Harm Klueting, "Katholische Aufklärung nach 1803? Theologie und Kirche unter dem Eindruck des Umbruchs," *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 34 (2015): 23–34, esp. 31–2; Derek Beales, *Joseph II*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987/2009), 2:314–26; Bernhard Schneider, "Wallfahrtskritik im Spätmittelalter und in der 'Katholischen Aufklärung': Beobachtungen zu Kontinuität und Wandel," in *Wallfahrt und Kommunikation, Kommunikation über Wallfahrt*, ed. Bernhard Schneider (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2004), 281–316, esp. 298–313; Sandro Landi, "Législations sur les pèlerinages et identités pèlerines dans la péninsule italienne, XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Rendre ses vœux: Les identités pèlerines dans l'Europe moderne (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. Philippe Boutry, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and Dominique Julia (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 2000), 457–71; Dominique Julia, "Les pèlerins de sainte Reine au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Reine au Mont Auxois: Le culte et le pèlerinage de sainte Reine des origines à nos jours*, ed. Philippe Boutry and Dominique Julia (Dijon: Ville de Dijon, 1997), 243–76, esp. 243–7; Walter Hartinger, "Kirchliche und staatliche Wallfahrtsverbote in Altbayern," in *Staat, Kultur, Politik: Beiträge zur Geschichte Bayerns und des Katholizismus. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Dieter Albrecht*, ed. Winfried Becker and Werner Chrobak (Kallmünz/Opf.: Laßleben, 1992), 119–36; Christiane Schmalfeldt, "Sub tuum praesidium confugimus: Unsere Liebe Frau in der Tanne zu Triberg," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 108 (1988): 5–302, esp. 175–260; Max Braubach, "Die kirchliche Aufklärung im katholischen Deutschland im Spiegel des 'Journal von und für Deutschland' (1784–92)," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 54 (1934): 1–63, 178–220, esp. 33–4, 46, 62, 195, 198–200, and 216–17 (on various territories of the Holy Roman Empire); Pierre Horn, *Le défi de l'enracinement napoléonien entre Rhin et Meuse, 1810–1814: L'opinion publique dans les départements de la Roër, de l'Ourthe, des Forêts et de la Moselle* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 88. I borrow the term "liberal authoritarianism" from Howard G. Brown, *Ending the French Revolution: Violence, Justice, and Repression from the Terror to Napoleon* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 358.

developments in pilgrimage. Jonathan Sperber expressed this conclusion most provocatively in his work on the northern Rhineland: “By 1850, the traditional pilgrimage was dead; its triumphant resurrection in the following twenty years would see it in a new and different form.”<sup>17</sup> Other scholars, by contrast, insist that lay Catholics—especially in German-speaking Europe—mounted an effective resistance, sticking with their supposedly traditional pilgrim practices throughout the revolutionary era.<sup>18</sup> My own findings underscore the vitality of pilgrimage in the years 1770–1810. I have focused on these four decades because they witnessed

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<sup>17</sup> Jonathan Sperber, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 30. For similar arguments that Enlightenment, Revolution, and/or the Napoleonic reordering of Europe seriously undermined the practice of pilgrimage, a trend only reversed by mid-nineteenth-century revival: Ingo Gabor, “Das Wallfahrtswesen vor und nach der Säkularisation,” in *Alte Klöster, neue Herren: Die Säkularisation im deutschen Südwesten 1803*, ed. Volker Himmelein and Hans Ulrich Rudolf (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 979–98, esp. 993–5; Sylvain Milbach, “Le renouveau du pèlerinage, 1801–1939,” in *Reine au Mont Auxois: Le culte et le pèlerinage de sainte Reine des origines à nos jours*, ed. Philippe Boutry and Dominique Julia (Dijon: Ville de Dijon, 1997), 301–320, esp. 301–3 (on Burgundy); Philippe Martin, *Pèlerins de Lorraine* (Metz: Serpenoise, 1997), 79–85; Werner Freitag, *Volks- und Elitenfrömmigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit: Marienwallfahrten im Fürstbistum Münster* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1991), 351–7 (on Westphalia); Ludwig Hüttl, *Marianische Wallfahrten im süddeutsch-österreichischen Raum: Analysen von der Reformations- bis zur Aufklärungsepoche* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1985), 154–84; Bernard Cousin, “Le pèlerinage, lieu de résistance des mentalités ? L’exemple provençal de Notre-Dame-de-Lumières (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles),” *Provence historique* 32, no. 128 (1982): 159–68, esp. 160–1; most sweepingly: René Moulinas, “Le pèlerinage, victime des Lumières,” in *Les chemins de Dieu: Histoire des pèlerinages chrétiens des origines à nos jours*, ed. Jean Chélini and Henry Branthomme (Paris: Hachette, 1982), 259–92.

<sup>18</sup> A helpful recent summary of this position is given by Holzem, *Christentum in Deutschland*, 988. For more detail, see Brophy, *Popular Culture*, 259–69; Ute Planert, *Der Mythos vom Befreiungskrieg: Frankreichs Kriege und der deutsche Süden – Alltag, Wahrnehmung, Deutung (1792–1841)* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2007), 363–80; Vadim Oswalt, “Frömmigkeit im ländlichen Oberschwaben – nach der Säkularisation,” in *Die Säkularisation im Prozess der Säkularisierung Europas*, ed. Peter Blickle and Rudolf Schlögl (Epfendorf: Bibliotheca Academica Verlag, 2005), 299–315, esp. 309–14; Andreas Holzem, “Religiöse Orientierung und soziale Ordnung: Skizzen zur Wallfahrt als Handlungsfeld und Konflikttraum zwischen Frühneuzeit und Katholischem Milieu,” in *Institutionen und Ereignis: Über historische Praktiken und Vorstellungen gesellschaftlichen Ordners*, ed. Reinhard Blänkner and Bernhard Jussen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 327–54, esp. 338–41 (based primarily on the case of Westphalia); Christopher Buchholz, *Französischer Staatskult 1792–1813 im linksrheinischen Deutschland: Mit Vergleichen zu den Nachbardepartements der habsburgischen Niederlande* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997), esp. 140–3, 301–7; Bernhard Schneider, “Entwicklungstendenzen rheinischer Frömmigkeits- und Kirchengeschichte in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Tradition und Modernisierung,” *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 48 (1996): 157–95, esp. 177–91; Eva Kimminich, *Religiöse Volksbräuche im Räderwerk der Obrigkeiten: Ein Beitrag zur Auswirkung aufklärerischer Reformprogramme am Oberrhein und in Vorarlberg* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1989), esp. 199; Dieter P. J. Wynands, “Rhein-maasländische Wallfahrten des 19. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Frömmigkeit,” *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 191 (1988): 115–31. For Tuscany, a similar conclusion is reached by Marcello Verga, “Strategie di riforma nella Toscana ‘giansenista’ di Pietro Leopoldo: Pietà popolare, immagini sacre, ‘regolata divozione,’” *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 54, no. 1 (2018): 99–125, esp. 116, 123–4.

the successive heydays of enlightened Reform Catholicism, revolutionary activism, and Napoleonic imperial order.<sup>19</sup>

Yet pilgrims and pilgrimage promoters did much more than preserve religious traditions, and their actions had more powerful ripple effects across culture and politics than scholarship has recognized so far. To be sure, numerous folklorists and historians have already enriched the study of religious practice in the revolutionary era with the broader insight that attachment to traditions and resistance to reforms need not imply changelessness. Thus, with regard to pilgrimage, some scholars show how laypeople also adapted. They took increasing initiative in organizing and leading pilgrimages previously guided by clergy but now shunned by enlightened state and church authorities.<sup>20</sup> While my case studies corroborate this argument, I consider it insufficient in that it still responds to the question of how new historical processes and political regimes impacted old religious practices. In other words, most of the existing narratives start by asking what emerging modernity did to pilgrimage and finish by emphasizing devotional decline, continuity, or adaptation.

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<sup>19</sup> I recognize the limitations entailed by my relative neglect of enlightened Reform Catholicism *after* the Revolution; on the strength of this current in the early nineteenth century, see, e.g., Christian Handschuh, *Die wahre Aufklärung durch Jesum Christum: Religiöse Welt- und Gegenwarts-konstruktion in der Katholischen Spätaufklärung* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014); Volker Speth, *Katholische Aufklärung, Volksfrömmigkeit und 'Religionspolicey': Das rheinische Wallfahrtswesen von 1814 bis 1826 und die Entstehungsgeschichte des Wallfahrtsverbots von 1826. Ein Beitrag zur aufklärerischen Volksfrömmigkeitsreform*, 2nd, rev. ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2014 [2008]); Bernhard Schneider, "Reform of Piety in German Catholicism, 1780–1920," in *Piety and Modernity*, ed. Anders Jarlert (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012), 193–224, esp. 201–3.

<sup>20</sup> Seminal for this interpretation: Wolfgang Brückner, *Die Verehrung des Heiligen Blutes in Walldürn: Volkskundlich-soziologische Untersuchungen zum Strukturwandel barocken Wallfahrtens* (Aschaffenburg: P. Pattloch, 1958), 161–5. In addition, see Barbara Goy, *Aufklärung und Volksfrömmigkeit in den Bistümern Würzburg und Bamberg* (Würzburg: Schöningh, 1969), 152; Marc Wingens, *Over de grens: De bedevaart van katholieke Nederlanders in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1994), 219; Hersche, *Muße und Verschwendung*, 1019; Speth, *Katholische Aufklärung*, 141. These adaptations need not appear as merely temporary, as subject to erasure by the ultramontane clericalization of nineteenth-century Catholicism; in fact, they point to the limitations or at least the unsolved puzzles of such clericalization theses. Cf. on this point the perceptive remarks made by Nils Freytag, "Wunderglauben und Aberglauben: Wallfahrten und Prozessionen im Bistum Trier im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," in *500 Jahre Wallfahrtskirche Klausen*, ed. Martin Persch, Michael Embach, and Peter Dohms (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2003), 261–82, esp. 276 and 281.

My dissertation turns this question upside down by exploring what pilgrimage did to emerging modernity.<sup>21</sup> Through pilgrimage, Catholics directly encountered radical challenges to the religious social order that this form of devotion had epitomized for so long. Through pilgrimage, they also elaborated quick and powerful ways to join the struggle for new political and spatial configurations that Enlightenment and Revolution had unleashed. Thus, Catholics living through the revolutionary era sharpened their awareness of the nation by going on pious journeys across borders (Chapter 1). As pilgrims, they refreshed their confessional pride by aligning it with new faultlines of strife that concerned spatial reordering and supposed Catholic backwardness (Chapter 2). Pilgrims also transformed their devotion to Mary, inaugurating a modern pattern in which Marian apparitions would occur more frequently and spectacularly whenever Catholic–secular conflict would reach its highest pitch (Chapter 3). In other situations, pilgrims turned the post-revolutionary city into a new beacon of holiness and public religious visibility (Chapter 4). Finally, pilgrimage pushed Catholics not only to cross but also to help construct shifting borders on various levels (Chapter 5). In other words, pilgrims and pilgrimage promoters made large-scale and multifaceted contributions to the Age of Mobilization already between 1770 and 1810, not just later in the nineteenth century.

While only the last chapter will deal with border shrines in a strict sense, all sorts of territorial boundaries feature crucially throughout this story. As a hotly contested form of mobility, pilgrimage interacted at every step with a development I call the great rebordering—the

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<sup>21</sup> Two historians have taken steps in that direction by arguing that late-eighteenth-century pilgrims developed a new, intensified, and politically subversive sense of autonomy and Catholic identity: Rebekka Habermas, *Wallfahrt und Aufruhr: Zur Geschichte des Wunderglaubens in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1991), 129–79; Christophe Duhamelle, *La frontière au village: Une identité catholique allemande au temps des Lumières* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 2010), esp. 252–6. However, neither Habermas nor Duhamelle make a systematic effort to connect these observations to the historiography of revolutionary and post-revolutionary Europe.

sweeping and multifaceted shift of border regimes in revolutionary-era Europe.<sup>22</sup> The great rebordering played out simultaneously on three levels that factor differently into my case studies. First and most prominently, enlightened and revolutionary rulers repeatedly remapped much of continental Europe. They balanced the ideology of clarified and ideally ‘natural’ frontiers (such as rivers and mountain chains) more or less delicately against a new conjuncture of great power politics and territorial expansion, unleashed by the First Partition of Poland-Lithuania in 1772 and culminating in Napoleonic imperialism.<sup>23</sup> Out of a “concern for rationalization” and “control,” governing elites simplified borders, for example through treaties that exchanged bits and pieces of territory and eliminated many enclaves. More broadly, territorial cohesion and border security moved to the very center of statecraft.<sup>24</sup> The phrase “sacred territory” employed

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<sup>22</sup> The similar, but more vague concept of ‘respatialization’ was recently applied to the global history of the revolutionary era by Megan Maruschke and Matthias Middell, “Explaining Revolutionary Upheaval: From Internal Societal Developments to Global Processes of Respatialization,” in *The French Revolution as a Moment of Respatialization*, ed. Megan Maruschke and Matthias Middell (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 1–19. By using the word ‘rebordering’ in the sense of ‘shifting border regimes’ here, I diverge from border studies theorists who sometimes use it as an antonym to ‘debordering.’ E.g., Chris Rumford, “Theorizing Borders,” *European Journal of Social Theory* 9, no. 2 (2006): 155–69, esp. 157. On the broader analytical potential of ‘bordering’ as a process verb, see Alexander C. Diener and Joshua Hagen, *Borders: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). Moreover, in using ‘border’ as an umbrella term for all kinds of territorial boundaries and not just state borders, I follow Thomas Nail, *Theory of the Border* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). Nail’s work is also very important because it systematically shows mobility and borders to be mutually constitutive rather than inimical to each other—an insight obscured by other recent work, most notably Manlio Graziano, *What Is a Border?* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2018).

<sup>23</sup> Daniel Nordman et al., *Atlas de la Révolution française, tome 4: Le territoire (I). Réalités et représentations* (Paris: Éditions de l’EHESS, 1989); Peter Sahlin, “Natural Frontiers Revisited: France’s Boundaries since the Seventeenth Century,” *American Historical Review* 95, no. 5 (1990): 1423–51; Daniel Nordman, *Frontières de France: De l’espace au territoire, XVI<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998); Helga Schnabel-Schüle, “Ansteckungsgefahr und Prophylaxe: Französische Revolution und Napoleonische Territorialrevolution,” in *Die großen Revolutionen im deutschen Südwesten*, ed. Hans-Georg Wehling and Angelika Hauser-Hauswirth (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1998), 15–33, esp. 26–8; Daniel Nordman, “Conclusion du colloque: Une frontière en débats,” in *Frontières et espaces frontaliers du Léman à la Meuse: Recompositions et échanges de 1789 à 1814 (actes du colloque de Nancy, 25–27 novembre 2004)*, ed. Claude Mazauric and Jean-Paul Rothiot (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 2007), 457–62; Jordan R. Hayworth, *Revolutionary France’s War of Conquest in the Rhineland: Conquering the Natural Frontier, 1792–1797* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Martin Uhrmacher, “Neue Staaten – neue Grenzen: Die Rhein-Maas-Mosel-Region zwischen den Grenzbereinigungen des Ancien Régime und der Neuordnung durch den Wiener Kongress (1779–1816),” in *Repression, Reform und Neuordnung im Zeitalter der Revolutionen: Die Folgen des Wiener Kongresses für Westeuropa*, ed. Andreas Fickers, Norbert Franz, and Stephan Laux (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2019), 155–83.

<sup>24</sup> Gilles Bertrand, “Pour une approche comparée des modes de contrôle exercés aux frontières des anciens États italiens: Les exemples du Dauphiné et de la Toscane dans la seconde moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *La mobilité des personnes en Méditerranée de l’Antiquité à l’époque moderne: Procédures de contrôle et documents*

by the administration of Hochfelden in my opening story makes sense in this context.<sup>25</sup> But these securitized, exalted, supposedly rationalized—and yet highly unstable—borders never ceased to be “filters” rather than stark obstacles or barriers.<sup>26</sup> What is more, as recent scholarship demonstrates, states never fully controlled the filtering, which continued to be co-determined and manipulated by a wide gamut of social actors who encountered the border or lived near it.<sup>27</sup>

The other two levels of the great rebordering concern administrative boundaries and church territories, respectively. Especially in revolutionary France and later in areas of Napoleonic hegemony, the decades around 1800 saw a stunning and far-flung effort to simplify, standardize, and homogenize the internal subdivisions of state territory. Departmentalization has

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*d'identification*, ed. Claude Moatti (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 253–303, quotes on 300. See also Michel Foucault, *Sécurité, territoire, population: Cours au Collège de France, 1977–1978* (Paris: Seuil/Gallimard, 2004), esp. 93; Isabelle Laboulais-Lesage, “1789–1815: une révolution dans la perception de l’espace national ?,” in *Les révolutions du monde moderne: Actes d’un cycle de conférences du semestre d’hiver 2004–2005 à l’Université Albert Ludwig de Fribourg*, ed. Alain J. Lemaître and Rolf G. Renner (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2006), 109–27; Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically about the Age of Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), esp. 195–201; Michael Rowe, “Borders, War, and Nation-Building in Napoleon’s Europe,” in *Borderlands in World History, 1700–1914*, ed. Paul Readman, Cynthia Radding, and Chad Bryant (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 143–65; Andrea Komlosy, *Grenzen: Räumliche und soziale Trennlinien im Zeitenlauf* (Wien: Promedia, 2018), esp. 98–105. For the region studied in this dissertation, see e.g. Jean-Pierre Husson and Laurent Jalabert, “Les enclaves en Lorraine au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: De l’objet spatial complexe et vivant à la marginalisation,” in *Frontières et espaces frontaliers du Léman à la Meuse: Recompositions et échanges de 1789 à 1814 (actes du colloque de Nancy, 25–27 novembre 2004)*, ed. Claude Mazauric and Jean-Paul Rothiot (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 2007), 55–68; Nordman, *Frontières de France*, 363–86.

<sup>25</sup> On the gradual, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century emergence of territory as a kind of synecdoche for ‘state’ itself, both in practices and representations, see Chandra Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); David Bitterling, “Marschall Vauban und die absolute Raumvorstellung,” in *Vermessen, zählen, berechnen: Die politische Ordnung des Raums im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Lars Behrisch (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus Verlag, 2006), 65–74; Andreas Rutz, *Die Beschreibung des Raums: Territoriale Grenzziehungen im Heiligen Römischen Reich* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2018), esp. 400–402; and from a more theoretical perspective, Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), esp. 309–30.

<sup>26</sup> Nail, *Theory of the Border*, 4.

<sup>27</sup> Seminal in this respect: Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). Very instructive on the revolutionary period: Maxime Kaci, *Dans le tourbillon de la Révolution: Mots d’ordre et engagements collectifs aux frontières septentrionales, 1791–1793* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2016). For overviews of recent research, see Susanne Rau, “Grenzen und Grenzräume in der deutschsprachigen Geschichtswissenschaft,” *Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte* 47 (2020): 307–22; Léonard Dauphant, “L’historiographie des frontières et des espaces frontaliers en France depuis trente ans,” *Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte* 47 (2020): 295–306.

attracted the most attention but smaller units such as the canton also became hallmark entities of territorial cohesion and even securitization, as illustrated by the legislation on internal passports that the revolutionary government introduced in 1795.<sup>28</sup> Marie-Vic Ozouf-Marignier points out that these reforms did not simply redraw borders but raised the very stakes of bordering, as revolutionaries “affirmed the primacy of spatial dependency over social dependency, the cutting of space into discrete units, the importance of the limit.”<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, enlightened absolutism and Revolution in Catholic Europe involved a push to reform diocesan and parish borders. Joseph II reorganized dioceses so they no longer straddled state borders in many parts of the Habsburg lands. The French revolutionaries aligned diocesan borders exactly with departmental ones in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790). Throughout the period, governments also worked to reorganize the parish network and thus to create a more even distribution of pastoral units across the countryside.<sup>30</sup> All these reforms aimed at facilitating state control of church life and perfecting a homogenous, neatly scaled territorial grid.

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<sup>28</sup> Marie-Vic Ozouf-Marignier, *La formation des départements: La représentation du territoire français à la fin du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1988); Sébastien Dubois, *La révolution géographique en Belgique: Départementalisation, administration et représentations du territoire de la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Brussels: Classe des Lettres, Académie Royale de Belgique, 2008). For detail and historiography on passports, see Chapter 3.

<sup>29</sup> Marie-Vic Ozouf-Marignier, “Le territoire: Représentations géographiques et pratiques politiques,” in *Histoires d’espaces: Territoires et limites, autour de Daniel Nordman*, ed. Hélène Blais et al. (Saint-Denis: Éditions Bouchène, 2018), 341–54, here 353: the revolutionaries’ thinking “affirmait le primat de la dépendance spatiale sur la dépendance sociale, la discrétisation de l’espace, l’importance de la limite.”

<sup>30</sup> On (sometimes successful) Josephist projects to redraw diocesan boundaries, see Harm Klutzing, “‘Quidquid est in territorio, etiam est de territorio’: Josephinisches Staatskirchentum als rationaler Territorialismus,” *Der Staat* 37, no. 3 (1998): 417–34; P. G. M. Dickson, “Joseph II’s Reshaping of the Austrian Church,” *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 1 (1993): 89–114, esp. 104. On the same topic for revolutionary France, see Claude Langlois et al., eds., *Atlas de la Révolution française, volume 9: Religion* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1996), 60. Joseph II and his successors actually increased the number of parishes in some parts of the Habsburg empire, in order to create a more effective and rational infrastructure for pastoral care: for the example of Galicia, see Bolesław Kumor, *Ustrój i organizacja kościoła polskiego w okresie niewoli narodowej 1772–1918* (Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo Teologiczne, 1980), 578–618 (and *ibid.*, 153–74, on remapped dioceses). On the Napoleonic reorganizations of the parish network, a good introduction is in Boudon, *Napoléon et les cultes*, 94–5.



Yet territorial consistency and top-down control of pilgrimage remained elusive on all three levels of the great rebordering, as pilgrims and their allies made borders and holy places weigh on each other heavily yet also dynamically. Looking at the decades around 1800 as a whole, we are hard pressed to spot the main outcomes—political stability, social ‘order,’ steady progress—that enlightened elites hoped this rebordering would help produce as a spatial framework for their programs and actions. Even Napoleonic rule, often described as the epitome of order, represents at its core an out-of-control war machine, a juggernaut rolling across Europe, eventually overwhelming and unmaking its own maker after dissolving countless old borders and creating numerous, usually short-lived new ones.<sup>31</sup> That very instability, however, transformed religion and politics in unforeseen ways as people grappled with the volatility of space and the successive shifts of border regimes. Pilgrimage turned into an especially fertile ground of contestation and change in this context. As sites of the holy, pilgrimage places structured the expansive spaces of devotion that Catholics produced and reproduced. These religious space- and place-making processes often intersected with rebordering measures and gained new impulses from the resulting struggles.

The push and pull between pilgrimage devotion and the politics of rebordering unfolded in part because pilgrims crossed borders, but also because Catholics interested in pilgrimage often contested or manipulated the meanings and logics of territorial division. In other words, I am not presenting a narrow history of how border controls and passport regimes succeeded or failed. To be sure, over the course of the eighteenth century, both these means of territorial

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<sup>31</sup> David A. Bell, *Napoleon: A Concise Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); David A. Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2007); Jean-Paul Bertaud, *Napoléon et les Français: 1799–1815* (Paris: Colin, 2014); Michael Broers, *Europe under Napoleon 1799–1815* (London: Arnold, 1996).

control had been systematized by state officials across western and central Europe.<sup>32</sup> These developments fed into the vast rebordering ambitions of the revolutionary era and will play a certain role in Chapters 1 and 3. Yet borders also matter because they demarcate “decision space.”<sup>33</sup> They constitute the spatial limit beyond which the formal competence of a legislative body or—depending on the type of border—a prefect, a bishop, or a local official cannot reach. Securitizing and simplifying borders made sense from the perspective of eighteenth-century authorities precisely because the border came to constitute the Achilles heel of the body politic as the territorialization of rule progressed. Things might always be different on the other side of any border.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, they often were—especially when a pilgrimage place was located on that other side. As I will show, pilgrims and pilgrimage organizers interpreted, navigated, and utilized the border as a form of spatialized difference. Their actions were inexorably sensitive and often deliberately political in the context of the great rebordering. This context reinforced pilgrims’ centuries-old power to draw attention and controversy by “seizing” public spaces and displaying Catholic visibility as effectively as few other religious practices did.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, pilgrim *mobility* could easily become a focal point of *mobilization* once the great rebordering got underway and signalled that spatial order, too, was up for grabs in the race to shape modernity.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> A mid-eighteenth-century shift from the thoroughfare to the border as the decisive locus where authorities tried to control movement is discerned for the Holy Roman Empire by Luca Scholz, *Borders and Freedom of Movement in the Holy Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), esp. 121–5. In France, a similarly consequential shift—namely, the construction of a genuine passport regime—occurred somewhat earlier, after the death of Louis XIV: Vincent Denis, *Une histoire de l’identité: France, 1715–1815* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008).

<sup>33</sup> Charles S. Maier, *Once Within Borders: Territories of Power, Wealth, and Belonging since 1500* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2016), 3.

<sup>34</sup> This point is especially well made in Raingard Esser and Steven G. Ellis, “Introduction,” in *Frontier and Border Regions in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Raingard Esser and Steven G. Ellis (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2013), 7–18.

<sup>35</sup> On the notion of “seizing” spaces through pilgrimage, cf. an especially pithy remark in Christoph Nebgen, *Konfessionelle Differenzenerfahrungen: Reiseberichte vom Rhein (1648–1815)* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 97: “Das katholische Wallfahrtswesen ist raumergreifend.”

<sup>36</sup> A similar point emerges (but for a later period—the decades before World War I—and a different pilgrimage, namely the *hajj*) from the work of Valeska Huber, *Channelling Mobilities: Migration and Globalisation in the Suez Canal Region and beyond, 1869–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 204–37.

With this argument, I seek not only to make a historiographical intervention but also to help break new ground in the interdisciplinary scholarship on pilgrimage by putting it in dialog with border studies. As Dee Dyas notes, pilgrimage studies “is emerging as an important area of study in its own right.”<sup>37</sup> It has appropriated and refined a rich toolkit of spatial analysis in the half century since Victor and Edith Turner and Alphonse Dupront published their classic anthropological works. Evolving concepts of place, sacred space, ritual space, and landscape have successively risen to prominence and undergirded much work to which my own understanding of pilgrimage is profoundly indebted.<sup>38</sup> The idea that pilgrimage always involves crossing anthropological boundaries of some sort has, moreover, enjoyed widespread acceptance ever since the Turners characterized this religious practice as “liminal” or “liminoid.”<sup>39</sup> The presence of these notions has not, however, sparked much interest in the ways pilgrims and pilgrimage organizers interact with *territorial* boundaries.<sup>40</sup> My research suggests that, at least in

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<sup>37</sup> Dee Dyas, *The Dynamics of Pilgrimage: Christianity, Holy Places and Sensory Experience* (New York: Routledge, 2021), 7.

<sup>38</sup> Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011 [1978]). Crucial for the concept of sacred space in Francophone scholarship: Alphonse Dupront, *Du Sacré: Croisades et pèlerinages, images et langages* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987). Important elaborations on the political valences of pilgrim spaces: John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, eds., *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000 [1991]); Jill Dubisch, *In a Different Place: Pilgrimage, Gender, and Politics at a Greek Island Shrine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). On pilgrimage as movement interacting with landscapes, cf. Simon Coleman and John Eade, “Introduction: Reframing Pilgrimage,” in *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion*, ed. Simon Coleman and John Eade (London, New York: Routledge, 2004), 1–25, esp. 16, and then above all Avril Maddrell et al., *Christian Pilgrimage, Landscape and Heritage: Journeying to the Sacred* (New York: Routledge, 2014). Milestones in historians’ usage of these concepts include (for Duprontian sacred space): Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, *Espace et sacré en Provence (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècle): Cultes, images, confréries* (Paris: Cerf, 1994) and Philippe Martin, *Les chemins du sacré: Paroisses, processions, pèlerinages en Lorraine, du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Metz: Serpenoise, 1995); for landscape and place: Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), Virginia Reinburg, *Storied Places: Pilgrim Shrines, Nature, and History in Early Modern France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), and Elizabeth C. Tingle, *Sacred Journeys in the Counter-Reformation: Long-Distance Pilgrimage in Northwest Europe* (Boston: de Gruyter, 2020); and most recently Dyas, *The Dynamics of Pilgrimage*, a truly interdisciplinary effort to bring the study of “sense of ‘place’” (9) and sensory studies together in a historically informed inquiry into English pilgrimage.

<sup>39</sup> Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, esp. 36.

<sup>40</sup> The two noteworthy exceptions here are Duhamelle, *La frontière au village* and Wingens, *Over de grens*. See also Marc Wingens, “Franchir la frontière: Le pèlerinage des catholiques néerlandais aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles,” in *Rendre ses vœux: Les identités pèlerines dans l’Europe moderne (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. Philippe Boutry, Pierre-

some pivotal historical moments, such interactions not only occurred frequently but also generated new patterns of social conflict and catalyzed important transformations.

Foregrounding the role of borders in this way depends in part on my choice of regional setting, one that historians often approach as a Franco-German “borderland.”<sup>41</sup> By focusing on Lorraine, the present-day Saarland, and adjacent parts of western central Europe, I draw attention to spaces that appeared marginal from the perspective of Europe’s national and imperial power centers, including Paris, Vienna, Brussels, and Berlin.<sup>42</sup> Far from connoting lack of importance,

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Antoine Fabre, and Dominique Julia (Paris: Éditions de l’EHESS, 2000), 75–85. But even Wingens hardly analyzes the border itself, which appears in his work mainly because Dutch Catholics had to leave the United Provinces in order to reach any pilgrimage shrine at all. There is some attention to border issues—mostly focused on the later nineteenth century—in Brückner, *Die Verehrung*, 165–73. Also inspiring are geographer Bernard Debarbieux’s remarks about the ‘high’ or sacred place as a “territorial pole,” which implies the presence and importance of territorial boundaries: Bernard Debarbieux, “Le lieu, le territoire et trois figures de rhétorique,” *Espace géographique* 24, no. 2 (1995): 97–112, here 103 (“*pôle territorial*”). Ultimately, I am writing up against the romanticizing idea that pilgrims throughout history have simply ‘transcended’ or even ‘ignored’ borders, an idea expressed most clearly in the title of Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck and Gerda Möhler, eds., *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen: Themen zu einer Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums und des Adalbert Stifter Vereins, München* (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1984).

<sup>41</sup> Alsace arguably constitutes the paradigmatic case for this historiography. For two recent examples of a distinct ‘borderland’ approach to the early modern and modern history of Alsace respectively, see Stephen A. Lazer, *State Formation in Early Modern Alsace, 1648–1789* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2019); Catherine Tatiana Dunlop, *Cartophilia: Maps and the Search for Identity in the French–German Borderland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015). Sometimes the more northern parts of the Rhineland are also studied explicitly as borderlands by historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, e.g. Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Cunegonde’s Kidnapping: A Story of Religious Conflict in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), esp. 59–90; Michael Rowe, *From Reich to State: The Rhineland in the Revolutionary Age, 1780–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). For a historiographical overview that usefully includes Lorraine as well as the Rhineland, see Stephan Laux, “Deutschlands Westen – Frankreichs Osten: Überlegungen zur Historiographie und zu den Perspektiven der rheinischen Landesgeschichte in der Frühen Neuzeit,” *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 79 (2015): 143–63. For present purposes, however, I prefer the concept of “rebordering” as adapted from border studies over the terminology of “borderlands.” The scholarly currents of border studies and borderland studies have moved in different directions for some time. While the former continues to put borders front and center as territorial arrangements or processes, the latter has increasingly deemphasized them, on the suspicion that they redirect too much attention to traditional narratives of modern state-building. Cf. Danna A. Levin Rojo and Cynthia Radding, “Introduction: Borderlands, A Working Definition,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Borderlands of the Iberian World*, ed. Danna A. Levin Rojo and Cynthia Radding (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 1–27; Paul Readman, Cynthia Radding, and Chad Bryant, “Introduction: Borderlands in a Global Perspective,” in *Borderlands in World History, 1700–1914*, ed. Paul Readman, Cynthia Radding, and Chad Bryant (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1–23; Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, “On Borderlands,” *Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (2011): 338–61. My dissertation attempts to highlight afresh the potency of borders, territory, and rebordering without succumbing to state-centrism.

<sup>42</sup> The region of Trier and the bigger part of present-day Saarland fell to the newly formed Prussian Rhine Province in 1815, a fact that has decisively shaped the regional historiography. For critiques of a Borussocentrism that has obscured the formative nature of the ‘French period’ in this western German region, see Jürgen Müller, “1798: Das

however, the very marginality of the borderlands turned them into neuralgic areas, into a crucial and contested “shatterzone” of early modern and modern geopolitics.<sup>43</sup> From the sixteenth century on, these geopolitics overlapped with the making of a religious shatterzone, as French scholars of early modern Catholicism have long emphasized. Leaders of the Catholic Reformation poured enormous resources into shoring up this part of Europe as a frontier of the Church, facing numerous beacons of Protestantism to the north (Amsterdam, Leiden) and to the east (Heidelberg, Basel, Geneva). As a “frontier of Catholicity,” the region developed into an influential arena of Baroque identity formation.<sup>44</sup> In other words, these lands deserve sustained attention even though they were far removed from major power centers, lacked economic dynamism in some cases,<sup>45</sup> and cannot be shoehorned into any one national historiographical frame.

Regional particularity thus mattered in various ways, but territorial borders and frontiers of Catholicity had been proliferating across western and central Europe for centuries. How

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Jahr des Umbruchs im Rheinland,” *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 62 (1998): 205–37, here 206–7; and, building on Müller among others, Gabriele B. Clemens, “Kontinuität und Wandel: Ökonomische Verhältnisse und staatliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Rheinland während der französischen Zeit (1792–1814),” in *Napoleon am Rhein: Wirkung und Erinnerung einer Epoche*, ed. Jürgen Wilhelm (Cologne: Greven, 2012), 13–36, esp. 13–16.

<sup>43</sup> I borrow the image of the shatterzone from recent borderland research conducted by historians of modern Eastern Europe: Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, “Introduction: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands,” in *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, ed. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 1–20. On the geopolitics of the areas covered in this dissertation, see a concise contribution by Heinz Duchhardt, “The Cartographic ‘Battle of the Rhine’ in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Bordering Early Modern Europe*, ed. Maria Baramova, Grigor Boykov, and Ivan Parvev (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 3–13.

<sup>44</sup> René Taveneaux, *Le jansénisme en Lorraine, 1640–1789* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1960), esp. 565–76 on border-crossing networks and exchanges; Pierre Chaunu, “Jansénisme et frontière de catholicité (XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles): À propos du Jansénisme lorrain,” *Revue Historique* 227, no. 1 (1962): 115–38, esp. 122–4, 137–8. For critical recent elaborations on the concept, see Laurent Jalabert, “Frontière de catholicité et coexistence confessionnelle sur le Rhin (XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle): Aux marges de la dorsale catholique,” in *Dorsale catholique, jansénisme, dévotions (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles): Mythe, réalité, actualité historiographique*, ed. Gilles Deregnaucourt et al. (Paris: Riveneuve, 2014), 415–25; Bertrand Forclaz, “La Suisse frontière de catholicité ?,” *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte* 106 (2012): 567–83.

<sup>45</sup> The surroundings of Trier, for instance, count among these cases alongside Luxembourg, but most of Alsace does not. Cf. Rita Voltmer, “‘Krieg, uffrohr und teuffelsgespenst’: Das Erzbistum Trier und seine Bevölkerung während der Frühen Neuzeit,” in *Kirchenreform und Konfessionsstaat (1500–1801): Geschichte des Bistums Trier, Vol. 3*, ed. Bernhard Schneider (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2010), 20–37; Jean-Michel Boehler, *Une société rurale en milieu rhénan: La paysannerie de la plaine d’Alsace (1648–1789)*, 2e éd. rev. et corr., 3 vols. (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 1995).

unique or how representative, then, is the story this dissertation has to offer? For one thing, we simply cannot tell in the absence of systematic comparative research. To the best of my knowledge, nobody has ever published a book-length study of pilgrimage anywhere in revolutionary-era Europe. It is safe to say, however, that the great rebordering affected ecclesiastical and lower-level administrative borders as well as external state boundaries across most of continental Europe, from Brittany to the Balkans, from the Kingdom of Naples to the Netherlands. Why, then, should we expect this rebordering to interact with a spatially salient religious practice such as pilgrimage only in the lands between Alsace and Luxembourg?

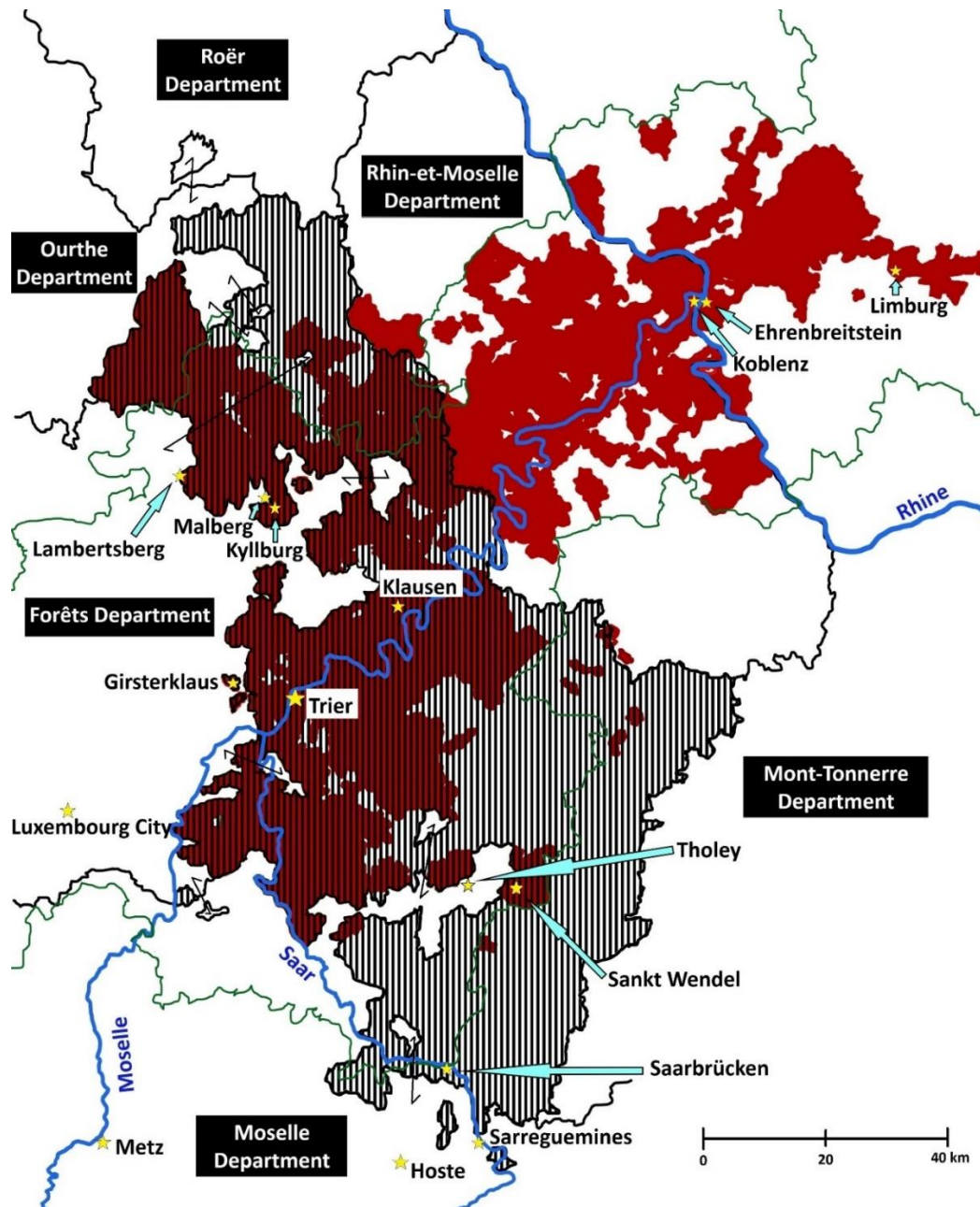
This interaction did play out differently in different places. The transregional coverage of this dissertation responds to the need to capture at least some of the diversity of both the rebordering processes of the revolutionary era and the pilgrimage practices of Catholics during that time. In Chapter 1, I turn to the Swiss shrines of Mariastein and Einsiedeln. Even Napoleon preferred not to amputate the territory of the pre-revolutionary ensemble of Swiss cantons, prompting one historian to speak of an “untouchable border.”<sup>46</sup> This kind of territorial continuity mattered because it enabled pilgrims from eastern France to begin approaching Mariastein and Einsiedeln as Swiss mirrors in which to contemplate and negotiate Frenchness transnationally. By contrast, Chapters 2 through 5 present case studies from further north, between the Saar region and the left-bank Rhineland, where French expansion entailed more dramatic and more variegated shifts in border regimes. The map below offers a synopsis of the complex territorial arrangements that affected the pilgrimages discussed in Chapters 2 through 5.<sup>47</sup>

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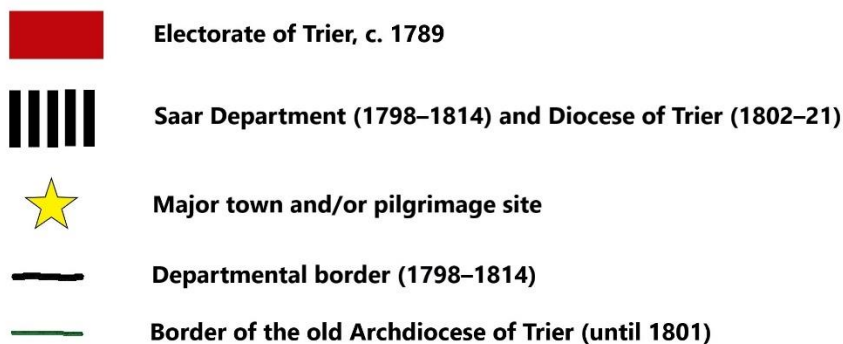
<sup>46</sup> Alain-Jacques Czouz-Tornare, “Une frontière intouchable: Les limites entre la France et les Cantons suisses sous la Révolution et l’Empire,” in *Frontières et espaces frontaliers du Léman à la Meuse: Recompositions et échanges de 1789 à 1814 (actes du colloque de Nancy, 25–27 novembre 2004)*, ed. Claude Mazauric and Jean-Paul Rothiot (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 2007), 155–84.

<sup>47</sup> My choice of case study sites reflects the ambition to capture and contextualize one aspect of religious and political transformation in each chapter, rather than to say something about as many different shrines as possible.

Map 1: The Rhine-Moselle-Saar Region, c. 1800



Hence, even some well-known shrines of that region, such as Echternach in eastern Luxembourg, will receive only the most passing mention in the chapters that follow. For regional overviews of pilgrimage places both big and small in the early modern period and the early nineteenth century, respectively, see Bernhard Schneider, “Wallfahrten und Wallfahrts-Prozessionen im frühneuzeitlichen Erzbistum Trier,” in *Wege zum Heil: Pilger und heilige Orte an Mosel und Rhein*, ed. Thomas Frank (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009), 19–80; Joachim Schiffhauer, “Das Wallfahrtswesen im Bistum Trier unter Bischof Josef von Hommer,” in *Festschrift für Alois Thomas: Archäologische, kirchen- und kunsthistorische Beiträge* (Trier: Bistumsarchiv Trier, 1967), 345–58; and for Lorraine: Martin, *Pèlerins de Lorraine*.



Map drawn by the author on the basis of three maps: Franz Irsigler, *Geschichtlicher Atlas der Rheinlande, Lieferung V/1: Herrschaftsgebiete im Jahre 1789* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1982); Nikolaus Zimmer and Hans-Ernst Noack, *Archiepiscopatus Trevirensis: Das Erzbistum Trier bis um 1800*, Bistumsarchiv Trier (Trier, 1952); and the map in the back of Adam Eismann, *Umschreibung der Diözese Trier und ihrer Pfarreien (1802–1821)* (Saarbrücken: Verlag für religiöses Schrifttum Krueckemeyer, 1941).

Another methodological issue concerns the available sources: almost none of them were produced by pilgrims themselves. To get at pilgrimage as a transformative site of border trouble, I had to contend overwhelmingly with texts written by and for state officials or clergy—police reports, administrative correspondence, pastoral visits and inquiries, and so forth. I often read these sources against the grain of the dominant clerical and anticlerical perspectives that tend, for all their mutual hostility, to agree remarkably on denying ordinary laypeople’s capacity to mobilize themselves rather than be mobilized by priests. I also offer especially detailed analyses of the few bits of source material in which pilgrims’ voices do appear, albeit in more or less heavily mediated ways. For instance, of the many hundreds of pilgrims arrested by French gendarmerie, almost none ended up in front of tribunals whose records have been preserved. Yet there are some felicitous exceptions to this rule, such as the interrogations of eleven pilgrims in 1799 by the *tribunal correctionnel* of Habay-la-Neuve, in the present-day Belgian province of Luxembourg (see Chapter 3). In other cases, communities wrote petitions to defend their local pilgrimage traditions in the face of restrictive reform measures. Finally, the archives of



Einsiedeln Abbey have preserved dozens of letters in which individuals described the special graces they claimed to have received from God after they had called upon Our Lady of Einsiedeln. Sources of this kind are especially helpful for understanding how pilgrims represented their own journeys and the borders they encountered.

Ultimately, the dissertation zooms in on pilgrimage to help explain why Catholicism competed quite successfully throughout the Age of Mobilization. As historians have begun to show in the wake of revisionist approaches to secularization theory, that success owed as much to Catholics' active—if often tense—engagement with modernity as it did to their attempts to keep the modern at bay. In the transition from a pre- to a post-revolutionary world, pilgrimage served as one major conduit of early engagement, through which broad swathes of the lay population navigated Enlightenment, Revolution, and Napoleonic imperialism. This conduit proved consequential because, on the one hand, the champions of the new regime worked hard to reshape politics, society, and people's relationships to the divine by reshaping space, thereby staking great hopes on borders—whether those of the state or those of a mere parish. On the other hand, that promise was constantly challenged and redirected by pilgrims' mobility and by the very existence of shrines as places of power at or near borders. The ensuing struggles produced spaces of peril, for lay Catholics who put themselves at risk by crossing boundaries clandestinely, but also for authorities who routinely saw their grand designs for spatial order thwarted. From that peril—from the lived history of borders—emerged some of Catholicism's most effective tactics for reinventing itself in the whirlwind of modernity.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Cf. Maxime Kaci, "Recompositions frontalières en révolution: Quand les affrontements politiques transcendent les appartenances provinciales et nationales (1789–1798)," in *Deux frontières aux destins croisés ? Étude interdisciplinaire et comparative des délimitations territoriales entre la France et la Suisse, entre la Bourgogne et la Franche-Comté (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle–XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. Benjamin Castets Fontaine et al. (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2019), 47–61, esp. 47 (call for "une histoire vécue des délimitations territoriales").

## Chapter 1

### Inventing Transnational Pilgrimage: Einsiedeln and Mariastein

Two of the five travelers carried guns; they were prepared for a showdown. Did they sense, at some point, that somebody was following them as they snuck through the woods on their way back into French territory? At any rate, when four French customs officers of the Bettlach brigade finally decided to confront the group, Jean-Georges Homatt, a miller from the village of Bartenheim, loaded his rifle and took aim at one of the customs agents. The leader of the brigade, Lieutenant George, “saw the action coming and fired his rifle, hitting the leg of that malefactor who fell down before he could execute his project of destruction.” The brigade members then proceeded to arrest Homatt and his four companions.<sup>1</sup>

Unable to count on the cooperation of local authorities in Bettlach, Lieutenant George and his men abandoned their posts to personally transfer the four men in the group to the district jail in Altkirch, about fifteen miles northwest of the border. By contrast, the only woman in the group, the wife of one of the men, “has been released upon a suretyship oath by the national agent of the Commune of Bettlach.” The customs officers seized the two guns, of course, but also a number of other items, including “some small rolls of candle wax, three rings, and a bottle of water—presumably holy water.” According to the customs inspector who reported the incident a few days later, these objects “prove that the five persons in question were coming back

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<sup>1</sup> ADHR, L 686, customs inspector Godinot to Rey (*procureur syndic* of the District of Altkirch), Bourglibre (i.e. present-day Saint-Louis), 20 pluviôse an III (February 8, 1795): “ces 5 personnes furent suivies jusques hors des bois, et sur les hauteurs d’Hagenthal ou les dits préposés leurs firent les sommations de droit ; les réponses furent des invectives atroces et ils se mirent en état de défenses en armant leurs fusils, et Homatt ayant couché en jouës Müller l’un des préposés, George lieutenant prévint le coup et lachat le sien à la jambe de ce malveillant qui tomba à terre avant d’avoir pû exécuter son projet destructif.”

from *la Pierre*.” In other words, they had gone on pilgrimage into Swiss territory, to the shrine of Notre-Dame de la Pierre, or Mariastein as it is more commonly known in German. Their arrest happened on the evening of February 2, 1795.<sup>2</sup>

The tale of this skirmish between pilgrims and agents of French revolutionary border control dramatizes a process in which lay Catholics, clergy, and agents of the state invented transnational pilgrimage. I follow and analyze that gradual invention from the mid-seventeenth into the mid-nineteenth century. I also argue that, at least in France, the revolutionary era and the 1790s in particular mark the fulcrum of the process, its key moment of acceleration and breakthrough as a significant issue in the history of piety and state-building. The French revolutionaries attempted to bring about a congruence of nation, state, and territory—a closed circuit in which any of these three terms would necessarily evoke the other two. As a result, forbidden border-crossing mobility could evolve from a merely territorial transgression into a national one. This double transgression soon found its emblematic figure in the émigré.<sup>3</sup> As the revolutionary politician Merlin de Douai put it in September 1793, “if anyone is guilty of the crime of *lèse-nation*, it is certainly the émigrés.”<sup>4</sup> Homatt and the rest of his group practiced a

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.: “cette brigade se voyant au moins à force égale, arreta les 4 personnes non blessés, fit conduire le meunier et tous traduits au juré d’accusation du District d’Altkirch, excepté la femme de Schlechter qui a été relâchée sous le cautionnement juratoire de l’agent national de la commune de Bettlach. [...] Ce qui prouve que les 5 personnes dont s’agit venoient de la Pierre, c’est que l’on a trouvé sur eux quelques petits rouleaux de cire en bougie, trois bagues et une bouteille d’eau, que l’on croit être de l’eau benite, tout à été saisi avec les 2 fusils.”

<sup>3</sup> The literature on emigration is awe-inspiring. Still a good starting point for grasping the scale of the phenomenon is Donald Greer, *The Incidence of the Emigration during the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951); cf. the recent reappraisal and useful overview by Friedemann Pestel, “Französische Revolutionsmigration nach 1789,” accessed February 28, 2021, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/pestelf-2017-de>. The two classic and indispensable works on Alsace are Rodolphe Reuss, *La grande fuite de décembre 1793 et la situation politique et religieuse du Bas-Rhin de 1794 à 1799* (Strasbourg: Istra, 1924), and Félix Schaedelin, *L’émigration révolutionnaire du Haut-Rhin*, 3 vols. (Colmar: Paul Hartmann, 1937–1946). Most recently on the fact that most emigrants did not just pass through the borderlands but planned to stay there until further escape became inevitable: Jort Blazejewski, “Grenzräume als Zufluchtsräume: Emigranten der Französischen Revolution in Luxemburg und Trier (1789–1795),” in *Grenzraum und Repräsentation: Perspektiven auf Raumvorstellungen und Grenzkonzepte in der Vormoderne*, ed. Stephan Laux and Maike Schmidt (Trier: Kliomedia, 2019), 145–55, esp. 147.

<sup>4</sup> *Moniteur universel*, September 18, 1793, p. 1107: “Merlin, de Douay. S’il est des coupables du crime de lèse-nation, certes, ce sont les émigrés.” On how revolutionaries constructed emigration as a betrayal of the French

similar kind of transgressive mobility, as did hundreds of thousands of other pilgrims in the revolutionary era. Indeed, pilgrimage and emigration even intersected in the 1790s.

The slippage between criminalized border-crossings and *lèse-nation* reveals how the transnational implied the national and vice versa; the transgression and the transgressed frame were mutually constitutive. Therefore, my notion of transnational pilgrimage departs from broad definitions of transnational history as the study of all cross-border flows and activities regardless of whether the border in question was that of a nation-state. I prefer instead to reserve the term ‘transnational’ for an approach that challenges internalist, self-referential national narratives while still recognizing that “going beyond the nation is not just stepping above it, dismissing it” but rather studying it critically.<sup>5</sup> Along these lines, I will explore how Catholics came to recognize French nationhood and national politics as a significant and, at times, even crucial ingredient of what it meant to go on pilgrimage abroad. By 1850, pilgrimage from France to Switzerland was no longer the same kind of devotional act it had been a hundred years prior. Pilgrims no longer simply went from a home province, such as Lorraine or Alsace or Franche-Comté, to Mariastein and Einsiedeln, and at the shrines they found themselves no longer

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nation in 1791–3, see Jennifer Ngai Heuer, *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France, 1789–1830* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), esp. 23–43.

<sup>5</sup> Pierre-Yves Saunier, “Transnational,” in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, ed. Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1047–55, here 1048. Therefore, I build directly on the work of those scholars who have rewritten national histories in a transnational key: Tyler Edward Stovall, *Transnational France: The Modern History of a Universal Nation* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2015); Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015 [2007]); André Holenstein, *Mitten in Europa: Verflechtung und Abgrenzung in der Schweizer Geschichte* (Baden: Hier und jetzt, 2014). I also agree with the definition of transnational history developed by Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 44–8. The broader use of ‘transnational’ as an umbrella term for many different forms of boundary-crossing circulations has, admittedly, found numerous advocates; cf. C. A. Bayly et al., “AHR Conversation: On Transnational History,” *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1441–64; Patricia Clavin, “Time, Manner, Place: Writing Modern European History in Global, Transnational and International Contexts,” *European History Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (2010): 624–40, esp. 625; David A. Bell et al., “L’âge des révolutions: Rebonds transnationaux,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 397 (2019): 193–223. Yet as Ute Planert points out *ibid.*, 199, if historians need *some* umbrella term here, they should use a more unambiguously capacious one such as *histoire croisée* or ‘entangled history’ instead.

classified merely according to their mother tongues by sermonizers and confessors. Instead, these pilgrims began to move between nationally distinct religious climates. Many of them learned to see (post-)revolutionary France in a transnational mirror through their devotional visits to Switzerland's foremost Marian shrines. By attending to these spiritual crossings, we will better understand revolutionary as well as counter-revolutionary visions of modern French nationhood.

My account thus highlights that not only adherence but also hostility to the Revolution could entail greater "national awareness," that is to say, a politically salient and *mobilizing* sense of one's own place among the French.<sup>6</sup> To be sure, the leaders and supporters of the French Revolution set the stage in crucial ways. They worked to implement national sovereignty and, as David Bell argues, practiced nation-building as a radical political program on a much vaster scale than their Old-Regime predecessors had done.<sup>7</sup> The Revolution's royalist enemies, meanwhile, positioned the king—not the nation—as the sovereign source of authority. Yet this rejection of national sovereignty did not stop them from developing their own, very pronounced vision of what the French nation *should* be, as a response to the vision created by revolutionaries. This point, skillfully made by Pierre Nora, has not received sufficient recognition among historians, presumably because it was the Revolution, and not the Counter-Revolution, whose sprawling and fascinating set of national symbols have found themselves on the winning side of history.<sup>8</sup> By contrast, I will pay special attention in this chapter to the ways that Catholics from eastern France confronted and internalized the nation through pilgrimage to Switzerland.

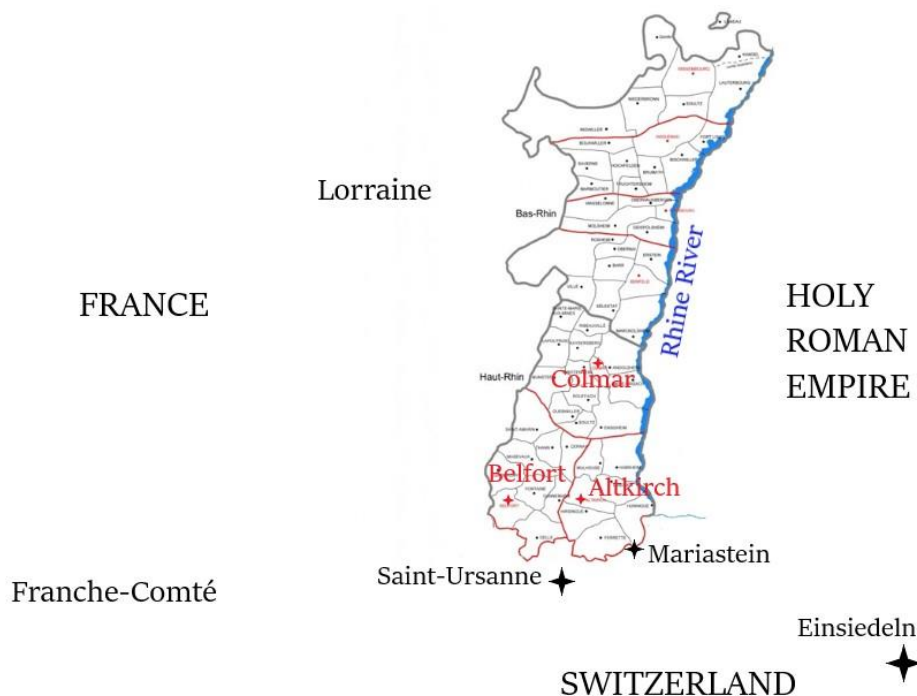
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<sup>6</sup> For the concept of "national awareness," see Caroline C. Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France: Religion and Political Identity in Brittany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 9.

<sup>7</sup> David Avrom Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> Pierre Nora, "Nation," in *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution française*, ed. François Furet and Mona Ozouf (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), 801–12, esp. 809. Even where more recent scholarship does attend to counter-revolutionary national awareness, it tends to privilege the later nineteenth century rather than the revolutionary era itself. For example, Joseph Byrnes builds on a case study of Chartres as well as Ruth Harris's work on Lourdes to portray the force of a self-consciously national pilgrimage movement in France, and he specifies his argument

Map 2: Alsace in 1790 and the Shrines across the Border



Source map (modified and supplemented by the author): Clément Wisniewski and Jean-Philippe Droux, “Carte administrative de l’Alsace en 1790,” Université de Haute-Alsace, accessed April 7, 2021, <http://www.atlas.historique.alsace.uha.fr/fr/par-periodes/86-carte-administrative-de-l-alsace-en-1790.html>. Haut-Rhin district capitals in red. The four-pointed black stars indicate the locations of the shrines discussed in this chapter.

chronologically. According to him, a “revival of pilgrimage during the second half of the nineteenth century” encouraged French Catholics to press for national expiation and reparation against the sins of those political leaders that carried the legacy of the Revolution. Joseph F. Byrnes, *Catholic and French Forever: Religious and National Identity in Modern France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), xx (for the quote) and 95–119 on Chartres; cf. Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (New York: Viking, 1999). Another example: J.P. Daughton (like Ford) focuses on the time of the Third Republic and uses the phrase “counterrevolutionary patriotism” to describe the discourse of French Catholic missionaries in the colonial Indochina of the 1880s. J. P. Daughton, *An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880–1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 79–82 (quote on 82). Furthermore, while modernists increasingly study transnational aspects of pilgrimage, they usually retain a focus on the second half of the nineteenth century. See Olaf Blaschke, “Marpingen: A Remote Village and Its Virgin in a Transnational Context,” in *Marian Devotions, Political Mobilization, and Nationalism in Europe and America*, ed. Roberto Di Stefano and Francisco Javier Ramón Solans (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 83–107; Paulo G. Pinto, “Religious Pilgrimage,” in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, ed. Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 901–4; Andreas J. Kotulla, *‘Nach Lourdes!’: Der französische Marienwallfahrtsort und die Katholiken im Deutschen Kaiserreich, 1871–1914* (München: M. Meidenbauer, 2006), esp. 514–28. A notable exception to this focus on the time after 1850 is Raymond Jonas’s study of French Catholics’ devotion to the Sacred Heart, which became a central right-wing symbol in “the struggle for the soul of a nation” already during the Revolution, especially in the Vendée, and again in the Restoration period (1815–30). Jonas, *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart*, quote on 97. Jonas, however, does not try to write French history in a transnational key.

## Hardly French: Border-Crossing Pilgrimage before the Revolution

The relationships between Mariastein, Einsiedeln, and the regions of present-day eastern France offer promising terrain for the analysis of long-term change because they predate the invention of transnational pilgrimage. According to later legends, the miracle that founded the reputation of Mariastein took place in the late fourteenth century: a child fell from a promontory into the abyss but survived and even suffered no injury, thanks to the Virgin's intervention. By the time of the Council of Basel, in the mid-fifteenth century, a pilgrimage chapel existed on the promontory. After the uncertain years of the Reformation, the Benedictine monks of nearby Beinwil took on the spiritual direction of the pilgrimage in 1636 before relocating the monastery itself to Mariastein in 1648. The shrine flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with fifty to sixty thousand annual pilgrims at the height of the Baroque. Many Alsatians were among these pilgrims—unsurprisingly so, given that Mariastein was situated in a northern enclave of the Swiss Canton of Solothurn, partly surrounded by the Episcopal Principality of Basel but also right on the border with the southernmost region of Alsace, the Sundgau.<sup>9</sup> Both Alsatian and

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<sup>9</sup> For a historical overview: Lukas Schenker, "Beinwil-Mariastein," in *Helvetia sacra, Abt. III, Bd. 1, Erster Teil: Frühe Klöster, Die Benediktinerinnen und Benediktiner in der Schweiz*, ed. Rudolf Henggeler et al. (Bern: Francke, 1986), 384–421. With a focus on the history of the pilgrimage rather than the monastic community: Ernst Baumann, "Die Wallfahrt von Mariastein: Ein Beitrag zur religiösen Volkskunde," *Basler Jahrbuch*, 1942: 110–39. On strong presence of Alsatian pilgrims: Alban Norbert Lüber, "Das Kloster Beinwil-Mariastein von 1765 bis 1815," *Jahrbuch für solothurnische Geschichte* 70 (1997): 105–300, esp. 194 (later eighteenth century), also 190 for estimated number of pilgrims per year; Albert Spycher-Gautschi, "Sundgauer Wallfahrten nach Mariastein," *Baselbieter Heimatblätter* 76, no. 3 (2011): 49–78 (focus on nineteenth and twentieth centuries); Martin Mecker, "L'Alsace et le pèlerinage de Mariastein," in *Mariastein: Gnadenort und Benediktinerkloster*, ed. Benediktinerkloster Mariastein (Bern: Kulturbuchverlag herausgeber.ch, 2010), 117–19 (focus on the present day); Geneviève Herberich-Marx and Francis Rapp, "Pèlerinages," in *Encyclopédie de l'Alsace*, ed. Agnès Acker, 12 vols. (Strasbourg: Éditions Publitotal, 1982–86), vol. 10, 5910–25, esp. 5913–19 and Louis Châtellier and Annik Schon, "Essai de cartographie des pèlerinages alsaciens: Réflexions en marge d'une enquête en cours," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 90, no. 2 (1983): 197–202, here 200 (both likewise focused on the present).

*franc-comtois* Catholics, moreover, visited Mariastein not just as a pilgrimage destination in its own right but also as a station on the way to Switzerland's most famous shrine, Einsiedeln.<sup>10</sup>

The Benedictine abbey of Einsiedeln in the central Swiss Canton of Schwyz traces its origins to Saint Meinrad, an early medieval hermit (*Einsiedler* in German) whose way of religious life gave the place its name.<sup>11</sup> According to later chroniclers and several medieval and early modern papal bulls, the founding miracle occurred on September 14, 948: when Conrad I, Bishop of Constance, arrived to consecrate a chapel built by Meinrad's successors, Christ appeared, surrounded by angels and saints and insisting on performing the consecration rite himself. In addition to the holy chapel, Einsiedeln has had a second object of pilgrimage, a miraculous Black Madonna. From the later Middle Ages onward, this statue steadily gained in prominence compared to the chapel in which it stood.<sup>12</sup> Especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, copies of both the chapel and the statue proliferated across Catholic Europe, not only in Switzerland but also in Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Savoy, Baden, Bavaria, Vorarlberg, Tyrol, and as far away as the Moselle Valley, the Lower Rhineland, Bohemia, and

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<sup>10</sup> Odilo Ringholz, *Elsass-Lothringen und Einsiedeln in ihren gegenseitigen Beziehungen* (Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1914), 27–8; Jean-Michel Blanchot, “Le culte de Notre-Dame des Ermites dans le diocèse de Besançon (XVIII<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle): Militantisme tridentin et culte identitaire,” *Mémoires de la société d’émulation du Doubs* 49 (2007): 133–92, here 135–7.

<sup>11</sup> The literature on Einsiedeln is vast. Useful overviews in Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum, ed., *Kloster Einsiedeln: Pilgern seit 1000 Jahren* (Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2017); Christian Sieber, “Adelskloster, Wallfahrtsort, Gerichtshof, Landesheiligtum: Einsiedeln und die Alte Eidgenossenschaft,” *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Schwyz* 88 (1996): 41–51 (focus on the later Middle Ages); Hanna Böck and Georg Holzherr, *Einsiedeln: Das Kloster und seine Geschichte* (Zurich: Artemis, 1989); Joachim Salzgeber, “Einsiedeln,” in *Helvetia sacra, Abt. III, Bd. 1, Erster Teil: Frühe Klöster, Die Benediktinerinnen und Benediktiner in der Schweiz*, ed. Rudolf Henggeler et al. (Bern: Francke, 1986), 517–94; Odilo Ringholz, *Kurze chronologische Uebersicht der Geschichte des fürstlichen Benediktinerstiftes Unserer Lieben Frau von Einsiedeln* (Einsiedeln: Stift Einsiedeln, 1900).

<sup>12</sup> The statue present today in the Marian chapel of the abbatial church dates from the early or mid-fifteenth century, according to Linus Birchler, “Das Einsiedler[sic] Gnadenbild: Seine äussere und innere Geschichte,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 111 (2000): 167–89, here 187–8. Unlike the holy chapel, the Black Madonna of Einsiedeln also survived (albeit narrowly) the incursion of French revolutionary troops into Inner Switzerland in 1798, as I discuss in greater detail below.



Hungary.<sup>13</sup> This process, driven largely but not exclusively by rulers and elites of these different regions, both reflected and amplified the far-reaching fame of Einsiedeln in the Baroque era.

An equally impressive pilgrim movement to Einsiedeln Abbey developed in the later Middle Ages and reached a first apogee in the century before the French Revolution, when an average of about 150,000 pilgrims per year visited the shrine.<sup>14</sup> Large groups came from all of Catholic Switzerland as well as from many other regions, such as Baden and Vorarlberg.<sup>15</sup> Late medieval sources also document an early influx of Alsatian pilgrims to Einsiedeln.<sup>16</sup> This pilgrim movement persisted throughout the early modern period.<sup>17</sup> In Franche-Comté, devotion to Our

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<sup>13</sup> For an early foray, see Odilo Ringholz, *Wallfahrtsgeschichte Unserer Lieben Frau von Einsiedeln: Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1896), 167–77. Cf. Othmar Lustenberger, “Bild und Abbild: Einsiedler Pilgerzeichen, Einsiedler (Gnaden-)Kapellen, Einsiedler Gnadenbilder,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 111 (2000): 257–95 (for a catalog and overview covering the fifteenth through twentieth centuries); Odilo Ringholz, *Elsass-Lothringen und Einsiedeln in ihren gegenseitigen Beziehungen* (Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1914), esp. 38–42; Blanchot, “Le culte de Notre-Dame des Ermites,” esp. 159–73 (on Franche-Comté); Monique Scheer, “From Majesty to Mystery: Change in the Meanings of Black Madonnas from the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries,” *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 5 (2002): 1412–40, esp. 1425–7 (on the oldest replica of the chapel, in Teising, Bavaria).

<sup>14</sup> The most recent hypothesis on the origins of pilgrimage to Einsiedeln points to the Holy Year 1300 as an early catalyst: Gregor Jäggi, “Die Geschichte der Einsiedler Wallfahrt,” in *Kloster Einsiedeln: Pilgern seit 1000 Jahren*, ed. Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum (Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2017), 45–53, esp. 46. On the Baroque apogee, cf. *ibid.*, 50–1, and Daniel Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln: Katholische Reform und lokale Glaubenspraxis in der Eidgenossenschaft (1560–1790)* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2017), 76–83. An older, somewhat rosy but still empirically reliable picture in Ringholz, *Wallfahrtsgeschichte*, esp. 81 for numbers of annual pilgrims. These numbers are confirmed by Dominique Julia, “Pour une géographie européenne du pèlerinage à l’époque moderne et contemporaine,” in *Pèlerins et pèlerinages dans l’Europe moderne*, ed. Dominique Julia and Philippe Boutry (Rome: École française de Rome, 2000), 3–126, here 47–9.

<sup>15</sup> For an intriguing case study on pilgrims from Baden, see David M. Luebke, “Naïve Monarchism and Marian Veneration in Early Modern Germany,” *Past & Present*, no. 154 (1997): 71–106; on Vorarlberg, Helmut Tiefenthaler, “Historische und heutige Pilgerwanderwege von Vorarlberg nach Einsiedeln,” *Montfort* 54, no. 2 (2002): 97–123; moreover, at a pilgrim hospital as far away from Switzerland as Nuremberg (Franconia), a considerable 2.95% of all guests indicated Einsiedeln as the goal of their travels: Christophe Duhamelle, “Les pèlerins de passage à l’hospice zum Heiligen Kreuz de Nuremberg au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Rendre ses vœux: Les identités pèlerines dans l’Europe moderne (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. Philippe Boutry, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and Dominique Julia (Paris: Éditions de l’EHESS, 2000), 39–56, here 45. Much like Mariastein could serve as a waystation for pilgrims whose end goal was Einsiedeln, many early modern Catholics also stopped to pray at Einsiedeln before heading on toward even more prestigious holy places such as Rome and Santiago de Compostela. Cf. Antje Stanek, “Les pèlerins allemands à Rome et à Lorette à la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Pèlerins et pèlerinages dans l’Europe moderne*, ed. Dominique Julia and Philippe Boutry (Rome: École française de Rome, 2000), 327–54, esp. 339 (Rome); Julia, *Le voyage aux saints*, 154 (Santiago).

<sup>16</sup> Ringholz, *Elsass-Lothringen und Einsiedeln*, 22–5.

<sup>17</sup> Louis Châtellier, *Tradition chrétienne et renouveau catholique: Dans le cadre de l’ancien diocèse de Strasbourg (1650–1770)* (Paris: Ophrys, 1981), 192–5; Boehler, *Une société rurale*, 1928.

Lady of Einsiedeln (*Notre-Dame des Ermites*) became popular in the fifteenth century but reached far bigger proportions in the seventeenth.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, Catholics in southern and eastern Lorraine viewed Einsiedeln as one of their favorite pilgrimage destinations from the seventeenth century onward.<sup>19</sup> In short, from the shrines of Mariastein and especially Einsiedeln, many far-flung links stretched across and beyond Switzerland. To understand why many of these links became Franco-Swiss conduits of conflict and mobilization in the revolutionary era, we must first look at Old-Regime royal policy.

Long before the legislators of the French Revolutionaries created the category of the *émigré*, none other than Louis XIV placed harsh legal restraints on leaving French territory as a pilgrim. The later seventeenth century thus marks a meaningful point of departure for this story, even though as early as 1556, King Henri II had brandished the threat of the galleys against those of his subjects who would be caught going on a pilgrimage abroad *more than once*. Under Louis XIV and his successor Louis XV, royal pronouncements on this topic became not just stricter but also more numerous, as elite visions of state territory as a fixed, homogenous, controllable container unfolded.<sup>20</sup> A total of five edicts (1665, 1671, 1686, 1717, and 1738) established the permissions any would-be pilgrim to, say, Santiago de Compostela or Rome would have to obtain from both the local bishop and royal authorities in order to travel legally. The edict of 1717 even prohibited pilgrimage abroad completely, threatening contravening men with a one-way ticket to the galleys (*des galères à perpétuité*) and women with different forms of corporal

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<sup>18</sup> Patricia Subirade, “Espace, identité religieuse, identité provinciale dans la Franche-Comté à l’âge baroque (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles),” in *Topographien des Sakralen: Religion und Raumordnung in der Vormoderne*, ed. Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff (Munich: Dölling & Galitz, 2008), 348–69, esp. 362–4; Blanchot, “Le culte de Notre-Dame des Ermites,” esp. 139–46.

<sup>19</sup> Marie-France Jacops, “Les Lorrains, pèlerins et dévots de la Vierge noire d’Einsiedeln,” *Pays lorrain* 71, no. 3 (1990): 193–213, esp. 210–11; Martin, *Pèlerins de Lorraine*, 93 and 146.

<sup>20</sup> David Bitterling, *L’invention du pré carré: Construction de l’espace français sous l’Ancien régime* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2009); Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions*, esp. 18–21.

punishment.<sup>21</sup> Such obstacles, diminished in practice because the state lacked means of control and enforcement, did not deter many people from their pious undertakings: in the eighteenth century, Santiago even seems to have received a *growing* number of French pilgrims.<sup>22</sup> Yet by the late Ancien Régime, pilgrims had developed a veritable *politica peregrinesca*, as one of them called it in his personal narrative. These politics encompassed, among other things, the forging of paperwork and the tricks of traveling incognito to avoid trouble with local inhabitants and authorities who did not see pilgrims but instead, increasingly, saw suspect strangers.<sup>23</sup>

These suspicions embedded pilgrim mobility on the margins of France in a broader context, where controlling *all* kinds of border crossings became a critical security issue in the fever pitch of eighteenth-century state-building efforts. Such security concerns usually reached a climax in times of war. The *comité de surveillance* of the Haut-Rhin Department would echo this tendency neatly in 1792, a few months after the outbreak of the first revolutionary war: “The danger of the fatherland calls, on the part of frontier departments, for a surveillance that must be that much more active because the fortunes of France may depend on it.”<sup>24</sup> Within but also beyond this situation of war, and well before the Revolution, the triple challenge of emigration, desertion, and smuggling haunted the nightmares of police forces, generals, and administrators

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<sup>21</sup> Élisabeth Belmas, “L’interdiction des pèlerinages à l’étranger (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles),” in *Mélanges à la mémoire de Michel Péronnet*, ed. Joël Fouilleron and Henri Michel, 3 vols. (Montpellier: Centre d’histoire moderne et contemporaine de l’Europe méditerranéenne et de ses périphéries, 2003–2006), vol. 3, 485–98.

<sup>22</sup> René de La Coste-Messelière, “Édits et autres actes royaux contre les abus des pèlerinages à l’étranger aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles et la pérennité du pèlerinage à Saint-Jacques de Compostelle,” in *Actes du quatre-vingt-quatorzième congrès national des sociétés savantes. Pau, 1969: Section d’histoire moderne et contemporaine. Tome I. Les relations franco-hispaniques*, ed. Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1971), 115–28 esp. 127.

<sup>23</sup> Dominique Julia, “Curiosité, dévotion et *politica peregrinesca*: Le pèlerinage de Nicola Albani, melfitain, à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle (1743–1745),” in *Rendre ses vœux: Les identités pèlerines dans l’Europe moderne (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. Philippe Boutry, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and Dominique Julia (Paris: Éditions de l’EHESS, 2000), 239–314, esp. 308–10.

<sup>24</sup> ADHR, L 114, *comité de surveillance* du Haut-Rhin to administrations of Haute-Saône, Bas-Rhin, Moselle, Ain, and Jura, Colmar, August 4, 1792: “Le danger de la patrie exige de la part des departemens frontieres une surveillance d’autant plus active que d’elle peut dependre le salut de la France.”

on the territorial margins.<sup>25</sup> Against this backdrop, state officials quickly attached a gamut of negative associations to border-crossing pilgrimage: behind any pilgrim lurked the specter of the deserter, the vagabond, or the libertine.

A closer look at the making of the most severe royal edict, that of 1717, helps us grasp the full extent to which border-crossing pilgrimage had indeed become political. In the summer of that year, a local military commander in Southwestern France complained to the War Ministry that the *Lieutenant du Roi* at Bayonne “issues passports every day for pilgrims to go to Santiago.” In the last year alone, he had allegedly facilitated the travels of ten thousand pilgrims, “which is very harmful to the service of the king because they are arrested in Spain and recruited” by force into the Spanish army.<sup>26</sup> The Royal Council reacted by making plans to

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<sup>25</sup> Already in the decades before the Revolution, all three issues were linked in the power struggle between the fiscal-military state and local mobile populations. See Guillaume Lasconjarias, *Un air de majesté: Gouverneurs et commandants dans l'Est de la France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: CTHS, 2010), esp. 191. On desertion: Alan Forrest, *Conscripts and Deserters: The Army and French Society during the Revolution and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), esp. 6–11 (*ancien régime* background) and 187–218 (on steadily-refined state repression). For some links between desertion (or draft-dodging) and pilgrimage in the (later) years of the Revolution, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation. On smuggling in the Old Regime, see above all Michael Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014), esp. 60–3 on Alsace as a hub of European contraband. On this topic also Jean-René Suratteau, *Le Département du Mont-Terrible sous le régime du Directoire (1795–1800): Étude des contacts humains, économiques et sociaux dans un pays annexé et frontalier* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964), 480–9 (on the lands of the former Episcopal Principality of Basel); André Ferrer, “Les contrebandiers sur la frontière franco-suisse au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Revue suisse d'histoire* 49, no. 1 (1999): 35–46 (on the Franche-Comté); Claudia Ulbrich, “Die Bedeutung der Grenzen für die Rezeption der französischen Revolution an der Saar,” in *Aufklärung, Politisierung und Revolution*, ed. Winfried Schulze (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1991), 147–74, esp. 153 and 160 (on Lorraine); Édouard Ebel, *Police et société: Histoire de la police et de son activité en Alsace au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 1999), esp. 418–20 (on Napoleonic Alsace). A strong intersection may have emerged in the late *ancien régime* between pilgrimage and smuggling, but the evidence historians have unearthed thus far is rather patchy on this point. On a priest who, in 1766, had led a pilgrimage procession from Lorraine into the region of Trier and combined this activity with smuggling, according to the court that sent him to the galleys: Martin, *Les chemins du sacré*, 328. For targeted state action against contraband-pilgrimage around the same time, i.e. right when France formally absorbed the Duchy of Lorraine, see “Arrest de la Chambre des Comptes de Lorraine, qui autorise les employés des Fermes à visiter toutes personnes attroupées, dans le cas de pèlerinage ou processions, lorsqu'elles viendront de terrains étrangers [...]; & permet aux Employés d'arrêter & emprisonner tous ceux qui feront résistance ou rebellion, de même que ceux qui se trouveront chargés de sels, tabacs, & autres choses prohibées, pour être poursuivis en la maniere ordinaire: Du 24 janvier 1767,” in *Recueil des ordonnances et réglemens de Lorraine, du regne de Sa Majesté Louis XV: Tome XI* (Nancy: J. & F. Babin, 1772), 142–45. I thank Laurent Jalabert for drawing my attention to this source.

<sup>26</sup> SHD, A 2532, f. 78, summary of a letter from Bouffier (commander at Hendaye, a French town right on the border with Spain) to the War Ministry, August 25, 1717: “Mande que Mr De Collins lieutenant du Roy de Bayonne

renew the royal edicts of 1671 and 1686, and in the process asked a certain Le Gendre for his opinion on the matter. Le Gendre, presumably a bureaucrat at the War Ministry, confirmed that “a prodigious quantity of pilgrims” crossed the Pyrenees each year to visit not only Santiago but also Montserrat, the most famous Marian shrine of Catalonia. Crucially, “the passage of all these vagabonds fosters a spirit of desertion on the frontier” as French soldiers sometimes decided to join groups of pilgrims. The previous edicts had proven ineffectual and therefore Le Gendre recommended “absolutely forbidding these kinds of travels, in which devotion is mostly founded on libertinage.”<sup>27</sup> While Frenchness in the sense of pilgrims’ national awareness does not play any discernible role here, it is important to recognize that the figure of the pilgrim as a culpable, truly transgressive traveler emerged long before the revolutionary era.

For a subject of the King of France, Santiago and even Montserrat counted among rather distant pilgrimage places.<sup>28</sup> An episode from mid-eighteenth-century Alsace reveals, however, that the measures against border-crossing pilgrimage could affect contests not just over pious voyages to such faraway destinations but small-scale trips as well. During a pastoral visit in 1744, the *juré* of the Alsatian village of Réchésy<sup>29</sup> complained “on behalf of the entire community” that the local parish priest, François-Conrad Breton, refused to lead the parishioners’ traditional, annual procession to Saint-Ursanne on the Feast of Saint Mark (April 25). This powerful collegiate church, situated not in France but in the Episcopal Principality of

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donne journellement des passeports aux pellerins pour aller a St. Jacques, que depuis un an il en a bien passé dix mille, ce qui est tres prejudiciable au service du Roy, attendu qu’on les arreste en Espagne pour faire des recreües.”

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., f. 76, summary of Le Gendre’s *avis*, fall of 1717: “Il mande qu’il est vray qu’il passe en Espagne une quantité prodigieuse de pelerins, sous pretexte d’aller a St. Jacques en Galice ou a Nostre Dame de Monsarrat, que cela est tres prejudiciable a l’estat [...] le passage de tous ces vagabonds inspire sur la frontiere l’esprit de desertion [...] comme tous ces reglemens [of 1671 and 1686] n’ont pu arrester le cours du mal, la plupart de ces vagabonds forgeant de fausses permissions ou se les entrepretant les uns aux autres, il croit que le seul moyen d’y parvenir seroit de deffendre absolument ces sortes de voyages, dont la devotion est le plus souvent fondée sur le libertinage.”

<sup>28</sup> Montserrat Abbey is situated about seventy miles south of the Franco-Spanish border.

<sup>29</sup> A commune in the present-day Territoire de Belfort, but belonging to Alsace (Haut-Rhin since 1790) until 1871.

Basel, claimed that all parishes in the Elsgau (French: Ajoie) rural chapter of the Diocese of Basel were obligated to hold this annual procession in honor of Saint Ursicinus, a hermit who had lived in the region around 600 CE.<sup>30</sup> The *curé* Breton, however, pointed out three reasons for his refusal. First, the procession was inappropriate because it took too long—five hours—to get to Saint-Ursanne. Second, such longer excursions too often gave rise to “abuses and dissolute behavior” among his flock. Third, he “cited a certain royal edict whereby all subjects of the Most Christian King are forbidden from going on pilgrimage (*peregrinari*) outside of the kingdom.” Breton’s arguments fell on deaf ears. He received a rebuke from the visitor and archdeacon of the Elsgau, Franz Anton Klötzlin, who himself happened to be the dean (*prévôt*) of the Saint-Ursanne canon chapter.<sup>31</sup> Yet this first incident already hints at the potential power of Louis XIV’s and Louis XV’s pilgrimage edicts: a rural clergyman on the margins of Alsace knew about them and tried to use them against a religious practice that some folklorists would not even categorize as a pilgrimage but rather as a mandatory procession.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Fidèle Chèvre, *Histoire de St-Ursanne, du Chapitre, de la Ville et de la Prévôté de ce nom* (Porrentruy: Victor Michel, 1887), esp. 357–8 on Saint-Ursanne as spiritual center of the Elsgau chapter. To visualize the boundaries of rural chapters in the early modern Diocese of Basel, see a map in the *Atlas historique d’Alsace*: Jean-Pierre Renard, “Le diocèse de Bâle (XV<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles),” Université de Haute-Alsace, accessed April 7, 2021, <http://www.atlas.historique.alsace.uha.fr/par-periodes/65-le-diocese-de-bale-xve-xvii-siecles.html>.

<sup>31</sup> AAEB, A 109a, no. 12, pastoral visit of the Elsgau in 1744, p. 15 on Réchésy: “juratus nomine totius communitatis, ut asseruit, praetendebat D.num parochum debere suos parochianos processionaliter singulis annis die Divo Marco sacro ad oppidum S. Ursicini ducere et comitari, prout moris erat ante hac, reposuit Parochus Imo, non expedire propter loci distantiam, quae est quinque horarum. 2do propter abusum et dissolutiones in illis supplicationibus longioribus committi solitos, et 3io tandem citavit aliquod edictum Regium, quo omnes Regis Christianissimi Subditi extra fines regni peregrinari prohibentur, cum autem Capit. St. Ursicini praetendat omnes Archidiaconatus Elsgaudiae parochias illo die obligari ad istam processionem Instituendam ad Dictum Oppidum non potui istum parochum ab hoc onere seu obligatione eximere.”

<sup>32</sup> Breton mentioned that he had “reçu des avis de Monsieur Bruges qu’il n’etoit point permi en France aux pasteurs de conduire en pelerinage hors des terres du Royaume”: Breton to Bishop Baldenstein, Réchésy, May 9, 1749, in AAEB, A 25, no. 11, pp. 91–2 and 97 (quote on 92). He was perhaps referring to Jean-François Bruges (1696–1766), an important lawyer at the *Conseil souverain d’Alsace*, the rough Alsatian equivalent of a *parlement*. On Bruges, see François Burkard, *Le conseil souverain d’Alsace au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Représentant du roi et défenseur de la province* (Strasbourg: Société savante d’Alsace, 1995), 275–6. On the issue of categorization: especially in the 1960s and 70s, folklorists made numerous attempts to generate typologies distinguishing between nuances of pilgrimage and procession. For some important contributions to the debate, see Hans Dünninger, “Was ist Wallfahrt? Erneute Aufforderung zur Diskussion um eine Begriffsbestimmung [1963],” in *Wallfahrt und Bilderkult: Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Wolfgang Brückner, Jürgen Lenssen, and Klaus Wittstadt (Würzburg: Echter,

Moreover, encouraged by the first glimmers of Reform Catholicism in the Diocese of Basel, Breton did not give up all that easily. Josef Wilhelm Rinck von Baldenstein, Bishop of Basel from 1744 to 1762, decided in 1747 to eliminate a whopping 26 mandatory holidays from the liturgical calendar of the diocese. This measure reflected early Enlightenment values in that it emphasized the virtue of work and promoted a less-is-more approach to decency in religious ceremonies and the cult of the saints.<sup>33</sup> For the same reasons, Baldenstein's pastoral letter also deprecated "pious longer pilgrimages; we hence wish them abolished and are abolishing them hereby, granting a dispensation [from them] to remove any objections of conscience."<sup>34</sup> Then, as Klötzlin visited the parishes of the Elsgau again in 1748, the *curé* of Réchésy renewed his opposition to the Saint-Ursanne pilgrimage. Breton pointed once more to the relevant royal edicts against pilgrimage abroad and even mentioned that they had been explicitly confirmed by

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1995), 271–81 (a 'splitter,' i.e. in favor of a narrow definition of *Wallfahrt* and a diverse classification of related practices); Rudolf Kriss, "Zur Begriffsbestimmung des Ausdrucks *Wallfahrt*," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 66 (1963): 101–7 (more of a 'lumper'); Wolfgang Brückner, "Zur Phänomenologie und Nomenklatur des Wallfahrtswesens und seiner Erforschung [1970]," in *Kulturtechniken: Nonverbale Kommunikation, Rechtssymbolik, Religio carnalis*, Veröffentlichungen zur Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte (Würzburg: Bayerische Blätter für Volkskunde, 2000), 223–68 (closer to Dünninger than to Kriss, broad European perspective); Paul Berbée, "Zur Klärung von Sprache und Sache in der Wallfahrtsforschung: Begriffsgeschichtlicher Beitrag und Diskussion," *Bayerische Blätter für Volkskunde* 14 (1987): 65–82 (working toward an intermediate position). An outstanding study of mandatory processions is Nikolaus Kyll, *Pflichtprozessionen und Bannfahrten im westlichen Teil des alten Erzbistums Trier* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1962), esp. 15–16 and 81 on questions of terminology. I have benefited from these works because they illuminate the complexity and variety of spatially salient religious practices. Yet, as pointed out by Goy, *Aufklärung und Volksfrömmigkeit*, 129, the men and women of the eighteenth century themselves used words such as *peregrinatio*, *Wallfahrt*, *Bittgang*, etc. loosely and most often interchangeably, and it is precisely this interchangeability that plays into the Réchésy conflict of the 1740s.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Patrick Braun, *Josef Wilhelm Rinck von Baldenstein (1704–1782): Das Wirken eines Basler Fürstbischofs in der Zeit der Aufklärung* (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1981), 225–31. There is a substantial literature on enlightened Church and state policies that reduced the number of holidays. See Gaël Rideau, "La fête processionnelle en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle entre dévotion et police," in *Orare aut laborare ? Fêtes de précepte et jours chômés, du Moyen Âge au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Philippe Desmette and Philippe Martin (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2017), 131–42; Hersche, *Muße und Verschwendung*, vol. 2, 963–5 and 1016–19; Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 28–32; Goy, *Aufklärung und Volksfrömmigkeit*, 53–82.

<sup>34</sup> AAEB, A 104, no. 3, liasse 17, printed pastoral letter on feast days, Porrentruy, December 1, 1747, p. 6: "constituimus, volumusque, ut imprimis Diocesani nostri nullâ deinceps aliâ, præterquam Missam audiendi, obligatione adstringantur ad festivè celebrandos dies aliquos, quos vel ipsi, vel Majores illorum voti, vel devotionis causâ, religiosiùs coluerunt; abstinendo nimirum à laboribus, aut pias easque longiores peregrinationes instituendo; quas proin abrogatas cupimus, & præsentibus hîsce abrogamus, dispensationis favore omnem conscientiæ scrupulum eximentes."

the *Conseil souverain* of Alsace.<sup>35</sup> Unsurprisingly, Klötzlin's report again dismissed these arguments.<sup>36</sup> Baldenstein's final decision, however, supported Breton: the bishop declared that his recent ban of overly long pilgrimage processions applied to this case. He merely conceded that, in the future, a smaller delegation of villagers take the annual trip from Réchésy to Saint-Ursanne in order to continue to provide the canons of Saint-Ursanne "with the sacred gifts" that the saint's honor demanded.<sup>37</sup> The episode shows that, as early as the 1740s, border-crossing pilgrimage could fall into a maelstrom of local conflict between a priest and his parishioners, royal edicts, and enlightened episcopal administration.

But the pilgrims themselves, the lay Catholics of Réchésy, did not consider their own status as subjects of the King of France especially relevant to their case. In May 1749, they came forth with a petition, arguing that if their *curé* refused to go with them to Saint-Ursanne, they should instead be allowed to hire a different priest with whom to re-establish this annual procession.<sup>38</sup> The community leaders motivated their demand by professing the "special trust" they had in Saint Mark (not Saint Ursicinus!): in order to deserve Mark's and other saints'

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<sup>35</sup> One of the *Conseil*'s functions was the *enregistrement* of royal legislation: cf. Burckard, *Le conseil souverain*, esp. 30–33. On the *Conseil*'s frequent and often tense interaction with the Bishopric of Basel, see Braun, *Josef Wilhelm Rinck von Baldenstein*, 204–17. But for a more recent argument that Baldenstein managed his relationship with the *Conseil* rather shrewdly, see Claude Muller, "Les princes-évêques de Bâle et le Conseil souverain d'Alsace dans la seconde moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Actes de la société jurassienne d'émulation* 112 (2009): 133–56, esp. 134–9. More generally on the increasingly busy diplomacy that connected the Episcopal Principality of Basel to France in that time period: Pierre Rebetez-Paroz, *Les relations de l'évêché de Bâle avec la France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (St. Maurice: Imprimerie St-Augustin, 1943).

<sup>36</sup> AAEB, A 109a, no. 12, pastoral visit of the Elsgau in 1748, pp. 5–6 on Réchésy: the *curé* insisted on "Editum â supremo Alsatiae Consilio emanatum, vigore cuius omnes Regis Christianissimi subditi extra Regni fines peregrinari prohibentur"; Klötzlin claimed that this assertion "vel falso omnino nititur fundamento, vel Editum non est receptum."

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., episcopal *ordinatum* no. 3 for Réchésy: "Supplicationes processionales, si nimis longinquae sunt, abolitas volumus, sicut in ordinationibus Nostris declaravimus. Per hoc autem neutiquam inhibemus, quin remotiores etiam pagi quosdam cum muneribus Sacris nomine Communitatis ad S.tum Ursicinum consueto tempore ablegent in recognitionem suae à Matrice Ecclesia dependentiae."

<sup>38</sup> The petition was unsuccessful. See the decision made by Baldenstein's episcopal consistory on June 2, 1749, AAEB, A 85, no. 28a1 (Protocollum consistorii episcopalis, 1746–51), p. 167: "Resolutum fuit, nullô modô obligandum esse Parochum, ut eidem processioni assistat, multo minùs permittendum ut alius sacerdos agmen ducat, praesertim cum ante aliquot annos dicta processio fuerit commutata."



“protection,” they needed to hold the annual processions vowed “in their honor.” With Breton’s predecessor, they had in fact already agreed to modify their vow by replacing the trip to Saint-Ursanne with three shorter annual processions to the well-known pilgrimage chapel of Our Lady of Grunenwald.<sup>39</sup> Breton, however, wanted them to pay him 30 *sols* for each mass at Grunenwald, which would amount to 90 *sols* a year, whereas previously they had “*de toute ancienneté*” paid their *curé* 30 *sols* for the one, longer procession to Saint-Ursanne and then 10 *sols* for each trip to Grunenwald! So, instead of paying 90 *sols* every year, they would now rather return to their original vow and hire a priest who would consent to lead the Saint-Ursanne procession for a smaller fee.<sup>40</sup> In this petition, the parishioners of Réchésy used an elaborate calculus of saintly honor and protection as well as a kind of spatial conversion system that determined the rough equivalence between three pilgrimages to a nearby place (Grunenwald) and one pilgrimage to a more distant one (Saint-Ursanne).<sup>41</sup> This calculus intersected uneasily with an economy of sacerdotal remuneration.

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<sup>39</sup> This pilgrimage place was (and is) situated a few miles northeast of Réchésy, on French territory—but the people of Réchésy did not mention this last fact in their petition.

<sup>40</sup> AAEB, A 25, no. 11, pp. 87–9, petition of the Réchésy community to the *official* of the Elsgau chapter, Réchésy, late April or early May 1749: “Disant que depuis un Tems immemorial eux et leurs auteurs ont eût une Confiance particuliere a St. Marc, St. Urbain et St. Anne a cause des processions qu’ils faisoient annuellement avec leur Curé a L’honneur de ces trois saints, scavoir la premiere a St. Ursanne led. Jour de St. Marc [...] ils ne se ressentiront pas si visiblement de leur protection si on neglige de faire a leur honneur des processions qu’on leur a voué depuis plus de deux siecles ; que pour raison de ladite procession de St. Ursanne on a payé de toute ancienneté aux Sieurs Curés la somme trente sols Tournois, or Comme la distance est assé grande, la Communauté supliante convint avec le Sr Curé predecesseur de Celuy d’aujourd’huy, qu’il feroit trois processions avec ses paroissiens a Notre Dame de Grünwald pour celle de St. Ursanne pour lad. Somme de trente sols les trois ; il se rencontre aujourd’huy que led. Sr Breton leur a fait entendre que s’il faisoit lesd. trois processions il fera payer aux supliants trente sols par voyage [...] Ils ne pretendent pas l’inquieter la dessus pourvû qu’il leur Laisse prendre un autre prestre pour les Conduire esd. processions qu’ils offrent de payer a Celuy qui les ferat, sujet pour lequel ils ont L’honneur de vous presenter leur très humble requeste.”

<sup>41</sup> On vows and protection of communities from their chosen saints, the best work is still William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), esp. ch. 2. What I call a spatial conversion system was not unique to the context of Réchésy. An almanac of 1930 reminded Catholics of northeastern Lorraine that a single pilgrimage to Einsiedeln was as meritorious as nine shorter pilgrimages to the hermitage of Brudergarten near Fénétrange, which housed a copy of the Black Madonna of Einsiedeln. See Philippe Martin, “Sanctuaires-mères et pèlerinages-relais,” in *Identités pèlerines: Actes du colloque de Rouen, 15–16 mai 2002*, ed. Catherine Vincent (Rouen: Publications de l’Université de Rouen, 2004), 107–22, here 121.

What they did *not* display is any awareness of royal edicts on pilgrimage, or any perceived need to address Breton's reference to these edicts: the petition simply does not mention this part of his rationale. Only vaguely did the parishioners speculate that his refusal to reinstate and lead the procession to Saint-Ursanne might be due to some "higher interdiction"—or maybe the *curé* simply did not want to march all the way to Saint-Ursanne for health reasons?<sup>42</sup> Compare this reasoning with that of the parishioners' natural ally in this conflict, the canon chapter of Saint-Ursanne: in a letter to a diocesan official (perhaps Baldenstein's vicar general), one of the canons explicitly tried to discredit the "supposed *arrêt*" of the *Conseil souverain* that enshrined the royal edicts on pilgrimage in Alsatian provincial law. The canon made his point by brandishing the example of Levoncourt, another parish belonging to the Elsgau chapter and situated on Alsatian territory. The people of Levoncourt "have never neglected to hold their procession to Saint-Ursanne on the Feast of Saint Mark; hence it appears that the *arrêt* in question has never been enacted."<sup>43</sup> In short, territorial belonging and French royal legislation were at the heart of the conflict from the perspective of ecclesiastical elites—but not from the perspective of the Réchésy parishioners.

Even more strikingly, the royal measures against pilgrimage abroad seem to have been mostly ignored by Catholics from Alsace, Franche-Comté, and other French provinces going to Einsiedeln in central Switzerland. Jean-Michel Blanchot has called the eighteenth century "the

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<sup>42</sup> AAEB, A 25, no. 11, p. 88: "ce refus ne provient peut-etre qu'a Cause d'une deffense superieure, ou qu'il ne jouis pas d'une parfaite santé (Dieu la luy donne)."

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 93–6, letter from Billieux, canon of Saint-Ursanne, to an unidentified "Monsieur," Saint-Ursanne, May 18, 1749: "à l'arrest du Conseil souverain, que citera le curé de Rechesy pour sa défence, vous pouvez opposer la conduite contraire de ceux de Levoncourt, qui, malgré qu'en vertu du pretendu arrêt il soit defendu aux Regnicoles d'instituer hors du Royaume des pelerinages où processions, n'ont cepandant jamais negligé de faire au jour de St. Marc leur procession à St Ursanne, ainsi il y a de l'apparence, que l'arrêt en question n'a jamais eu lieu" (95).

true golden age” of pilgrimage from Franche-Comté and Lorraine to Einsiedeln.<sup>44</sup> Rudolf Henggeler’s quantitative analysis of miracle reports preserved and publicized by the monks of Einsiedeln Abbey confirms this impression. Henggeler detected an eighteenth-century peak in miracle stories about pilgrims from Franche-Comté but also from Burgundy, Lorraine, and Alsace.<sup>45</sup> Likewise, the “pilgrimage diary” kept between 1760 and 1772 by one Einsiedeln monk, Michael Schlageter, makes very frequent mention of pilgrims coming especially from Alsace and Lorraine, but also from Franche-Comté.<sup>46</sup> Intriguingly, Schlageter noted in the fall 1770 that pilgrims from France had been arriving only sporadically this year—and he connected this observation to a current French ban on pilgrimages abroad.<sup>47</sup> He also wrote that such a prohibition might have already existed earlier, but he treated this assertion more as a rumor, using the modal verb *sollen* to describe it.<sup>48</sup> In short, neither the pilgrims nor the monks of Einsiedeln had a sharp, continuous awareness of border-crossing pilgrimage as an act distinctly categorized and restricted by French law. The issue only surfaced in times of crisis such as 1770, when famine ravaged all of Europe and rulers tightened territorial control to prevent the exportation of grain.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Blanchot, “Le culte de Notre-Dame des Ermites,” 146: “véritable âge d’or”; Jean-Michel Blanchot, “Miracles et miraculés de la Vierge Noire d’Einsiedeln en Franche-Comté (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles),” *Mémoires de la société d’émulation du Doubs* 56 (2014): 122–72, esp. 128–34 for a broader look at present-day eastern France.

<sup>45</sup> Rudolf Henggeler, “Die Einsiedler Mirakelbücher: Teil 1,” *Der Geschichtsfreund* 97 (1944): 99–273, esp. 155–6 on geographical distribution and 211 on fluctuation across decades and centuries; Rudolf Henggeler, “Die Einsiedler Mirakelbücher: Teil 2,” *Der Geschichtsfreund* 98 (1945): 53–233, esp. 217–25 (more on geographical distribution across regions of France; only for Alsace is the seventeenth century about as well represented in miracle reports as the eighteenth century).

<sup>46</sup> KAE, A 11, A.HB, no. 52, Wallfahrtsdiarium P. Michael Schlageter, 1760–64, e.g. f. 31v, 32v and 36v for the pilgrimage season of 1760; and A.HB, no. 53 on the years 1765–72, e.g. (unpaginated) entries from May, June, September, and December 1766.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., Sept. 1770: “Ungeacht von Seiten Frankreichs hart verboten auser Land zu Wallfarten kamen von Zeit jedoch deren zerschiedene zu Verwunderung in hier ahn” [underlining in the original].

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., April 1770: “Aus Frankreich vernimmt man von sicherer Hand, das dorten aller Orthen ernstlich solle verboten seyn auser Land zu Wallfarten und zwar das niemand, als der Premier Minister erlauben könne. Unter Straff das erste Mahl an Pranger oder Halß Isen gestellt – anderte Mahl auf strengere Weis – 3tens auf Galleren. *Solle auch schon ehemahl verboten gewesen seyn.*” [My emphasis.]

<sup>49</sup> On the European subsistence crisis that began in 1770, see Dominik Collet, *Die doppelte Katastrophe: Klima und Kultur in der europäischen Hungerkrise 1770–1772* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019).

Moreover, in the letters that devotees of the Black Madonna of Einsiedeln wrote to the monks, France does not appear as a geographical or political entity. This is hardly surprising in certain cases: for instance, when Jean-Baptiste Bolliet reported in a letter of January 1761 that he had suddenly been cured from a dangerous fever after vowing himself to “Notre Damme de Ermites,” he described himself as a “burgher of Lunéville in Lorraine.”<sup>50</sup> The Duchy of Lorraine was, after all, an independent state until 1766. But in 1779, when a merchant named Durant testified in writing that his four-year-old daughter had been relieved of a dangerous bleeding or swelling of the eye, he still identified his hometown as “Saint-Mihiel in Lorraine.”<sup>51</sup> Likewise, other lay *miraculés*—or the ecclesiastics and notables who testified for some of them—never wrote from a place ‘in France,’ but from Huningue in “Upper Alsace” or “Bonnevaux, Diocese of Besançon in Franche-Comté” or even “Fréland in Upper Alsace, Diocese of Basel in Switzerland.”<sup>52</sup> For these letter writers, mentioning a diocese or province of origin sufficed to indicate where they were from. What is more, the monks of Einsiedeln did not modify these identifications even as they recorded the miracle stories in their registers and eventually publicized them for German-, French-, and Italian-speaking readers in their printed chronicles.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> KAE, A 11, A.SE-05, no. 2: “Jean Baptiste Bolliet bourgeois de Luneville en Loraines.”

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., no. 62.

<sup>52</sup> KAE, A 11, A.SE-06, no. 20, letter from the Huningue parish priest Wieby, June 18, 1786; A.SE-05, no. 13, letter from the *curé* of Bonnevaux, 1762: “Bonnevaux Diocese de Bessançon en Franche Comté” and no. 20, undated letter from Jean Evrard, resident of “Freland en Haute Alsace diocese de Basle en Suisse.”

<sup>53</sup> I base this observation on KAE, A 11, A.SE-08, nos. 5 and 6 (internal registers for the years 1760–96) and *Histoire de la Sainte Chapelle de Notre-Dame des Hermites, contenant son Origine, sa Propagation, & l'état présent de ce S. Lieu; ensemble les Regnes des Abbés, & l'Histoire de près de mille graces miraculeuses, qui y ont été obtenues par les Fidèles*, Édition toute nouvelle, revûe, corrigée, & augmentée de deux cens soixante Miracles (Einsiedeln: Johann Eberhard Kälin, 1750); *Einsidliche in drey Theil verfasste Chronick: Darinnen enthalten das Leben des H. Meinradi: der Ursprung der von Christo dem Herrn selbst eingeweyhten H. Capellen: die Aufnahme des Fürstlichen Benedictiner-Gotteshauses; sodann über 1000 auserlesene Wunderwerck, welche durch Fürbitt der allhiesigen Jungfräulichen Gnadenmutter hin und wieder unter den Christgläubigen geschehen* (Einsiedeln: Johann Eberhard Kälin, 1752); Federigo Di San Antonio, *Storia del celebre santuario di Nostra Signora d'Einsidlen, o sia dell'Eremo nell'Elvezia, detto volgarmente dagl'Italiani della Madonna di Valdo* (Milano: Stamperia Marelliana, 1761); *Histoire de la Sainte Chapelle de Notre-Dame des Hermites, contenant son Origine, sa Propagation, & l'état présent de ce saint Lieu; avec les Regnes des Abbés, & l'Histoire de près de mille graces miraculeuses, qui y ont été obtenues par les Fideles*, Édition toute nouvelle, revue, corrigée et augmentée (Einsiedeln: François Xavier Kälin,

In short, until the end of the Old Regime, nominally ‘French’ pilgrims receiving and narrating special graces from Our Lady of Einsiedeln came not from France, but from Alsace, Lorraine, or Franche-Comté.

True, a certain kind of Frenchness did matter at Einsiedeln—but primarily as a linguistic category rather than in political or territorial terms. For tens of thousands of pilgrims each year, a stay at Einsiedeln would remain woefully incomplete if they could not receive the sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion. In his diaries, Abbot Beat Küttel (1780–1808) gave repeated expression to his anxiety that the monks would not be able to shoulder “the burden of the choir, of the terrible confessional, of the chancel” in any given pilgrimage season.<sup>54</sup> Especially critical for this primarily German-speaking monastic community was the ratio between Francophone pilgrims and monks who had enough French to be able to act as confessors to those pilgrims.<sup>55</sup> Once, Küttel simply spoke of “the French confessors” even as this group included *patres* such as Dominicus Andermatt, who evidently knew French but hailed from the German-speaking Canton of Zug.<sup>56</sup> Hence, for example, German-speaking Lorrainers would find themselves classified differently than their French-speaking counterparts as they entered the separate *Beichtkirche* (church of confession) next to the main abbatial church.<sup>57</sup> In other words, when pilgrims from

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1775); *Einsiedlische Chronik, oder Kurze Geschichte des fürstlichen Gotteshauses Einsiedlen: Wie auch der allda sich befindlichen H. Gnaden-Capelle*, Neue verbesserte Auflage (Einsiedeln: Franz Xaver Kälin, 1783).

<sup>54</sup> KAE, A 11, A.HB, no. 75/16, p. 12, entry from early 1796: “viele Jahre den Last des Chors, des fürchterlichen Beichtstuhls, des Predigtstuhls auch großmüthig getragen”; for other worried remarks about the burden of the confessional in particular, see e.g. no. 75/2, p. 18, June 1782 (on pilgrims’ complaints about a lack of confessors); no. 75/8, p. 26, Sept. 1788 (this time, no complaints about the confessional); no. 75/15, p. 38–9, late 1795 (too many pilgrims for the confessors available that year).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, no. 75/5, p. 5; no. 75/6, p. 33; no. 75/10, p. 19.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 75/9, p. 27, summer 1789, speaking of “den französichen Beichtvätern” and mentioning Andermatt among others; on Andermatt’s origins, see KAE, A 11, A.CC, no. 10, p. 28. See also KAE, A 11, A.QE, no. 5, section 5 on available confessors during the great pilgrimage festival (*Engelweihe*) of 1777: “in Summa 54 darunter Patres 9 auf Italiänisch, 8 auf Französisch und 4 auf Bündnerisch beichthörten.”

<sup>57</sup> On the architecture, iconography, and historical importance of the *Beichtkirche*, see Werner Oechslin and Anja Buschow Oechslin, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Schwyz. Neue Ausgabe Band III.I: Der Bezirk Einsiedeln I: Das Benediktinerkloster Einsiedeln* (Bern: Gesellschaft für schweizerische Kunstgeschichte, 2003), 103–7, 455–69. Traveling through Switzerland in 1796, the French Premonstratensian canon Hervé-Julien Lesage also remarked on

France knelt in the confessional, when they listened to sermons at Einsiedeln, they could be either ‘French’ or ‘German’ depending on their mother tongue. As we will see, it took a revolution to shake up this narrowly linguistic understanding of pilgrims’ Frenchness.

Yet it did *not* take a counter-revolution for the abbey and the cult of Our Lady of Einsiedeln to become associated with the French Bourbon dynasty. Two women—Marie-Antoinette and Louise de France—played prominent roles in establishing stronger ties between the royal family and the Swiss monastery in the 1780s. As for the Austrian wife of Louis XVI,<sup>58</sup> we have only indirect evidence: according to a canon named Legros from the town of Chaumont in southern Champagne, she had “such a singular devotion to Our Lady of Einsiedeln” that she had even asked for several masses to be sung for her in the holy chapel.<sup>59</sup> By contrast, we know more about the interest of Louise de France (1737–1787), a Carmelite nun and aunt of Louis XVI, in the Black Madonna of Einsiedeln. In 1786, she sent three brothers from the de Collenberg family to Einsiedeln, with money to endow masses in her name and to buy a French copy of the Einsiedeln chronicle and miracle book. The most recent French edition (from 1775) was out of print, but a new edition was already being prepared—so the monks responsible for it

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how busy the monks of Einsiedeln were as confessors in the *Beichtkirche*: Norbert Backmund, “Couvents de la Suisse alémanique à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Notes de voyage d’un Religieux Prémontré,” *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 46 (1952): 181–203, 241–256, esp. 202.

<sup>58</sup> It is worth noting here that Einsiedeln Abbey had long been maintaining a close relationship with the Habsburgs, in part because the abbot carried and defended the title of a prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, this relationship grew even stronger as the abbey sought support from Vienna in struggles with the Canton of Schwyz and then, in the 1790s, helped finance Austria’s war against revolutionary France. Cf. Thomas Fässler, *Aufbruch und Widerstand: Das Kloster Einsiedeln im Spannungsfeld von Barock, Aufklärung und Revolution* (Egg bei Einsiedeln: Thesis Verlag, 2019), esp. 554; Eric Godel, *Die Zentralschweiz in der Helvetik (1798–1803): Kriegserfahrungen und Religion im Spannungsfeld von Nation und Region* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2009), 184.

<sup>59</sup> KAE, A 11, A.TE, no. 21, letter from Legros l’ainé (also signed by chevalier Louis-Hector de Gondrecourt) to P. Joachim Ackermann, Chaumont, February 10, 1785: “La Reine de France elle-même qui a une si singulière dévotion à Notre Dame des Ermites dans la Sainte chapelle de la quelle je sçay qu’elle a envoyé faire des prières et célébrer des messes à son intention.”

humbly proposed to dedicate this new edition to the princess.<sup>60</sup> The thoroughly revised *Chronique d'Einsidlen* appeared in 1787. Unlike its predecessor, it was no longer a pious book jammed with hundreds of miracle stories for pilgrims to devour, but primarily an erudite attempt to rebut enlightened critiques of pilgrimage rituals and legends surrounding the divine consecration of the holy chapel.<sup>61</sup>

Thus, in the last years of the Old Regime, the monks of Einsiedeln started to promote a certain idea of *France*, not least with regard to Marian devotion and pilgrimage. This idea referred not to the France of the skeptical, anticlerical Enlightenment, but to a France which remained true to its special role as the oldest daughter of the Church—especially in the face of a hostile zeitgeist. In the dedicatory epistle to Louise de France that prefaced the 1787 *Chronique*, the monks wrote: “We still see the Christian people excited about coming from everywhere, and especially from the depths of the Most Christian Kingdom [of France], to this holy place.”<sup>62</sup> The tiny word ‘still’ (*encore*) speaks volumes about defensiveness against ‘false enlightenment’ here, even though the monastic community at Einsiedeln knew Enlightenment thought well and had selectively appropriated it in the 1770s, as Thomas Fässler recently demonstrated.<sup>63</sup> In this passage of the 1787 chronicle’s preface, we encounter a notion of pilgrimage *from France* to Einsiedeln in a clear-cut ideological context for the first time.

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<sup>60</sup> KAE, A 11, A.FB, no. 14, “Kurzer Bericht, über die Dedication der französischen Einsiedler-Kronik vom Jahr 1787 an die Princesse Louise de France, und der an den Pabst, an den Erzbischof von Paris, an Madame de Piemont etc. überschickten Exemplairen.”

<sup>61</sup> See Fässler, *Aufbruch und Widerstand*, 165–6.

<sup>62</sup> *Chronique d'Einsidlen; ou Histoire de l'Abbaye princiere, de la Sainte Chapelle, et du pèlerinage de Notre-Dame des Hermites: Avec un récit des principaux Miracles que Dieu y a faits, & des Graces singulieres qu'il y a accordées par l'intercession de la Sainte Vierge* (Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1787), dédicace (unpaginated): “On voit encore le peuple chrétien s'exciter lui-même à venir de toute part, & particulièrement du fond du Royaume Très-Chrétien jusqu'en ce saint lieu pour y rendre ses humbles hommages à Marie, au pied de ce trône de graces que son divin Fils daigna lui ériger, afin qu'elle distribuât à pleines mains les trésors de ses mérites infinis dont elle est la dépositaire.”

<sup>63</sup> Fässler, *Aufbruch und Widerstand*, esp. 133–75. Excellent on Counter-Enlightenment defensiveness even before 1789: McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment*, esp. 25–28.

Non-elite pilgrims, while not necessarily avid readers of the rather scholarly 1787 *Chronique*, might yet have been growing more aware of the links between Einsiedeln and that Counter-Enlightenment ideology as well. The first potential element here is the cult of Benoît Labre, the most famous pilgrim of the eighteenth century. This Frenchman died in Rome in 1783 and immediately became an object of popular veneration in Italy and France—as well as an icon of counter-enlightened propaganda. Einsiedeln counted among the shrines Labre had repeatedly visited in the 1770s and this information probably spread as fast as all the other stories that quickly coalesced into a hagiographical whole after 1783.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, starting in the late 1770s already, pilgrims listening to sermons at Einsiedeln would often hear about the spiritual dangers posed by freethinkers and other Enlightenment monstrosities, as distinct from the traditional enemy, the Protestant. Today, the abbey's archives preserve the texts of eight sermons preached in the 1770s and 80s at Einsiedeln's main pilgrimage festival, the *Engelweihe*. Only one of these eight texts does *not* feature any explicit polemics against the Enlightenment. The others mock “our present-day enlighteners” who thought of themselves as “the most accomplished men of spirit,” or deplore the “dangerous times” in which “so many freethinkers, possessed by the bad spirit of philosophy, do their utmost to discredit holy places and pilgrimages, in fact anything that is holy and venerable.”<sup>65</sup> In short, Einsiedeln was a site of Counter-Enlightenment before becoming a hub of resistance to the French Revolution.

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<sup>64</sup> Cf. the *Chronique* of 1787, p. 227–8: “Le pieux Serviteur de Dieu, Benoît Joseph Labre alla en pèlerinage aux Hermites, il fut un zélé vénérateur de notre Sanctuaire, comme il parut par l'inquisition de sa vie à Rome ; & qui sait, s'il ne s'est attiré justement par-là la haine & la fureur d'écrire de nos *Franco Censeurs* ? La maniere dont ils le traitent, peut donner quelque goût de leur équité & charité chrétienne envers Einsidlen. Ils l'appellent un *extravagant*, un *fanatique*, un *vaut-rien faisant le saint*, un *coquin délabré & puant* : lui qui de nos jours est l'édification de la Chrétienté, l'honneur de la France, & l'objet de l'attention du saint Siege.” On Labre, ‘popular religion,’ and the Counter-Enlightenment: Caffiero, *La fabrique d'un saint*, esp. 193 on Louise de France as a major promoter of this cult in France.

<sup>65</sup> My tally is based on KAE, A 12, A.11/39 and /40 and B.11/28 and /29. It does not include two additional, undated sermons (in B.11/28) that may have been given either in the 1780s or the 1790s and that also contain Counter-Enlightenment polemics. The quotes: “Wie beredsam sind unsere heutigen Aufklärer [...]. Man sollte glauben, sie



Ultimately, the border-crossing pilgrimages I have discussed so far did not amount to a transnational practice in the sense I clarified at the beginning of this chapter—that is, a practice that transcends but also implies the nation. Inhabitants of borderlands may well have developed a sense of, for example, Frenchness as opposed to Spanishness as early as the later seventeenth century.<sup>66</sup> To the pilgrims going to Einsiedeln, meanwhile, provincial identities and mother tongues tangibly shaped how they related to the holy place, while their status as French subjects did not. And yet, we cannot understand the breakthrough of transnational pilgrimage in the revolutionary decade without acknowledging the various relevant elements that already coalesced in the Old Regime. Military commanders and royal bureaucrats conflated pilgrimages abroad with forms of vagabondage and emigration-as-desertion. Some local actors—such as the *curé* of Réchésy and the canons of Saint-Ursanne—argued over the royal edicts against those pilgrimages and thus made that legislation matter.<sup>67</sup> Finally, right in the years before 1789, the monks and preachers of Einsiedeln tied ‘their’ Black Madonna more and more to both the struggling French monarchy and the Counter-Enlightenment. During the 1790s, these elements would interact in new ways with pilgrims’ struggles.

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seyen die vollkommensten Geismänner, die sich allein bestreben, der Gottheit wahre Anbether in dem Geiste u(nd) in der Wahrheit zu bilden” (A.11/40, “Historische Lob- und Sittenrede auf das jährliche Engelweyh-Fest, der Einsiedlischen Kapelle, dem frommen Pilgrimme gewidmet,” P. Adelicus Rothweiler, 1787); “bey diesen unsern gefährlichen Zeiten leide, wo so viele mit dem bösen Geiste der Philosophie besessene Freydenker allen Kräfte aufbiethen, die heilige Örter, und Wahlfarten, ja alles was heilig, und Ehr würdig ist, herunter zu sezen, und verächtlich zu machen” (B.11/28, “Engelweihepredigt v. P. Anselm (Huonder?) v. Dissentis. 1783”). – A comparison with Mariastein on this point would require more research. On internal contestation around Enlightenment ideas taken up by some monks of Mariastein, see Lüber, “Das Kloster Beinwil-Mariastein,” 182–5. I did not get a chance to consult Bénédicte Dubail-Heyer’s unpublished doctoral thesis on predication in the eighteenth-century Diocese of Basel, but the source basis for that work includes sermons given at Mariastein; cf. Bénédicte Dubail-Heyer, “Le ministère de la Parole de Dieu: Prédication et prédicateurs dans l’ancien diocèse de Bâle au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle [Position de thèse],” *Revue d’Alsace* 136 (2010): 369–79, esp. 370.

<sup>66</sup> Sahlins, *Boundaries*.

<sup>67</sup> For a similar example from the Franco-Spanish border, cf. Jean Francez, “Notre-Dame de Montserrat et les Hautes-Pyrénées,” *Studia Monastica* 15 (1973): 65–101, here 86: in 1785, the confraternity of Our Lady of Montserrat in the French village of Lahitte-ez-Angles wanted to require would-be members to go on pilgrimage to the Catalan shrine. The Bishop of Tarbes, however, vetoed this part of the statutes “qui semble exiger que ceux qui veulent être reçus en ladite confrérie ayent fait le pèlerinage de Montserrat, ce qui est défendu par les édits du Roi.”

### Dangerously French: The Breakthrough of Transnational Pilgrimage in the 1790s

Abbot Beat at Einsiedeln did not need much time to make up his mind and condemn the French Revolution, as several journal entries from 1790 demonstrate. By the fall of that year, several French Benedictines in exile had already sought to join the monks of Einsiedeln “in these most troublesome times for the monastic state, especially in France.”<sup>68</sup> But for the bulk of French Catholics, the single greatest turning point provoked by the revolutionaries’ religious reforms came in late 1790, when the Constituent Assembly decided to require an oath of allegiance to the new constitution from all parish priests. The legislators thereby aimed specifically to enforce adherence to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, a law passed on July 12, 1790. The Civil Constitution amounted to a sweeping reform of the Gallican Church. Bishops and parish priests turned into salaried and elected state servants. The law suppressed large parts of the ecclesiastical body—for example, canon chapters and most religious orders—while conceding modest state pensions to these supposedly less useful priests, monks, and nuns. Another far-reaching innovation stipulated that diocesan boundaries be reorganized to conform exactly with those of the recently created departments. This measure affected the Midi, where many small dioceses were now wiped off the map, but also the edges of French territory, where many dioceses, including that of Basel, had straddled not just departmental but state borders. The reforms stunned and divided French Catholics, not least because the majority in the legislature ostentatiously did not care to consult the papacy on these issues. In particular, Timothy Tackett’s work shows how the oath crisis filtered the multiform regional differences within France’s religious culture into a sharp polarization between non-jurors and jurors. This polarization

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<sup>68</sup> KAE, A 11, A.HB, no.74/6, pp. 65–6: “His pro statu monastico, praesertim in Gallia gravissimis temporibus ab uno alterove monacho ex congregati(ō) Sancti Mauri rogatus et obsecratus sum, ut illis pro continuanda monastica vita in nostro Monasterio locum darem. Quibus humaniter repulsam dare coactus sum.”

escalated into “the last French war of religion” in the 1790s, and its traces endured far into the twentieth century, in the form of a difference between fervently Catholic and religiously more detached French regions.<sup>69</sup>

Tackett’s overview also confirms that a clear majority of Catholics in Alsace, the Franche-Comté, and German-speaking parts of Lorraine quickly rejected the oath, even as the national percentage of jurors hovered around 50%. These provinces had fallen to France so recently that their clergy and broader religious culture had not turned fully ‘Gallican’ and had instead forged closer ties to ‘ultramontane’ (that is, Roman and papal) models and networks. Many Catholics in these regions also read the Civil Constitution of the Clergy through the lens of preexisting confessional rivalries, as a new form of heresy. After all, Protestants represented an influential minority in Alsace and a palpable spiritual menace right across various borders, in northwestern Switzerland (Basel, Neuchâtel) and the southwestern Holy Roman Empire (e.g. Saarbrücken, Montbéliard). In Alsace and northern Lorraine, the language barrier may also have added to “profound popular suspicion and incomprehension of the Civil Constitution.”<sup>70</sup>

In addition, however, different receptions of the ecclesiastical oath *within* Alsace play an equally important part in the story of how pilgrimage to Mariastein and Einsiedeln changed for French citizens in the 1790s. In southern Alsace (the Haut-Rhin Department), many parish

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<sup>69</sup> This summary of the reform and its implications is based on Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 11–26 and (for the argument on polarization) 299–300; Dale K. van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560–1791* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 361–7; Klaus Fitschen, “Die Zivilkonstitution des Klerus von 1790 als revolutionäres Kirchenreformprogramm im Zeichen der Ecclesia primitiva,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 117 (1997): 378–405; Catherine Maire, *L’Église dans l’État: Politique et religion dans la France des Lumières* (Paris: Gallimard, 2019), 455–75, quote on 473: “la dernière guerre de Religion française.”

<sup>70</sup> Tackett, *Religion, Revolution*, 41 and 53–4 (statistics and maps showing percentages of jurors in early 1791), 217–24 and 293–4 (for explanation of low oath-taking rates in northeastern France; quote on 294). More recently, on a renewal of interconfessional tensions in pre-revolutionary Alsace, see Claude Muller, “Pouvoir, société et religion en Alsace au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Regards sur l’Alsace du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Claude Muller and Valentin Kuentzler (Strasbourg: Éditions du Signe, 2017), 271–313, esp. 306.

priests did swear the oath in 1791—40% according to Tackett, or more than two-thirds according to Dominique Varry and Claude Muller. By contrast, in the Bas-Rhin, barely one in ten parish priests took the oath.<sup>71</sup> How to explain this divergence? In the eighteenth century, the Diocese of Strasbourg had developed in a more ultramontane direction and had remained more insulated from the Enlightenment than the Diocese of Basel, whose territory included almost the entire southern half of Alsace.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, the Old Regime's last auxiliary bishop for the French part of the Diocese of Basel was none other than Jean-Baptiste Gobel, who would go on to become one of the most prominent and popular figures of the Constitutional Church.<sup>73</sup> Whatever the precise factors that combined to produce the relatively high oath-taking rates in southern Alsace, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy clearly had many supporters among Catholics there, especially in the Districts of Altkirch and Belfort on the Swiss border. Hence, unlike in the Bas-Rhin, where refractory unanimity was the norm, many parish communities in the Haut-Rhin were torn apart as strong pro- and anti-oath factions formed among Catholic laypeople.<sup>74</sup> As we

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<sup>71</sup> Tackett, *Religion, Revolution*, 351–2; Dominique Varry and Claude Muller, *Hommes de Dieu et Révolution en Alsace* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 63–86.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. on Strasbourg: Châtellier, *Tradition chrétienne*, esp. 482–3; and on Basel: Braun, *Josef Wilhelm Rinck von Baldenstein* as well as Marco Jorio, “Der Untergang des Fürstbistums Basel (1792–1815): Der Kampf der beiden letzten Fürstbischöfe Joseph Sigismund von Roggenbach und Franz Xaver von Neveu gegen die Säkularisation,” *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 75/76 (1981/1982): 1–230/115–172, esp. 5–17.

<sup>73</sup> On the personality and career of Gobel with a focus on Alsace, see Claude Muller, “Mgr Simon Nicolas de Montjoie, les Klinglin et les Gobel (1762–1775): Contribution à l’histoire du diocèse de Bâle au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Revue d’Alsace* 128 (2002): 281–313; Claude Muller, “La croix et la cocarde: Les évêques constitutionnels alsaciens,” in *Gouverner une église en révolution: Histoires et mémoires de l’épiscopat constitutionnel*, ed. Paul Chopelin (Lyon: Laboratoire de Recherche Historique Rhône-Alpes, 2017), 99–123, esp. 107–10. Gobel was elected constitutional bishop of the Haut-Rhin but also of the Department of Paris in early 1791, and he chose the Parisian see. In the year II (1793/4), he abdicated and was eventually guillotined.

<sup>74</sup> This kind of intra-communal factionalism developed in perhaps as many as half of all southern Alsatian parishes, as suggested by Louis Kammerer, “Documents concernant le clergé du Haut-Rhin pendant la Révolution: La correspondance et les cahiers du provicaire général Didner, conservés aux Archives de l’évêché de Bâle, à Soleure,” *Archives de l’Église d’Alsace* 41 (1982): 95–136, esp. 119–25. For rich local detail on this factionalism, see Franz Joseph Fues, *Die Pfarrgemeinden des Kantons Hirsingen, ihre Alterthümer und Gotteshäuser, ihre Weltpriester und Ordensleute, ihre adeligen Familien und namhaften Privatpersonen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Elsasses* (Rixheim: Sutter, 1876), 400–61. Cf. also Archives nationales (hereafter AN), F/1cIII/haut-rhin/6, report from central commissioner of Haut-Rhin, Colmar, 11 ventôse an IV (March 1, 1796), on existence of “deux classes ; ceux qui suivent les prêtres constitutionnels, et ceux attachés aux réfractaires. Les 1ers aiment la République ; les 2ds la haïssent, non par amour pour les rois ni par regret pour l’ancien régime, mais par fanatisme. Comme ces deux

will see, the resulting local conflicts interacted decisively with the issue of the Swiss pilgrimages.

More precisely, the Franco-Swiss border acquired a strong religious and political charge in the revolutionary decade. Many Alsatians came to consider pilgrimage to Mariastein or Einsiedeln as a form of resistance to the Civil Constitution—and frequently even to the overall course of the Revolution. How exactly and to what extent did Catholic laypeople in the region learn to see the border in this new way? I raise this question because it is unconvincing to assume that Catholics in favor of the ecclesiastical oath had *already* shared an enlightened or revolutionary skepticism against pilgrimage in general. Indeed, many pro-constitutional pilgrims did continue to come to Einsiedeln after the oath crisis began in early 1791. But, led by Abbot Beat, the monks of Einsiedeln abhorred the religious policies of the Revolution. As Joseph Thomas Fassbind (1755–1824), a clergyman and historian from Schwyz, wrote sometime between 1808 and 1823,<sup>75</sup> “pilgrims from Alsace caused regrettable clamor because at Einsiedeln they did not obtain absolution for adhering to the French constitution”—the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, as is clear from a corroborating remark in Abbot Beat’s diary for the year 1791. “This affair was publicized by a newspaper,” Fassbind added, though without specifying the name of the paper or the time of publication.<sup>76</sup> This evidence suggests, on the one

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classes existent dans toutes les communes, il en résulte des divisions et des haines entre les citoyens.” Much interesting material on these local conflicts also in ADHR, L 115 (dossier “District d’Altkirch,” late summer 1795), L 116 (dossier “Canton de Hirsingue,” early fall 1795), L 740 (pièce 161, Hochstatt and surrounding villages, late spring 1795), L 764 (pièces 15 and 34, Masevaux in 1791/2), L 803 (Masevaux, July 1791). Tackett draws attention to conflicts between priests and parishioners rather than to conflicts *among* laypeople within parishes: Tackett, *Religion, Revolution*, 177–80.

<sup>75</sup> On Fassbind’s life and on dating his *Religionsgeschichte*, see the editor’s comments in Angela Dettling, ed., *Joseph Thomas Fassbind (1755–1824): Schwyzer Geschichte*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Chronos, 2005), vol. 2, esp. 1099.

<sup>76</sup> KAE, A 12, B.16/166.9, Fassbind, *Schwyz Religionsgeschichte*, pt. 4, vol. 5, f. 95v: “Wallfahrter aus dem Elsaß hatten einen leidigen Lerm verursacht, weil man ihnen zu Einsidlen die Absolution nicht hat ertheilen wollen das sie der Französischen Constitution anhangten.” And in an accompanying marginal note: “die Sach kam im Druk heraus in einer Zeitung.” From the abbot’s diary, KAE, A 11, A.HB, no. 75/11, p. 11, spring 1791: “Diese Frühlingszeit ware der Zulauf von Pilgramen sonders groß: und unsere liebe Confratres waren sehr mit Beichthören beschwähret. Die benachbaarten Elsäßer gaben selben theils wegen der viele, theils wegen denen geschwornen

hand, the role that the Einsiedeln monks played in forcing the ecclesiastical oath onto pilgrims' agenda. On the other hand, laypeople's actions also mattered: at least some pro-constitutional Catholics rejected the monks' spiritual directives so overtly that this rejection entered the ebullient public sphere of the revolutionary press.<sup>77</sup>

Also in 1791, revolutionary leaders, administrators, and the recently elected Bishop of the Haut-Rhin, Arbogaste Martin, took various steps that helped rigidify the link between pilgrimage to Mariastein or Einsiedeln and threats to the Revolution. After the king's failed flight to Varennes on June 20 and 21, the National Assembly quickly passed several laws that penalized emigration and introduced stricter passport requirements for travel abroad.<sup>78</sup> Referencing these laws, the central administration of the Haut-Rhin wrote to the districts of the department in September 1791, singling out pilgrimage abroad as a form of emigration "which it is essential to suppress forcefully." In fact, the letter stated, pilgrims did *not* emigrate for good but instead came back home and spread the "bad principles" that ill-intentioned priests inculcated in them in Switzerland.<sup>79</sup> Around the same time, Bishop Martin issued a pastoral letter condemning

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Bischöfen und Priestern sehr vieles zu schaffen." Cf. also KAE, A 11, A.LT, no. 23, p. 32 of Abbot Cölestin Müller's history of the abbey from 1789 to 1818, written in 1820.

<sup>77</sup> The evidence may seem excessively anecdotal here. But it is not completely isolated in pointing to the possibility that pilgrims' complaints about what they had been told in the confessional at Einsiedeln could create serious problems. In 1787, the dean of the Einsiedeln monastic community received a note of disapproval from a Swabian parish priest: one of his parishioners had complained about having been told in the confessional at Einsiedeln that it was sinful to have sexual intercourse with one's spouse more often than once a week. In a capitular meeting, the dean warned his fellow *pères* that such rigorism carried the danger of giving ammunition to those who were already calling for ever-harsher restrictions on pilgrimage: KAE, A 11, A.CC, no. 10, p. 2.

<sup>78</sup> Marcel Ragon, *La législation sur les émigrés 1789–1825* (Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1904), 18–22. More broadly on the Flight to Varennes as one of the Revolution's great turning points: Timothy Tackett, *When the King Took Flight* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004). On the integration of Alsatian regional politics into national revolutionary processes, see Bernard Vogler, "1789–1815, une rupture dans l'histoire régionale," in *Nouvelle histoire de l'Alsace: Une région au cœur de l'Europe*, ed. Bernard Vogler (Toulouse: Privat, 2003), 181–97.

<sup>79</sup> ADHR, L 743 (for the District of Altkirch) and L 926 (for the District of Colmar), letter from departmental administration, September 12, 1791, on "les principaux motifs de ces émigrations. Il en est une surtout qu'il est essentiel de réprimer avec force [...], c'est celle qui a lieu pour cause de pèlerinage: les anciennes ordonnances en avoient reconnu l'abus et indépendamment de l'exportation du numéraire, la perte du tems que ce genre de dévotion fait éprouver au peuple et surtout les mauvais principes que lui inspirent les prêtres refractaires qui paroissent avoir choisi ces pèlerinages pour un de leurs retranchements." The departmental directory had probably made an earlier similar statement in late August or early September, as suggested by KAE, A 11, A.LT, no. 25: copy of a letter of

pilgrimage abroad for the same reason. His correspondence with the Ecclesiastical Committee of the National Assembly shows that Mariastein and Einsiedeln were the places he had in mind.<sup>80</sup> Interestingly, to further justify their interventions, both the bishopric and the civil administration at Colmar also alluded to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century royal edicts on pilgrimage.<sup>81</sup> In this way, Alsatian revolutionaries explicitly built on Old Regime foundations even as their campaign against pilgrimage abroad unfolded within a profoundly transformed political context.

As that campaign continued for six years, trips to Mariastein and Einsiedeln turned into illicit adventures for which many Catholics paid a high price—as signaled by the story of Jean-Georges Homatt and his companions that opened this chapter. To be sure, most of these pilgrims were never caught or punished. We glimpse them only indirectly, through the eyes of eager local revolutionaries who denounced these pious—and sometimes recalcitrant—travelers. For example, in late April 1795, the *procureur syndic* of the Altkirch District reported to Colmar about two unnamed villages he had just visited. “Within two hours,” he wrote, “I saw between two and three hundred men, women, and children, all French citizens, on their way back from Mariastein; they marched in groups of forty to fifty, loudly singing Marian hymns.” Even worse, “trustworthy citizens told me that, sometimes, up to a thousand of them passed through here each

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the Altkirch district administration to municipalities, Altkirch, September 7, 1791. On links to Switzerland facilitating the resistance to the Constitutional Church in eastern France, see now also Annette Chapman-Adisho, *Patriot and Priest: Jean-Baptiste Volffius and the Constitutional Church in the Côte-d’Or* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), e.g. 10.

<sup>80</sup> ADHR, L 642, pièce 361, episcopal *mandement*, Colmar, September 13, 1791; AN, D/XIX/86, pièce 38, Martin to the Ecclesiastical Committee, Colmar, August 3, 1791: “Les pèlerinages de mes diocésains, hors du Royaume, surtout à Notre Dame de la Pierre sur nos frontieres, mais plus encore à Notre Dame des Éremites, vont toujours leur train. C’est là que les moines benedictins non seulement vendent à nos pèlerins allemands, par milliers, de leurs bulles ou prétendus brefs du pape, mais aussi refusent l’absolution à tous ceux qui ne promettent pas, de ne jamais [de] leur vie se confesser à un prêtre juré, ni d’entendre sa messe, ni de recevoir la communion de ses mains, ni de se servir de son eau bénie, etc. etc.”

<sup>81</sup> Cf. most explicitly ADHR, L 642, pièce 360, Martin’s vicar general (Hubert Albert) to central administration, Colmar, September 13, 1791: “Ce sont surtout les pèlerinages hors du Royaume, qui ont donné lieu à une infinité de désordres ; et c’est ce qui a engagé nos rois à les défendre sous des peines grièves.” These royal prohibitions are also cited in Martin’s *mandement*. For the same point made by civil administrators, see the quote above in fn. 79.

day.”<sup>82</sup> In short, the revolutionaries failed to halt the large and steady stream of pilgrims crossing the Franco-Swiss border year after year. Yet we must not conclude that their attempts had no serious effects. I was able to identify 127 individuals who were arrested and/or detained, 59 who were declared émigrés, and 3 who were guillotined after returning from pilgrimage to Switzerland.<sup>83</sup> The table and figure below offer some quantified information on this group.<sup>84</sup>

Table 1: Numbers of French Pilgrims Arrested, Deported, or Guillotined in the 1790s (by gender, district of origin, and Swiss pilgrimage destination)

Gender	Male	Female		Unknown
	84 (44.5%)	87 (46.0%)		18 (9.5%)

District of Origin	Altkirch	Belfort	Colmar	Others
	123 (65.1%)	13 (6.9%)	45 (23.8%)	8 (4.2%)

Pilgrimage Destination	Mariastein	Einsiedeln	Both	Unclear (but in Switzerland)
	150 (79.4%)	15 (7.9%)	2 (1.1%)	22 (11.6%)

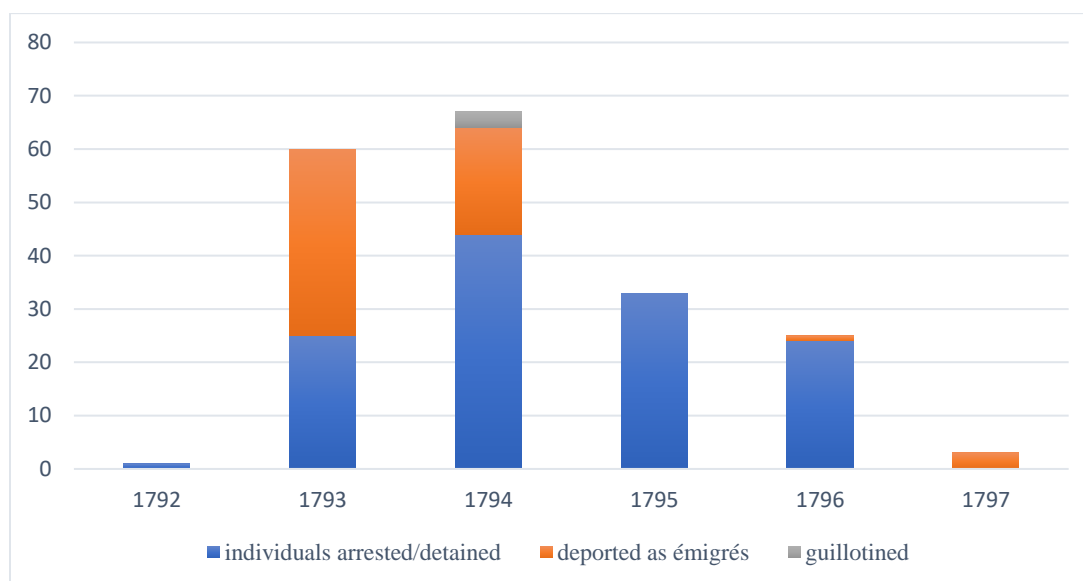
<sup>82</sup> ADHR, L 642, pièce 380, *procureur syndic* Rey to central administration, Altkirch, 8 floréal an III (April 27, 1795): “Dans l’intervalle de deux heures, j’ai vu rentrer du pelerinage de la Pierre [Mariastein], hommes, femmes et enfans tous citoyens français, entre deux et trois cens, ils allerent par bandes de 40 et 50, chantant à haute voix des cantiques à la Vierge. [...]. Des Citoyens dignes de foi m’ont rapporté qu’il en passoit quelques fois jusqu’à 1000 par jour.” Other letters denouncing large groups of pilgrims who went to or returned from Switzerland: L 642, pièce 359, M. Misfeld(?) to central administration, Levoncourt, July 11, 1791; *ibid.*, pièce 301, central commissioner to *accusateur public* of Haut-Rhin, Colmar, 15 prairial an V (June 3, 1797).

<sup>83</sup> I limited my research on this point to just two archives—the Archives nationales and the Archives départementales du Haut-Rhin. Relevant material is probably awaiting discovery in other departmental archives (esp. Doubs).

<sup>84</sup> Both the table and the chart are based on the following sources: ADHR, L 642, L 651, L 686, L 687, L 743, 1 Q 1155, 1 Q 1160, 1 Q 1163, 1 Q 1175, 1 Q 1176, 1 Q 1178, 1 Q 1182, 1 Q 1183, 1 Q 1193, 1 Q 1200, 1 Q 1214, 1 Q 1215, 1 Q 1221, 1 Q 1222, 1 Q 1224, 1 Q 1227, 1 Q 1228, 1 Q 1230, EDEPOT/40/5; AN, AF/II/136, BB/18/268, F/7/5564, F/7/5567, F/7/5568, F/7/5570, F/7/5573/1; at the ADBR: Louis Martin, “Les émigrés du Bas-Rhin: Liste alphabétique,” (unpublished manuscript, 1969), 14; Blanchot, “Le culte de Notre-Dame des Ermites,” 154; Schaedel, *L’émigration*.



Figure 1: Numbers of French Pilgrims Arrested, Deported, or Guillotined (1792–1797)



This information enables us to discern the group profile of affected pilgrims and the evolution of the risk these Catholics ran across the revolutionary decade.<sup>85</sup> The near-perfect gender balance of the group has to do with the often-familial character of *Wallfahrt* in early modern German-speaking Europe. This finding also dovetails with recent research that has cautioned against casting the adventurous young man as the ideal-type of the pilgrim.<sup>86</sup> While all three guillotined individuals were returning from Einsiedeln, the overwhelming majority got into trouble after going to Mariastein, whose abbot and monks were condemning the Revolution, though less overtly and radically so than those of Einsiedeln.<sup>87</sup> These statistics on pilgrimage destination align with the prominence of the District of Altkirch, the southeasternmost of Alsace,

<sup>85</sup> My group profile in many ways confirms the one presented by Varry and Muller, *Hommes de Dieu*, 211. However, Varry and Muller identified a much smaller number of affected pilgrims (only 100), so my research findings underscore more strongly the scope of state repression. Varry and Muller also do not touch on the issue of the pilgrim as émigré.

<sup>86</sup> Julia, “Pour une géographie,” 94–7 (on familial *Wallfahrt*); Catherine Vincent, “Conclusions,” in *Femmes et pèlerinages: Women and pilgrimages*, ed. Juliette Dor and Marie-Élisabeth Henneau (Santiago de Compostela: Compostela Group of Universities, 2007), 209–21, esp. 217: “force est de conclure que les femmes se sont taillé dans l’aventure pèlerine une place dont la nature n’est pas si différente de celle des hommes.”

<sup>87</sup> Lüber, “Das Kloster Beinwil-Mariastein,” 200–209; Suratteau, *Le Département du Mont-Terrible*, 239–40.

in terms of the pilgrims' places of origin. Homatt and his four companions thus represent the overall group fairly well in the sense that they had embarked on that peculiar type of short-distance *yet border-crossing* pilgrimage. On the socio-professional standing of the pilgrims, the information I was able to collect remains very lacunary, but it suggests that almost none of them had risen above the station of *cultivateur*, *vigneron*, or rural artisan. Many of them were poor servants or dependent *laboureurs*; the group includes only two priests and two nuns. Finally, the radical revolutionary years of 1793 and 1794 mark the apex of state repression. Yet even after Thermidor (July 1794), the risk of arrest remained palpable—as Homatt's case, again, reminds us—through 1796, and after the left-wing, anticlerical Fructidor coup (September 1797), the Haut-Rhin Department added three more pilgrims to the list of émigrés.

The arrest of various groups of pilgrims had uneven but overall profound consequences. Some served little jail time but were slapped with fines that amounted to a small fortune from the perspective of the poor. For example, the Altkirch District Directory decided on June 29, 1795 that four recently arrested Mariastein pilgrims would be kept in jail for five days and would each have to pay a hefty fine (50 *livres*).<sup>88</sup> But the worst time to be arrested and detained was without a doubt the year II of the Republic (1793/4). Most notably, thirty-six Mariastein pilgrims from the villages of Friesen and Hindlingen were arrested at the border and jailed on May 30, 1794. The district administrators of Altkirch turned to their superiors in Colmar: should they treat all these people as émigrés and thus either deport them or send them before a revolutionary

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<sup>88</sup> ADHR, L 743, *arrêté* of Altkirch District, 11 messidor an III (June 29, 1795). The four pilgrims had been caught and jailed two days prior, cf. ADHR, L 651, *état des détenus* of the Altkirch district jail of 11 messidor an III (attached to letter from Altkirch *procureur-syndic* Rey to the *procureur-syndic-général* of Haut-Rhin, Altkirch, 12 messidor an III [June 30, 1795]). The basis for this and similar decisions was an *arrêté* of the Thermidorian *représentant en mission* Louis Joseph Richou: AN, D/§1/30, 2e registre des arrêtés, *arrêté* no. 269, Strasbourg, 16 prairial an III (June 4, 1795). On the importance of the *représentants en mission* not just during but also after the Terror, see Michel Biard, *Missionnaires de la République: Les représentants du peuple en mission, 1793–1795* (Paris: CTHS, 2002), esp. 574 on Richou's mission.

tribunal? Nobody wanted to make this tough decision—neither the departmental administration, nor the National Convention’s representative on mission Foussedoire, nor the Convention itself. Only in mid-October 1794, during his second mission to Alsace, did Foussedoire finally release these prisoners.<sup>89</sup> In the meantime, the desperate pilgrims had tried everything from writing petitions to escaping from prison. Seven members of the group conceded in their petition to the district directory that they had gone on “a pilgrimage that priestly deceit had suggested to them” but insisted that they had never even thought about “renouncing their *patrie*.” The only relief administrators granted these petitioners was their transfer from the district jail of Altkirch to the less overcrowded *maison d’arrêt* of Landser.<sup>90</sup> At the height of the Terror, these captive Catholics found it hard to reassert a difference between border-crossing pilgrimage and ultimate transgression of the territorialized national frame—between devotion and treason.

While the collapse of that difference resulted in part from the actions of revolutionary administrators, it also dramatized the local conflicts that had broken out across southern Alsace over the ecclesiastical oath in 1791. This dynamic is well illustrated by the case of the single largest group of pilgrims who were declared émigrés and deported out of France in the year II.

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<sup>89</sup> Here I synthesize information from ADHR, L 642, pièces 371 and 372; AN, F/7/3351, émigré-related extract from a *compte décadaire* of the Haut-Rhin, 2<sup>e</sup> décade de prairial an II (early June 1794); ADHR, 1 Q 1214, central admin of Haut-Rhin to the Convention’s *Commission des administrations civiles, police et tribunaux*, Colmar, 2 brumaire an III (October 23, 1794).

<sup>90</sup> ADHR, L 687, petition by Jean-George Pflieger, Catherine Hibschrin, Gothard Mohn, Anne Marie Hanser, Reine Pflieger, Jean Hoff, and Gertrude Herzog [mid-June 1794]: “ils ont été arrêtés par un détachement militaire en revenant d’un pèlerinage que la fourberie des prêtres leur avoit suggéré [...] jamais la pensée n’est venue dans l’ame des exposants de renoncer à leur patrie. A ces causes exposants demandent à ce qu’il vous plaise, Citoyens administrateurs, ordonner qu’ils seront provisoirement relaxés de la maison d’arrêt de ce District et rendu dans leurs foyers.” Ibid., Altkirch District *arrêté* of 5 messidor an II (June 23, 1794). Other petitioners, however, were more successful: eight women (one suffering from a contagious disease, the other seven all pregnant according to certificates from an *officier de santé*) were released—but also placed under something resembling house arrest—in mid-June: cf. *ibid.*, petitions by Catherine Müller, Gertrude Müller, Catherine Antoni, Anne Marie Müller, Catharine Schirck, Marguerite Pflieger, Anne Koller, and Anne Halbiessen, with an Altkirch District *arrêté* of 25 prairial an II (June 13, 1794); L 660, Altkirch District *arrêté* no. 3574, 29 prairial an II (June 17, 1794). – On six members of that group who escaped the Landser jail, at least three of which were quickly re-arrested, see L 687, *procès-verbaux du comité de surveillance de Landser*, 14 et 16 messidor an II (July 2 and 4, 1794).

This deportation of nineteen citizens of Brunstatt took place on January 16, 1794, based on an *arrêté* of the Departmental Revolutionary Commission of the Haut-Rhin, which in turn reinforced a previous *arrêté* of the District Directory of Altkirch.<sup>91</sup> The pilgrims had left for Mariastein on December 24, 1792, which suggests they rejected the Christmas celebrations led by a constitutional priest in the parish church of Brunstatt.<sup>92</sup> Right after the pilgrims' return, the municipality of Brunstatt slapped them with a fine, but the faultline running through the community was so massive that most members of the group refused to pay and appealed against it to Altkirch.<sup>93</sup> This tactic backfired spectacularly and led to their deportation. At least, some of them obtained permission to return in late 1794 and others in early 1795.<sup>94</sup> In the interim, "a small municipal hatred" had continued to rage between Brunstatt's *comité de surveillance* and the miller Jean Schultz to whose extended family about half of the deported group belonged.<sup>95</sup> The Brunstatt case thus shows how the issue of pilgrimage to Mariastein connected local enmities to trenchant revolutionary decisions on who belonged to—and within—the emerging territorial nation-state and who did not.

Some local actors, too, began to think about border-crossing pilgrimage and the French Constitutional Church in terms that bound together nation and territory. We already saw how clearly the petitioners from Friesen and Hindlingen grasped the stakes: to avoid being cast as

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<sup>91</sup> Cf. ADHR, 1 Q 1214, dossier Schultz, certificates of 29 ventôse an III (March 19, 1795): "die am 16. Januar 1794 alter Kalender [...] deportiert worden"; ADHR, L 743, *arrêté* of District Directory, March 23, 1793, and L 51/4, pp. 474–5, departmental *arrêté* no. 14462, 12 frimaire an II (December 2, 1793).

<sup>92</sup> On the conflict-riddled presence of constitutional priests in Brunstatt during the years 1792–8, see ADHR, 19 US 20: Louis Kammerer, "Le clergé constitutionnel en Alsace, 1791–1802," (unpublished manuscript, 1987), 7, 14; Emil Würtz, *Aus dem kirchlichen Leben der Pfarrei Brunstatt: Festschrift bei Anlass der Konsekration der Pfarrkirche, Sonntag, den 12. Oktober 1924* (Rixheim: Sutter, 1924), 54–5.

<sup>93</sup> ADHR, 1 Q 1178, dossier Gross, undated petition [late March 1793] by Antoine Stirni, Catherine Müller, Antoine Gross, and André Wilhelm, to the Altkirch District Directory.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. ADHR, 1 Q 1214, dossier Schultz.

<sup>95</sup> ADHR, 1 Q 1230, dossier Schultz, letter from the state prosecutor at the revolutionary tribunal of Haut-Rhin to the national agent of Altkirch District, Colmar, 17 pluviôse an II (February 5, 1794): "une petite haine municipale." For a similar case involving a dozen deported pilgrims from the village of Bergholtzell, see ADHR, 1 Q 1224, dossier Wetterwald.

émigrés, they needed to contest the assumption that pilgrimage to Mariastein meant voting against the *patrie* with their feet. A different source genre—witness testimony—suggests that certain anti-constitutional Catholics proudly *shared* that assumption. Joseph Bürri and his wife Anna Libis lived in the Alsatian village of Bettlach, right across from the Mariastein enclave, until August 1793 when they left France to avoid arrest, an escape which earned them émigré status.<sup>96</sup> Already in May 1793, the cantonal justice of the peace heard thirteen witnesses who gravely incriminated Bürri and Libis. Both had called the Constitutional Church a new expression of Lutheran heresy.<sup>97</sup> Bürri had made a pilgrimage to Einsiedeln in July 1792, allegedly to avoid having to participate in the civic oath ceremony that capped the second *Fête de la Fédération*. Most strikingly, Blaise Rey, a cobbler from Fislis, recalled an episode in which he, André Rey, and Bürri sat in a tavern in Basel and were asked by the innkeeper whether they were good French patriots. Bürri “first replied that he would rather be *Bâlois* than of the [French] nation, and that, since [Blaise Rey] is a patriot, he should change his ways and go to Mariastein and confess his sins there.”<sup>98</sup> For a Catholic as embittered by the Revolution and the “sins” of patriots as Bürri was, a clear relationship had emerged between the Swiss pilgrimages and French national belonging: the former served to signal one’s contempt of the latter.

Not every pilgrim wished to send a political message to—or against—the French nation by journeying to Switzerland. Anne Dausson, age twenty-eight, from the village of Docelles east

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<sup>96</sup> Cf. Schaedelin, *L’émigration*, II:50 (no. 367).

<sup>97</sup> Many Alsatian Catholics equated the Constitutional Church with Lutheranism: for another example, see ADHR, L 671, p. 370, *compte décadaire* from the *agent national* of Bisel, 29 floréal an II (May 18, 1794). Cf. also Roland Marx, *Recherches sur la vie politique de l’Alsace prérévolutionnaire et révolutionnaire* (Strasbourg: Istra, 1966), 123–6.

<sup>98</sup> ADHR, L 687, information by Ferrette justice of the peace François-Joseph Faninger against Joseph Bürri, May 26, 1793 (the quote from B. Rey’s testimony: “ledit Bürri lui aurait d’abord répondu, qu’il aimeroit mieux d’être Balois, que d’être de la nation, et comme lui déclarant est patriotes, il devrait changer, et se rendre à la Nôtre Dame de la Pierre pour y confesser”). Of course, the *City* and *Canton* of Basel were also Protestant; yet, Bürri and his interlocutors knew that the *Episcopal Principality* of Basel was a (largely) Catholic territory.

of Épinal (Department of the Vosges), was arrested on May 3, 1794 by *citoyen* Laneuve, a sergeant of the French army. Laneuve was patrolling the Franco-Swiss border between Basel and the Alsatian town of Saint-Louis, renamed Bourglibre under the First Republic. He took Dausson to the Passport Surveillance Bureau of Bourglibre whose officials interrogated and searched her.<sup>99</sup> The only things she carried on her were “a crucifix, an *Ange conducteur* full of images,<sup>100</sup> a confession certificate dated Einsiedeln, 1794, and a very mystical prayer book.” Anne Dausson declared that she had left Docelles thirteen months prior, “that she had been at Einsiedeln since then, and that she had only left France to travel to Switzerland and work there.” In other words, she had been traveling purely on her own volition and had not transported any letters to émigrés or refractory priests, as she would later clarify before the criminal tribunal of Mirecourt in the Vosges.<sup>101</sup> But why, the inspectors at Bourglibre asked her, had she come back? Surely she knew that the death sentence awaited émigrés caught returning into French territory? She “said that she has returned to France because she is tired of her existence (*ennuyée d’exister*) and the only mercy she asks for is to not be brought back to her parents.”<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> On the border-policing role of the Bourglibre *Bureau de surveillance sur les passeports*, see Suratteau, *Le Département du Mont-Terrible*, 473–6. More specifically on its creation and importance in the spring of year II, ADHR, L 126, esp. *arrêté* of Jean-Baptiste Lacoste, *représentant du peuple près les armées du Rhin et de la Moselle*, Metz, 15 germinal an II (April 4, 1794).

<sup>100</sup> The *Ange conducteur* was an immensely popular book in eighteenth-century Catholic France. Philippe Martin, *Une religion des livres: 1640–1850* (Paris: Cerf, 2003), 566: “À la veille de la Révolution, les Français lisent l’*Ange conducteur* et non l’*Encyclopédie*.”

<sup>101</sup> ADV, L 897, dossier 133, *séance du tribunal criminel*, Mirecourt, 29 floréal an II (May 18, 1794): “Interrogée par qui elle a été déterminée à sortir du territoire de la République ? A répondu n’y avoir été déterminée par personne. Interrogée sy lorsqu’elle est allée en Suisse elle n’a pas portée des lettres et de l’argent à des prêtres ou à d’autres émigrés[.] A répondu que non[.]”

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, *interrogatoire* of 14 floréal an II (May 3, 1794): “Interrogé depuis quand elle étoit sortie de la République française, a dit qu’il y avoit treize mois. Interrogé ou elle a été depuis le dit tems et pourquoi elle étoit sortie de France[.] A dit avoir été à Notre Dame des Hermites depuis le dit tems et qu’elle n’étoit sortie de la France que pour voyager en Suisse et y travailler. Interrogé pourquoi elle est rentrée en France, sachant que la loi punissoit de mort les Emigrés. A dit qu’elle est rentrée en France, par ce qu’elle est ennuyée d’exister et demande pour toute grâce de ne point être menée près de ses parens. Ce fait l’avons fait visiter, et n’avons trouvé sur elle qu’un crucifix, un ange conducteur rempli d’images, un billet de confession datté de l’année 1794 de Notre Dame des Hermites, et un livre de prière tres mystique.”

Anne Dausson died on the guillotine in Mirecourt, around noon on May 18, 1794. A court official (*huissier*) certified in writing that “the execution was accompanied and followed by repeated cries of ‘Long live the Republic!’”<sup>103</sup>

Revolutionary authorities gave Dausson’s case publicity even beyond her execution. In line with the major anti-émigrés law of March 28, 1793, communities across the Vosges Department were required to put up printed copies of the judgment that pronounced her death sentence. This judgment explained that she had been arrested as “a person without passport, carrying different objects and signs of fanaticism,” and that she was “strongly suspected to have carried letters and money to émigrés in Switzerland.”<sup>104</sup> Other potential pilgrims to Mariastein and Einsiedeln would know, based on the example of Dausson, that the state would treat them as border-crossing fanatics. In fact, it is implausible that she should have acted as a messenger within counter-revolutionary networks, even though around two thousand refractory French clergymen and other émigrés visited Einsiedeln at some point between 1791 and 1798.<sup>105</sup> First, when the surveillance agents at Bourglibre searched Dausson, they did not find any *return* letters from French émigrés to supposed contacts in the Vosges. Second, it would not make sense for such a messenger to spend over a year at Einsiedeln between her outward and homebound trips.<sup>106</sup> So, more likely, Dausson had been a pilgrim, a migrant worker, and a runaway all at the same time, and she had returned because she had grown “tired of her existence,” to repeat the words from her interrogation. But the agents of the revolutionary state publicly cast her

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., attestation of execution of judgment by *huissier* Joseph Rémy, Mirecourt, 29 floréal an II (May 18, 1794): “l’execution a été accompagné et suivie de cris reiterés, de Vive la République.”

<sup>104</sup> ADV, L 934, *minutes de jugement* of Vosges revolutionary tribunal, pp. 51v–53r: “arrestation d’une[sic] personne sans passport munie de différents objets et signes de fanatisme qui a dit se nommer Anne Dossou” (51v); “convaincue du crime d’émigration, même de son avoue[aveu?] reytéré, et violamant[sic] soubçonnée d’avoir porté des lettres et de l’argent a des emigrés en Suisse” (52r).

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Fässler, *Aufbruch und Widerstand*, 273–325 (esp. 276 for the total tally of two thousand émigrés).

<sup>106</sup> Several men from her home village Docelles confirmed that she had left over a year prior to her return: ADV, L 934, 52r.

journey—and, by extension, similar pilgrim travels—as a counter-revolutionary act, deserving of capital punishment. Later, Catholic writers of the nineteenth century instrumentalized her story as well, presenting her and the two other guillotined pilgrims of 1794 as especially pious Christians and even as “martyrs.”<sup>107</sup>

Much like a public and publicized execution, the arrest and deportation of pilgrims upon their return could make an impression far beyond the punished persons and their families. We already encountered the deep tears in the social fabric of Brunstatt, but even an individual pilgrim could act as an intermediary between Einsiedeln or Mariastein and a larger Catholic community. On May 13, 1793, the district administrators at Altkirch interrogated Christine Beller, a thirty-nine-year-old woman from Dangolsheim in northern Alsace and recently arrested on her way through Habsheim near Mulhouse. She had “no profession” but instead went to Einsiedeln “as often as her capacities allowed her to do.”<sup>108</sup> In other words, she eked out a living as a proxy pilgrim for Catholic communities that wished to stay in touch with faraway Einsiedeln through these pious individuals. Her case was not unique. As Blanchot has shown, women—and more rarely men—accomplished such regular pilgrimages to Einsiedeln for communities in the Franche-Comté well into the nineteenth century.<sup>109</sup> Remarkably, Beller carried not just various

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<sup>107</sup> Cf. references to this historiography in Jacops, “Les Lorrains, pèlerins,” 212, n. 23 (for Dausson); Blanchot, “Le culte de Notre-Dame des Ermites,” 154 (for Père Zéphirin, a Capuchin from Besançon); Landolin Winterer, *La persécution religieuse en Alsace pendant la Grande Révolution, de 1789 à 1801* (Rixheim: Sutter, 1876), 258: the guillotined pilgrim Bernard Meyer among the “martyrs *laïques* du Haut-Rhin” (emphasis in the original). Unfortunately, I am unable to tell Meyer’s story in any detail, due to the havoc wrought in Alsatian archives after the annexation of 1871. To explore the case of Père Zéphirin, one would need to go to Besançon.

<sup>108</sup> ADHR, 1 Q 1227, interrogation of Christine Beller, Altkirch, May 13, 1793: “A dit s’appeller Christine Beller, âgée de trente-neuf ans, native de Tangelshiem, district de Strasbourg, département du Bas-Rhin, n’avoir point de métier, de la religion catholique, apostolique, et romaine. [...] Interrogée ce qu’elle a fait à diverses reprises a Notre Dame des Hermites ? A dit qu’elle y a été aussi souvent que ses facultés le lui permettoient.”

<sup>109</sup> Blanchot, “Le culte de Notre-Dame des Ermites,” 137–9. More broadly on proxy pilgrims, see Philippe Martin, *Pèlerins: XV<sup>e</sup>–XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2016), 75–8; Martin, *Les chemins du sacré*, 251 on proxy pilgrims as “intermédiaires”; Louis Carlen, *Wallfahrt und Recht im Abendland* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1987), 61.



letters and hagiographic pamphlets on the recently guillotined Louis XVI, but also a box that contained six rosaries,

24 sticks of yellow wax, plus three sticks of white wax, and a small one of yellow wax, plus forty-nine earthenware Virgins, plus six rolls of fine wax, plus two images of the Virgin, and a small painting representing the same object, another thirty-five rosaries, plus two figures made of lead and representing the Virgin, a small wooden cross, a small rosary, and four splinters of fir wood, another rosary, another rosary with a medal of the Virgin, and three small cases with Virgins inside, plus eight skulls sculpted from [animal] bone, plus a small silver Christ, plus twenty small wooden crosses, plus six tin crosses and some medals made from the same metal, plus several small Virgins, plus a dozen lead crosses, plus nine images of the Virgin, plus a book titled: *Geistliches Trostbrünnlein* [Spiritual Fountain of Consolation], plus a bottle containing an altar and the figure of a priest topped by a small wooden cross, plus two framed Virgins, plus a book titled: *Pilgerstraß* [Pilgrim's Road], plus sixteen printed prayers to the Virgin.<sup>110</sup>

As Beller explained to her interrogators, she had been entrusted with some of these objects at Einsiedeln as gifts for specific individuals, and she had bought the other pieces in the hopes of reselling them for a profit back home. In other words, she had been serving as a conduit through which the exceptionally rich material culture of devotion to Our Lady of Einsiedeln would have reached Alsatian Catholics even in the troubled times of revolution.<sup>111</sup> Considering

<sup>110</sup> ADHR, 1 Q 1227, Beller interrogation: "Plus 24 batons de cire jaune, plus trois bâtons de cire blanche, et un petit de cire jaune, plus quarante neuf Notre Dames de terre, plus six rouleaux de cire filée, plus deux images de Notre Dame, et un petit tableau représentant le même objet, plus trente cinq chapelets, plus deux figures de plomb représentant la Vierge, une petite croix de bois, un petit chapelet, et quatre petits morceaux de bois de sapin, plus un chapelet, plus un chapelet avec une médaille de la Vierge, et trois petits étuis renfermant la Vierge, plus huit têtes de mort en os, plus un petit christ d'argent, plus vingt petites croix de bois, plus six croix de l'éton[étain?] avec quelques médailles du même métal, plus plusieurs petites Notre Dames, plus une douzaine de croix de plomb, plus neuf images de la Vierge, plus un livre intitulé : Geistliches Trostbrünnlein, plus une bouteille renfermant un autel, et la figure d'un prêtre, surmontée d'une petite croix de bois, plus deux vierges encadrées, plus un livre intitulé : Pilgerstraß, plus seize prières à la Vierge imprimées."

<sup>111</sup> On the material culture of Einsiedeln pilgrimage souvenirs and representations of Our Lady of Einsiedeln, see Odilo Ringholz, "Die Einsiedler Wallfahrts-Andenken einst und jetzt," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 22 (1919): 176–191, 232–242; Raymond Weiller, "Médailles et breloques de pèlerinages trouvées au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg," in *Sociologie et mentalités religieuses au Luxembourg d'Ancien Régime*, ed. Jean-Claude Muller (Luxembourg: Les Amis de l'Histoire, 1990), 71–79, esp. 73 (two eighteenth-century medals of Our Lady of Einsiedeln found as far away as present-day Luxembourg); Dominique Lerch, "Images et dévotion à Colmar au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les dominicaines d'Unterlinden au miroir du monde catholique," *Revue d'Alsace* 127 (2001): 239–82, esp. 265, 276, 279; Jean-Michel Blanchot, "Objets de dévotion et souvenirs du pèlerinage à Einsiedeln: L'exemple de la Franche-Comté et de ses régions limitrophes au sein de la dorsale catholique," *Mémoires de la société d'émulation du Doubs* 57 (2015): 279–338.

the remarkable panoply of pious objects she had intended to hawk, her arrest and later deportation affected a large number of potential customers who were attached to Einsiedeln yet too busy—or too scared—to go there themselves. In other words, by criminalizing Beller as an émigrée, the state sharply signaled the transgressive character of her travels not just to herself, but to the larger communities she had served as a professional pilgrim.

Finally, the practices of diplomacy helped turn pilgrimage to Mariastein and Einsiedeln into a challenge to the territorialized French national frame. Between 1792 and 1797, the embassy of France in Switzerland repeatedly alerted the government in Paris about politically suspicious events and visitors at both major Marian shrines.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, this embassy cooperated with the departmental administration of the Haut-Rhin and the passport surveillance agency at Bourglibre to police the mobility of French citizens traveling through Switzerland or hoping to return from Swiss into French territory.<sup>113</sup> What this could mean for pilgrims is illustrated in a letter the *citoyenne* Ferniot sent to the Minister of Justice in the summer of 1796. Ferniot explained that she was languishing in prison in Besançon after going on pilgrimage to Einsiedeln and being arrested in Basel—a frequent waystation for Einsiedeln pilgrims and also, at the time, the seat of the French embassy.<sup>114</sup> “In Basel,” she wrote, “I went to Citizen Barthélemy in order to get a passport, I couldn’t find him, I presented myself at the first entrance

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<sup>112</sup> ADipl, 125CP/426, f. 398, General Pfyffer to Ambassador Barthélemy, Lucerne, April 24, 1792; 125CP/464, ff. 54–57, Ambassador Bacher to the minister, Basel, 30 vendémiaire an VI (October 21, 1797); see also the quoted excerpts of correspondence in Jean Kaulek, ed., *Papiers de Barthélemy, ambassadeur de France en Suisse, 1792–1797*, 6 vols. (Paris: F. Alcan, 1886–1910), esp. I:135, I:160, III:243. Cf. further AN, AF/III/51/A, dossier 187, pièce 107, “Extrait d’une lettre sur les moyens dont les Emigrés se servent pour rentrer furtivement en France,” 5 prairial an V (May 24, 1797). The embassy also put pressure on the Canton of Solothurn because of alleged counter-revolutionary activity at Mariastein: Lüber, “Das Kloster Beinwil-Mariastein,” 207–9.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. ADHR, L 55/1, pp. 350–1, *arrêté* of the Conseil Général of Haut-Rhin, July 17, 1793, esp. art. 1: “Les passeports délivrés par le Gouvernement d’un des cantons suisses, dont les étrangers ou même les Citoyens français voudraient se servir, pour entrer dans le territoire de la République, ne seront valables qu’autant qu’ils seront visés par le Citoyen Barthélemy, envoyé de France en Suisse.” On correspondence about passports between the embassy and Bourglibre (in the early fall of 1794), cf. Kaulek, *Papiers de Barthélemy*, IV:337 and IV:358.

<sup>114</sup> On pilgrims passing through Basel—often because traveling on the Rhine sped up the journey—see Ringholz, *Elsass-Lothringen und Einsiedeln*, 28–30.

[of the embassy?], the officer led me to the agent who told me he was going to send me to my department [i.e. the departmental administration of the Doubs] to see if I wasn't an émigrée."<sup>115</sup> Ferniot's adventurous spelling suggests she did not belong to the social elite, and yet she had known that her "devout travel" (as she called it) might get her in trouble unless she could get the right paperwork from the ambassador Barthélemy himself.<sup>116</sup> She ended up spending four months in prison until the Doubs Department decided to release her instead of adding her name to the list of émigrés.<sup>117</sup>

To sum up, the stakes of pilgrimage from France into Switzerland changed rapidly as Alsatians, Lorrainers, and Franks-Comtois became citizens of revolutionary France. A chasm opened up between these pilgrimages and adherence to patriotic values and the laws passed in the name of the revolutionary nation. Sooner or later, many Catholics confronted that chasm in a number of different situations: when a monk hearing their confessions at Einsiedeln told them that adherence to the French Constitutional Church equaled a fall into heresy; when a revolutionary soldier or customs agent arrested them near the border; when they barely escaped arrest, as did dozens of pilgrims who therefore do not show up in the statistics I presented above;<sup>118</sup> when they faced deportation as émigrés; when they learned about the public execution of Anne Dausson. French pilgrims going to Mariastein or Einsiedeln became embroiled in

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<sup>115</sup> AN, BB/18/268, dossier no. D 8512, Ferniot to Minister of Justice, Besançon, 4 fructidor an IV (August 21, 1796): "aballe [= à Bâle] je fus che le Citoien Bartellemis pour avoir une passe je ne le trouve pas jémé fus presante [présentée] aux premie porté l'ofissie me condhui che l'ajan [= l'agent] qui me repondit qui m'aslet ranvoille [= renvoyer] ast [= à] mon des partemant [= département] pour voire cist [= si] je n'ete point emigre."

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.: "j'avest ust la faiblesse d'esepris de promaitre un voillage de dévossion at la notre dame des ermites." For more analysis of passport issues, see Chapter 3.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. the timeline sketched in her letter, as well as another piece of the same dossier: Lormoy, substitute central commissioner of the Doubs, to the minister, Besançon, 5 vendémiaire an V (September 26, 1796).

<sup>118</sup> In August 1793, near Bettlach, customs officers stopped and searched a group of twenty-six pilgrims returning from Mariastein but could not actually arrest them because another group of roughly twenty-five men showed up "disposés à se jetté [= jeter] sur nous à coup de trique": ADHR, L 686, procès-verbal des préposés à la police du commerce extérieur, Hagenthal-le-Bas, August 25, 1793. Another example: when a group of soldiers tried to arrest a group of some thirty apparent Mariastein pilgrims near Altkirch in the spring of 1794, all but three were able to escape; cf. ADHR, L 687, *arrêté* of Altkirch District Directory, no. 3287bis, 29 floréal an II (May 18, 1794).

struggles around the Constitutional Church and the Revolution itself. More specifically, the Franco-Swiss border now mattered to their pilgrimage differently than ever before: by crossing it, they risked becoming émigrés, and the radicalizing Revolution made them increasingly aware of that risk. Emerging from the crossfire of Revolution and Counter-Revolution, the category of the émigré signaled that leaving French territory for the wrong political and religious reasons meant undermining French revolutionary nationhood. In this sense, pilgrims-as-émigrés turned into truly transnational travelers, even if few of them might have agreed with Joseph Bürri, the firebrand from Bettlach who allegedly went so far as to claim he would rather become *Bâlois* than remain French.

Matters came to a head in the spring of 1798, when French troops invaded Switzerland to help accomplish the Helvetic Revolution, thus creating another one of France's sister republics, the Helvetic Republic that would exist until Napoleon's Mediation Act of 1803.<sup>119</sup> On March 14, 1798, French soldiers arrived at Mariastein, where civil commissioners were already busy creating an inventory of the monastery's seized assets; only in 1802 would the abbot of Mariastein get the chance to reacquire the convent buildings. Einsiedeln Abbey, a hotbed of resistance to the new Helvetic regime, underwent thorough pillage in early May 1798. The holy Marian chapel within the abbey church was dismantled and would not be rebuilt until 1817, long after the Mediation Act that formalized the reestablishment of the convent. In May 1798, most of

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<sup>119</sup> For recent overviews of the events and related shifts in political culture, see André Holenstein, "Beschleunigung und Stillstand: Spätes Ancien Régime und Helvetik (1712–1802/03)," in *Die Geschichte der Schweiz*, ed. Georg Kreis (Basel: Schwabe, 2014), 311–61, esp. 352–7; Marc H. Lerner, *A Laboratory of Liberty: The Transformation of Political Culture in Republican Switzerland, 1750–1848* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 109–33; Gabriele B. Clemens, "The Swiss Case in the Napoleonic Empire," in *The Napoleonic Empire and the New European Political Culture*, ed. Michael Broers, Peter Hicks, and Agustín Guimerá Ravina (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 132–42; Alfred Dufour, "D'une médiation à l'autre," in *Bonaparte, la Suisse et l'Europe: Actes du colloque européen d'histoire constitutionnelle pour le bicentenaire de l'Acte de Médiation (1803–2003)*, ed. Alfred Dufour, Till Hanisch, and Victor Monnier (Brussels, Berlin, Geneva: Bruylant/Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag/Schulthess, 2003), 7–37.

the monks fled at the eleventh hour, but like their counterparts at Mariastein, they still managed to hide the miraculous statue of the Virgin.<sup>120</sup> They placed a copy of the statue above the altar, and the French general Schauenburg mistook that copy for the original. He triumphantly reported to the War Ministry that one of his officers would bring to Paris “the famous Virgin of Einsiedeln, whose transport into France will undoubtedly be the most astonishing as well as the last of her miracles.”<sup>121</sup> Schauenburg was wrong. In this story, 1798 marks an interruption but not an end to Catholic transnational movement.

### Sadly French: Going to Einsiedeln and Mariastein after 1800

The underlying issue—how pilgrimage across the Franco-Swiss border related to Frenchness—outlasted that interruption in part because Napoleon, on his rise to power, was neither willing to diminish French national awareness nor able to obliterate the bitter religious divisions of the revolutionary decade. As Steven Englund argues, already in the later years of the Directory General Bonaparte began to downplay *the Republic* and to foreground *the (Great) Nation* instead. Even after the proclamation of the Empire in 1804, “nation-talk was (and remained) the Napoleonic regime’s personal signature”: the new ruler claimed to represent the nation more faithfully as a unified entity than the revolutionaries had supposedly done in their internecine struggles.<sup>122</sup> In this context, the Concordat of 1801 between France and the Holy See marked a major effort to pacify the religious majority of the nation by reuniting ‘Constitutional’ and

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<sup>120</sup> Fässler, *Aufbruch und Widerstand*, 517–32; Othmar Lustenberger, “Das Schicksal des Einsiedler Gnadenbildes zur Zeit der Helvetik,” *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Schwyz* 97 (2005): 175–209; Hieronymus Haas, *Wallfahrtsgeschichte von Mariastein* (Mariastein: Ed. de Consolatione, 1973), 83–4.

<sup>121</sup> AN, AF/III/10, dossier 31, page 112, report from the Minister of War to the Directory, 25 floréal an VI (May 14, 1798): “Le général Schauenburg m’annonce en outre, qu’il envoie à Paris un de ses aides de camp chargé de présenter au Directoire les drapeaux pris sur les cantons insurgés ; cet officier doit accompagner en même tems la fameuse vierge d’Einsiedeln, dont la translation en France sera, indubitablement, le plus étonnant comme le dernier de ses miracles.”

<sup>122</sup> Steven Englund, *Napoleon: A Political Life* (New York: Scribner, 2004), esp. 196–200, and the quote on 249.

‘Roman’ Catholics. For example, recent Alsatian historiography has portrayed Jean-Pierre Saurine, Bishop of Strasbourg from 1802 to 1813, as “a perfect post-Concordat bishop” who relentlessly preached that the schism was truly over. Yet, especially in the southern Alsatian region of the Sundgau, factional religious conflicts continued for years, barely subdued by Saurine, a former bishop of the Constitutional Church and thus hardly a blank slate himself.<sup>123</sup> Similarly, in the Franche-Comté, the stigma of being schismatics stuck to former constitutional priests long after the Concordat.<sup>124</sup> Thus, as Switzerland’s two most famous statues of the Virgin returned to Einsiedeln and Mariastein in 1803 and 1804 respectively, tensions around these pilgrimage places could re-emerge as well.<sup>125</sup>

As early as June and July 1803, the prefect of the Haut-Rhin, Félix Desportes, rang the alarm bell about “a great number of inhabitants of the Departments of Bas-Rhin and Vosges” who were passing through southern Alsace on their way to Einsiedeln. Furthermore, Desportes

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<sup>123</sup> Louis Kammerer, “La réorganisation concordataire dans le diocèse de Strasbourg principalement d’après la correspondance de Saurine avec le préfet du Haut-Rhin (1802–1804),” *Archives de l’Église d’Alsace* 49 (1990/91): 21–63, esp. 63: “un parfait évêque concordataire.” Similar: Claude Muller, “‘La réunion des esprits’: Jean Pierre Saurine, évêque constitutionnel et évêque concordataire,” *Revue de l’Institut Napoléon*, no. 206 (2013): 7–27. See also Claude Muller, “L’oubli du passé: Mgr Saurine et le clergé du Sundgau au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Annuaire de la société d’histoire du Sundgau*, 2015: 293–311, esp. 295–300; René Epp, René Pierre Levresse, and Charles Munier, *Histoire de l’Église catholique en Alsace: Des origines à nos jours* (Strasbourg: Éditions du Signe, 2003), 374–81.

<sup>124</sup> Vincent Petit, “Bons et mauvais prêtres au sortir de la Révolution: Une enquête sur le clergé franc-comtois en 1817–1821,” *Histoire, monde et cultures religieuses*, no. 42 (2017): 139–60, esp. 152–6.

<sup>125</sup> Lustenberger, “Das Schicksal des Einsiedler Gnadenbildes,” 204 (solemn procession on September 29, 1803); Lüber, “Das Kloster Beinwil-Mariastein,” 268 (August 15, 1804). For Einsiedeln, the timeline is actually more complicated than that: the inhabitants of the village, economically dependent on revenues from pilgrimage, tried to revitalize the *Engelweihe* festival as early as 1800; cf. Beat Glaus, “Helvetische Kloster- und Kirchenpolitik in Einsiedeln 1798–1803,” *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Schwyz* 109 (2017): 179–91, here 185–6. After all, pilgrimage to Einsiedeln revolved not just around the Marian statue but also—though decreasingly so—around the divinely consecrated chapel. And, as the returning monks would argue, the ground on which that chapel had stood before its dismantling in 1798 was still just as hallowed as it had always been since 948. Cf. Marian Herzog, *Kurzgefaßte Geschichte des uralten Gnadenbildes Maria Einsiedeln, der wundervollen Heiligung der dortigen heiligen Kapelle und der berühmten Wallfahrt nach Einsiedeln: Aus den ältesten und bewährtesten Urkunden getreu zusammengezogen, sammt einer kurzen Rechtfertigung der Fortsetzung der göttlichen Einweihung, die Engelweihe genannt* (Augsburg: Peter Paul Bolling, 1806), 73–100. Already in 1802, shortly after his own return to Einsiedeln, Abbot Beat expected a strong influx of foreign pilgrims because rumors about the reestablishment of the convent were circulating as far away as Alsace and Burgundy: KAE, A 11, A.SS-02, no. 10, Abbot Beat to Dr. Zay, Einsiedeln, March 11, 1802.

asserted, “the ignorant and fanaticized class of my *administrés*” was resuming this pernicious habit of pilgrimage as well. While the remark about fanaticism sounds as though Desportes wanted to tie ‘popular superstition’ to political danger, he mostly mobilized political economy to condemn this religious practice: pilgrims wasted their time and harmed the French economy by spending their money abroad.<sup>126</sup> Interestingly, the police commissioner at Colmar who had first alerted Desportes to the issue also invoked two of the old royal edicts that had severely restricted pilgrimage abroad.<sup>127</sup> On the whole, these civil authorities saw enough reasons to denounce the renewed pilgrimage activity to the government in Paris as well as to the responsible bishoprics in Strasbourg and Nancy.<sup>128</sup>

Almost echoing Desportes’s approach to the problem as primarily one of political economy, Saurine acknowledged the prefect’s concerns but framed his response in depoliticizing, ostentatiously pragmatic terms. In a letter to Portalis, then state councilor (and later minister) responsible for *les cultes*, the bishop claimed that the people “absolutely need these objects of devotions; it is not possible to dissuade them” from the practice of pilgrimage. He therefore proposed reducing the attractiveness of Einsiedeln to French Catholics by revitalizing well-known shrines located *within* France’s borders, especially Marienthal near Haguenau in northern Alsace.<sup>129</sup> Indeed, throughout his episcopate, Saurine attempted both to

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<sup>126</sup> ADBR, 1 VP 571, Desportes to Saurine, Colmar, 13 messidor an XI (July 2, 1803): “il passe par ce Département un grand nombre d’habitants des Dépts du Bas-Rhin et des Vosges pour aller en pèlerinage dans le canton de Lucerne à Notre Dame des Heremites. Que cet exemple est suivi par la classe ignorante et fanatisée de mes administrés, qu’enfin il résulte une perte de tems précieux et une exportation considérable de numéraire.”

<sup>127</sup> ADHR, V 225, *commissaire de police de Colmar* to Desportes, 16 prairial an XI (June 5, 1803): “Le Gouvernement a reconnu les abus de ces courses et le 7 janvier 1686 a été rendue une déclaration qui defendoit les pèlerinages à l’étranger sans permission du roi. Elle a été renouvelée le 1er août 1738.”

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., Desportes to Minister of Justice, Colmar, 19 prairial an XI (June 8, 1803); Desportes to prefect of the Vosges, Colmar, 13 messidor an XI (July 2, 1803); prefect of the Vosges to Desportes, Épinal, 24 messidor an XI (July 13, 1803): “Dès ce moment je me concerte avec Mr l’Evêque de Nancy sur ce qui sera convenable de faire dans ce Département sur le même objet.” (At that time, the Diocese of Nancy included the Vosges Department.)

<sup>129</sup> ADBR, 1 VP 30, Saurine to Portalis, Strasbourg, 11 messidor an XI (June 30, 1803), on “des lieux de devotion et de pèlerinage, il en est une [église] appelée Marienthal, très fréquentée, à 5/4 de lieux de Haguenau, et dans une commune, qui compte 300 à 400 habitans, et qui dépend de cette ville. Quand elle a été fermée, le peuple qui la

foster pilgrimage to Marienthal and to impose his personal oversight over that shrine.<sup>130</sup> In his reply to Prefect Desportes, he made a similar case for offering domestic pilgrimage destinations as alternatives to the incurably superstitious *peuple* instead of choosing repressive means in the name of Enlightenment principles: “This is not exactly the job of the Christian as a *philosophe*, but rather that of the Christian as an administrator.”<sup>131</sup>

Behind Saurine’s and Desportes’s façade of pragmatism, however, local conflicts kept raging with full ideological intensity after the Concordat, and the ties between Einsiedeln and Alsace played into these hostilities. “Partisan spirit is not at all extinguished, the furors of fanaticism incite religious troubles,” as the ex-constitutional parish priest of Rixheim, Léger-Antoine Gœringer, complained to Saurine in October 1802. Gœringer described how seven other priests had just descended on his parish for the festival of the local patron saint. He asserted that these priests were “no longer Ministers of Jesus Christ but rather priests of Baal.” They had told penitents that the Concordat was a sham and that they could only gain absolution from their sins if they repented for their former adherence to the Constitutional Church. Remarkably, Gœringer identified Johann Baptist Geschwind (1764–1848), a “monk of Einsiedeln in Switzerland,” as the “leader” of this opposing clerical faction.<sup>132</sup> In these years, Geschwind was actually trying to obtain permission to quit monastic life and become a secular priest. Yet in his correspondence

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fréquentoit, s’est porté en foule de l’autre côté du Rhin ; car il lui faut absolument de ces objets de dévotions ; il n’est pas possible de l’en dissuader.”

<sup>130</sup> Claude Muller, *Dieu est catholique et alsacien: La vitalité du diocèse de Strasbourg au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (1802–1914)* (Haguenau: Société d’Histoire de l’Église d’Alsace, 1987), 918–25.

<sup>131</sup> ADHR, V 225, Saurine to Desportes, Strasbourg, 18 messidor an XI (July 7, 1803): “Ce n’est pas trop le métier du chrétien philosophe, mais c’est celui du chrétien administrateur.”

<sup>132</sup> ADHR, V 180, Gœringer to Saurine, Rixheim, 12 vendémiaire an XI (October 4, 1802): “l’esprit de parti n’est rien moins qu’éteint, les fureurs du fanatisme reveillent les troubles religieuses [...] ces prêtres qui ne peuvent plus se dire Ministres de Jesus Christ, mais bien des prêtres de Baal [...] ils érigerent, au mépris des articles organiques du Concordat, une chapelle domestique et oratoire particulier, dans la maison de l’adjoint (commissaire de police) appelé Martin Hogg, où ils confessoient et communioient etc. ... desorte qu’il y avoit un grand rassemblement même de gens des villages circonvoisins. Les prêtres de cet oratoire étoient les nommés Gschwind, chef, moine d’Einsidlen en Suisse, [etc.].” On Gœringer’s past as a priest of the Constitutional Church, see Kammerer, “Le clergé constitutionnel,” 27 (no. 164).



with the abbey, he insisted: “I always think and speak with love and esteem of Einsiedeln, my very dear brothers in the convent, and holy monastic orders.”<sup>133</sup> Presumably, Geschwind did not belong in that category of priests whom Saurine praised in a letter to Desportes because they worked “to fulfill all the intentions of the government” by fighting against ignorance, social strife, and various vices—including “pilgrimages abroad.”<sup>134</sup> In short, these pilgrimages seemed to retain much of their potential for political transgression.

And Geschwind was not alone in creating or re-creating links between French Catholics and Einsiedeln while working to exorcise the political and religious legacy of the Revolution. In 1805, the *Étrennes religieuses*, a yearly Catholic almanac published by the Savoyard priest and later Archbishop of Chambéry François-Marie Bigex, included an article celebrating the revival of monastic life in Switzerland. According to the anonymous author, the very success of Einsiedeln Abbey as a shrine “had to provoke all the more strongly the hatred and greed of the revolutionary spirit,” which had led to the pillage of 1798. But now, the article continued, pilgrimage to Einsiedeln had “resumed as before, and with new fervor.” Moreover, “wise men think that pilgrimages to Einsiedeln are at least as admirable and a little more useful than pilgrimages to Ferney and Erménonville.”<sup>135</sup> Here, the writer not only contrasted the Swiss

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<sup>133</sup> KAE, A 11, A.OC, no. 17, Geschwind to subprior Fintan Steinegger, Wittenheim, August 2, 1804: “Daß ich nicht allzeit mit Liebe und Hochschätzung an Einsiedeln, meine werthe Confratres, so wie an den h. Ordensstand gedenke und davon rede, dieses wird niemand zu keiner Zeit mir vorwerfen.” On Geschwind and the handful of other Alsatians who belonged to the monastic community of Einsiedeln either in the Old Regime or during the Revolution, see Fässler, *Aufbruch und Widerstand*, 292; Joachim Salzgeber, *Die Klöster Einsiedeln und St. Gallen im Barockzeitalter: Historisch-soziologische Studie* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1967), 42.

<sup>134</sup> ADHR, V 180, Saurine to Desportes, Strasbourg, 2 pluviôse an XII (January 23, 1804): “ils ont travaillé efficacement en public et en particulier, à remplir toutes les intentions du Gouvernement, en faisant cesser toute division dans leurs paroisses [...]. Ils ont soin d’entretenir la bonne harmonie dans les ménages, d’extirper la mendicité, d’empêcher les pèlerinages à l’étranger, les pillages, les jeux de hazard, la fréquentation des cabarets.”

<sup>135</sup> “Notre-Dame des Hermites,” *Étrennes religieuses pour l’an de grâce mil huit cent cinq*, 1805, 86–87: “La célébrité de ce Pèlerinage, et les richesses du Monastère devoient plus vivement exciter la haine et enflammer la cupidité de l’esprit révolutionnaire. Le Couvent fut donc bientôt occupé par les bataillons de la *raison*, et spolié par les administrations *philosophiques*. [...] Les pèlerinages de dévotion ont repris comme auparavant, et avec une nouvelle ardeur [...] ; et les hommes sages pensent que les pèlerinages à Notre-Dame des Hermites, sont du moins aussi estimables et un peu plus utiles que les pèlerinages à Ferney et à Erménonville.”

abbey with the places that most evoked Voltaire and Rousseau, respectively, but also satirically turned the very enlightened criteria of usefulness against the Enlightenment itself.<sup>136</sup> Far from cheering on a mere return to an idealized before, some Catholic clergy actively associated the *new* fervor of pilgrims with a Counter-Enlightenment, anti-revolutionary backlash, much like the monks of Einsiedeln had already done in the 1790s.

The legacy of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and struggles over the Concordat specifically concerned the Church in France, and the evidence for Einsiedeln shows that the nationality of French pilgrims going to Switzerland remained an issue. This question of Frenchness became truly salient again when Napoleon—in his relentless quest for European hegemony—fell out with Pope Pius VII in 1807, had him taken prisoner, and annexed the Papal States in 1809. Already in 1808, a pilgrimage sermon preached at Einsiedeln exhorted believers to pray that God would send an angel to “comfort Pius VII and restitute him to his faithful people in the esteem that befits his eminent dignity.”<sup>137</sup> In March 1809, the dean of the monks’ chapter reminded his fellow *patres* that a penitent’s nationality was one of the things they might need to take into account when hearing confession.<sup>138</sup> A new crisis of transnational pilgrimage finally threatened to erupt in early 1810, when Auguste Talleyrand, Napoleon’s plenipotentiary in Switzerland, complained to the Swiss government about Einsiedeln Abbey. Information gathered

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<sup>136</sup> On the notion of usefulness in the Enlightenment, see e.g. van Kley, “Conclusion,” esp. 302; Jeffrey D. Burson, “The Catholic Enlightenment in France from the *Fin de Siècle* Crisis of Consciousness to the Revolution, 1650–1789,” in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael O’Neill Printy (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 63–126, esp. 102–3; Claude Langlois, “Religion, culte ou opinion religieuse: La politique des Révolutionnaires,” *Revue française de sociologie* 30, no. 3/4 (1989): 471–96, esp. 490.

<sup>137</sup> KAE, A 12, A.11/39, anonymous *Engelweihe* sermon of 1808: “bethet, eben dieser Engel steht vor dem Thron des Aller-Höchsten, u(nd) sieht mit Sehnsucht dem Befehl entgegen, den würdigsten Nachfolger des hl. Petrus Pius den siebenten zu trösten u(nd) ihn seinem gläubigen Volke in dem, seiner erhabenen Würde geziemenden Ansehen wieder zu schenken.” On recent research discussing (and sometimes downplaying) the extent to which the confrontation between Napoleon and Pius VII preoccupied Catholics north of the Alps, see Rémy Hème de Lacotte, “Introduction,” in *La crise concordataire: Catholiques français et italiens entre Pie VII et Napoléon 1808–1814*, ed. Jacques-Olivier Boudon and Rémy Hème de Lacotte (Paris: Éditions SPM, 2016), 7–19.

<sup>138</sup> KAE, A 11, A.CC, no. 16, chapter meeting minutes of March 10, 1809: “Insuper caveant in confessionali acceptionem personarum, sexus, nationis aut status intuitu.”

by the Ministry of Police, Talleyrand wrote, suggested that preachers at Einsiedeln were “speaking out about the events of Rome, about ecclesiastical affairs, and seeking to spread ultramontane principles.” This pro-papal propaganda could affect the “great number of inhabitants of the Jura, the Vosges, the Meurthe, and the Haut-Rhin” departments that came to Einsiedeln as pilgrims.<sup>139</sup> In response, Abbot Konrad Tanner insisted on his own innocence and that of his monks. Referencing the Gospels, he asserted that they had all been “striving to admonish French pilgrims to give to the Emperor what belongs to the Emperor.”<sup>140</sup> We can never know exactly whether the conversations held between monks and penitents about Rome and France skewed Gallican or rather ultramontane. Yet we can say with some certainty that many such conversations did take place and that pilgrims’ Frenchness mattered, to the point of sparking diplomatic tensions between Paris and Bern.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> KAE, A 11, A.WE, no. 3, Talleyrand to the Swiss Landammann, Bern, March 9, 1810: “des plaintes très amères sur les bruits, et les nouvelles absurdes que les ennemis de la tranquillité du continent se plaisent à repandre à Notre Dame des Hermites. On y voit aussi, me mande-t-il, des missionnaires qui déclament sur les événemens de Rome, sur les affaires Ecclésiastiques, et cherchent à propager les principes Ultramontains en matière de Religion. Un grand nombre d’habitans du Jura, des Vosges, de la Meurthe, et du Haut-Rhin se portant en foule à cet hermitage célèbre, il en résulte, qu’il pourroit avoir une influence dangereuse sur ces sujets de Sa Majesté.” Pilgrims to Einsiedeln also came from the even more distant Moselle Department, as a diocesan *enquête* of 1807 indicates: Archives départementales de la Moselle, 29 J 365–372, pastoral *enquête* of the Bishopric of Metz. Confronted with a rather vague written question about pilgrimage, many parish priests seem to have answered only in the sense of whether or not there was a pilgrimage place in their own parish; of those who did write about their parishioners’ *outside* pilgrimage destinations, three (those of Rémering, Vahl-Laning, and Hilsprich) mentioned Einsiedeln. On this 1807 *enquête*, see René Schneider, “Dévotions et vie spirituelle dans les paroisses de Moselle selon une enquête de 1807,” in *Pratiques religieuses, mentalités et spiritualités dans l’Europe révolutionnaire (1770–1820): Actes du colloque, Chantilly 27–29 novembre 1986*, ed. Bernard Plongeron, Paule Lerou, and Raymond Darteville (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 626–33. For Mariastein, the evidence from a Strasbourg diocesan *enquête* of the year XII is similarly inconclusive, but it does suggest that certain parishes near the border (Hagenthal-le-Bas, Leymen, Liebenswiller) continued to hold annual pilgrimage processions to Mariastein: Archives de l’Archevêché de Strasbourg, *Enquête de l’an XII*, vol. 2, pp. 297–9.

<sup>140</sup> KAE, A 11, A.WE, no. 7, Abbot Konrad to cantonal government of Schwyz, Einsiedeln, late March 1810: “Alle betheuren mir, auf ihre Priestertreue, daß sie sich immer aus allen Kräften bestrebt – den französischen Walfahrtern einzuschärfen, dem Kaiser zu geben, was des Kaisers ist.”

<sup>141</sup> For another supporting piece of evidence, see KAE, A 11, A.CC, no. 17, chapter meeting minutes of April 11, 1810: a deliberation on “quomodo respondendum esset adventantibus huc ex Gallia Peregrinis, ac de negotio nostri aevi Religionem aliquo modo concernentibus[sic] sine dubio interrogaturis.” The monks decided to adopt a highly cautious position that would exclude any condemnation of Napoleon’s actions.

The Napoleonic era thus confirmed a trend that had first become manifest through the oath crisis of 1791, and by 1815, individuals writing from France to Einsiedeln readily placed themselves on the grid of national territory. To be sure, the reference to former provinces had not fully disappeared. In the miracle stories chosen for a new, French-language pious history of Einsiedeln published in 1810, pilgrims were still said to have come from “Pontarlier in the Franche-Comté” or “Vince in Lorraine,” to pick just two examples.<sup>142</sup> Moreover, nobody from France sent new miracle reports to the abbey until late in 1815, so it is impossible to compare the Napoleonic era with the Old Regime through this source type. Yet intriguingly, by the time of the Bourbon Restoration (1815–30), French *miraculés* routinely located their hometowns and villages within the territorial grid created by the Revolution. For example, “I, the undersigned Jean Antoine Grillet, mayor of the Commune of Cléron, Canton of Amancey, Department of the Doubs” testified to the miraculous healing of his son in 1820.<sup>143</sup> Writing to the abbey in the same year, a sixty-five-year-old peasant named Claude François Marguet even identified himself as coming from “Arçon, Canton of Montbenoît, Arrondissement of Pontarlier, Department of the Doubs in France”!<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Anon. [Claudius Poujol], *Précis de l'histoire de l'Abbaye et du pèlerinage de Notre-Dame des Hermites, depuis son origine jusqu'à présent: Avec des considérations instructives et édifiantes sur cette dévotion, et un recueil abrégé de diverses grâces miraculeuses qui y ont été obtenues* (Einsiedeln: Benziger et Éberlin, 1810), 34 and 69.

<sup>143</sup> KAE, A 11, A.SE-09, no. 4: “Je soussigné Jean Antoine Grillet maire de la commune de Cléron canton d'Amancey, Département du Doubs.”

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., no. 5: “Je soussigné Claude François Marguet âgé de soixante cinq ans Cultivateur propriétaire d'Arçon canton de Montbenoit, arrondissement de Pontarlier, département du Doubs en France”; by contrast, Alsatians remained likely to say that they came from Alsace, but even they tended now to combine this ‘provincial’ reference with information about their home cantons and departments. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 7; KAE, A 11, A.SE-06, no. 33. On how quickly the departments became accepted as *lived* or meaningful territorial units in France after 1790, see Nordman et al., *Atlas de la Révolution* 4, 56; Isabelle Laboulais-Lesage, “De la mise en ordre du territoire: Le recours au discours géographique pour cautionner les nouveaux découpages territoriaux,” in *Du Directoire au Consulat*, ed. Jacques Bernet et al., 4 vols. (Lille: Centre de recherches sur l'histoire de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest, 1999–2001), vol. 3, 561–73; and most recently Alan Forrest, “The Reorganization of Administrative Space in France and its Colonies,” in *The French Revolution as a Moment of Respatialization*, ed. Megan Maruschke and Matthias Middell (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 169–87, esp. 175 and 181.

Finally, toward the mid-nineteenth century, pilgrimage from France to Switzerland came to express a bitter, post- and anti-revolutionary spirituality among some French Catholics. In 1839, nine years after the July Revolution had terminated the experiment of Restoration, a young Catholic called Louis Veuillot (1813–1883) published his first book. Historians know Veuillot as one of the most influential conservatives of nineteenth-century France, as an ardent promoter of ultramontanism, and especially as the journalist who helped turn pilgrimage to Lourdes into “part of a national movement” to re-Catholicize France.<sup>145</sup> Yet almost twenty years before the apparitions of Lourdes, Veuillot’s literary debut pointed his readers to different places, namely *Les pèlerinages de Suisse: Einsiedeln, Sachslén, Maria-Stein*.<sup>146</sup> Having experienced an intense moment of conversion in Rome around Easter 1838, he returned to France via Switzerland. The quest he described in his book concerned a medieval, pre-Reformation version of Switzerland, “that Switzerland of olden days whose noble character is one of the glories of humanity.” It was in mountainous, remote, staunchly Catholic Inner Switzerland, including the Canton of Schwyz and thus Einsiedeln, that Veuillot claimed to have found “rests of old Switzerland” well and alive.<sup>147</sup> At Einsiedeln, this vitality seemed all the more remarkable to him because in 1798, as he reminded the reader, an “army (a French army, alas!) descended upon the holy house and allowed to an ignorant, ungrateful, and vile populace to pillage it.”<sup>148</sup> In short, for Veuillot, the Einsiedeln shrine showed how medieval Switzerland had been martyred by revolutionary France yet emerged triumphant and, in essence, unaltered from the martyrdom.

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<sup>145</sup> Harris, *Lourdes*, 118–28 (quote on 118).

<sup>146</sup> Sachslén is the pilgrimage place of the patron saint of Switzerland, Nicholas of Flüe.

<sup>147</sup> Louis Veuillot, *Les pèlerinages de Suisse: Einsiedeln, Sachslén, Maria-Stein* (Paris: A. Canuet, 1839), 2 (“cette Suisse des vieux âges dont le noble caractère est une des gloires de l’humanité”) and 7 (“restes de la vieille Suisse”).

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 292: “Une armée (une armée française, hélas!) se rua sur la sainte maison et permit à une populace non moins ignorante qu’ingrate et vile de la saccager.”

A similar transnational contrast was promoted by the anonymous author of another book about pilgrimage to Einsiedeln that first appeared in 1841 and went through a second edition in 1854. The narrator presented himself as a French traveler who *turned into* a pilgrim thanks to a conversion experience at Einsiedeln, where he had initially gone out of mere worldly “curiosity.”<sup>149</sup> On the steps leading up to the entrance of the abbey church, he felt himself plunged into the depths of faith expressed in every action of the pilgrims he encountered. “In my fatherland, faith was—alas!—an exceptional thing, and the churches had too often appeared deserted to me. Here, the people had faith and prayed. I knelt down with the pilgrims.”<sup>150</sup> He returned home to France but, when his mother fell gravely ill, he made a vow and visited Einsiedeln again, this time as a committed pilgrim. An especially telling passage describes his return from this second voyage: “Soon I left Switzerland behind, the mountains disappeared, France reappeared with its plains, its movement, its more earthly thoughts; [...] but in leaving Einsiedeln, I forgot nothing of its holy and pure impressions.”<sup>151</sup> The narrative thus rested on twin pillars of national and transnational sentiment that resemble those constructed by Veuillot, whose “famous book” of 1839 the author referenced and whose suggested prayers to Our Lady of Einsiedeln he reprinted—including the prayer of a French “citizen.”<sup>152</sup> Around 1840, conservative religious leaders imagined France as a spiritually depleted country whose

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<sup>149</sup> *Notre-Dame des Ermites: Pèlerinage à Einsiedeln*, 2nd ed. (Plancy, Paris: Société de Saint-Victor pour la propagation des bons livres, 1854), 17.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 29: “Dans ma patrie, la foi n’était, hélas! qu’une exception, et les églises m’avaient paru trop souvent vides de peuple. Là, c’était le peuple qui avait foi et priaient. Je m’agenouillai avec les pèlerins.”

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 50–1: “Bientôt la Suisse s’éloigna, les montagnes s’effacèrent, la France reparut avec ses plaines, son mouvement, ses pensées plus terrestres ; je retrouvai ma mère mieux portante, les joies de la famille et du retour ; mais, en quittant Einsiedeln, je n’ai rien oublié de ses saintes et pures impressions.”

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 53–64, with an introductory nod to “l’ouvrage célèbre” of Veuillot, and the citizen’s prayer on 63: “Le citoyen : - O Vierge ! de ma chère patrie je viens en ces lieux lointains vous supplier pour elle. N’oubliez pas qu’un roi pieux l’a mise aux siècles passés sous votre égide, et que, depuis lors, tout citoyen fidèle a droit de renouveler l’offrande et de vous regarder comme la patronne de son pays. J’ose donc, obscur et simple enfant de la France, vous implorer pour sa gloire, son bonheur et son repos.”

inhabitants would do well to revitalize their shaky faith by traveling to Inner Switzerland, where “Catholicism is both principle and essence.”<sup>153</sup>

Although it would take much more systematic research to assess how widely this imaginary resonated among French Catholics, it seems to have been neither truly novel nor unique to Veuillot and his admirers. In August 1832, a young man from the Vosges called Félix Marande and his unnamed companion made a pilgrimage to Einsiedeln, of which Marande left a manuscript report in the stylized form of daily letters to a friend. Marande’s writing reflects a great deal of humanist education, yet his family was probably not especially wealthy; we only know that his grandfather had been a timber merchant.<sup>154</sup> Politically, Félix Marande favored Bourbon legitimism and was clearly unhappy with the July Monarchy of Louis-Philippe.<sup>155</sup> To be sure, Marande’s interest in national politics did not prevent him from drawing sharp lines of cultural difference *within* France: when he and his companion crossed the Vosges and entered Alsace, its ‘Germanic’ culture struck him as utterly unfamiliar to “us Frenchmen.”<sup>156</sup> Moreover, the practical issues of crossing the Franco-Swiss border that he described—quarantine, customs agents, passport problems—do not differ radically from what an early-eighteenth-century pilgrim, Gilles Caillotin, had experienced when returning from Rome and reaching the border between Savoy and France.<sup>157</sup> Yet Caillotin’s story diverges from Marande’s in that the latter developed a specific, sharp contrast between the destination of his pilgrimage and his country of origin. On the one hand, at Einsiedeln Abbey religion showed itself “with greater enchantment

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 37–8: “Le Catholicisme est ici le principe et le fond ; il ne partage pas, comme dans d’autres pays plus distraits, avec mille autres intérêts.” See also 39–40 and 45 for other passages that support this transnational reading of the text.

<sup>154</sup> Félix Marande, *Les loisirs du pèlerinage: Itinéraire de Raon à Einsiedeln du 8 au 30 août 1832* (Basel: Schwabe, 2007), 7–11 (introduction by Wolfgang Renz, the editor of the manuscript).

<sup>155</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, esp. 263–6.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 44–5 (“nous Français” on 44).

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 18, 52, 210; cf. Dominique Julia, ed., *Gilles Caillotin, pèlerin: Le “Retour de Rome” d’un sergier rémois, 1724* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2006), 203, 219–29.

and solemnity” than at any other place Marande knew; on the other hand, he noted that the abbey’s splendors would be even greater if it had not, in 1798, become the target of “the devastating republicans who approached this holy place with greater furor than any other [place].”<sup>158</sup> For Marande, as for Veuillot some years later, Switzerland’s foremost shrine testified to French revolutionary depravity.

Strikingly, Marande was already steeped in that post- and anti-revolutionary French Catholic bitterness that writers such as Veuillot would then amplify and endow with a more combative, ideologically ultramontane twist. On the prayers and vows formulated by other pilgrims on the boat that took Marande across Lake Zürich, he comments in his manuscript: “Yes, Mary, you hear them and you know they are sincere. Holy faith, faith of our fathers, it’s for you that we call upon the *most powerful* Virgin, it’s for you, poor France.”<sup>159</sup> He calls France “our unhappy fatherland” while remembering that the Virgin Mary was its “royal patroness.”<sup>160</sup> This remark refers to the solemn declaration by which Louis XIII—the second king of the Bourbon dynasty—had consecrated the Kingdom of France to the Mother of God in 1638. Perhaps the overthrow of that dynasty, first in 1792 and then again in 1830, made the vow of 1638 appear as a bittersweet reminder of a lost golden age to many legitimist Catholics. Moreover, Marande writes that when he heard the magnificent Gregorian chant of the monks at

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<sup>158</sup> Marande, *Les loisirs du pèlerinage*, 178 (“je n’ai jamais rien vu de plus grand, je n’ai encore pas vu la religion se montrer avec plus d’enchantement et plus de solennité, et certes mes jours d’avenir seraient bien mauvais, si je ne venais plus rempli de souvenirs de la vallée de Meinrad”) and 176 (the abbey “arriva à la désastreuse Révolution. A cette époque elle touchait derechef à sa ruine. Le nombre des pèlerins français fut surtout prodigieux en 1789, des personnages du plus haut rang s’étaient réfugiés aux Ermites et y demeuraient plus ou moins longtemps, ce, qui peut-être, excita bientôt après une plus grande haine aux républicains dévastateurs qui se portèrent avec plus de fureur sur ce saint lieu que sur tout autre”).

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 136: “Oui, Marie, tu les entends et tu sais qu’ils sont sincères. Foi sainte, foi de nos pères, c’est pour toi que nous invoquons la Vierge très puissante, c’est pour toi, pauvre France” (emphasis in the original).

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 179 (“notre malheureuse patrie”; Mary as France’s “royale patronne”).



Einsiedeln Abbey, he was filled with regret for the ruin of French monasticism.<sup>161</sup> Against the foil of Catholic Switzerland's spiritual riches, he deplores the spiritual poverty of France.

In sum, Einsiedeln became a major transnational reference point for the “traditionalist,” ultramontane current within French Catholicism between the Napoleonic era and the time of the July Monarchy.<sup>162</sup> The *Étrennes religieuses* of 1805 pitted Switzerland's most famous pilgrimage place against Ferney and Ermenonville, the two main godless shrines that *la philosophie* had erected in France. In the 1830s, individual pilgrims such as Marande and Veuillot offered elegiac musings on the survival of unadulterated Catholicism in Switzerland as opposed to the unhappy state of France, that lost oldest daughter of the Church. Meanwhile, pilgrims with less of an elite education might have tense exchanges with their confessors at Einsiedeln about how the Gallican Church related to the imperiled papacy of Napoleon's later imperial years. They might listen to an 1817 *Engelweihe* preacher who reminded them of how, in the 1790s, “it took the incitement of the most powerful nation to satanic fanaticism” to bring about the destruction of the old holy chapel.<sup>163</sup> To add just one more example from the Restoration era, upon hearing (false) news that the pope was going to visit Einsiedeln, they might immediately start planning a pilgrimage to this shrine, as many inhabitants of Strasbourg apparently did in the fall of 1828.<sup>164</sup> Thus, in the decades during and after the Revolution,

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 157.

<sup>162</sup> This current was precociously strong in nineteenth-century Alsace: cf. René Epp, *Le mouvement ultramontain dans l'Église catholique en Alsace au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (1802–1870)* (Lille: Atelier Reproduction des thèses, 1975). On the “traditionalism” that prevailed among devout French Catholics of the nineteenth and (early) twentieth centuries, see also Urs Altermatt, *Konfession, Nation und Rom: Metamorphosen im schweizerischen und europäischen Katholizismus des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frauenfeld: Huber, 2009), 53–4.

<sup>163</sup> KAE, A 12, B.11/28, *Engelweihe* sermon of September 22, 1817, given by a Capuchin named P. Anaclet, part II: “und es bedurfte die mächtigste Nation mit satanischem Fanatism aufzureizen, ein Gebäude zu zerstören, das so viele Regenten und lange Zeiten aufgebaut, und welches die Zierde der Religion, der Lehrstuhl ächter Gelehrtheit und Gottes-Furcht und die Hoffnung so vieler beträngter war.”

<sup>164</sup> KAE, A 11, A.RE, no. 29, Johannes Engler to P. Johann Baptist, Strasbourg, August 6, 1828: “es wollen zu [??] viel Leut aus Strasburg kommen geistliche wie weltliche wann der hilige Vater [Pope Leo XII] komt dun sie auch berichten op er kommen thut oder nicht.” At the bottom, a note from P. Johann Baptist: “Ich antworte dem J. Engler, u. widerlegte die Ankunfft des Papstes an hies(igem) Ort.”

Einsiedeln became a place where French Catholics could weigh and connect the national, transnational (in this case Franco-Swiss), and Roman components of their faith.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to show that Einsiedeln and Mariastein became genuinely transnational places of power and peril for Catholics from present-day eastern France.<sup>165</sup> Old Regime royal edicts, Enlightenment, and Counter-Enlightenment already brought into play many of the elements that would shape the rapidly shifting situation in the 1790s. Then, pressured by both revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries—by administrators in Colmar, Altkirch, and elsewhere as well as by the monks of Einsiedeln and Mariastein—French Catholics began to envision border-crossing pilgrimage in a new way. They turned this religious practice into a transnational transgression, in many cases a very risky one.

At the same time, they grasped and sometimes lamented their national *patrie* through this transnationalized practice. That rethinking became possible because the French revolutionaries territorialized the nation and nationalized territory, as historians and social theorists well know.<sup>166</sup> Yet pro-revolutionary legislators, administrators, and activists were far from the only ones hoping to regenerate the French nation; those opposed to the Revolution's project of

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<sup>165</sup> For a mid-nineteenth-century representation of the history of Mariastein in post- and anti-revolutionary terms that echo the evidence on Einsiedeln, see Anselm Dietler, *Kurze Geschichte der Wallfahrt Mariastein* (Solothurn: Joseph Tschan, 1845), esp. 41–9.

<sup>166</sup> See most recently Ozouf-Marignier, “Le territoire,” esp. 353. Cf. also the same author's important work on the construction of a homogenous—and thus homogenously *national*—French territory at the start of the Revolution: Ozouf-Marignier, *La formation des départements*. On the different yet complementary construction of Swiss national territory in the revolutionary age, see Nadja Ackermann, Peter Lehmann, and Nadir Weber, “Von Vormauern zu Türöffnern: Neuenburg, Genf und die Konstruktion des *Territoire suisse*,” in *Politische, gelehrte und imaginierte Schweiz = Suisse politique, savante et imaginaire: Kohäsion und Disparität im Corpus helveticum des 18. Jahrhunderts = Cohésion et disparité du Corps helvétique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. André Holenstein et al. (Geneva: Slatkine, 2019), 161–77. For a more theoretical formulation on how territory and the authority of “the national sovereign” became “coterminous,” see Saskia Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 16–17.

religious reform also engaged in copious nation-talk, and so did their traditionalist nineteenth-century heirs.<sup>167</sup> Sometimes caught in this struggle and sometimes actively taking sides in it, Catholics from eastern France invented transnational pilgrimage. During the Revolution and in subsequent decades, Mariastein and Einsiedeln became a Swiss mirror in which competing visions of national belonging appeared sharply for these Catholics to see.

Other opportunities to confront the contours and stakes of these visions existed. Yet few mirrors may have offered as much clarity as this transnational one. It reflected the concerns with border security that intensified around the outbreak of the revolutionary wars; the church schism that ran deep between—and often within—local communities; the radical politics that cast emigration as national treason; and, as a result, the immense post-revolutionary scar tissue at which so many committed Catholics kept picking throughout the nineteenth century. Eventually, the invention of transnational pilgrimage proved powerful enough to draw attention even in the faraway capital. The first special train filled with over three hundred Einsiedeln pilgrims in 1864—a major event in the history of the shrine—departed not from Strasbourg or Besançon, but from Paris.<sup>168</sup> Just as Lourdes was beginning to acquire fame in France as a (cis-)national pilgrimage site, Einsiedeln cemented its long-standing status as a (trans-)national reference place for many French Catholics.

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<sup>167</sup> Cf. the suggestive remarks on left- and right-wing hopes of national regeneration in Jacques Marx, “Autour de l’image du Sacré-Cœur de Jésus: *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart* de Raymond Jonas,” *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 81, no. 4 (2003): 1277–91, esp. 1291.

<sup>168</sup> This train serves as starting point for Kari Kälin, *Schauplatz katholischer Frömmigkeit: Wallfahrt nach Einsiedeln von 1864 bis 1914* (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2005).

## Chapter 2

### Shifting the Frontiers of Catholicism: Sankt Wendel, Tholey, Blasiusberg

The churchwardens of Tholey were aghast when the wrath of the Church struck their parish community. After a pastoral visit in 1770, the bishop had issued an ordinance prohibiting a number of pilgrimage processions to the shrines of Tholey Abbey, Blasiusberg, and Sankt Wendel, all situated within a few miles of each other in the Diocese of Trier and the present-day German province of Saarland. The parish of Tholey had obtained a partial exemption from this measure in early 1771. “But soon,” the churchwardens complained in their petition of May 1772, “we saw with surprise that a supposed contravention was being punished, targeting our royal mayor who was sentenced to three days in jail.” Therefore, as the next pilgrimage season was approaching, the petitioners asked the bishop to forestall any further unpleasant surprises by reconsidering his ordinance.<sup>1</sup>

Among the main reasons they invoked to get him to withdraw the ordinance altogether was the “decency” of the pious spectacle these processions represented. As the authors of the petition asserted, the splendor of these rituals had edified and impressed spectators so much “that many Jews and Protestants [*autres Religionnaires*], penetrated by the devotion of the faithful, have abjured in order to embrace the Roman Catholic religion.” Now, by contrast, Catholics in

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<sup>1</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 71, pp. 135–42, petition by the Tholey *échevins synodaux* (“à eux joints le curé, et les élus”: 135) to *Weihbischof* Hontheim, Tholey, May 19, 1772, quotes from p. 141: “Votre Excellence à déjà préjugé en l’année dernière la question ; elle daigna lever sa deffense en declarant formellement que les deux processions reclamées par les remontrans, n’étoient point comprise dans la suppression generale ; en consequence de cette declaration, par laquelle ils étoient penetrés de reconnoissance, les processions se firent à l’ordinaire par les paroissiens de Tholey, mais bientôt l’on vit avec surprise voir punir la pretendue contravention, en la personne du Maire Royal, condamné à tenir prison pendant trois jours.” On the ‘wrath of the Church’ cf. *ibid.*, the expression “l’indignation de l’Eglise” on p. 137.

and around Tholey were becoming the objects of mockery because of “a shocking contradiction”: while the parishes covered by the episcopal ordinance of 1770 were forbidden from going to Sankt Wendel, the burghers of that town were still allowed and even expected by diocesan authorities to continue their annual processions to Tholey! The churchwardens of Tholey deplored the “disagreeable mixture” that was thus emerging “in the exercise of the Catholic religion.” They also could hardly stress enough “how much our adversaries and neighbors [*nos adversaires voisins*] in the Duchy of Zweibrücken and the Principality of Nassau exploit this to ridicule the sudden changes and divergences of that sort.”<sup>2</sup> Both Zweibrücken and Nassau-Saarbrücken were nearby territories inhabited mostly by Protestants.<sup>3</sup>

This chapter will show that enlightened religious reform and Revolution reshaped how rural and small-town Catholics in the borderlands perceived their Protestant *adversaires voisins*. Catholic laypeople used pilgrimages to Sankt Wendel, Tholey, and Blasiusberg to perpetuate the logic of confessional enmity—and to insert that logic into the new politics that surrounded the great rebordering of revolutionary-era Europe. When necessary, they would defend their Catholic frontier pride even against their own enlightened Church hierarchy. After all, the auxiliary bishop whose ordinance the parish leaders of Tholey questioned in their petition was none other than Johann Nikolaus von Hontheim (1701–90). Also known as Febronius, Hontheim

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 140–1: noting “que plusieurs juifs et autres Religionnaires penetrés de la devotion des fidels ont abjurés, pour embrasser la religion catholique Romaine [...] il est une contradiction qui choque ; c’est que la bourgeoisie de St Wendel et tous ceux du ressort de l’officialité de Treves, qui sont pareillement dans l’usage ancien de se rendre a Tholey en procession avec le corp[s] de St Wendel le vendredy d’après Pentecoste, ont reçus injonction de continuer ces actes de piété [...] ; les remontrants sont persuadés combien Votre Excellence sent cette bigarure desagréable, que ces différentes dispositions diametralement opposées, semble présenter dans l’exercice de la Religion catholique et combien nos adversaires voisins du Duché de Deuxponts et principauté de Nassau en proffitent pour t[o]urner en ridicule les changemens subits, et les diversités de cette espece qui se pratiquent.” Conversions did sometimes occur in this time period and region. For example, in March 1773, the General Vicariate at Trier authorized the parish priest of Sankt Wendel to baptize two Jews: BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 17, minutes of the General Vicariate, pp. 54–5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the overview in Hans-Christian Herrmann, “Die Saarregion im Alten Reich,” in *Das Saarland: Geschichte einer Region*, ed. Hans-Christian Herrmann and Johannes Schmitt (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2012), 11–59, esp. 32–4.

was one of the first and most brilliant representatives of enlightened Reform Catholicism, a movement that often branded pilgrimage and other spectacular forms of worship as a superficial, crudely materialistic waste of time.<sup>4</sup> My story focuses on two transformative crises—that of the early 1770s and another one that occurred in 1796—to explore the lay impetus of confessional rivalry. These moments of crisis signal a departure from a previous era that had lasted from roughly the late sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. During that time before Enlightenment reform efforts took off, Catholic rulers as well as their lay *and* clerical subjects had fostered pilgrimage as one of the most effective *demonstrationes Catholicae* against neighboring Lutherans and Calvinists.

Yet the story of Sankt Wendel, Tholey, and Blasiusberg reveals a dialectic entanglement of Baroque piety and Enlightenment reform of worship rather than a mere binary opposition between the two or a sequence in which the Enlightenment superseded the Baroque. From within the Baroque, lay Catholics and their allies among the local clergy held authorities to account by insisting that enlightened reforms and politics of pilgrimage could prove counter-productive. Practitioners and defenders of pilgrimage were able to drive home this point because Baroque and Enlightened cultures *shared* certain ideals against which to measure the success of a given reform measure or new policy. Especially along borders and on the confessional frontier, these shared ideals notably included enshrining a harmonious territorial order and ensuring that Catholicism looked respectable rather than ridiculous. Thus, the parishioners of Tholey—and other Catholics who will make an appearance in this chapter—*addressed* crucial concerns about

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<sup>4</sup> See van Kley, *Reform Catholicism*, esp. 24–30 on Febronius. Also, specifically on Hontheim’s activities as *Weihbischof*: Martin Persch, “Die Bistumsverwaltung,” in *Kirchenreform und Konfessionsstaat (1500–1801): Geschichte des Bistums Trier*, Vol. 3, ed. Bernhard Schneider (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2010), 102–30, esp. 112–16; and for a contextualization of Hontheim’s intellectual profile within the history of the Enlightenment in Trier: Guido Groß, *Trierer Geistesleben unter dem Einfluß von Aufklärung und Romantik (1750–1850)* (Trier: Lintz, 1956), esp. 16, 65, 162. For more on Reform Catholicism’s critique of pilgrimage, see the general Introduction.

spatial and confessional order held by reformist clergy and later, in the 1790s, by most revolutionaries as well. I do not mean to suggest that these parishioners read, appreciated, or directly engaged the writings of Febronius or other Enlightenment thinkers. Yet by complaining about Protestant mockery and about a “disagreeable mixture”<sup>5</sup> in the spatial parameters of worship, voices from Tholey and elsewhere did not simply *resist* reformist or revolutionary projects. Instead, they *reflected* enlightened anxieties over spatial heterogeneity and the supposed inferiority of rural Catholic culture.

The confessional dynamics unleashed by these entanglements between Baroque and Enlightenment have largely escaped the attention of historians. For too long, they treated confessional strife in the eighteenth century as a residual or minor phenomenon, a gentle glow between the two conflagrations of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Confessional Age on the one hand and nineteenth-century Catholic mobilization in the *Kulturkampf* (culture wars) on the other hand. Olaf Blaschke thus proclaimed in 2004 that the Age of Enlightenment created a “pleasant climate” of “confessional disinterest.”<sup>6</sup> Other scholarship has been moving beyond such clichés, revealing the eighteenth century as a time in which most Catholics and Protestants solidified their confessional identities and drew extremely sharp everyday boundaries between each other.<sup>7</sup> Yet most of that scholarship has inscribed itself in debates about early modernity

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, fn. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Olaf Blaschke, “Die Inkubationszeit konfessioneller Intoleranz im frühen 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Intoleranz im Zeitalter der Revolutionen: Europa 1770–1848*, ed. Aram Mattioli, Markus Ries, and Enno Rudolph (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 2004), 189–209, here 189 (“das angenehme Klima konfessioneller Koexistenz” that supposedly reigned around 1800) and 199 (“rund 150 entspanntere Jahre konfessionellen Desinteresses” c. 1648–1800). Charles Taylor’s concept of a modern Age of Mobilization (discussed in my Introduction) is explicitly indebted to Blaschke’s notion of a Second Confessional Age lasting from the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century: cf. Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 471–2; Olaf Blaschke, “Das 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Zweites Konfessionelles Zeitalter?,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 26, no. 1 (2000): 38–75. For productive criticism of Blaschke’s model, see Anthony Steinhoff, “Ein zweites konfessionelles Zeitalter? Nachdenken über die Religion im langen 19. Jahrhundert,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 30 (2004): 549–70; Holzem, *Christentum in Deutschland*, 1201–10.

<sup>7</sup> The seminal work in this regard is Châtellier, *Tradition chrétienne*, esp. the summarizing remarks on 480–1. Also important: Étienne François, *Die unsichtbare Grenze: Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg 1648–1806*

and has paid little attention to the pivotal transitions that took place around 1800. Moreover, even cutting-edge work such as Benjamin Kaplan's study of the religious borderlands between Aachen and the Dutch Republic mostly tries to capture how "ordinary people" responded to Enlightenment by applying the notion of "popular backlash against the new ideas."<sup>8</sup> This vocabulary does not seem wholly satisfactory for my case study of the Saar region. Some backlash took place around Tholey and Sankt Wendel, but it did so within a much larger frame, in which pilgrims propelled confessional enmity through the revolutionary age. They practiced a form of subversion that forced the elites of Reform Catholicism and Revolution to contemplate the unintended outcomes of their own enlightened battles against spatial disorder and confessional excesses.

### The Crisis of 1770–72: Provocative Processions and Shocking Reforms

In this section, I argue that parish communities learned to beat enlightened Reform Catholicism at its own game in a confrontation with its foremost representative in the region, the auxiliary

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(Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991); Marc R. Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), esp. ch. 7; Joel F. Harrington and Helmut Walser Smith, "Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany 1555–1870," *Journal of Modern History* 69, no. 1 (1997): 77–101; a European overview: Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 333–58; Laurent Jalabert, *Catholiques et protestants sur la rive gauche du Rhin: Droits, confessions et coexistence religieuse de 1648 à 1789* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2009); Duhamelle, *La frontière au village*; Nebgen, *Konfessionelle Differenzierungen*. For an excellent recent synthesis that focuses on the Holy Roman Empire and places particular emphasis on issues of space: Christophe Duhamelle, "La coexistence confessionnelle: Une coexistence d'historiographies," in *Le Saint-Empire: Histoire sociale (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. Falk Bretschneider and Christophe Duhamelle (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2018), 217–35. Also germane to my approach, but focused on seventeenth-century western France: Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005).

<sup>8</sup> Kaplan, *Cunegonde's Kidnapping*, 233 and 236. More compelling in this respect is Duhamelle, *La frontière au village*, esp. 53–5 on how lay Catholics sometimes defended pilgrimage by instrumentalizing the Enlightenment's own preoccupation with political economy. My own analysis of spatial order and Catholic competitiveness dovetails with this argument.



bishop Hontheim, in the early 1770s. Church historians have spilled much ink on the edict against long processions and pilgrimages that the last Archbishop of Trier, Clemens Wenzeslaus (1768–1802), issued in 1784. This scholarly interest is entirely justified given the severity of these measures, the varied and often hostile responses they provoked, and their implementation throughout the Electorate of Trier, the territory governed by Clemens Wenzeslaus as a prince—not to be confused with the Diocese of Trier, the much larger territory over which he exercised *spiritual* authority.<sup>9</sup> (See the map in the Introduction.) By contrast, the earlier struggle of 1770–72 has not elicited any interest even among regional historians.<sup>10</sup> This conflict was admittedly circumscribed in spatial terms. It directly affected only ten parishes situated on the southeastern margins of the diocese and on the confessional frontier. Indirectly, however, the confrontation involved a larger regional panorama structured around the three pilgrimage places, and spatial limitations were not simply a given but rather a *problem* on which the protagonists reflected. As one local parish priest wrote to Hontheim in 1771: “If your ordinance was general”—that is to say, if it covered the entire region instead of just those ten parishes visited in the spring of 1770—“there would be no opposition to it at all.”<sup>11</sup> In short, a larger spatial order was at stake.

To make that order visible, I will begin by introducing Sankt Wendel, Tholey, and Blasiusberg and highlighting the status they held as pilgrimage places and beacons of Catholic pride on a confessional frontier. Sankt Wendel was the most important of the three sites. Today a district capital of about 25,000 inhabitants, it was a bustling but small town of fewer than 1,500

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<sup>9</sup> See the last paragraphs of this section and parts of Chapter 4 for more detail and bibliographical references on the edict of 1784.

<sup>10</sup> For example, it goes unmentioned in a recent edition of reports from pastoral visits including the one in 1770 that sparked the conflict: Margarete Stitz and Johannes Naumann, *Pfarrvisitationen im Schaumberger Land: Akten der Pfarreien Tholey, Thalexweiler, Marpingen, Bliesen, Theley und Hasborn von 1569 bis 1781 (Transkription, Übersetzung und Kommentar)* (Tholey: Förderverein der Benediktinerabtei St. Mauritius Tholey, 2014).

<sup>11</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 71, pp. 119–20, Johann Augustin Lauxen to Hontheim, Theley, May 28, 1771, here p. 119: “si l’ordonnance etoit generale, il n’y auroit point d’opposition.”

in the late eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup> It had received its name from Saint Wendelin, an early medieval saint whose most influential hagiographer, Nikolaus Keller, was a man of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Keller's life of Saint Wendelin, first published in 1704, described the saint as a Scottish prince who had abandoned the splendors of his royal home to become first a pilgrim, then a miracle-working shepherd, hermit, and missionary, and eventually the abbot of Tholey in 597 before passing away in 617.<sup>13</sup> The legend thus linked the sacral topographies of Sankt Wendel and Tholey, but even within the town and on its immediate outskirts, holy sites abounded. The impressive parish church, the so-called *Wendalinusdom* built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, probably drew the biggest pilgrim crowds. In addition, three chapels—the *Magdalenenkapelle*, the *Annenkapelle*, and the *Wendelsbrunnenkapelle*—were frequently visited by both individual pilgrims and entire processions.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See the remarks on the town's economy and growing number of inhabitants in the eighteenth century, from about 700 in 1745 to about 1,200 in the 1780s or early 1790s, in Paul Krämer, "Vom gewerblichen Leben einer Kleinstadt: Ein Beitrag zur wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der Stadt St. Wendel vom 17. bis 20. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Saargegend* 17/18 (1969/70): 171–92, esp. 175 and 177. According to an official description of the *Amt* of St. Wendel, penned around 1784, the town had a population of 1,370: Peter Brommer, *Kurtrier am Ende des Alten Reichs: Edition und Kommentierung der kurtrierischen Amtsbeschreibungen von (1772) 1783 bis ca. 1790*, 2 vols. (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2008), 2:1048. In 1798, the town had 1,313 inhabitants according to Joseph Hansen, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte des Rheinlandes im Zeitalter der französischen Revolution, 1780–1801*, 4 vols. (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1931–1938), 4:771.

<sup>13</sup> *Beschreibung des tugendreichen Lebens vom H. Einsiedler und Abt Wendelini, gebornen Königs-Sohn in Schottland, Sammt Tagzeiten, Litaney und verschiedenen Andachten zu gemeldetem Heiligen, wie auch Morgen-Abend- Meß- Beicht- und Communion-Gebethe, sodann die Vespere auf Deutsch und Latein für alle Sonn- und Festtage des ganzen Jahrs* (Trier: Leistenschneider, 1704), esp. 5–39; on Keller's exuberant imagination and his pivotal role in the history of the Wendelin legend, the fundamental contribution is Alois Selzer, *St. Wendelin: Leben und Verehrung eines alemannisch-fränkischen Volksheiligen*, 2nd, rev. ed. (Mödling bei Wien: St. Gabriel-Verlag, 1962 [1935]), 91–100.

<sup>14</sup> The Magdalen Chapel was important in the eighteenth century because locals and pilgrims—who also called it *Wendelskapelle*—believed that it had been Wendelin's original grave site, which had housed the saint's relics until the construction of the *Wendalinusdom*: cf. PfA WND, B 28, pp. 628–48, Sankt Wendel parish leaders to the archbishop, February 23, 1794, esp. 646: "Die Kapelle ist die uralte Mutterkirche dahier, welche endlich wegen zunehmender Volksmenge, als zu klein verlassen wurde. Aber weil allda das Grab des hl. Wendelinus noch ist, woraus seine Gebeine in die neuerbaute größere Kirche versetzt worden sind; so ist die Andacht, und Hochachtung zu dieser Kapelle allgemein so groß, daß alle Wallfahrer dieser vorzüglicher Andacht halber besuchen." On St. Anne's Chapel and the *Wendelsbrunnenkapelle* as pilgrimage destinations in the early modern period, see Gerd Schmitt, "Die Annenkapelle und die Wendelskapelle: Zwei Wallfahrtstätten und ihre Beziehung zu St. Wendel," *Heimatsbuch des Landkreises St. Wendel* 25 (1993/1994): 131–37; Gerd Schmitt, *Die St. Sebastianus-Bruderschaft von St. Wendel: Ihr Wirken und ihre Bedeutung im Leben unserer Stadt* (Merzig: Krüger Druck + Verlag, 2016), 76–108. On all three chapels as well as on the broader history of the town, Roland Geiger has also published

Although even rough estimates of total annual visitors are impossible to obtain for the eighteenth century, we do know that the cult of Saint Wendelin reached the height of its flourishing at that time. Rural Catholics held Wendelin in particular esteem as a patron saint of livestock.<sup>15</sup> Many parish communities in the region went on pilgrimage to Sankt Wendel each year in order to honor him. Others organized extraordinary pilgrimage processions when deadly diseases circulated among the cattle and peasants urgently needed Wendelin as a heavenly intercessor.<sup>16</sup> Overall, we may plausibly assume that Sankt Wendel received more than ten thousand pilgrims a year on the eve of the French revolutionary period.

Located some ten kilometers west of Sankt Wendel, Tholey Abbey is primarily known as one of Germany's oldest monasteries, and its early modern appeal as a holy site on the confessional frontier owed much to its power as a big Benedictine convent. Though repeatedly pillaged in the wars of the seventeenth century and drowning in debt at the end of the Old Regime, the abbey continued to shape the lives of surrounding rural populations.<sup>17</sup> It held a vast array of seignorial and tithe-related rights on a regional scale. Many of the villagers tied to the abbey by these legal relationships also accomplished annual processions to Tholey in honor of Saint Maurice, the patron saint of the abbey, whose relics constituted its main spiritual treasure. More precisely, a list from 1454 names fifty parishes obligated to go on these processions, and Nikolaus Kyll's work on similar *Pflichtprozessionen* to other places in the Diocese of Trier demonstrates that, by and large, such obligations remained intact in this region until the

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numerous valuable documents and commentaries, many of which are accessible online at <http://www.hfrg.de> (last accessed July 30, 2020).

<sup>15</sup> Selzer, *St. Wendelin*, 172–87, 411.

<sup>16</sup> For an example of such an extraordinary procession organized in 1788, see Andreas Heinz, *Heilige im Saarland*, 2nd, rev. and expanded ed. (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1991), 74.

<sup>17</sup> Makarios Hebeler and Hans-Walter Herrmann, "Tholey," in *Die Männer- und Frauenklöster der Benediktiner in Rheinland-Pfalz und Saarland*, ed. Friedhelm Jürgensmeier and Regina Elisabeth Schwerdtfeger (St. Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 1999), 849–94, esp. 852–4 (origins), 857–8 (crises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).

revolutionary era.<sup>18</sup> Tholey did not have an extended pilgrimage season—unlike Sankt Wendel, where multiple feast days punctuated the months of May through October. Rather, all processions converged on Tholey Abbey on the same day each year (the Friday after Pentecost), and this spectacle could rival the main pilgrimage festivals celebrated in Sankt Wendel.

Finally, perched atop a hill just west of Tholey, a chapel under the patronage of Saint Blaise attracted numerous annual processions from the surrounding area as well. The *Blasiuskapelle* stood under the jurisdiction of Tholey Abbey and was rebuilt in 1716 in the Baroque style. As was the case with several other relatively remote pilgrimage chapels in the Diocese of Trier,<sup>19</sup> two or three hermits lived next to the shrine, took care of it, welcomed visiting pilgrims, and collected their offerings. Most processions came here on either February 3 (the saint's feast day) or April 25 (Saint Mark's Day, a fixture in the processional calendar of Catholic communities). On both days, the crowds would attend first a solemn mass and then an annual fair on the hilltop—an occasion to buy or sell livestock but also to quench one's thirst. According to a document from 1775, some two thousand liters of wine and beer were served during the Blasiusberg fairs of that year, so pilgrims presumably numbered in the thousands. They came from up to fifty villages and hamlets across the *Bailliage de Schambourg*, the district to which Tholey belonged.<sup>20</sup> Together, Sankt Wendel, Tholey, and Blasiusberg formed a powerful cluster of well-frequented holy sites in the second half of the eighteenth century.

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<sup>18</sup> Ferdinand Pauly, "Die Tholeyer Prozessionsliste von 1454," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 29 (1964): 331–36; Kyll, *Pflichtprozessionen*, esp. 151–2 on gradual, very limited erosion of this custom from the sixteenth century to the 1780s. For a discussion of the blurry boundaries between *Pflichtprozession* and pilgrimage 'in the strict sense,' see my remarks on Saint-Ursanne in Chapter 1.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., Schankweiler in the Eifel and Girsterklaus on the Luxembourgian border. See Chapter 5.

<sup>20</sup> Johannes Naumann, *Die Blasiuskapelle bei Bergweiler: Wallfahrtskirche der Benediktinerabtei Tholey* (Bergweiler: Förderverein Blasiuskapelle Bergweiler e.V., 2005), esp. 19–23 (on the Baroque chapel), 61–73 (on the pilgrimage and the hermits; 64 on beer and wine in 1775).

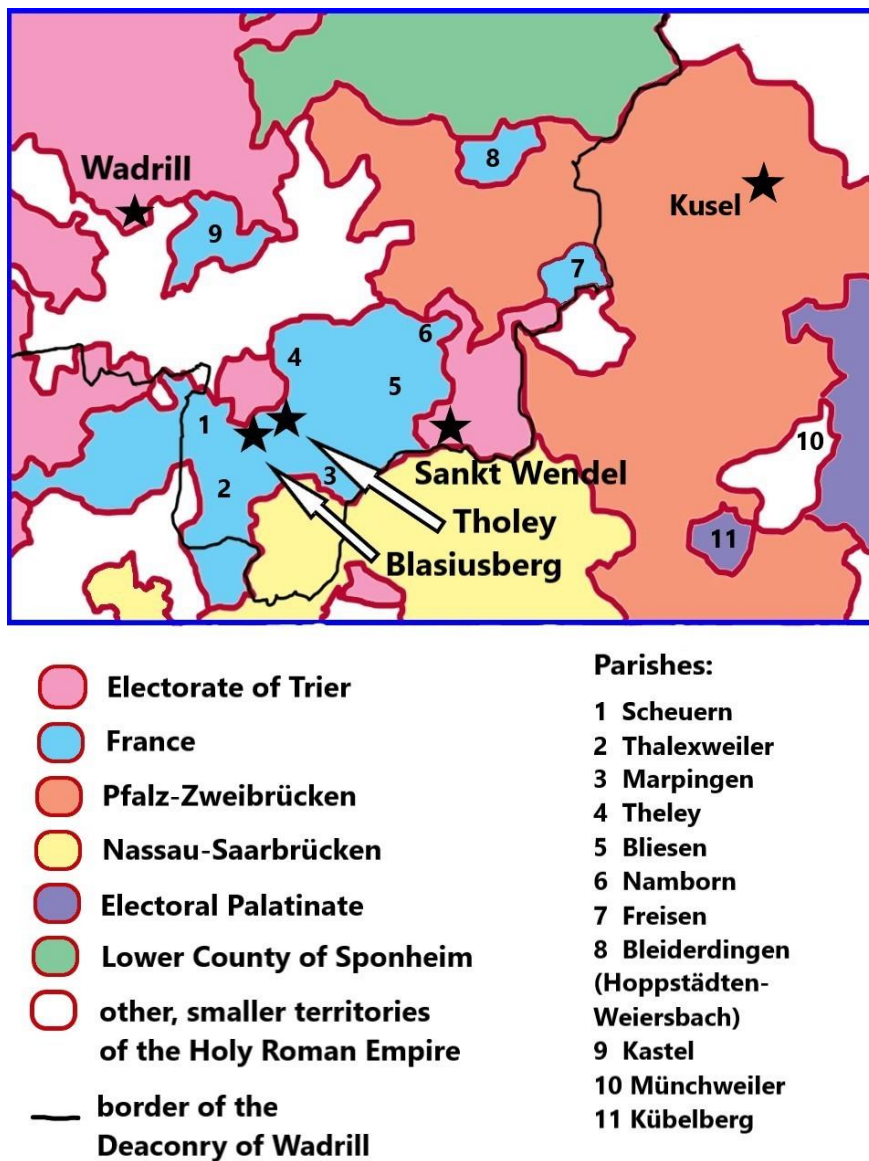
A multitude of ecclesiastical and civil borders ran around this cluster in 1770, creating something that looked like spatial disorder to the enlightened beholder (see the map below). Within the Diocese of Trier, both Sankt Wendel and Tholey belonged to the Deaconry (*Landkapitel*) of Wadrill. Many of the communities in this deaconry, including Sankt Wendel, also found themselves under the temporal jurisdiction of the archbishop: they formed part of the Electorate of Trier. By contrast, Tholey and nine other parishes in the same deaconry belonged to the *Bailliage de Schambourg* in the Kingdom of France (in Lorraine before 1766). The archbishop's general vicariate at Trier exercised spiritual authority over the parts of the deaconry situated in the electorate, but this control did not extend to the French part. As protectors of the Gallican Church, the kings of France sought to limit the influence of foreign prelates, and Habsburg rulers of the Austrian Netherlands took a similar stance. Therefore, the archbishops had to designate auxiliary bishops such as Hontheim to manage spiritual affairs in the French and Luxembourgian parts of the diocese—under the constant watch of secular authorities in Nancy, Luxembourg, and beyond.<sup>21</sup> This splintering is a classic feature of early modern border regions and of the early modern Holy Roman Empire.<sup>22</sup> It explains why, in 1770, Hontheim was responsible for the Schambourg parishes and could target only these parishes in his ordinance against processions to Sankt Wendel, Tholey, and Blasiusberg.

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. Wolfgang Seibrich, "Das Erzbistum Trier als Teil der Gesamtkirche," in *Kirchenreform und Konfessionsstaat (1500–1801): Geschichte des Bistums Trier*, Vol. 3, ed. Bernhard Schneider (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2010), 147–199, esp. 186–93. On the deaconries: Bernhard Schneider, "Strukturen der Seelsorge und kirchlichen Verwaltung: Archidiakonat, Landkapitel und Pfarrei," in *Kirchenreform und Konfessionsstaat (1500–1801): Geschichte des Bistums Trier*, Vol. 3, ed. Bernhard Schneider (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2010), 131–46. On the complex territorial issues involving Tholey and Sankt Wendel, see also Ferdinand Pauly, *Siedlung und Pfarrorganisation im alten Erzbistum Trier: Das Landkapitel Wadrill* (Trier: Bistumsarchiv Trier, 1965), 113–56.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the expression "low degree of boundary coincidence" in Scholz, *Borders*, 230; see also Falk Bretschneider and Christophe Duhamelle, "Fraktalität: Raumgeschichte und soziales Handeln im Alten Reich," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 43, no. 4 (2016): 703–46, esp. 727–32.

Map 3: Territories of the Region around Sankt Wendel and Tholey in 1770



Map drawn by the author on the basis of Franz Irsigler, *Geschichtlicher Atlas der Rheinlande, Lieferung V/1: Herrschaftsgebiete im Jahre 1789* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1982) and Nikolaus Zimmer and Hans-Ernst Noack, *Archiepiscopatus Trevirensis: Das Erzbistum Trier bis um 1800*, Bistumsarchiv Trier (Trier, 1952). Adjustments reflecting the situation of 1770 are based on information from BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 71 and Wilhelm Fabricius, *Erläuterungen zum Geschichtlichen Atlas der Rheinprovinz. Zweiter Band: Die Karte von 1789. Einteilung und Entwicklung der Territorien von 1600 bis 1794* (Bonn: Hermann Behrendt, 1898).

The map also shows that an intricate web of borders between different territories of the Holy Roman Empire surrounded Sankt Wendel and Tholey. The parish of Sankt Wendel, which included the town itself as well as a handful of surrounding villages, constituted a Catholic outpost since the sixteenth century. It bordered mostly on the Lutheran County of Nassau-Saarbrücken in the south and on the primarily Calvinist Duchy of Pfalz-Zweibrücken in the north and the east. A bit further north, the parish of Bleiderdingen (today Hoppstädten-Weiersbach) formed a French, Catholic exclave surrounded by two Protestant territories—Pfalz-Zweibrücken and the Lower County of Sponheim. East of Sankt Wendel and south of the *zweibrückisch* town of Kusel, another smattering of Catholic communities dotted the map, notably the districts of (Glan-)Münchweiler and Kübelberg. While Münchweiler belonged to the Imperial Counts von der Leyen, Kübelberg was situated on the western fringes of the Electoral Palatinate (*Kurpfalz*). This important principality had served as a beacon of Calvinism between the second half of the sixteenth century and the late seventeenth century. In 1685, however, the electoral dignity fell to a Catholic prince, Philipp Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg. King Louis XIV of France disputed Philipp Wilhelm's succession, which triggered the so-called Nine Years' War of 1688–97, but Louis XIV also hoped to foster the Catholicization of the Palatinate. Due to French diplomatic pressure and against the provisions of the Treaties of Westphalia (1648), the new Treaty of Ryswick (1697) enshrined large legal openings for Catholics to settle and conduct public worship in this territory.<sup>23</sup> For example, in the eighteenth century, a new Catholic parish

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<sup>23</sup> The same was true for the region's other majority-Protestant territories, including Pfalz-Zweibrücken and Nassau-Saarbrücken. That the treaty of Ryswick and princely conversions crucially accelerated the confessional dynamics in this part of the Empire is shown in great detail by Jalabert, *Catholiques et protestants*.

community of Kübelberg went on annual processions to Sankt Wendel, apparently resuming a tradition that the Calvinist “times of heresy” had disrupted.<sup>24</sup>

Such processions repeatedly gave rise to conflict in the mid-eighteenth century as they crossed through Protestant territory on their way to Sankt Wendel or Tholey. In 1752, Christian IV of Pfalz-Zweibrücken decreed that processions from Bleiderdingen to Tholey and from Kübelberg to Sankt Wendel—both of which traversed the *zweibrückisch* district of Nohfelden—should be allowed to continue. They must, however, lower their parish banners and abstain from loud chanting or praying when passing through Protestant villages.<sup>25</sup> Catholics did not consistently respect these conditions. In 1764, the new parish priest of Kübelberg reported to the Palatine government in Mannheim that, some years prior, several of his parishioners had been injured in a brawl with Protestants during a procession from Kübelberg to Sankt Wendel. Still, the priest added, the inhabitants of Kübelberg wanted not only to keep going on this annual procession but also “to sing and to chant while passing through any settlements, as is customary among Catholics.”<sup>26</sup> A similar violent clash during a procession had occurred in 1758 or 1759

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<sup>24</sup> *Kurze Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Wendelinus mit angehängten Tagzeiten und andern Gebethen samt einem beigefügten kurzen Gebethbuch für Katholiken* (St. Wendel: Johann Steininger, 1797), 23: “Es ist auch gewiß, daß der H. Wendelinus einmal von der Pfarrey Kibelberg, in der Pfalz gelegen, eine allgemeine Pest abgewendet habe; da das hart bedrängte Volk seine Hilfe anrief, und sich verlobte eine jährliche Prozeßion mit einer Kerze von 4 Pfund zu entrichten [...]. Diese Prozeßion ist zwar in vorigen ketzerischen Zeiten viele Jahre unterlassen, vor einigen Jahren [i.e., some years before 1704, the year of publication of the book from which Steininger was copying here] aber wieder eifrig angefangen worden durch Hrn. Christopf Weintraud, zeitlichen Pastorn daselbst.”

<sup>25</sup> LA Sp, Best. B 2, Nr. 169/7, Zweibrücken government to Amt Nohfelden, October 19, 1752: “Serenissimi Nostri Hochfürstl. Durchlaucht gnädigst verordnet haben, daß denen auß dem Kübelberger Gericht nach Trier, und auß dem Lotharingischen Ambt Schaumburg nach Tholey gehenden Wallfahrten der Durchgang durch das Ambt Nohefelden, jedoch dergestalten gestattet werden solle, daß, sobald die processionen an einen unter diesseitige Hoheit gehörigen Orth kommen, sie die Fahnen senken, und ohne Gesang, lautes Gebeth und Geleuth, geradewegs durch den Orth hindurch gehen, und die dasige protestanten durch den ihnen gönnenden ohnschädlichen Durchgang keineswegs molestiren sollen.”

<sup>26</sup> LA Sp, Best. B 2, Nr. 1056/4, ff. 28–29, *Pfarrer Löhr to Regierungsrat* von Günter, Kübelberg, May 10, 1764, here 28r: “Ew. Hochwohlgebohrene erlauben, daß bey Gelegenheit hoch denen selben notificire, wie daß bey abgelebten Herrn Pastorn zu Kübelberg Streitigkeiten wegen alljähriger gehaltener procession auff den letzten Pfingst Feyerdag von Kübelberg ad Sanctum Wendelinum vorgefallen seyen, der gestalten, daß viele von denen Cathol. verwundet, die Sach auch noch nicht ausgemacht worden, und dannoch mögten meine Pfarrkinder die Procession nicht in Abgang kommen lassen, so mögte gehorsamst-unterhändigst bitten mich hierrin zu berichtigen,



between the Catholics of Bleiderdingen and their Protestant neighbors—probably the inhabitants of Nohfelden, a village located between Bleiderdingen and Tholey. As a result, Bleiderdingen’s annual communal visits to Tholey Abbey ceased.<sup>27</sup> Finally, in 1767 and 1769, the Catholics of Münchweiler—in processions led not by their priest but by a lay *Kirchenzensor*—caused further outrage in the Protestant community of Ohmbach by ostentatiously marching through this village on their way to Sankt Wendel, in a deliberate departure from their usual itinerary.<sup>28</sup> All these incidents, largely driven by laypeople rather than priests on the Catholic side, reflect a broader pattern: Catholic pilgrimage processions through Protestant territories in the Holy Roman Empire often sparked mutual provocations and violence throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>29</sup>

A more systematic challenge against pilgrimage processions in the region, however, came from within the hierarchy of the Catholic Church itself and seemed at first unrelated to Catholic–Protestant conflict. In early 1770, Hontheim entrusted Johann Augustin Lauxen with the task of visiting the ten French parishes in the Deaconry of Wadrill on the bishop’s behalf. As parish priest of Theley, Lauxen had seized the occasion of the last pastoral visit, in 1760, to submit a lengthy complaint about the abuses he considered prevalent at pilgrimage festivals:

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ob eß auf die vorige Arth wiederum einrichten könne, nemlich durch alle Orthschafften zu singen, und zu betten, wie bey denen Cathol. gebräuchlich.”

<sup>27</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 71, pp. 191–2, report of churchwardens (with confirming signature by the parish priest) of Bleiderdingen, August 20, 1772, here 191: “hier von unerdencklichen Zeiten her in das abteyliche Gottes Hauß Tholey von der Pfarrkirchen Bleiderding und Hobstätten geführte procession, vor etwan 13 oder 14 Jahr mit gröster Unzufriedenheit der obgen(annten) Pfarrey aus der Ursachen ein Ende genommen, maßen die acatholische Nachbarschaft eine solche procession mit Gewalt und aller Gegenwehr zu verhindern gesucht, auch darum dieses sonste gute Werk nicht ohne würckliche verdrießliche Äußerungen aufrecht hat mögen gehalten werden.”

<sup>28</sup> These incidents are documented in detail in LA Sp, Best. B 2, Nr. 181/6; see esp. ff. 1r–2r, *Oberamt Lichtenberg* to the Zweibrücken government, Kusel, May 24, 1769, on the *Kirchenzensor*’s leadership.

<sup>29</sup> For similar instances of this pattern, see, for the region discussed in this chapter: Jalabert, *Catholiques et protestants*, 420–6; and for other regions: Goy, *Aufklärung und Volksfrömmigkeit*, 157–8; Eduard Hegel, “Prozessionen und Wallfahrten im alten Erzbistum Köln im Zeitalter des Barock und der Aufklärung,” *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 84/85 (1977/78): 301–19, here 316; Alois Döring, “Wallfahrtsleben im 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Hirt und Herde: Religiosität und Frömmigkeit im Rheinland des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Frank Günter Zehnder (Köln: DuMont, 2000), 37–58, here 45; Daniel Drascek, “Räumliche Horizonte: Zur Konstruktion von Räumlichkeit durch frühneuzeitliche Mobilität zu süddeutschen Kultstätten,” *Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient* 29 (2003): 287–306, here 297; Duhamelle, *La frontière au village*, 192–5.

around the shrines, pilgrims offended God and ruined their own souls by “gourmandizing, dancing, getting into fistfights, whoring, and so on,” sometimes “even at the same time as Mass is celebrated.”<sup>30</sup> Lauxen’s accusations were not entirely baseless. Most notably, on St. Mark’s Day in 1756, pilgrims at Blasiusberg had beaten each other up with lashes or sticks, to the point of leaving one man dead and two others dangerously injured.<sup>31</sup> Hontheim may have delegated the visit in 1770 to Lauxen because this pastor would most likely put together as devastating a dossier as possible against the ‘abuses’ perpetrated by pilgrims.<sup>32</sup> After all, in that period, Hontheim worked to implement enlightened reforms in the religious life and liturgy of the diocese more broadly, as the work of Andreas Heinz and Gilbert Trausch has shown.<sup>33</sup> Either Hontheim or Lauxen himself even modified the questionnaire for the pastoral visit of 1770, adding suggestive questions such as: “Aren’t processions led to places where there are public markets, where wine and brandy is generously served” and where festivities degenerate “into bloodshed, maimings and killings, immodesty, blasphemy, fornication, and other kinds of public scandal?” Furthermore: “Are such processions apt and made to soothe the divine Being, moving

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<sup>30</sup> Stitz and Naumann, *Pfarrvisitationen*, 250: “huic accredit abusus in faciendis processionibus in hisce partibus vigens [...] quod vel ipsum officiorum tempus, immo et nocturnum a proterva non modo juventute, sed et ipsis etiam provectoribus helluando, saltando, rixando, scortando etc. foeditatibus et Divini Numinis offensis absumatur.”

<sup>31</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 71, pp. 47–9, excerpt from the minutes of the Trier diocesan officialate, March 18, 1761.

<sup>32</sup> I agree with Stitz and Naumann, *Pfarrvisitationen*, 10 on this point.

<sup>33</sup> Andreas Heinz, “Liturgie und Frömmigkeitsleben im Erzbistum Trier unter Erzbischof Clemens Wenzeslaus (1768–1801),” in *Der Trierer Erzbischof und Kurfürst Clemens Wenzeslaus (1739–1812), eine historische Bilanz nach 200 Jahren: Vorträge einer Tagung in der Stadtbibliothek Trier im November 2012*, ed. Michael Embach (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2014), 21–44, esp. 33–6; Gilbert Trausch, “L’Octave de Notre-Dame de Luxembourg aux prises avec le josphisme et les réformes catholiques du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Hémecht. Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte = Revue d’histoire luxembourgeoise* 18, no. 3 (1966): 333–62, esp. 339–48. To be sure, reforms were sometimes initiated by Archbishop Clemens Wenzeslaus and not by Hontheim, who nevertheless helped carry them out: see, e.g., Andreas Heinz, “Die Prümer Springprozession: Ihr Verbot durch Erzbischof Klemens Wenzeslaus im Jahre 1778 und ihr Fortleben im Volk,” *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 28 (1976): 83–100, here 88–9.

It to take pity, spare, and bless us? Or rather to produce the very dreadful opposite of those desirable effects?”<sup>34</sup> In short, Hontheim and Lauxen were putting the three pilgrimages on trial.

And indeed, Lauxen’s visit provided more than enough evidence to justify a radical intervention by the bishop. According to Lauxen’s report, eight of the ten parishes had major issues with their annual pilgrimage processions. Parish priests generally complained that their flocks did not stick to processional order on their way back from shrines such as Tholey and Blasiusberg. Many lay churchwardens admitted that pilgrimages to these places could foster excessive behaviors and promised that they would submit to an episcopal ordinance directed against those abuses. To be sure, for some parishes such as Kastel and Exweiler, Lauxen wrote that “the churchwardens were divided” on these questions—or simply afraid to speak out, as they allegedly were in Tholey, where one powerful local inhabitant profited from the pilgrimage festivals of Tholey and Blasiusberg because he held a royal monopoly allowing him to sell wine and liquor on these occasions every other year.<sup>35</sup> Yet the overall picture clearly confirmed what Lauxen had already asserted in 1760: “It would be much better not to go on pilgrimage at all than to go on pilgrimage with this kind of fervor.”<sup>36</sup> Even the relationship with Lutheran neighbors came up in one instance as another part of the problem. The Catholics of Marpingen went on

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<sup>34</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 71, p. 9, from the questionnaire of the 1770 visit: “44. An processiones non deducuntur ad ejusmodi loca, ubi sunt mercatus publici, ubi large propinatur vinum, et adustum; ubi tumultus inconditi, inebriationes, rixae, percussiones frequentes, imo annuae, usque ad sanguinis effusiones, mutilationes, occisiones, immodestiae, blasphemiae, scortationes, aliaque scandala publica? [...] 47. Quid judicant pastor et synodales de ejusmodi processionibus? Num hujusmodi processiones aptae nataeque sint ad placandum divinum Numen, illudque permovendum ad miserendum, parcendum, benedicendum nobis? An non potius ad producendos contrarios his effectibus speratis, effectus pertimescendos?”

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 15 and 36 (“synodales divisi” in Exweiler and Kastel), p. 17 on the lack of answers to the relevant questions asked in Tholey: “Hic nihil iterum extortum ; synodalis caeteri metu unius (quem et ipse pastor merito reformidat) cathogorice respondere non ausi, is enim alternis annis, nomine Regis, in Tholeja et Sti Blasii monte, diebus processionum habet jus exclusivum promendi vinum, et adustum, praefertque lucellum temporale honori Dei, et sanctorum ejus, uti et christianae convenientiae et animarum salutem.”

<sup>36</sup> Stitz and Naumann, *Pfarrvisitationen*, 250: “multo satius esset non peregrinari omnino, quam peregrinari in tali fervore.”

annual processions to Illingen, an exclave of the Electorate of Trier surrounded by *saarbrückisch* territory. On their way through various Lutheran villages situated between Marpingen and Illingen, these pilgrims “are not only insulted but often even assaulted, provoking serious dangers of deadly clashes” according to Lauxen’s notes.<sup>37</sup> Little wonder that Hontheim, in his *ordinata* of August 23, 1770, included this procession to Illingen in his general ban on pilgrimage processions from any of the ten French parishes to Sankt Wendel, Tholey, or Blasiusberg.<sup>38</sup>

These measures radically questioned the ways in which Catholic communities in the area built and maintained a regional, religious sense of place. For one thing, judging from Lauxen’s notes about his pastoral visit, the ten parishes had no other noteworthy pilgrimage destinations. In part because the surrounding territorial patchwork included many Protestant principalities, the density of shrines was lower here than in many other parts of the Diocese of Trier. So, would-be pilgrims had fewer nearby options to choose from, which may have made their loss of Sankt Wendel, Tholey, and Blasiusberg all the more sensitive.<sup>39</sup> From Hontheim’s perspective, their only legitimate replacement consisted in short and modest, separate processions within the confines of each parish—no more festive gatherings, no more encounters with prestigious

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<sup>37</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 71, p. 19 on Marpingen: “ex hoc loco fit processio in Ilingen extra dioecsin, ad plures leucas, per terras Luthericoles, a quibus non exsibilantur modo sed et minis[?] etiam saepe impetuntur, cum periculis non levibus conflictuum mortiferorum.”

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 53–61, Hontheim’s *ordinata*, Kärlich Castle, August 23, 1770, esp. p. 54: “Cum ex praemissa visitatione et aliunde compertum nobis sit, processiones in monte Sti Blasii, in Tholeya et in oppido Sti Wendelini ad placandam Dei iram et ejus benedictionem consequendam institutas, a praemissis parochiis fieri solitas, ob inebriationes, rixas, tumultus, percussiones, multilationes[sic], occasiones, blasphemias, fornicationes aliaque mala publica, scandalosas potius esse quam aedificativas ; sic easdem uti et illam de Marpingen in Ilingen harum tenore penitus abrogamus.”

<sup>39</sup> On the importance of Catholic shrines as “des points d’appui essentiels pour la diaspora catholique” in largely or overwhelmingly Protestant areas, cf. Jalabert, *Catholiques et protestants*, 449.

relics.<sup>40</sup> And even beyond the ten French parishes, the veneration of Saint Maurice (the patron saint of Tholey Abbey) and Saint Wendelin would take a serious hit. By abolishing the procession from Tholey to Sankt Wendel, Hontheim effectively amputated the ceremonial structure that literally brought the two saints together: every year on the Wednesday after Pentecost, the procession from Tholey to Sankt Wendel carried the relics of Saint Maurice with it, so all the pilgrims coming to Sankt Wendel on that day could honor Maurice and Wendelin at the same time. Then, on the following Friday, the parishioners of Sankt Wendel conversely carried Wendelin's relics to Tholey, enabling another solemn meeting between the two saints. Now, however, Hontheim had forbidden the first of these two important processions in which Catholics from across the region could—as the prior of Tholey Abbey explained in a letter to Hontheim—celebrate the protection afforded them by their two “patrons of the land.”<sup>41</sup>

The scope of the disruption helps us understand why Catholic villagers chose to contest Hontheim's decision. At the start of the next pilgrimage season, right after Saint Mark's Day in 1771, Lauxen informed Hontheim that the parishioners of Exweiler, Marpingen, and Bliesen had undertaken their usual processions to Blasiusberg anyway—against the will of their own parish priests and “to the extraordinary scandal of the other parishes.”<sup>42</sup> Hontheim responded with vigor. He complained in turn to Pascal-Joseph de Marcol, *procureur général* of the Sovereign

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<sup>40</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 71, pp. 53–61, Hontheim's *ordinata*, Kärlich Castle, August 23, 1770, p. 54: “volumus ut dominica Diem fixam praedictarum processionum antecedente, aut ea impedita, subsequente per decantationem solitarum precum et processionem in districtu parochiae faciendam iidem debite invocentur et venerentur.”

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 151–4, prior of Tholey to Hontheim, Tholey, June 11, 1772, esp. 153 on pilgrims’ “auferbaulichster Danksagung zu Gott, daß sie in Zusammenkunft beyder hiesiger Landspatronen Gott in seinen Heiligen anwiederum verehren konnten” (this letter was written after Hontheim had withdrawn his ordinance). For a similar, detailed description of the second meeting between the two saints on the Friday after Pentecost, see PFA WND, B 31, pp. 159–61, parish priest and churchwardens of St. Wendel to the General Vicariate, St. Wendel, February 16, 1785.

<sup>42</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 71, p. 101, Lauxen to Hontheim, Tholey, April 28, 1771: “quaedam parochiae, Exweiler nimirum, Marpingen et Bliesen, invititis et reclamantibus pastoribus suis, raptis clam et violenter crucibus suarum ecclesiarum, processionaliter ad dictum montem S. Blasii processerint, cum gravissimo caeterarum parochiarum scandalo.”

Court at Nancy that had given the French state's confirmation to Hontheim's episcopal ordinance. De Marcol promptly had the Bailiff of Schambourg throw the mayors of Exweiler, Marpingen, Bliesen, and—for good measure—Tholey into jail for three days.<sup>43</sup> This harsh measure only fanned the flames of the conflict. On May 28, Lauxen claimed that he barely dared leave his house these days, given how much “the imprisonment of the four mayors has alarmed people throughout this region.”<sup>44</sup> As the pilgrimage season of 1771 ended, the struggle remained unresolved, and after the lay parish leaders of Tholey sent their second petition in May 1772, Hontheim reinvestigated the affair through different commissioners.<sup>45</sup>

No longer influenced or subdued by Lauxen, local clergy and parish notables now openly defended their customary communal pilgrimages. In doing so, they inverted the themes of social conflict and religious scandal that Hontheim and Lauxen had initially mobilized against the processions. For example, the churchwardens of Bliesen admitted that “some boisterousness” had occasionally marred the parishioners' devotional visits to Blasiusberg, Tholey, and Sankt Wendel in the past. Yet the “general uproar” triggered by the *ban* on these processions was much worse and the measures had thus proved counter-productive, these laymen suggested. The churchwardens and priest of Freisen deployed a very similar argument.<sup>46</sup> The new commissioner

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 107–10, correspondence between Hontheim and de Marcol, May 4 and 14, 1771.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp. 119–20, Lauxen to Hontheim, Theley, May 28, 1771, here p. 119: “L'emprisonnement des quatre maires a tellement effarouché les gens de tout ce païs, qu'a peine ose-je sortir.”

<sup>45</sup> Lauxen had recently resigned his post at Theley, probably due to old age and bad health. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 157–60, Demerath (parish priest at Exweiler) to Hontheim, undated (probably late August 1772), here 158 on Lauxen, “olim pastor in Theley.” Lauxen died on November 14, 1772 according to Stütz and Naumann, *Pfarrvisitationen*, 265.

<sup>46</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 71, pp. 185–6, declaration of churchwardens at Bliesen, August 18, 1772, here 185: “daß zwar in Haltung deren processionen auf den so genannten Blasy Berg, und abteylichen Gottes Hauß Tholey in der Pfingstwoch des Freytag, wie dan auch den Mittwoch zuvor auf St. Wendel einige Ausgelaßenheiten geschehen, so auch völlig verbeßeret; daß aber durch Absetzung gemelter processionen eine allgemeine Ärgernuß entstanden.” Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 177–8, declaration of churchwardens and priest at Freisen, August 19, 1772, here 177: “zwar hier und dort einige kleine Unordnungen endstanden, angesehen keine Heerd so rein, under welchen nit hie und dort ein unreines Schaaf gefunden,” but also deploring “den bekanten Auffruhr so entstanden wegen Absezung unserer processionen nacher St. Wendel und Tholaye.”

Demerath also warned in his report to Hontheim: “Most churchwardens want to resign from their office, and not without good reasons; they, after all, are blamed in almost all the villages for the abolition of the processions—a great slander they can no longer bear.”<sup>47</sup> In short, these statements painted a somber picture of tears running through the social fabric of the villages affected by the ban, which threatened to paralyze parish life and leadership.

Yet the pressure that produced these tears was not simply generated internally among Catholics: it also resulted from conflicts that flared up between Catholic villagers and nearby Protestant communities. The parish leaders of Bleiderdingen recalled the “very great discontent” caused in their community when they had had to discontinue their annual pilgrimage to Tholey years ago due to the violence with which nearby Protestants had disrupted the procession. Now that Hontheim’s ordinance had raised the issue again, these parishioners were hoping to recover their right to go on this pilgrimage.<sup>48</sup> The uproar described by the churchwardens of Bliesen, meanwhile, continued “especially here at the frontiers with the Lutherans and Calvinists.” They added: “We would hope to God that our true Christian Catholic religion did not receive too much mockery and dishonor” from these consequences of Hontheim’s ordinance.<sup>49</sup> The petition from Freisen struck an even more dramatic tone. By the ban on processions, “especially in our region, such uproar was created among the heretics who live barely fifteen minutes away from our village that no Catholic who passes through their localities gets away without the greatest religious reprimand; and so we have already suffered very much that affects our conscience.”

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., pp. 157–60, Demerath to Hontheim, here p. 159: “Synodales plurimi ab officio desistere volunt, et quidem non immerito, his enim, in omnibus fere pagis abrogatio processionum non sine maxima injuria imputatur, quam diutius ferre nequeunt.”

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., pp. 191–2, report of churchwardens and parish priest of Bleiderdingen, August 20, 1772.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., pp. 185–6, declaration of churchwardens of Bliesen, August 18, 1772, here 185: “daß aber durch Absetzung gemelter processionen eine allgemeine Ärgernuß entstanden, besonders in hiesigen Gräntzen bey den Lutheraner und Calviner, ist leyder Gottes zu viell bekant, und brauch keine weitere Probe. Wolte Gott, daß unser wahre Christ Chatolische Religion nure nicht zu viell debey zum Spott, und Schandt leyden müste.”

Thus, the petitioners begged Hontheim “to most graciously allow to reestablish the previous splendor of our vacillating religion for the heretics’ sake.”<sup>50</sup>

As several of the reports pointed out, a spatial disjuncture mediated and amplified the sense of confessional humiliation that these petitions articulated. To grasp this point, we need to recall that the ten French parishes were far from the only ones to go on annual pilgrimage processions to Tholey, Blasiusberg, or Sankt Wendel. Other villages—and the town of Sankt Wendel itself—belonged to the Electorate of Trier and therefore stood not under Hontheim’s spiritual authority but under that of the General Vicariate. In 1771, the General Vicariate had allowed these other communities to continue their pilgrimages and merely admonished them to keep the processional order not just while headed toward the shrines but also on their way back home.<sup>51</sup> I already quoted the parishioners of Tholey who claimed that this “shocking contradiction” was used by Protestant communities in the region to ridicule Catholicism.<sup>52</sup> Demerath similarly explained the “very great scandal for the non-Catholics who live extremely close to us”: they seized on the absurdity that he had to stay home with his parishioners on the Wednesday after Pentecost even though his parish (Exweiler) was only a few miles away from Tholey, while processions from much more distant parts of the diocese passed through Exweiler

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp. 177-8, declarations of churchwardens and priest at Freisen, August 19, 1772: “euwer hochw. Gnaden excellenz gnädigst geruhet die gewöhnliche processionen ganz abzusezen, und hierdurch besonders in unserer Gegend kaum ein Viertelstund von unserem Orth wohnenden Kezeren solche Ärgernus endstanden, daß auch kein catholischer so durch diese Örtler passiret ohne den größten Verwiß der Religion freygelassen wird und auch schon sehr vieles gelitten, welches unser Gewissen berühret” (177); “gnädigst zu erlauben unserer wanckelender Religion wegen den Kezeren ihre vorige Flor herzustellen” (178).

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 105, ordinance of the General Vicariate at Trier, April 30, 1771: “hisce mandamus omnibus D.D. curatis capituli Vadrillensis, ut processiones ab Ecclesiis consueto debito ordine non solum deducant, sed et easdem comitando, dicto ordine convenienter reducant.” Lauxen had directly brought the issue to the attention of the General Vicariate: cf. BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 16, p. 724, protocol entry of April 30, 1771: “Humillima expositio Pastoris Lauxen in Theley puncto processionum à pastoribus domum reducendarum.”

<sup>52</sup> Cf. above, fn. 2.



on their way to the abbey.<sup>53</sup> In short, far from reinforcing a homogenous spatial order by containing the processions of each community within its respective parish boundaries, Hontheim's ordinance had created spatial heterogeneity and even chaos.

Thus, confessional scandal stemmed from Protestants' ability to deride this heterogeneity as a sign that Catholics were deviating from their own, most basic standard of universality. The commission report drafted by the deacon of the Wadrill *Landkapitel* made this point explicit. The deacon propounded four reasons in favor of withdrawing the episcopal ordinance. His fourth argument, which he flagged as the most important one, stated that "the Catholic religion" might become "rather ridiculous" in the eyes of neighboring Protestants if the customary pilgrimage processions could no longer take place. Indeed, he asserted, "according to reliable information, a Lutheran preacher at the chancel already said that *the Catholics would soon resemble them* [i.e. Lutherans], *there was no unity among them* [i.e. Catholics] *anymore, even though they referred to unity as a principal feature of their religion.*"<sup>54</sup> This mockery speaks to the impact of Counter-Reformation apologetics, which had appropriated universality, a traditional criterion of doctrinal truth expressed in the Greek adjective *katholikos*, to the Roman Church—against the splintering of 'false' Protestant doctrines and churches.<sup>55</sup> So, according to the deacon, Catholics were

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<sup>53</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 71, pp. 157–60, Demerath to Hontheim, here 159: "Quodnam tandem scandalum dederit abrogatio hujus devotionis in tota nostra regione, exprimere non valeo; tempore processionis in Tholejia alios processionaliter ex alia regione per parochiam meam transeuntes conspiciere debebam, acatholicis hic proxime adjacentibus maximo scandalo, quod proximus Ecclesiae domi cum meis remanere fuerim coactus."

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp. 143–8, Deacon Lochen (parish priest at Hermeskeil) to Hontheim, Hermeskeil, May 25, 1772, here 145–6: "hauptsächlich aber 4to würde meines Erachtens die Catholische Religion, sofern diese processionen fallen solten, bey denen in dasiger Nachbarschaft wohnend- und anstoßenden Accatholicken (ob diese zware unserer Religions Sätz, und Gründe nicht einsehen, noch begreifen) einigermaaßen spöttlich warden [...], maaßen schon würcklich dem sicheren Angeben nach ein Lutherischer Praedicant auf der Canzel sich solle geäußert haben: die Catholicken kämen ihnen bald gleich, es seye bey ihnen, die doch auf die Einigkeit alß ein Hauptzeichen ihrer Religion sich beziehen thäten, keine Einigkeit mehr, etc." (underlining in the original). The other three reasons put forth by Lochen were the special solemnity of the processions in question, the devotion fostered by that solemnity, and the fact that numerous priests always accompanied and thus controlled the processions.

<sup>55</sup> On the centrality of these assumptions to early modern Catholic identity, see, e.g., van Kley, "Conclusion," here 310.

becoming nervous that Hontheim's ordinance might suddenly degrade their social status from proudly Catholic to wannabe Protestant, exposing them to humiliation at the hands of their neighboring confessional enemies. More broadly, as historians have shown, late-eighteenth-century Catholic Germany was abuzz with laypeople's fears of being turned Lutheran by their own enlightened ecclesiastical and state hierarchies.<sup>56</sup>

By foregrounding these fears of Protestant mockery and the crumbling of a spatial order capable of representing Catholicism-as-universalism, those who contested Hontheim's ordinance worked to beat enlightened Reform Catholicism at its own game. As I argue in the Introduction, the Enlightenment was crucially concerned with creating a more standardized arrangement of space. Yet, as petitioners pointed out to Hontheim, the preexisting spatial complexity of the borderlands thwarted his attempt to inch closer to such a homogenous arrangement. Confusion *increased* as only the ten French parishes of the region were affected by his ordinance. Catholic reformers were also motivated by what some historians have called an "inferiority complex"—a nagging sense that their confession was becoming a laughingstock due to the commonly alleged backwardness of Catholic German states, which were supposedly less prosperous, less well organized, and less able to curb superstition than their Protestant counterparts.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, protagonists of Reform Catholicism such as Hontheim had a strong interest in clamping down on any 'popular' practices that smacked of Baroque laziness, shocked enlightened sensibilities, and

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<sup>56</sup> See above all Peter Hersche, "'Lutherisch werden' – Rekonfessionalisierung als paradoxe Folge aufgeklärter Religionspolitik," in *Ambivalenzen der Aufklärung: Festschrift für Ernst Wangermann*, ed. Gerhard Ammerer and Hanns Haas (Vienna, Munich: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik/R. Oldenbourg, 1997), 155–68. Additional pertinent evidence in Duhamelle, *La frontière au village*, 148; Schmalfeldt, "Sub tuum praesidium," here 178; Christof Dipper, "Volksreligiosität und Obrigkeit im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Volksreligiosität in der modernen Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Schieder (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 73–96, here 90.

<sup>57</sup> Hersche, *Muße und Verschwendung*, 969: "jener katholische Inferioritätskomplex"; Heribert Raab, *Clemens Wenzeslaus von Sachsen und seine Zeit (1739–1812): Dynastie, Kirche und Reich im 18. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1962), 20: "Ausbildung eines Inferioritätsbewußtseins unter den Katholiken."

provoked Protestants' disdain.<sup>58</sup> Again, however, petitioners from Tholey and surrounding villages made the case that Hontheim's ordinance against their pilgrimage processions actually had the opposite of its intended effect: it only gave *more* ammunition to Protestants who were keen to ridicule their confessional rivals.

The auxiliary bishop gave way eventually. He may very well have realized that his initial measures had backfired in this instance. Though strongly committed to advancing the cause of enlightened reform, Hontheim was neither a stranger to realpolitik nor unwilling to craft pastoral compromises.<sup>59</sup> Thus, through a new ordinance drafted in September 1772, he allowed the ten French parishes to reinstitute their yearly communal pilgrimages to Sankt Wendel, Tholey, and Blasiusberg. While insisting on processional discipline and strict schedules, he also recognized that his decision of 1770 had caused "very great discontent among the people," that "parishioners' trust" in their churchwardens and priests was eroding, and that "all of this inflames the scorn of neighboring non-Catholics."<sup>60</sup> In other words, Hontheim accepted and echoed the arguments with which petitioners and commissioners had confronted him throughout the previous months.

This episode signals a remarkable shift in the roles that various social groups—the clergy and the laity, governing authorities and village communities—played in the making of confessional boundaries. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Counter-Reformation elites had exercised important though not exclusive agency in setting, enforcing, and continually

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<sup>58</sup> On this point, cf. first and foremost Duhamelle, *La frontière au village*, 141–6 (and 190–1 on Protestant mockery).

<sup>59</sup> On this point, see Trausch, "L'Octave," 347–8.

<sup>60</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 71, p. 195, episcopal ordinance, Trier, September 12, 1772: "a parochis, synodalibus et senioribus, nobis remonstratum fuerit ex suppressione processionum in Montem Sti Blasii, in Tholeyam et in oppidum Sti Wendelini, murmuraciones quam maximas excitatas fuisse in populo, parochos et synodales diversis exprobrationibus obrutos, parochianorum confidentiam de die in diem amittere, et haec omnia ludibrium vicinorum acatholicorum inflammare."

reinforcing those boundaries. Then, in the eighteenth century and especially during its second half, Catholic and Protestant elites both deconfessionalized themselves and hoped to deconfessionalize the people, too, in the name of a broadly Christian *Aufklärung*.<sup>61</sup> By that point, however, rural communities had thoroughly appropriated confessional identities and stereotypes. This development explains why the Catholics of Tholey and nearby villages were ready and willing to fight for their pilgrimage processions by embracing a leading role in reasserting the value and distinctness of Catholicism. They successfully channeled that confessional impulse into a contest over public, spatially salient worship that pitted them against the enlightened parts of their own ecclesiastical hierarchy. In that sense, we may speak of resistance to Enlightenment reforms, but only on the condition of giving some thought to what we mean by ‘resistance.’ Resistance is perhaps not the clear-cut other of the power it opposes.<sup>62</sup> These rural Catholics persuaded Hontheim that his initial ordinance had proved counter-productive when measured against the larger ambition of Reform Catholicism itself. They succeeded by speaking *to* rather than *against* the preoccupations of the Enlightenment.

### The Crisis of 1796: Dying Cattle and a Flourishing Cult

Through the following decades, Catholics devoted to Saint Wendelin kept cultivating a Catholic frontier spirit, but also exploited new spatial ambiguities on the edges of expanding France in the 1790s. I will demonstrate the continuity of the confessional impulse first by discussing how the conflict of 1770–72 resonated across the next twenty years, when Reform Catholicism reached

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<sup>61</sup> See specifically for the cities of Trier and Zweibrücken and thus for the region on which this chapter focuses, Marie Drut-Hours, “Promouvoir le ‘vrai christianisme’: La question religieuse et l’*Aufklärung* dans les communautés catholique de Trèves et protestante des Deux-Ponts,” *Dix-huitième siècle* 34 (2002): 41–52.

<sup>62</sup> Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité I: La volonté de savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), esp. 125–7.

its apogee in the Electorate of Trier. Subsequently, pilgrims in and around Sankt Wendel also envisioned the challenge of the French Revolution through anti-Protestant lenses they had been sharpening for a long time. As both officials and lay Catholics persisted in asking how to organize spaces of collective worship in the most appropriate and dignified way, these lenses magnified Catholics' desire to protect pilgrimage and impress those who felt tempted to mock it.

Alongside such elements of continuity, however, the revolutionary context also brought shifts to the frontier of Catholicism. In a certain sense, that frontier simply heated up because the dynamic of mockery and pride accelerated. While secular revolutionary administrators steered a far harsher course against 'superstition' and even religious 'fanaticism' than ecclesiastical reformers had done, Catholic pilgrims defiantly came together in large, long, and urgent processions. The confessional frontier also changed in terms of how it interacted with specific territorial boundaries. Most crucially, the border between France and the Holy Roman Empire now mattered no longer as an obstacle to uniform Church administration as it had done in the 1770s, but instead as an unstable territorial edge of revolution. During the 1790s, uncertainty abounded as to where exactly France ended in the Saar region. Lay Catholics tried to exploit this destabilizing effect of the great rebordering, especially when crisis struck in the form of an ecological disaster, an epizootic in the mid-1790s.<sup>63</sup> Pilgrims thus created openings for a new type of mobilization: they mapped confessional enmity onto the challenge posed by a secular state that aspired to the methodical policing of worship (*police du culte* in French).

In the twenty years before the French Revolution arrived in Sankt Wendel and Tholey, pilgrimage remained a sensitive issue. Local authorities worked autonomously to enforce

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<sup>63</sup> On the great rebordering as a comprehensive shift in borders and border regimes during the revolutionary era, see my general Introduction.

discipline and processional order around the annual pilgrimage festivals, perhaps with additional vigilance after the conflict of the early 1770s. Thus, in 1778, the parish council of Sankt Wendel slapped twenty-three male and ten female parishioners with fines for having failed to join or only belatedly joined the most recent communal procession to Tholey on the Friday after Pentecost.<sup>64</sup> Then, beginning in 1785, parts of the diocese were affected by a very restrictive decree on pilgrimage processions that Archbishop Clemens Wenzeslaus had issued for the Electorate in November of 1784. From then on, processions must not take longer than an hour.<sup>65</sup> This new reform measure put a stop to processions from Sankt Wendel to Tholey. Between 1785 and 1790, it provoked a steady stream of unsuccessful grievances flowing from the parish community and municipal representatives of Sankt Wendel to the ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Trier and Koblenz, respectively.<sup>66</sup> By contrast, the French parishes were not targeted by the restrictions this time. After all, they belonged to the Diocese but not to the Electorate of Trier. In the rest of the Wadrill *Landkapitel*, no major protest seems to have erupted either. The sources are not talkative on this point, but this very silence may well signify a lack of overt struggle over the decree of November 1784 in this part of the Electorate.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> PfA WND, B 31, pp. 117–20, protocol of *Kirchenstrafen* (church fines), June 18, 1778.

<sup>65</sup> For more detail on this decree and its consequences, see Chapter 4.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. PfA WND, B 31, pp. 159, parish and churchwardens of St. Wendel to the General Vicariate, St. Wendel, February 16, 1785; StA WND, A 217, pp. 257ff., gravamina of St. Wendel town delegates, esp. pp. 270–2 on processions and pilgrimages, July 7, 1788; BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 162, Vicariate General protocol entry of May 25, 1789, p. 219v; StA WND, A 116, pp. 265–300, Clemens Wenzeslaus's response to the gravamina of St. Wendel, Koblenz, November 26, 1789, esp. p. 291 for a dilatory remark on the issue of pilgrimage; StA WND, A 232, p. 86, update on the municipal gravamina in the protocols of the St. Wendel *Hochgericht*, February 17, 1790; PfA WND, B 28, pp. 245–7, *Hofrat* and *Amtmann* Gattermann to Clemens Wenzeslaus, St. Wendel, April 7, 1790.

<sup>67</sup> For bare-bones allusions to the implementation of the 1784 decree in the Wadrill *Landkapitel*, see BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 22, pp. 258, 276, and 301, Vicariate General protocol entries of April 12, April 22, and May 6, 1785. At least four parishes (Hüttersdorf, Lebach, Nunweiler, Reisweiler) of the Merzig *Landkapitel*, another area less close to the confessional frontier, also went on yearly pilgrimage processions to Tholey: cf. BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 21, pp. 1107–23, Vicariate General protocol entry of July 20, 1784. The abolition of these pilgrimages in 1784 seems not to have generated any overt contestation. Where conflicts did develop elsewhere in the Electorate due to the restrictive decree, they left substantial paper trails, including in the protocols of the Vicariate General, at which I have looked systematically for the time between 1767 and the end of the archdiocese in 1801/2. On the most salient of these

Although the grievances of Sankt Wendel thus appear as a small-scale contestation, they are remarkable in how they echo several themes that had dominated the conflict of the early 1770s. The town deputies in 1788 were mainly trying to point out the disruption that local economies were suffering due to the partial collapse of pilgrimage festivals in the area. But in doing so, they did not fail to mention that among the people who enjoyed going to these festivals and spending money at them were “even Protestants, eager to watch the solemn entry and departure” of processions.<sup>68</sup> According to these town notables, far from epitomizing Catholic economic backwardness, the pilgrimages enhanced the material as well as the spiritual benefits of Catholic religious practice, attracting even the confessional enemy. Moreover, the parish council of Sankt Wendel decided to explicitly remind the General Vicariate of the earlier conflict of 1770–72 and to emphasize that Hontheim had only been able to resolve those tensions by revoking his restrictive measures.<sup>69</sup> This time it took five years of tenacious complaints, but in April 1790, the General Vicariate and the archbishop-electors’ government decided to reallocate the annual pilgrimage procession from Sankt Wendel to Tholey.<sup>70</sup>

The Enlightenment—Catholic or otherwise—had not, however, exhausted itself in this part of the diocese. To be sure, the decision of April 1790 came about in the context of Clemens Wenzeslaus’s turn toward the Counter-Enlightenment under the impression of the French

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conflicts, cf. Ferdinand Pauly, “Die Pfarrgemeinde Senheim a. d. Mosel und ihre Wallfahrt nach Eberhards-Klausen im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert,” *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 177 (1975): 92–102.

<sup>68</sup> StA WND, A 217, pp. 257ff., gravamina of St. Wendel town delegates, July 7, 1788, here p. 271: “nicht nur jene, so mit der Procession ahnhero geführt worden, sondern auch andere weit entfernte, ja gar Protestanten, so begierig gewesen, den feyerlichen Zu- und Auszug zu sehen, gebracht hetten.”

<sup>69</sup> PfA WND, B 80, *Protocollum synodale* of St. Wendel parish, p. 91, February 13, 1785: “Ist eine Vorstellung zu machen wegen Feyerlichkeit dieser von undencklichen Zeiten her gebräuchlichen Procession, vielfaltigem darbey verrichteten Gebett, Verehrung der h. Mauritii und Wendelini, und in Betracht, daß den Tholeyern die einmahl versagte Erlaubnis gleich von dem Bischof wieder ist zugestellt worden.”

<sup>70</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 25, p. 313–14, General Vicariate protocol entry of April 19, 1790.

Revolution.<sup>71</sup> By contrast, Enlightenment values continued to be cultivated by local elites in Sankt Wendel—most notably by the powerful Cetto family,<sup>72</sup> as well as by the new parish priest who arrived in 1792, Johann Wilhelm Josef Castello (1756–1830). In the late 1780s, Castello had authored a detailed plan for how to realize the goals of Reform Catholicism in the rural areas of the Electorate of Trier, paying special attention to the education and decent remuneration of the parish clergy. In this treatise, Castello vigorously criticized the ‘abuses’ associated with pilgrimage, a practice that according to him facilitated laziness, excessive eating and drinking, superstitions, and various impostures.<sup>73</sup> Castello’s stance on this matter may have grown mellow after he took on pastoral duties in the pilgrimage town of Sankt Wendel—a point to which I will return. Yet he had an abiding tendency to treat religion rather “philosophically,” as the episcopal secretary Garnier would note in 1803 with palpable displeasure.<sup>74</sup>

In the short run, the War of the First Coalition had the most serious impact on the lives of this region’s inhabitants and on its shrines. Although France had ceded the Schambourg

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<sup>71</sup> On the archbishop’s complicated and shifting attitude toward the Enlightenment, see most recently James Lees, “Clemens Wenzeslaus, Ultramontanismus und die Gegenaufklärung,” in *Der Trierer Erzbischof und Kurfürst Clemens Wenzeslaus (1739–1812), eine historische Bilanz nach 200 Jahren: Vorträge einer Tagung in der Stadtbibliothek Trier im November 2012*, ed. Michael Embach (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2014), 137–62, esp. 160–1 on the turn of 1789/90. Still valuable as well: Emil Zenz, “Die kirchenpolitischen Beziehungen zwischen dem Erzstift Trier und Frankreich nach Ausbruch der französischen Revolution,” *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 4 (1952): 217–28.

<sup>72</sup> On the Cettos and their political as well as intellectual views, see Gabriele B. Clemens, “Die Familie Cetto aus St. Wendel – keine Gäste auf Zeit, sondern ein Beispiel gelungener Integration,” *Eckstein. Journal für Geschichte* 12 (2008): 4–14; Bernhard W. Planz, “Stadt (und Amt) St. Wendel während der Französischen Revolution,” in *Friede den Hütten und Krieg den Tyrannen und Despoten: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Französischen Revolution und ihrer Folgen im Raum St. Wendel*, ed. Gerhard Heckmann and Michael Landau (St. Wendel: Adolf-Bender-Zentrum, 1989), 64–89, esp. 87; and for more on St. Wendel’s local elites in the 1790s, Wolfgang Hans Stein, “Jakobinerklub und Freiheitsfeste: Revolutionspropaganda und Öffentlichkeit in St. Wendel 1798–1799,” in *Friede den Hütten und Krieg den Tyrannen und Despoten: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Französischen Revolution und ihrer Folgen im Raum St. Wendel*, ed. Gerhard Heckmann and Michael Landau (St. Wendel: Adolf-Bender-Zentrum, 1989), 120–52.

<sup>73</sup> This treatise was edited by Eduard Lichter, “Johann Wilhelm Josef Castello und die Aufklärung in Trier,” *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 21 (1969): 179–227, see esp. 202 and 212–13 for Castello’s criticisms of pilgrimage practices.

<sup>74</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 94, notes from the pastoral visit of 1803 in the French Diocese of Trier, p. 131–2, “État de la religion dans ce pays” (i.e. the canton of St. Wendel), here 131: “Le seul reproche que l’on puisse faire : c’est que la religion y est traitée peut être trop philosophiquement sur certains points. Autre chose est de détruire certaines pratiques, autre chose est d’en réformer les abus.”



Bailiwick to the Duchy of Pfalz-Zweibrücken in an exchange treaty of 1787, the First French Republic ‘reunited’ this bailiwick to its territory in early 1793. Therefore, Tholey bore the full brunt of French religious policy in the Revolution’s most radical phase. The abbey was pillaged by French troops in 1793 and secularized by the state in July 1794. Although the inhabitants of Tholey managed to acquire the former abbatial church as their parish church in 1806, and although a community of monks reestablished Tholey Abbey in 1950, the church of Saint Maurice never recovered as a pilgrimage destination after the events of 1793/4.<sup>75</sup> Meanwhile, Sankt Wendel, its main church, and its chapels suffered from pillages and forced war contributions as well. Of the town’s three chapels, only the *Wendelsbrunnenkapelle* survived the 1790s.<sup>76</sup> Yet unlike Tholey, Sankt Wendel belonged not to French but rather to French-occupied territory until the full absorption of the left-bank Rhineland into Napoleonic France in 1802. As a result, Sankt Wendel experienced a belated and incomplete implementation of the French *police du culte*. Once more, the border mattered, as the Revolution effectively eclipsed one of the two religious centers in the region (Tholey) while merely fragilizing the other one (Sankt Wendel). It thus became possible for Sankt Wendel to not only maintain its status as a pilgrimage place but even strengthen that cachet through the crisis of 1796.

This environmental crisis hit much of western and central Europe but may well have had particularly dire consequences in the Saar region, which constituted a theater of war at the same time. The bad harvest of 1794, terribly cold winter of 1794/5, and consequent famine of 1795

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<sup>75</sup> Cf. Hebler and Herrmann, “Tholey,” 859; Gabriele Oberhauser, *Wallfahrten und Kultstätten im Saarland: Von der Quellenverehrung zur Marienerscheinung* (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1992), 36–7. For the first statements about this decline, made during and shortly after the Napoleonic period, see ADM, 29 J 360, records of a pastoral visit of 1803/4, report from the parish of Tholey: pilgrimage processions arriving there “ne sont plus si frequentes comme cy-devant”; and BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 733, petition of Tholey village notables to the General Vicariate, June 24, 1818.

<sup>76</sup> Schmitt, “Die Annenkapelle und die Wendelskapelle,” 134–6.

had already wrought havoc among the poor in Thermidorean France and beyond.<sup>77</sup> In addition, an epizootic had broken out across eastern France in 1794/5, killing much of the livestock that fulfilled several crucial functions in the peasant economy by providing manure and serving as plough animals.<sup>78</sup> By 1796, the epizootic reached its height and ravaged not just Lorraine and Alsace but also the regions of Luxembourg, Trier, Sankt Wendel itself, and indeed much of southern German-speaking Europe.<sup>79</sup>

In all these places, many Catholics turned to Saint Wendelin as an intercessor because they recognized him as a major patron saint of peasants and livestock. Alois Selzer, who mapped the astonishing popularity that the cult of Saint Wendelin enjoyed across large parts of central Europe during the Baroque, already argued that the epizootic of 1796 favored the flourishing of this devotion in Swabia and Württemberg (south-central Germany).<sup>80</sup> The work of other scholars

<sup>77</sup> See Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire humaine et comparée du climat. Vol. 2: Disettes et révolutions (1740–1860)* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 209–33; Richard Cobb, *The Police and the People: French Popular Protest 1789–1820* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 246–324.

<sup>78</sup> François Vallat, *Les bœufs malades de la peste: La peste bovine en France et en Europe, XVIII<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2009), 76–9, 175–8. The situation was dire in part because the French war effort had already involved requisitioning large contingents of cattle from local populations; on these recurring requisitions in and around Sankt Wendel, see Max Müller, *Die Geschichte der Stadt St. Wendel: Von ihren Anfängen bis zum Weltkriege* (St. Wendel: Verlag der Stadt St. Wendel, 1927), 115–16. On the regional context of war and occupation, see more recently Johannes Schmitt, “Die Saarregion zur Zeit der Französischen Revolution und im Französischen Kaiserreich (1789–1815),” in *Das Saarland: Geschichte einer Region*, ed. Hans-Christian Herrmann and Johannes Schmitt (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2012), 61–110, esp. 83–9.

<sup>79</sup> On the beginnings of the epizootic in 1794/5, see AN, F/1cIII/moselle/8, monthly summaries of the work of the district administration of Bitche for fructidor and jours complémentaires an II (late summer 1794) as well as frimaire an III (early winter 1794/5); André Munck, “Les croix rurales du Sundgau: La dévotion populaire sous la Révolution,” *Annuaire de la société d’histoire du Sundgau*, 1989, pp. 205–24, esp. 219–22. On the aggravation of the crisis and religious responses in 1796, see, e.g., AN/F1cIII/forets/6, departmental admin of Forêts to Ministry of the Interior, Luxembourg, 14 fructidor an IV (August 31, 1796) for Luxembourg; Johann Christian Lager, “Mitteilungen aus einem trierischen Tagebuch aus der Zeit der französischen Revolution,” *Trierische Chronik. Neue Folge* 9/10/11 (1912–1915): 161–171/26–30, 51–57, 112–117, 171–178/75–84, 114–125, 129–141, 179–187 (here 11:80–1; on the region of Trier); Georg Schreiber, “Strukturwandel der Wallfahrt,” in *Wallfahrt und Volkstum in Geschichte und Leben*, ed. Georg Schreiber (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1934), 1–183, here 69 (on southwestern Germany); Goy, *Aufklärung und Volksfrömmigkeit*, 141 (on Franconia); finally, on St. Wendel itself: StA WND, B 113, *Justizprotokoll* of the District of St. Wendel, p. 65b, August 17, 1796, and PfA WND, B 21, pp. 1–8, vow made by the parish community of St. Wendel, January 18, 1797, esp. p. 1 on the consequences of the epizootic. In the Moselle Department, the epizootic continued at least through late 1797 and in many places even into 1798, cf. the sections titled “Epizootie” in the *comptes décennaires* of year VI: AN, F/1cIII/moselle/7.

<sup>80</sup> Selzer, *St. Wendelin*, esp. 353.

suggests that the same development took place in Franconia, Alsace, and northern Lorraine.<sup>81</sup>

We should not assume that very many Catholics from rather distant regions such as Franconia and Swabia went on pilgrimages to Sankt Wendel. For the purposes of this chapter, the usefulness of such dispersed evidence lies elsewhere: it helps us grasp the significance of a devotional moment that the badly decimated archives of the nearby Moselle Department and the French-occupied Rhineland of the years 1794–7 can only reflect in a fragmentary fashion.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, as a description of the Schambourg Bailiwick from the 1770s noted, the rural population around Tholey depended heavily on income from raising and trading livestock, both cattle and sheep.<sup>83</sup> In other words, many Catholics who were already used to going on pilgrimage processions to Sankt Wendel now found their livelihoods directly exposed to an ecological disaster on top of an ongoing war.

The events that transpired throughout German-speaking Lorraine in that summer of 1796 show how serious upheaval and political tensions could arise from such a crisis. As a slightly later pastoral inquiry shows, many rural communities in northern Lorraine had already adopted the cult of Saint Wendelin a long time ago, for example by turning him into the secondary patron of their parish churches.<sup>84</sup> Now, in July 1796, Catholics' despair over the epizootic drove them to

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<sup>81</sup> On Franconia: Goy, *Aufklärung und Volksfrömmigkeit*, 156; on Alsace: Geneviève Herberich-Marx and Freddy Raphaël, "L'imagerie religieuse durant la Révolution en Alsace: *L'Œuvre au noir*," *Revue d'Alsace* 116 (1989–90): 333–55, here 342–3, and A. P., "Elsässische Tierheilige und Tierwallfahrten," *Neuer Elsässer Kalender* 22 (1933): 109–18, esp. 116; on Lorraine: Joseph Schwaller, "Lothringische Tierheilige und Tierwallfahrten," *Neuer Elsässer Kalender* 22 (1933): 119–122, esp. 120–1.

<sup>82</sup> The series L (revolutionary decade) and Q (*biens nationaux*) of the Departmental Archives of Moselle were destroyed by fire in 1944. The administrative chaos of the first years of the French occupation in the Rhineland (1794–7) is reflected in many archival gaps as well: cf. Wolfgang Hans Stein, *Die Akten der französischen Besatzungsverwaltungen 1794–1797: Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, Bestand 241,001–241,014* (Koblenz: Landesarchivverwaltung Rheinland-Pfalz, 2009).

<sup>83</sup> SHD, A 3693, pp. 81–2, *mémoire* signed by the *bailli*(?) Tailleur, Tholey, October 1, 1775, p. 81: "la fortune des sujets est médiocre, la culture des terres fait une partie de leur travail et l'élevage et le commerce des bêtes à cornes et bêtes à laine fait l'autre partie."

<sup>84</sup> ADM, 29 J 365–372, diocesan *enquête* of 1807: evidence of particularly strong devotion to Saint Wendelin in Volmerange(-les-Mines) near Cattenom (29 J 366), Hestroff near Bouzonville (*ibid.*), Hülzweiler near Saarlouis (*ibid.*), Reinange near Metzervisse (*ibid.*), and Diebling near Forbach (29 J 368). For similar evidence from the

improvise many dozens of processions that contravened against recent French legislation on *police du culte*, most notably the law of 7 vendémiaire an IV (September 29, 1795). Refractory priests led and blessed some of these processions. In response, state administrators in the Moselle Department sent in the gendarmerie and even the regular military to disperse the ‘fanatical’ crowds and arrest any identifiable ringleaders and clergymen. Many of these regional administrators also alerted the Ministry of General Police in Paris to what revolutionary bureaucracy and government came to call “a religious insurrection of some sort” and, of course, a potential “second Vendée.”<sup>85</sup> In short, the summer of 1796 threw the region into a state of panic and rebellion that largely took the form of pilgrimage processions.

Many of these processions were headed for Sankt Wendel, to implore help from the patron saint of livestock in the town that possessed his relics, the place of both his grave and his hermitage (at the *Wendelsbrunnenkapelle*). It is impossible to say anything precise about the number of pilgrims who went to Sankt Wendel in 1796, but the few available sources do signal a major spike, an influx of many thousands. In early August, the director of the postal service in French-occupied Saarbrücken informed the government in Paris about “processions composed of

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parish of Momerstroff and Halling-lès-Boulay, see ADM, 29 J 136, no. 181, General Vicariate of Metz to the *curé* of Boulay, May 30, 1809.

<sup>85</sup> These contentious processions were already described in some detail by André Gain, “Les processions religieuses en Moselle pendant la Révolution et l’Empire,” *Annuaire de la Fédération historique lorraine (Annales de l’Est)* 3 (1930): 167–202, esp. 172–84. Gain, however, somewhat underestimated the seriousness of the conflict because he did not consult the numerous relevant police files in the central state archives: AN, F/7/7165, d. B/2/7165 and B/2/7167; F/7/7169, d. B/2/7705 (the phrase “une espece d’insurrection religieuse” in an *arrêté* of the Directory, 12 vendémiaire an V [October 3, 1796]); F/7/7172, d. B/2/8034; F/7/7174, d. B/2/8355; F/7/7175, d. B/2/8405 and B/2/8508 (here a remark on “les germes du fanatisme, qui alloient allarmer une seconde Vendée” in a letter from the Directory’s commissioner at the cantonal administration of St-Avold to the Ministry of Police, St-Avold, 16 thermidor an IV [August 3, 1796]); F/7/7179, d. B/2/9013 (united in a single file with numerous other dossiers from the Moselle); F/7/7180, d. B/2/9113. See also, on judicial fallout, two dossiers in BB/18/555, one on *police du culte* in the Canton of Faulquemont and the other starting with a letter from Pierron (*commissaire du Directoire près le tribunal correctionnel de Sarreguemines*) to the Minister of Justice, Sarreguemines, 2 frimaire an V (November 22, 1796). Finally, on the repressive role played by the armed forces in this crisis: SHD, 1 I 7, pp. 60–70, orders of the Third Military Division (Metz) during messidor and thermidor an IV (summer 1796); 1 I 10, pp. 230–2, relevant correspondance of the same division.

between two hundred and two thousand people, crowds which thus make their way in part to Sankt Wendel (in the conquered lands) and in part to a chapel near Saint-Avold.”<sup>86</sup> At that time, the French occupying administration decided to intervene and ordered the municipality of Sankt Wendel to keep the church doors locked except for regular parish worship, so “the processions coming here from other places” would not be able to enter the church anymore.<sup>87</sup> Did this measure prove effective in curbing pilgrimage to Sankt Wendel that summer? I have my doubts. After all, pilgrims might not learn about the closing of the church until they got there, and even then, they could still redirect their processions to the *Wendelsbrunnenkapelle*, located just outside of town and not targeted by the occupying administration.<sup>88</sup>

One well-documented case shows how these Catholic communities going on pilgrimage could both confront and selectively appropriate the new spatial order created by revolutionary legislation on *police du culte*. That case involves the parishioners of Welferding, a village on the outskirts of Sarreguemines. Apparently joined by the four neighboring communes of Neufgrange, Siltzheim, Woustviller, and Grosbliederstroff,<sup>89</sup> the people of Welferding undertook

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<sup>86</sup> René Paquet, *Bibliographie analytique de l'histoire de Metz, pendant la Révolution (1789–1800): Imprimés et manuscrits* (Paris: Picard, 1926), 1160: directeur des postes Metzinger to Ministers of Interior and Police, Saarbrücken, 15 thermidor an IV (August 2, 1796). “On vous a déjà, sans doute, rendu compte que des habitants des départements de la Moselle et du Rhin, égarés par des ennemis de la République et du repos, faisaient des processions composées de deux cents à deux mille personnes, qui se transportent ainsi, en masse, soit à Saint-Wendel (pays conquis), soit à une chapelle dans les environs de Saint-Avold.”

<sup>87</sup> PFA WND, B 28, pp. 850–1, excerpt from the municipal protocol of St. Wendel, August 3, 1796, p. 850: “Verfügung, inhalts welcher der Municipalität der Auftrag geschiehet, den auswärtigen dahier ankommenden Proceßionen die Kirchen Thüren zu schließen, jedoch solle unbenommen bleiben, den gewöhnlichen Pfarrdienst fernerhin fort zu halten.” This order was issued by the *Direction des domaines et contributions*.

<sup>88</sup> There is evidence, moreover, that an extraordinary amount of offerings were made (presumably mostly by pilgrims) to the church of St. Wendel in a short time in 1796: BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 27, pp. 658–9, General Vicariate protocol entry of January 9, 1797, here p. 658: “seit Kurzem ad 1000 Gulden Opfer bezogen.” See also the high sums recorded for 1796 in the accounting notebook (“*Opferbüchlein*”) of the *Wendelsbrunnenkapelle* in PFA WND, B 28, pp. 1080–95.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Henri Hiegel, “La paroisse de Neunkirch-Sarreguemines pendant la Révolution française,” *Le Pays lorrain* 52, no. 1 (1971): 73–80, here 78: “Le 15 juillet 1796, le commissaire du directoire exécutif près de la municipalité du canton signalait que des habitants de Neufgrange, Siltzheim, Welferding, Woustviller, Grosbliederstroff étaient passés à Sarreguemines, en portant des croix et des bannières et en chantant à haute voix pour se rendre en pèlerinage.” Hiegel does not mention where these pilgrims were headed, but (with the exception of Grosbliederstroff) all these villages are located either south or just west of Sarreguemines and their inhabitants

a first pilgrimage to Sankt Wendel in July 1796. The Directory's cantonal commissioner at Sarreguemines, a man named Serva, punished Welferding for this act he considered illegal: he called in a detachment of soldiers who would keep the community under close surveillance and whose presence also brought economic strain, because it was the inhabitants' responsibility to lodge the soldiers and pay for their daily needs. Yet in mid-November, after the authorities had withdrawn these troops, the villagers of Welferding assembled at night to send another pilgrimage procession to Sankt Wendel. Again, Serva responded by asking the commander of the military brigade stationed at Sarreguemines to send twenty men to Welferding as a garrison at the cost of local inhabitants. As Serva argued in his letter, "The recidivism of this commune is all the more reprehensible because its situation near the very border, along two routes taken by all passing troops, compromises public security."<sup>90</sup> What he called recidivism signals a certain defiance with which the Catholics of Welferding challenged the revolutionary desire to secure France's border against all kinds of suspect activity—including public acts of worship.

Yet these Catholics did not just scorn the French Republic's spatial order; they also invoked it and tried to use it to their own advantage. To this end, they addressed Serva's local political rival, a judge named Châtaignier, with their complaint that Serva himself had contravened the law of 7 vendémiaire an IV on *police du culte*. This law embodied the dilemma

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would naturally pass through Sarreguemines on their way north (the direction of St. Wendel). Moreover, there were not many other pilgrimage places in the mostly Protestant areas between Sarreguemines and St. Wendel. Therefore, I think that Hiegel's remark corresponds to part of the facts denounced by the commissioner Serva, which I discuss in the body paragraph above.

<sup>90</sup> AN, BB/18/556, Serva to the commander Boustiquet, Sarreguemines, 26 brumaire an V (November 16, 1796): "pendant la nuit dernière, un grand nombre d'habitans ce[sic] sont reunis aux sons de caisse pour former un rassemblement de citoyens et citoyennes dans la commune de Welferding pour former une procession qui s'e[st] portée au perlinage[sic] de St. Veindel pays etranger. Considérant que déjà la Commune de Welferding, à essuyé une force armée pour pareil fait, qu'elle en a demandé la levée avec soumission de se conformer dorénavant conformément[sic] à la loy, au moyen de laquelle soumission la force armée lui a été retirée ; que la récidive de cette commune est d'autant plus répréhensible que sa situation près de l'extreme frontiere, sur deux routes ouvertes à tous les passages de l'armée, compromet la sureté publique."

of revolutionary religious policy after 1793 in that it revolved around the awkward and, as Bernard Plongeron writes, “now indispensable couple liberty/police.”<sup>91</sup> In other words, French legislators both guaranteed and policed the freedom of worship, and they did so along the lines of a spatial division. *Inside* of their church buildings, congregations must not be troubled, but *outside* of churches, the state would not tolerate any expressions of religious belonging—including pilgrimage processions. As a group of men from Welferding alleged in October 1796 in their letter to Châtaignier, Serva had recently violated that spatial division by rushing into the parish church drunk, disrupting an ongoing religious service, strutting about the church, running “especially after the women and girls.” The letter ended with the explicit demand that Serva be punished according to the law of 7 vendémiaire.<sup>92</sup> As the conflict escalated in late 1796 after the second pilgrimage to Sankt Wendel, Châtaignier relayed this accusation to the Minister of Justice, specifying that Serva had “run after the women and girls in order to kiss them.”<sup>93</sup> In the end, the citizens of Welferding got away without further punishment.<sup>94</sup> They had proved willing

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<sup>91</sup> Bernard Plongeron, “La première séparation de l’Église et de l’État, sous la Révolution, a-t-elle eu lieu ?,” *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France* 91, no. 2 (2005): 239–63, here 250. On this topic, cf. also Christine Peyrard, “De la liberté cultuelle à la police des cultes: La première Séparation des Églises et de l’État en France,” in *Politique, religion et laïcité*, ed. Christine Peyrard (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l’Université de Provence, 2009), 89–100.

<sup>92</sup> AN, BB/18/556, four citizens of Welferding to Châtaignier (*directeur du jury* at the district tribunal of Sarreguemines), 19 vendémiaire an V (October 10, 1796): complaint that “le Citoyen Serva commiss(ai)re du Directoire executif du canton de Sarreguemines y seroit entré, tout ivre de vin, qu’étant entré il auroit couru de part et d’autre et particulièrement après les femmes et les filles, d’une manière indécente [...; the signatories] esperent que ledit Serva sera puni suivant l’art. 2 titre 2 de la loi sur la police du culte du sept vendémiaire an 4.”

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., Châtaignier to Minister of Justice, Sarreguemines, 3 nivôse an V (December 23, 1796): Serva, “étant épris de vin comme il l’est d’habitude, entra dans l’église du d(it) lieu [i.e. Welferding] le chapeau sur la tête, y trouva plusieurs hommes et femmes qui faisoient leurs prières, se mit a crier et a courir apres les femmes et filles pour les embrasser.”

<sup>94</sup> As the large dossier *ibid.* shows, after the second incident, it took merely a few days and some sharp letters from Châtaignier for the military commander at Sarreguemines to recall the detachment that Serva had requested to punish Welferding. Moreover, Serva did not manage to convince the government in Paris that Châtaignier needed to be ousted from his position of authority and replaced with a judge more sympathetic to Serva’s own hardline approach to ‘fanaticism.’ In some sense, the arguments made by the citizens of Welferding were treated as ammunition by Châtaignier in the context of an ongoing personal struggle between him and Serva.

and able to manipulate—rather than ignore or reject—the ambiguous revolutionary logic of both liberating and policing *le culte*.<sup>95</sup>

In addition, shifts in borders created ambiguities that affected how pilgrims represented their actions when faced with hostile authorities. The available sources permit a mere glimpse of this issue, through the protocol of an interrogation that took place after a troop of French soldiers, stationed at Saarbrücken, dispersed a procession of several hundred pilgrims coming from northwestern Alsace and headed for Sankt Wendel. In the occupied region to which Saarbrücken belonged, holding a procession was not illegal in 1796. So, to better justify their arrest, the administrative inspector Le Lièvre asked the leaders of the pilgrimage—seven laymen—whether they had obtained passports before leaving the territory of the Republic. Their answer was striking: “They thought they were still in their own homeland (*pays*).”<sup>96</sup> What did this reply mean? The majority of participants in this procession came from the former Duchy of Saarwerden, absorbed into the French Bas-Rhin Department in 1793 but previously a foreign enclave within France, part of the County of Nassau-Saarbrücken (and, to a lesser extent, Nassau-Weilburg).<sup>97</sup> Were these Catholics implying that they saw the environs of Saarbrücken as

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<sup>95</sup> The Catholics of Welfering were not the only ones to wield this tactical ability. See AN, F/7/7177, d. B/2/8900, for a comparable example: a group of citizens from the Moselle Department protested the repressive measures taken against processions in the summer of 1796 by invoking “les droits du peuple” and claiming that “le regne de la terreur est aujourd’hui au même point dans ce Département auquel il a été du tems de Robespierre,” thus tapping into post-Thermidorean anti-‘Terror’ discourse. Above all, cf. on this point, on a larger scale and for a region in Burgundy whose inhabitants were on the whole more genuinely pro-revolutionary: Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred*, ch. 4.

<sup>96</sup> AN, F/7/7174, d. B/2/8355, *procès-verbal* of interrogation of seven arrested men by Le Lièvre (“inspecteur de l’administration des pays conquis entre Rhin et Moselle faisant les fonctions de Directeur général”), Saarbrücken, 14 thermidor an IV (August 1, 1796): “S’ils avoient des passeports pour sortir du territoire de la République[.] Ont répondu qu’ils se croyoient toujours dans leur pays[.]”

<sup>97</sup> Another source mentioning the interrupted pilgrimage (Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1160: *directeur des postes* Metzinger to Ministers of Interior and Police, Saarbrücken, 15 thermidor an IV [August 2, 1796]) indicates that the procession had started near Oermingen (“Virmingen, près Sarre-Union”), a village in the Duchy of Saarwerden that had belonged to Nassau-Saarbrücken until the Revolution: cf. the *notice communale* on Oermingen at [http://cassini.ehess.fr/cassini/fr/html/fiche.php?select\\_resultat=25452](http://cassini.ehess.fr/cassini/fr/html/fiche.php?select_resultat=25452) (accessed on August 26, 2020), and the map Appendix III c (unpaginated) in Andreas Wilhelm, *Nassau-Weilburg 1648–1806: Territorialverfassung und Reichsrechtsordnung* (Wiesbaden: Historische Kommission für Nassau, 2007).



part of their homeland because they *refused* to recognize the territorial changes the Revolution had brought? On the other hand, their reply might actually *affirm* French expansion: why, they might be suggesting, would they need a passport for a trip ‘abroad’ if their home villages, Saarbrücken, and Sankt Wendel were all part of France now, whether formally integrated or durably occupied? I suggest that the ambiguity is the point here.<sup>98</sup> Catholic pilgrims may well have hoped—and often managed—to evade scrutiny or punishment by the state thanks to the spatial uncertainties that revolutionary rebordering efforts entailed.

At the same time, a streak of confessional resentment ran alongside—and in some cases right through—Catholic responses to the crisis of 1796. In at least one instance, this resentment expressed itself in violence against Jews. Catholics participating in a procession assaulted two Jewish men who were travelling on the road between Sarralbe and Sarreguemines and who failed to remove their hats in deference when encountering the procession.<sup>99</sup> We have evidence that the course of the Revolution had caused many Catholics in this region to grow even more hostile toward their Protestant neighbors as well. As an anonymous journal correspondent claimed in late 1795, Catholics in and around Sarreguemines perceived “not without the most intense bitterness” that Lutheran and Calvinist worship had suffered much less than Catholicism at the hands of radical revolutionaries in 1793/4.<sup>100</sup> With this context in mind, we can also read the procession dispersed outside of Saarbrücken from yet another angle. The members of that procession had intended to march right *past* or even *through* the city that constituted a political

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<sup>98</sup> For a regional overview with lucid remarks on the “porosité opportuniste des enclaves” and the agency of their inhabitants, see Husson and Jalabert, “Les enclaves en Lorraine,” quote on 66.

<sup>99</sup> Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1141 (Kremer to Ministry of Police, Sarralbe, 25 messidor an IV [July 13, 1796]) and 1143–4 (Serva to *tribunal correctionnel* of Sarreguemines, 27 messidor an IV [July 15, 1796]).

<sup>100</sup> “Moselle, Sarreguemines,” *Annales de la religion* 1, no. 23 (1795): 543–46, here 545: “Les Catholiques ne voyoient pas sans la plus vive amertume, sous le règne de l’égalité, les Temples des Luthériens et des Calvinistes ouverts, tandis qu’ils étoient obligés eux de se rendre dans les pays conquis pour y jouir du droit qu’il ne sembloit pas qu’on dût jamais avoir l’impolitique audace de leur contester, et dont cependant ils ont été si long-temps privés.”

and cultural center of Lutheranism in the Saar region.<sup>101</sup> We may plausibly assume that they had hoped to impress and perhaps provoke the Protestants of Saarbrücken through this public manifestation of Catholic belonging. As Michael Rowe argues, the French Revolution obliterated “the delicate confessional balance established by the Peace of Westphalia” in the Rhineland writ large.<sup>102</sup> In addition to the epizootic, the loss of that balance probably contributed to the anger and desperation that drove Catholic crowds to march past or through Protestant communities despite the risks associated with such ostentatious acts.

Among the inhabitants of Sankt Wendel itself, the pilgrim influx of 1796 also triggered an attempt to reaffirm confessional boundaries for the benefit of the Catholic faith. In July 1797, Johann Steininger, a burgher of Sankt Wendel, asked the General Vicariate for permission to publish a new and revised edition of the legend of Saint Wendelin. Steininger gave two main reasons why this publication was necessary. First, due to the recent spike in pilgrimages to Sankt Wendel, demand for such a book of hagiography and prayer had increased. This remark offers additional confirmation that the epizootic had indeed brought new fame to Sankt Wendel as a pilgrimage place. Second, Steininger claimed, the most recent edition of the legend had been published by a “Protestant printer in Saarbrücken” who had not hesitated to omit “several phrases that were not to his liking.”<sup>103</sup> This story about a Protestant printer pirating and distorting

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<sup>101</sup> Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1160, Metzinger to Ministers of Interior and Police, Saarbrücken, 15 thermidor an IV (August 2, 1796): the procession “voulut passer par Sarrebrück pour aller à Saint-Wendel.”

<sup>102</sup> Rowe, *From Reich to State*, 157. On confessional struggles in the Duchy of Saarwerden around 1792/3, see Wilhelm, *Nassau-Weilburg*, 218–21. For examples of Catholic violence against Protestants in the Northern Rhineland at a slightly later stage of the French occupation (in 1798), cf. Josef Smets, *Les pays rhénans (1794–1814): Le comportement des Rhénans face à l’occupation française* (Bern: Lang, 1997), 247–8.

<sup>103</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 164, minutes of the General Vicariate, pp. 107–10, July 1, 1797, here p. 107: “Unterschriebener Gehorsamster Supplicant hat bei den vielen Waldfahrten nach St. Wendel und der starken Nachfrage der frommen Pilger nach dem Wendelsbüchelchen sich entschlossen, eine neue Auflage desselben zu veranstalten [...] und gegenwärtig, kein andere Auflage desselben zu haben ist, als diejenige, so ein Protestantischer Buchdrucker zu Saarbrücken, mit einem falschen Drückort, und Verleger, auch mit Auslassung einiger ihm nicht gefälliger Ausdrücke, nachgedruckt hat.”

Catholic devotional literature sounds far-fetched at first, but Steininger was not making it up. The Municipal Library of Trier holds a copy of the legend of Saint Wendelin that was printed in 1783 at Saarbrücken's Lutheran court printshop, founded by Gottfried Hofer a few decades prior.<sup>104</sup> So, by proposing a reedition, Steininger was working to regain Catholic literary control over the story of Saint Wendelin and the prayers recommended to his devotees. By engineering a hostile takeover of this story in the 1780s, the Hofer printing house had both blurred and shifted the confessional frontier in the Saar region. Now—not despite but *through* the crisis of the revolutionary decade—came the pushback from Catholics like Steininger and the pilgrims to whom he was hoping to sell his reedition of the legend.<sup>105</sup>

This pushback also invoked the theme of mockery that I already identified as key to the arguments exchanged between Catholic communities around Tholey and the auxiliary bishop Hontheim in the early 1770s. To be sure, Steininger's *Kurze Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Wendelinus* mostly stuck to Nikolaus Keller's Baroque life of Saint Wendelin that had first appeared in print in 1704. A summary of Wendelin's legendary deeds and the miracles he had accomplished while alive was followed by reports of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century miracles ascribed to his intercession. A few of these more recent stories had clear confessional overtones, for example the claim that the saint had inspired the miraculous conversion of a Swiss Calvinist

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<sup>104</sup> Nikolaus Keller, *Beschreibung des tugendreichen Lebens vom heiligen Einsidler und Abts Wendelini, gebohrnen Königs-Sohn in Schottland* (Saarbrücken: Hofer, 1783). Unfortunately, this copy of the legend did not come to my attention until after I had concluded my research trip to Europe in 2019, and I did not get a chance to return to Trier in 2020. Therefore, I have not been able to compare this 'Protestant' edition to others I have seen yet. On the arrival of the printing trade in Saarbrücken, see Michael Jung, "Saarbrücken und St. Johann während der Fürstenzeit (1741–89)," in *Geschichte der Stadt Saarbrücken*, ed. Rolf Wittenbrock, 2 vols. (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999), vol. 1, 353–453, here 387–9.

<sup>105</sup> Current research is making the case for the importance of devotional literature to the overall structure and development of pilgrimage in early modern Catholic Europe: see most recently the book-length studies by Eva Brugger, *Gedruckte Gnade: Die Dynamisierung der Wallfahrt in Bayern (1650–1800)* (Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2017); and Bruno Maes, *Les livrets de pèlerinage: Imprimerie et culture dans la France moderne* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2016).

in Sankt Wendel in 1677.<sup>106</sup> At the end of this part of the book, however, Steininger added three new paragraphs on the pilgrim influx that had occurred due to the epizootic in 1796 and 1797: “People from the entire region went on pilgrimage to Sankt Wendel in greater numbers than in any other year of the century, and were deterred neither by the tumult of war nor by the insecurity of the roads, neither by mockery nor by other obstacles.”<sup>107</sup> The text does not specify whose disdain Catholic pilgrims had had to confront most acutely—that of their Protestant neighbors or that of French soldiers and revolutionary authorities? Perhaps a combination of both. In any case, a form of Catholic pride emerged once more from the spatial practice of these pilgrimage processions. They drew humiliating responses from outsiders *and* created an aura of power and perseverance around the humility of the pilgrims themselves, who implored Saint Wendelin in their hour of despair.<sup>108</sup>

The other remarkable feature of Steininger’s new edition is that it placed the tropes and prescriptions of the Catholic Enlightenment alongside those of the Baroque. In his petition to the General Vicariate, Steininger underlined that the parish priest of Sankt Wendel—the enlightened Johann Castello—had given his blessing to the text that Steininger was shepherding toward the printing press.<sup>109</sup> Castello had probably done much more than that: he appears as the most likely

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<sup>106</sup> *Kurze Lebensbeschreibung*, 25 (and see 24 for another anti-Protestant miracle story about a prevented Swedish attack on the town).

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 29: “Wie sehr die Verehrung zu ihm zugenommen habe, dieses zeigte sich ganz besonders in den Jahren 1796 und 1797, in welchem während dem Kriege die schreckliche Rindviehepeste in der ganzen Gegend, und Lothringen, so fürchterlich wütete, daß in manchen Ortschaften schier alles Viehe umkam, wo die Leute aus der ganzen Gegend so zahlreich nach St. Wendel wallfahrteten, als es im nächsten Jahrhunderte nicht geschehen war, und sich weder durch die Kriegsunruhen, noch Unsicherheit der Wege, weder durch Spott noch andere Hindernisse abschrecken ließen, um Hilfe zu suchen bei dem, auf dessen Fürbitte sie ein so großes Vertrauen gesetzt hatten, und dessen Hilfe sie sich mit Dankbarkeit rühmten.”

<sup>108</sup> My thinking about the dialectics of humiliation and power is obliquely indebted to Orsi’s analysis of “the ambivalent power of Italian American women” around a Marian shrine in Harlem: Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010 [1985]), 214–17 (quote on 215).

<sup>109</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 164, pp. 107–8: Steininger assures the General Vicariate “daß unser Herr Pastor, und Kaplan es durchgesehen, und nichts böses darin gefunden zu haben bezeigen.”

author of the new foreword to the 1797 edition of the legend. This verbose preamble, almost fifty-five pages long, presented the reader with characteristically enlightened injunctions on how to pray to God and the saints. For example, true Catholics should worship God not with external exuberance but with internal sincerity, “*in spirit and truth*”—a reference to a biblical verse (John 4:24) that figured among the favorites of the Catholic Enlightenment.<sup>110</sup> True Catholics should also follow the enlightened moral compass by praying “for virtue and righteousness, for a proclivity for goodness, for the power to do good,” rather than for something as Baroque as a miracle, as this foreword implies by simply failing to mention the miraculous.<sup>111</sup> Moreover, the part of the book that contained prayers to Saint Wendelin alternated abruptly between Enlightenment and Baroque discourse.<sup>112</sup> Hence, this revised edition represented a compromise between Castello’s religious views and those of the earlier hagiographer Keller. Once more, much like in Hontheim’s time, the need to rally on the confessional frontier overrode the intra-Catholic frontline between those aspiring to Enlightenment and those attached to the Baroque.

Ultimately, facing the terrible epizootic of 1796, pilgrims sought help from Saint Wendelin and repositioned Sankt Wendel as a Catholic outpost in the process. The town and its holy sites now attracted those hoping to outmaneuver a new other—agents of the French state such as Serva, who fought to enforce a revolutionary policing of worship. On the one hand, the resulting conflicts did not involve Franco–German hatred. Therefore, the pilgrimage borderlands of French and French-occupied territories in the 1790s yield a much less national story than the

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<sup>110</sup> *Kurze Lebensbeschreibung*, xlv–xlvi: “Wenn ich recht *im Geiste und in der Wahrheit* bethe; so betrachte ich Gott als den Urheber der ganzen Schöpfung; ich betrachte mich als einen Theil derselben, dem gewisse Kräfte zugemessen sind, um das allgemeine Wohl, die gemeinschaftliche Glückseligkeit, mit welcher meine eigene innigst verbunden ist, befördern zu helfen” (emphasis in the original). On ‘spirit and truth’ as a preeminent trope of the Catholic Enlightenment, see Schneider, “Reform of Piety,” esp. 194.

<sup>111</sup> *Kurze Lebensbeschreibung*, xl: “Bitte ihn um alles, was zu deinem wahren Besten ist; um Tugend und Rechtschaffenheit, um Neigung zum Guten, und Kraft Gutes auszuüben, bitte Gott; laß das Gute dir aber auch selbst recht am Herzen liegen.”

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 31–85.

Franco-Swiss ones on which I focused in Chapter 1.<sup>113</sup> Yet on the other hand, the rebordering of the French Republic made a difference in the Saar region as well, by drawing pilgrims into a new round of struggles over spatial and specifically territorial (dis)order. In addition, the evidence discussed here confirms that revolutionary *police du culte* reshaped—and by no means replaced—older religious rivalries and hostilities in and around Sankt Wendel.<sup>114</sup> For example, alongside the hope for economic profit and the desire to respond to the harsh realities created by the epizootic, a clear confessional impetus drove Steininger's reedition of the Wendelin legend in 1797. Most pilgrims probably continued to view Protestants as the primary religious other, but the incident of anti-Jewish violence on the road to Sarreguemines offers the most poignant reminder of the weight that the distinction between Catholics and non-Catholics continued to carry. In some ways, this weight even became heavier than before, as old confessional resentment and new hostility to the secular state's policing of worship quickly came to loop into each other in the practice of pilgrimage.

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<sup>113</sup> Over the last few decades, historians have thoroughly debunked the myth-making of their interwar predecessors, who had projected the tradition of Franco-German national enmity (*Erbfeindschaft*) back into the revolutionary and Napoleonic era. Cf. among others T. C. W. Blanning, *The French Revolution in Germany: Occupation and Resistance in the Rhineland, 1792–1802* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 1–8 (but also the contradictory and ultimately unconvincing passages on 247–53); Planert, *Der Mythos vom Befreiungskrieg*; Steven Englund, “Monstre sacré: The Question of Cultural Imperialism and the Napoleonic Empire,” *The Historical Journal* 51, no. 1 (2008): 215–50, esp. 219–27; Gabriele B. Clemens, “Einleitung: Franzosen und Deutsche im napoleonischen Empire. Konsens, Kollaboration oder Konfrontation,” in *Erbfeinde im Empire? Franzosen und Deutsche im Zeitalter Napoleons*, ed. Jacques-Olivier Boudon, Gabriele B. Clemens, and Pierre Horn (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2016), 7–15; Armin Owzar, “Liberty in Times of Occupation: The Napoleonic Era in German Central Europe,” in *Napoleon's Empire: European Politics in Global Perspective*, ed. Ute Planert (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 67–83, esp. 76–7; Horn, *Le défi de l'enracinement*, esp. 35–49.

<sup>114</sup> This insight may be generalizable beyond the regional frame of the Saar region and the thematic one of pilgrimage. See Rita Hermon-Belot, *Aux sources de l'idée laïque: Révolution et pluralité religieuse* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2015), esp. 121 on how the Revolution collided and interacted with the “travail séculaire d'un processus de confessionnalisation à la française”; and above all, on southern France, Valérie Sottocasa, *Mémoires affrontées: Protestants et catholiques face à la Révolution dans les montagnes du Languedoc* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2004).

### Epilogue: Sankt Wendel as a Pilgrimage Place, 1796–1896

In the early nineteenth century, the stakes of religious difference kept shifting—and kept coming to the foreground—around pilgrimage to Sankt Wendel, even as the memory and legacy of the Revolution finds less of a clear reflection in the sources. The later years of the Directory and the Napoleonic era brought no major twists and turns, although evidence suggests that both the Blasiusberg chapel and the holy sites of Sankt Wendel enjoyed unabated success as pilgrimage places.<sup>115</sup> Castello was clearly eager to control the pilgrimage, and Napoleonic religious policy enabled him to extend his authority as parish priest over the hermitage and chapel at the *Wendelsbrunnen* toward the end of his time in Sankt Wendel (he left in 1814).<sup>116</sup> Yet he never overtly questioned the big pilgrimage festivals themselves—as the diocesan Vicar General, Anton Cordel, reminded one of Castello’s successors, Theodor Creins, during a tense exchange that took place in 1824. Creins, who had just arrived in Sankt Wendel as the new parish priest, complained that it was impossible to hold the major festival on the Wednesday after Pentecost in a decent manner—too many market stalls right outside the church, too much jostling “riffraff,” too many superstitious and dangerous behaviors. Taking up a familiar theme, he also claimed

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<sup>115</sup> On Blasiusberg: ADM, 29 J 770, mayor of Tholey and *adjoint* of Sotzweiler and Bergweiler to Bishop Bienaymé, Tholey, 10 floréal an XII (April 30, 1804): “[les] fidèles qui ont grande devotion à ce grand saint [Blaise] surtout dans les maladies des bestiaux, comme aussi pour le mal de gorge des fidèles attaqués, enfin tous les fidèles du voisinage y ont leur confiance. La chappelle est grande, très bien ornée, avec trois autels pourvue des ornemens nécessaires, il y a deux frères gardiens très exemplaires [...], et la ditte chappelle est entretenüe de ces frères par les offrandes de la part des fidèles, ils sont sous la surveillance du curé de la paroisse de Tholay, des maires de ce lieu, et de Bergweiler, désirent en conserver le pellerinage, attendu que les stations se trouvent renouvelées.” Cf. also on the popularity of this pilgrimage chapel throughout the nineteenth century: Naumann, *Die Blasiuskapelle*, 86–91. On pilgrim influx to Sankt Wendel, which continued to necessitate help from outside clergy on many feast days each year because Castello and his vicar could not meet pilgrims’ demand for hearing their confessions: BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 357, p. 236r (entry into the registers of episcopal correspondence on November 15, 1802); BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 332, pp. 28–35, Castello to Bishop Mannay, St. Wendel, August 28, 1809, esp. pp. 29v–30r.

<sup>116</sup> PfA WND, B 84, pp. 65–9, deliberation of St. Wendel parish council, May 30, 1811. My heartfelt thanks go to Roland Geiger for sharing with me his collection of material on the history of the *Wendelsbrunnenkapelle*. For a similar but less successful attempt by Castello’s counterpart, the *curé* of Tholey, to bring the Blasiusberg chapel more firmly under parochial control, see ADM, 29 J 770, *curé* Geoffroy to Vicar General Dubois, Tholey, October 20, 1808.

that all these problems resulted in even greater damage to the reputation of the Church because “more Protestants live here now” and because the pilgrimage fair was “attended by Jews and acatholic people.”<sup>117</sup> The frontier kept shifting due to the increased Protestant presence not just near but *in* Sankt Wendel, signaled by Creins and enabled by the end of the Electorate of Trier as a Catholic principality.<sup>118</sup>

Cordel was having none of it and rebutted Creins’s implicit conclusion that the big pilgrimage procession through Sankt Wendel should perhaps be abolished to avoid “mockery and laughter.”<sup>119</sup> The Vicar General drily asked his subordinate to first familiarize himself with his new parish before sharing grievances about its customs and festivals. Cordel also gave advice on how to curb certain practices. For example, to prevent people from jumping across underneath the chest that contained Saint Wendelin’s relics while it was being carried through the streets, Cordel suggested having a few men with rifles march along on each side. Yet, while acknowledging this need to enforce discipline and decency, the Vicar General decided that the processions should continue. He added: “With regard to the Protestants, no gains have ever been made by trying to placate them; rather, the assembled Catholic crowd is imposing and inspires

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<sup>117</sup> PfA WND, B 41, pp. 6–11, Creins to Cordel, St. Wendel, May 21, 1824, pp. 6–7: “da jetzt mehr Protestanten hier wohnen, an diesem Tage zugleich großer Jahrmart ist, welcher rund um die Kirche gehalten; und von Juden und Akatholiken besucht wird und sowohl darum, als wegen des großen Zulaufs von Pilgern alle Straßen mit allerhand Gesindel so gefüllt sind, dass es kaum möglich ist durch die Menge durchzukommen, so wird die wahre Andacht mehr gestört, als befördert, mehr geärgert als erbaut und der Religion mehr geschadet als gewonnen”

<sup>118</sup> Very limited toleration had already been granted to Protestants in the Electorate by Clemens Wenzeslaus in the 1780s, but at that time, the few Protestants who decided to settle in this territory preferred the area of Koblenz rather than the city of Trier or the town of St. Wendel: cf. Gunther Franz, “Morgenglanz der Toleranz: Clemens Wenzeslaus und die Toleranz im Herzogtum Luxemburg und im Trierer Kurstaat,” in *Der Trierer Erzbischof und Kurfürst Clemens Wenzeslaus (1739–1812), eine historische Bilanz nach 200 Jahren: Vorträge einer Tagung in der Stadtbibliothek Trier im November 2012*, ed. Michael Embach (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2014), 97–136, esp. 119–21 and 131–2.

<sup>119</sup> PfA WND, B 41, pp. 6–11, Creins to Cordel, St. Wendel, May 21, 1824, p. 7: “ein Unfug, desgleichen ward noch nirgends gesehen, und der nichts anders als Gespött und Gelächter erregen kann.”



respect.”<sup>120</sup> This exchange between two clergymen resonates with the one between lay communities and Hontheim over fifty years earlier. To the persistent question of how best to avoid Protestant mockery, the answer that the Vicar General suggested was again that Catholics needed to *impose* respect through pilgrimage processions rather than *obtain* it through compromises.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, this answer would largely win out among European Catholics, although local situations could admittedly develop in more complicated ways. In Sankt Wendel, for instance, Creins’s skepticism about the devotion to Saint Wendelin sound found support from the new, enlightened Bishop of Trier, Joseph von Hommer (1824–36).<sup>121</sup> Moreover, in pastoral visit questionnaires, Creins initially did not deign even to mention the great local pilgrimage festival of the week after Pentecost. Only in 1869, during the last visit of his lifetime, did he finally acknowledge that this festival still took place every year, while in 1856 and 1861, he had responded to the relevant question about *festa peculiaria* with a simple “no.” On the other hand, Creins seems to have conducted without fail the annual ceremony of blessing the fountain of Saint Wendelin at the eponymous *Wendelsbrunnenskapelle*, of whose importance as a pilgrimage destination he must have been aware.<sup>122</sup> Other documents even suggest that Sankt Wendel constituted the third most important pilgrimage destination in the Diocese of Trier around 1850, trailing only the famous Marian shrine of Klausen and Trier

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., Cordel to Creins, Trier, May 28, 1824, p. 9: “Durch placebo spielen wurde bei den Protestanten noch nie etwas gewonnen, wohl aber imponirt die versammelte Menge Katholiken, und flößt respect ein. Nihil ergo innovetur, sed quod traditum est servetur.”

<sup>121</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 23–33, report by Creins on processions, confraternities, and relics in St. Wendel, 1827, esp. pp. 27–8. On Cordel as a “conservative” clerical leader who repeatedly clashed with the late-Enlightenment bishop Hommer: Helmut Rönz, *Der Trierer Diözesanklerus im 19. Jahrhundert: Herkunft – Ausbildung – Identität*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006), 1:255.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. a commented edition of the visitation dossiers: Margarete Stitz, ed., *Pfarrei St. Wendelin in St. Wendel: Visitationsakten 1803–1869* (St. Wendel: Dr. Margarete Stitz, 2015). Before 1856, no such question about “*festa peculiaria in parochia*” had been asked.

itself.<sup>123</sup> Finally, toward the end of the century, Sankt Wendel experienced a gigantic pilgrimage when the saint's relics were taken out of their wooden box and shown to the public for two weeks. Given the current state of research, I cannot say much about this event, except that as many as 150,000 to 200,000 Catholics participated in it.<sup>124</sup> I do wonder, however, whether it is a mere coincidence that the leading inhabitants and clergy of Sankt Wendel decided to organize this pilgrimage in 1896—exactly one hundred years after the great epizootic had ushered in a new era of devotion to Saint Wendelin. Perhaps, the echo of 1796 was quite audible a century later.

## Conclusion

The case study presented here suggests that, throughout the revolutionary era, pilgrimage processions were a salient medium of confessional conflict in the religiously diverse border regions of western central Europe. Enlightened and revolutionary elites may well have scorned such religious practices as out of place in the century of *Aufklärung* and *philosophie*, ultimately a negligible residue, a thing of the confessionalist past. In the fall of 1798, the French general Wirion wrote to his government about “the pilgrims who used to go to Sankt Wendel”—a telling use of the past tense, especially when the devotion to Saint Wendelin was, in reality, just gaining prominence in the present due to the epizootic.<sup>125</sup> On the ground, where protagonists of Reform

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<sup>123</sup> Bernhard Schneider, “Katholiken und Seelsorge im Umbruch von der traditionellen zur modernen Lebenswelt,” in *Auf dem Weg in die Moderne (1802–1880): Geschichte des Bistums Trier, Vol. 4*, ed. Martin Persch and Bernhard Schneider (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2000), 275–369, here 320.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Johannes Naumann, *Der heilige Wendelinus: Ein Stadtpatron erobert die Welt* (St. Wendel: Stadtmuseum, 2009), 49.

<sup>125</sup> AN, F/1e/47, Wirion's report on the organization of the gendarmerie in the Saar Department, vendémiaire an VII (fall 1798), here the remark on the past prosperity of St. Wendel: “ce qui faisoit la richesse de ce chef-lieu, c'étoit le passage des voyageurs, et des pelerins, qui se rendoient à St. Wendel.” Cf. also his parallel remark on Trier: “avant la guerre, Trêves étoit le rendez-vous d'un nombre considérable de Pelerins, qui s'y rendoient du fond de la Westphalie, pour visiter une foule de statues.”

Catholicism and later of the French Revolution encountered the *presence* of the Baroque, no pleasant pause between two ugly Confessional Ages ever occurred. No discernible moment of deconfessionalization emerged.

Nor did ‘elite’ and ‘popular’ conceptions of confessional, political, and spatial order simply collide in the same way that an unstoppable force clashes with an immovable object. Instead, pilgrims and Catholic communities repeatedly *took up* the themes propounded by reformers and revolutionaries. In the case of the Saar region, two such themes appear crucial. We may best reflect on them by formulating them as questions. First, how to prevent Catholic religious life from being or becoming ridiculous—subject to mockery—in situations of rivalry, crisis, and drastic political and ideological change? And second, how to draw boundaries that would best organize and contain fragmented, confessionally marked spaces of worship? Answers to these two questions diverged, sometimes radically so. For instance, revolutionary leaders after Thermidor tended to think they needed to curb the ridicule and dangerous ‘fanaticism’ of Catholics’ religious practices by removing them from public space altogether and enclosing them inside church buildings. The leaders and members of pilgrimage processions disagreed sharply with this proposed solution. Yet this divergence should not obscure that the two themes or questions, which I have followed throughout this chapter, formed *common ground*, a shared stage on which the Baroque and the Enlightenment interacted.

What is more, in the interactions I have analyzed here, rural and small-town Catholics repeatedly tried—and sometimes managed—to disarm enlightened or revolutionary authorities by catching them in their own contradictions. First, consider the theme of confessional ridicule. In the early 1770s, communities from the area of Tholey compelled Hontheim to rethink and ultimately withdraw his ban on pilgrimage processions. He conceded that these restrictions had

ended up *reinforcing* the Catholic inferiority complex by giving nearby Protestants great opportunities to lampoon their confessional rivals. Similarly, in the 1790s, laypeople made the case that the tension between freedom of conscience and *police du culte* merely served as an excuse for local revolutionary firebrands such as Serva to mock Catholicism as he pleased. The second theme, that of spatial coherence, directly ties in here because everybody agreed that confessional disorder and border trouble went hand in hand, especially when it came to pilgrimage. Catholic communities built on this shared assumption very effectively in their petitions to Hontheim. Later, in the 1790s, pilgrims on their way to Sankt Wendel tried to benefit from the uncertain status of the French-occupied Rhineland by acting as though they were simply wandering through “their own *pays*.”<sup>126</sup> French revolutionary leaders had conjured up the ideal of “natural boundaries” as a pillar of rational statehood to justify the Republic’s expansion to the left bank of the Rhine. But the chaos of war and occupation meant that, far from finally making the borderlands legible, the revolutionary state was merely reorganizing spatial illegibility on its territorial edges.<sup>127</sup> In that zone of illegibility, pilgrims helped construct the new model of confessional mobilization that would mark the nineteenth century.

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<sup>126</sup> Cf. above, fn. 97.

<sup>127</sup> On the Revolution and the ideology of “natural boundaries,” see the classic article by Sahlins, “Natural Frontiers Revisited,” esp. 1443–6. On the unintended outcomes of state projects to achieve “legibility” and “simplification,” see James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), quotes on p. 2.

## Chapter 3

### Mary's Overflowing Presence: Hoste and Beyond

Just northwest of Hoste, a village in northeastern Lorraine, a tiny chapel hides among the ponds, woods, and meadows that characterize the landscape in this region between Saint-Avold and Sarreguemines in the Moselle Department. The Chapel of the Good Well (*chapelle de la Bonne Fontaine*) is a modern edifice, and local erudition reports that earlier, nineteenth-century efforts to build one at this site foundered against an episcopal veto. In that period, devout Catholics hoping for a miraculous healing sometimes came here, and a few of them left votive offerings either on the spot or at the parish church of Hoste.<sup>1</sup> Yet the nineteenth century never saw a massive influx of pilgrims to the chapel, and today, this place is nearly forgotten outside the community of parishes Saint-Jean de Neuwiese, to which Hoste now belongs.<sup>2</sup>

Much like the Good Well, the village itself has all the qualities of a small, peripheral place that cannot attract much attention. Its population in 2017 amounted to little more than 600, a figure that includes the inhabitants of a neighboring hamlet.<sup>3</sup> The *Autoroute de l'Est* passes nearby, but only occasionally do trains stop at the closest railroad station in Farschviller, several miles to the north. The border with Germany is about ten miles away, as is the northwestern

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<sup>1</sup> A. Bouvy, "La fontaine de Host en l'an VII d'après les documents officiels," in *Études d'histoire ecclésiastique messine offertes à Monseigneur Willibrord Benzler O.S.B. à l'occasion de son jubilé sacerdotal*, ed. N. Hamant, Paul Lesprand, and A. Bouvy (Guénange: Apprentis-Orphelins, 1902), 121–49, here 148–9.

<sup>2</sup> "Actuellement, un pèlerinage attire quelques dizaines de fidèles" according to Patrick Sbalchiero, "Hoste," in *Dictionnaire des "apparitions" de la Vierge Marie: Inventaire des origines à nos jours, méthodologie, bilan interdisciplinaire, prospective*, ed. René Laurentin and Patrick Sbalchiero (Paris: Fayard, 2007), 438. In the mid-1990s, however, Yves Chiron could note that "des pèlerins viennent toujours à Host et une procession annuelle est organisée par la paroisse": Yves Chiron, *Enquête sur les apparitions de la Vierge* (Paris: Perrin/Mame, 1995), 167.

<sup>3</sup> "Populations légales 2017: Commune de Hoste (57337)." Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques, <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/4269674?geo=COM-57337> (accessed February 16, 2020).

salient of the Bas-Rhin Department, the *Alsace bossue*. Before the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/1 and the consequent territorial losses for France, another departmental border—with the Meurthe—ran not too far south of Hoste. What is more, before the beginning of the revolutionary era, Hoste had not even belonged to France, but rather to the Duchy of Lorraine, formally absorbed into the Bourbon Monarchy as late as 1766. In short, even more so than today, this village remained on the spatial margins between French- and German-speaking Europe in the eighteenth century. The very marginality of Hoste, however, not only conditioned but in some ways even fostered its momentary prominence as the most notable place of Marian apparition in revolutionary Europe.<sup>4</sup> In the spring and summer of 1799, hundreds of thousands of Catholics went on pilgrimage to Hoste and a handful of other sites across and beyond northern Lorraine, looking for special encounters with the Virgin who was making repeated appearances in well water.

In this chapter, I argue that the pilgrims of 1799 deployed a mobilization that effectively subverted the efforts of French revolutionary authorities to control both devotion and territory. Through that mobilization, a new type of apparition space emerged in the revolutionary era—a type distinguished by its ephemeral, fluid, and expansive qualities. By quickly impeding access to the Good Well near Hoste that constituted the initial source of apparitions, revolutionary administrators, gendarmes, and soldiers involuntarily encouraged pilgrims to elect secondary sacred sites wherever they could at least transport bottles of water from that well. In the process, Catholics aptly navigated the instability and vulnerability of recently rebordered territorial

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<sup>4</sup> There is very little scholarship on the apparitions of 1799. Bouvy, “La fontaine de Host,” is detailed and mostly reliable but written in the anti-revolutionary mood typical of Catholic historiography around 1900. Martin, *Pèlerins de Lorraine*, 97–9 aptly connects the phenomena of Hoste to the larger religious resurgence of the Directorial period. Much like Bouvy, however, Martin treats the apparitions as a merely sub-regional affair. Both historians seem to have left untapped the relevant Parisian sources that make visible the wide proliferation of sacred places and spaces on which I have chosen to focus.

spaces, a vulnerability heightened by the broader political and religious turmoil of the last months before Bonaparte's coup d'état. Pilgrims inaugurated a devotional and political pattern of overflow that would often recur in later decades. Yet the apparitions around Hoste also exhibit some features that evoke early modern precedents rather than comparisons with the nineteenth century. In other words, I interpret 1799 as a moment of transition that sheds light on how Marian apparitions could come to mobilize millions of Catholics in the modern world.

My interpretation challenges the dominant narrative in the historical study of Marian apparitions that has produced much outstanding scholarship but has also neglected the revolutionary era. Classic work on Lourdes by Ruth Harris and on Marpingen by David Blackbourn has shown that spectacular apparitions did not simply take place *within* modernity more often than before; rather, they were profoundly *of a piece with* modern Catholic ways of thinking about divine grace as well as modern socio-economic realities and politics of mass mobilization.<sup>5</sup> Scholars have developed this insight while concentrating on the especially numerous and influential apparitions of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. As a result, the events of La Salette in 1846 have come to serve as a convenient starting point for those trying to discern a modern model of Marian apparition, in sync with notions of mid-century religious renewal that have by and large shrouded the earlier, momentous changes of the revolutionary era.<sup>6</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>5</sup> Harris, *Lourdes*; David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York: Knopf, 1994). On nineteenth-century apparitions as an arena of Catholic "partial modernization" ("Teil-Modernisierung"), see also the more recent overview by Bernhard Schneider, "Marienerscheinungen im 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Phänomen und seine Charakteristika," in "*Wahre*" und "*falsche*" Heiligkeit: *Mystik, Macht und Geschlechterrollen im Katholizismus des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hubert Wolf (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2013), 87–110, here 100.

<sup>6</sup> Claude Langlois, "Mariophanies et mariologies au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Méthode et histoire," in *Théologie, histoire et piété mariale: Actes du colloque, Université Catholique de Lyon, 1–3 octobre 1996*, ed. Jean Comby (Lyon: Profac, 1997), 19–36; Sandra Zimdars-Swartz, *Encountering Mary: From La Salette to Medjugorje* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Marrus, "Cultures on the Move," here 217; more recently: Joachim Boufflet, "Institution et charisme dans l'Église de 1846 à nos jours: La question du jugement épiscopal sur les apparitions mariales modernes et contemporaines" (Thèse de doctorat, Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux 3, 2014). For the concept of a "Tridentine model" of apparitions that dominated from the sixteenth through the first third of the

the focus on fixed, emblematic apparition sites—La Salette, Lourdes, Marpingen, Fátima, and so forth—has tended to obscure the pattern of spatial overflow that pilgrims first enacted in 1799 by taking their encounters with the Virgin beyond any single place, even one as powerful as the Good Well near Hoste.<sup>7</sup> Far from “always” producing a “fixation of place” as Alphonse Dupront claims in his seminal work of historical anthropology, modern apparitions often came in waves, spilled across boundaries, and thus created a *fluid plurality* of places.<sup>8</sup> The pilgrims of the revolutionary period pioneered precisely that fluidity and tapped into its mobilizing potential.

### Revolutionary Expansion and the Thirst for Miracles (1796–9)

This section launches my argument about overflow by showing that the apparitions of 1799 constituted a final, spectacular sub-series of miraculous interactions between Mary and European Catholics that had already been proliferating for years from Italy to the Rhineland. In the mid-to-late 1790s, revolutionary France became a *Grande Nation* by extending itself across the Alps as well as solidifying its control over the left bank of the Rhine. In the process, local populations not only confronted the hardships of warfare and fiscal-military exploitation. They also

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nineteenth century and thus cuts off the decades around 1800 from the history of later apparitions, see Philippe Boutry, “Dévotion et apparition: Le ‘modèle tridentin’ dans les mariophanies en France à l’époque moderne,” *Siècles. Cahiers du Centre d’histoire “Espaces et Cultures,”* no. 12 (2000): 115–31; Bruno Maes, “Les apparitions mariales à l’époque moderne, ou l’émergence du modèle tridentin,” *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 85, no. 2 (2019): 587–99. For an example from the field of religious studies: Jill M. Krebs and Joseph Laycock, “The American Academy of Religion Exploratory Session on Marian Apparitions and Theoretical Problems in Religious Studies (2015),” *Religious Studies Review* 43, no. 3 (2017): 207–18, here 212.

<sup>7</sup> My use of the term ‘overflow’ here is an attempt to spatialize the theoretical insight of Robert Orsi, who argues that the meaning of modern Marian apparitions resides above all in the “abundance” and “excess” of presence that Mary embodies: Robert A. Orsi, *History and Presence* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 48–71. The Latin etymology of ‘abundance’ (from *unda*, meaning ‘wave’) also dovetails with my reflections on the role of water in this chapter.

<sup>8</sup> Dupront, *Du Sacré*, 381 (“lorsque les apparitions se succèdent, elles se manifestent toujours au même endroit”; “fixation du lieu”). My effort to think about fluidity and place in tandem is particularly indebted to Doreen Massey, “Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place,” in *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, ed. Jon Bird et al. (London, New York: Routledge, 1993), 59–69, and to Jacob N. Kinnard, *Places in Motion: The Fluid Identities of Temples, Images, and Pilgrims* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).



witnessed the creation of new states and religious policies that many Catholics viewed as shockingly restrictive, even sacrilegious—not least because the French troops they encountered were among the most anticlerical segments of revolutionary society.<sup>9</sup> In this tense situation, individual laypeople’s miraculous experiences had massive social and political ripple effects, often unleashing a dynamic of frequent and collective encounters with Mary. Such dynamics responded to key moments of French expansion, whether in the Papal States during Bonaparte’s Italian campaign of 1796 or in the northern Rhineland when French administrators tried to introduce most revolutionary policies there in 1798. In other words, by ramping up efforts to reborder western Europe and Italy, the French Directorial government of 1795–9 produced many frontiers of revolution, and miracles easily proliferated on these frontiers as local inhabitants faced radical political and cultural challenges. Occurring across another heavily rebordered region that included Lorraine, Luxembourg, and southern parts of the occupied Rhineland, the apparitions of 1799 thus capped off a years-long sequence.

In drawing attention to this sequence, I connect the issue of Catholic resurgence in Directorial France to a larger European landscape of religious panic associated with French territorial expansion. Several historians working on the mid-to-late 1790s have revealed the scope of resurgence even for central French regions strongly affected by de-Christianization in the year II (1793/4), such as northwestern Burgundy, the northern Île-de-France, and Limousin. For example, Catholic villagers in the Yonne Department organized *messes blanches* (lay rituals substituted for the Mass in the absence of clergy) and religious riots to claim and achieve greater freedom of worship after the Terror.<sup>10</sup> Even when revolutionary officials returned to heavier

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<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., Aston, *Religion and Revolution*, 284; Blanning, *The French Revolution in Germany*, 83–134 and 218–24.

<sup>10</sup> Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred*; for the northern Paris Basin, see Jacques Bernet, “Les limites de la déchristianisation de l’an II éclairées par le retour au culte de l’an III: L’exemple du district de Compiègne,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 312 (1998): 285–99; Jacques Bernet, “Cultes chrétiens et civiques en

repression of ‘superstition’ and Catholic claims to public space after the coup of Fructidor an V (September 1797), this “Second Terror” could not stifle dissident worship altogether.<sup>11</sup> Two obstacles have made it difficult to link these observations to scholarship on other parts of late-1790s Catholic Europe. First, this other scholarship is dispersed across multiple national historiographies—those of Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and so forth. Second, the classic synthesis of the field, Jacques Godechot’s work on the *Grande Nation*, deprioritized the issues of changing religious practice and conflict. Godechot emphasized instead the transnational diffusion of “new notions” such as “*laïcité*” and “tolerance,” as well as what he considered the relative self-restraint of French anticlericals in freshly conquered regions.<sup>12</sup>

Italian, Rhenish, and Swiss examples show, however, that many areas of French territorial expansion during the Directorial period became zones of intense encounters with the supernatural. For a short time, but in spectacular numbers, pilgrims would flock to the sites of these encounters.<sup>13</sup> The most important phenomena of this kind created turmoil in the Papal States in 1796/7, precipitated or at least shaped by the pressure that Bonaparte’s campaigns were

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Picardie à l’époque de la première séparation de l’Église et de l’État (1795–1801),” in *Du Directoire au Consulat*, ed. Jacques Bernet et al., 4 vols. (Lille: Centre de recherches sur l’histoire de l’Europe du Nord-Ouest, 1999–2001), vol. 2, 165–76. On Limousin: Louis Pérouas and Paul d’Hollander, *La Révolution française : une rupture dans le christianisme ? Le cas du Limousin (1775–1822)* (Treignac: Les Monédières, 1988), 254–9. A pioneering, still-valuable overview: Olwen H. Hufton, “The Reconstruction of a Church, 1796–1801,” in *Beyond the Terror: Essays in French Regional and Social History 1794–1815*, ed. Gwynne Lewis and Colin Lucas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 21–52, esp. 50–1 for a few remarks on pilgrimage.

<sup>11</sup> This has recently been pointed out for Lyon by Chopelin, *Ville patriote et ville martyre*, 323–48 (see 327 for Chopelin’s use of the expression “Seconde Terreur”). More generally on the fluctuating but overall restrictive religious policies of the Directory: Jean-René Suratteau, “Le Directoire avait-il une politique religieuse ?,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 283 (1991): 79–92; Maxime Hermant, “Monsieur dimanche face au citoyen décadé: Les autorités révolutionnaires et la liberté de culte,” in *Le Directoire: Forger la République, 1795–1799*, ed. Loris Chavanette (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2020), 179–96.

<sup>12</sup> Jacques Godechot, *La Grande Nation: L’expansion révolutionnaire de la France dans le monde de 1789 à 1799*, Deuxième édition, entièrement refondue (Paris: Aubier, 1983 [1956]), 395–421 (quotes on 419). On the problematic legacy of Godechot’s rosy picture, see Suzanne Desan, “Internationalizing the French Revolution,” *French Politics, Culture & Society* 29, no. 2 (2011): 137–60, esp. 149.

<sup>13</sup> For short summarizing remarks on this resurgence of pilgrimage, see Aston, *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe*, 230–1.

putting on northern and central Italy. On June 25, 1796, a Marian image at the Cathedral of Ancona opened her eyes and smiled according to testimony first given by a few women and children but quickly corroborated by large swaths of the city's population and by the clergy. Soon, people from dozens of communities were reporting smiling or crying Marian images in their home parishes or local chapels, too. Waves of miracles swept through the Papal States and triggered "a veritable migratory flow of pilgrims from the countryside to the places where the extraordinary events were transpiring," according to historian Massimo Cattaneo. Unlike in Lorraine in 1799, urban "epicenters" played a decisive role in 1796—not just Ancona, but also Perugia and above all Rome, where more than a hundred images suddenly showed miraculous features and movements.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, as northern Italy made further experiences of revolution during the late 1790s, Marian miracles generated much counter-revolutionary excitement in Venetian cities (Vicenza, Verona) and in Lombardy as well.<sup>15</sup>

The miracles in the Papal States constitute more than a mere comparison case: they resonated on a European scale, impressing and inspiring Catholics far beyond Italy. Cattaneo himself mentions not only a whirlwind of letters on these miracles circulating throughout the Papal States, but also a pamphlet printed as far away as London in 1796 and entitled *Evenemens miraculeux etablis par des Lettres authentiques d'Italie*.<sup>16</sup> The French title suggests that this publication was specifically aimed at the large French émigré community that resided in the English capital at that time. More directly to the point, the monks at Einsiedeln also knew about the events in Italy, which "have been spread and recounted here in Switzerland," as Abbot Beat

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<sup>14</sup> Massimo Cattaneo, *Gli occhi di Maria sulla Rivoluzione: "Miracoli" a Roma e nello Stato della Chiesa (1796–1797)* (Roma: Istituto nazionale di studi romani, 1995), esp. 1 (number of statues), 26–9 (Ancona in June 1796), 67 ("flusso migratorio di pellegrini"), 72 ("epicentri").

<sup>15</sup> Carlo Bazzani, "Miracoli e ierofanie in epoca rivoluzionaria: Rivoluzionari e controrivoluzionari a confronto attraverso il caso veneto e cisalpino," *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 85, no. 2 (2019): 626–37.

<sup>16</sup> Cattaneo, *Gli occhi di Maria* 51, 74.

noted in his diary in August 1796.<sup>17</sup> The capitulary acts of Einsiedeln Abbey even contain what may be a copy of a longer report, praising among other things the “prodigious” amelioration of morals among the population that had witnessed the miracles.<sup>18</sup> Finally, there is a handwritten account of the events of Ancona and Rome “sent from Italy to the internuncio who is in Münster and who will forward it to Cardinal Montmorency,” the non-juror émigré bishop of Metz to whose diocese Hoste belonged.<sup>19</sup> We know from instructions and authorizations given by Cardinal Louis-Joseph de Montmorency-Laval (1724–1808) that he kept in touch with clergymen who carried out clandestine pastoral work in the Diocese of Metz during the Directorial period.<sup>20</sup> To be sure, no direct link seems to exist between Ancona and Hoste. I cannot prove that the Italian miracles became a topic of conversation between refractory priests and parishioners in the Moselle Department, or between the monks of Einsiedeln and pilgrims coming from Alsace and Lorraine. Yet, given how fast and far news of these miracles travelled in 1796, they may very well have heightened the attention that Catholics across revolutionary Europe would pay to Mary’s supernatural action in the world.

The central Swiss region around Einsiedeln offers another example of how religious effervescence—and Marian devotion in particular—developed in response to French military advances. In early May 1798, French troops under General Schauenburg invaded the Catholic cantons south of Zurich that had refused to accept the constitution of the new Helvetic Republic.

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<sup>17</sup> KAE, A.11, A.HB, no. 74/11, p. 44: “Multa, et varia, atque memoratu digna miracula, quae Anconae et Romae circa haec gravissima tempora patrata sint, in nostram Helvetiam sparsa et relata ex Italia sunt.”

<sup>18</sup> KAE, A.11, A.CC, no. 11b, p. 59 (unfortunately, the pages 57 and 58, where this entry began, are missing): “Quanta Romae, Anconae etc. morum subsecuta sit emendatio, utique prodigiosa, explicari haud potest. [...] Vix modum seu improbi seu probi lacrymis ponunt: Supplicationes ad templa habentur plurima, quibus intersunt nudis pedibus, amictuque demisso vel Viri ac feminae principes.”

<sup>19</sup> ADM, 19 J 127, p. 87: “Relation envoyée d’Italie a M. l’internonce qui est a Munster et qui la communiquera à M. le cardinal de Montmorency”; and see pp. 87–101 for several similar reports on the Marian miracles happening across the Papal States.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

In the course of this campaign, the French not only pillaged and closed Einsiedeln Abbey (see Chapter 1) but also won several skirmishes against hastily formed, ill-coordinated Catholic peasant armies.<sup>21</sup> Some of these armies carried Marian banners before them into battle. In the Canton of Nidwalden, according to some testimonies, even a Marian apparition occurred in these weeks of desperate defense against an overwhelmingly strong adversary. Part of what drove Catholic populations to alarm and resistance was a new, counter-revolutionary propaganda against an equally new form of republicanism, denounced as alien and godless. Sermons preached at Einsiedeln during a time of great pilgrim influx there formed a crucial element of that propaganda.<sup>22</sup> The Swiss example thus illustrates—much as the Italian one does on a bigger scale—that pressures from expanding French republicanism created remarkably dynamic, politicized religious frontiers where Catholics experienced urgent interactions with the Virgin.

In the French-occupied Rhineland, a similar frontier opened up in the spring of 1798, though in this case largely due to a change of administrative regime, not because of military events. Until the end of 1797, the military had governed this region, ruthlessly pursuing economic exploitation but otherwise ruling pragmatically and unsystematically. Then, however, the French commissioner Rudler introduced regular departmental administrations and gradually published French law: based on the peace treaty of Campoformio (17 October 1797), the Directory considered France's possession of the left-bank Rhineland secure enough to prepare its definitive annexation.<sup>23</sup> In this moment, anticlerical hardliners such as Anton Dorsch,

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<sup>21</sup> For a detailed recent account, see Fässler, *Aufbruch und Widerstand*, 480–98.

<sup>22</sup> Godel, *Die Zentralschweiz*, esp. 183 and 198 (counterrevolutionary sermons), 190–1 (Marian devotion); Fässler, *Aufbruch und Widerstand*, 367–86.

<sup>23</sup> For a very instructive overview of this complicated political and administrative history, see Stein, *Die Akten*, 1–46. A broader, recent synthesis of Rhenish history between 1792 and 1815: Claire Gantet and Bernhard Struck, *Deutsch-Französische Geschichte 1789 bis 1815: Revolution, Krieg und Verflechtung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008), 91–8.

commissioner to the central administration of the Roër Department, lobbied for the introduction of the restrictive *police extérieure du culte* that the law of 7 vendémiaire an IV (September 29, 1795) had put in place in France. The explicit goal was to prevent processions and pilgrimages through which Catholics might assert and perpetuate ‘superstitions’ as well as counter-revolutionary attitudes. “The impressions of fanaticism must have taken root in a country where the people are naturally good, but stupid,” as Dorsch wrote.<sup>24</sup> Yet “fanaticism is fortified by persecution,” his fellow administrator L.P. Caselli cautioned.<sup>25</sup>

Indeed, around Easter of 1798, miraculous events only multiplied and attracted more believers in response to the rigorous repressive measures that Dorsch had pushed through precociously in the Roër.<sup>26</sup> Pilgrims flocked not only to the statue of Our Lady of Kevelaer, the most important shrine in the Lower Rhine region already since the seventeenth century, but also to freshly miraculous sites. For instance, an image at a chapel in Heinsberg and a crucifix near Geilenkirchen “have for some time become very famous and often attract more than ten thousand pilgrims on a single day,” as Dorsch claimed on June 1, 1798.<sup>27</sup> One year later, in the early summer of 1799, he had to admit that Heinsberg and Geilenkirchen were again (or still) witnessing numerous “*rassemblements fanatiques*”: his uncompromising approach had proved

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<sup>24</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 241,016, Nr. 743, Dorsch to the special commissioner Marquis, Aix-la-Chapelle, 11 thermidor an VII (July 29, 1799): “Les impressions du fanatisme doivent avoir pris racine dans un paÿs, où le peuple est naturellement bon, mais stupide” (p. 83). Dorsch’s language was particularly condescending, but he was not an outlier among administrators in the French Rhineland. Cf., e.g., LHA Ko, Best. 241,016, Nr. 744, Boucqueau (commissioner of the Directory for the Saar Department) to Marquis, Trier, 22 floréal an VII (May 11, 1799), writing about the “grands obstacles à la régénération politique de ces hommes abrutis par le fanatisme et que l’on dirait arriérés de deux siècles.” For more on the law of 7 vendémiaire an IV, see Chapter 2.

<sup>25</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 241,015, Nr. 689, pp. 7–11, report by Caselli to the other members of the central administration of the Roër: “le fanatisme se fortifie par la persécution” (p. 9).

<sup>26</sup> For an *arrêté* of 13 germinal an VI (April 2, 1798), prohibiting all processions (whether to pilgrimage shrines or elsewhere), see *ibid.*, pp. 15–17. This decision was precocious in the sense that the underlying legislation on *police du culte* had not yet been introduced in this region. Thus, on 30 germinal an VI (April 19, 1798), special commissioner Rudler scrapped the *arrêté*: *ibid.*, pp. 23–24.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33–36, Dorsch to Rudler, Aix-la-Chapelle, 13 prairial an VI (June 1, 1798): “à Heinsberg, où une image dans une chapelle ; à Gailenkirchen, où un crucifix, sont depuis quelque tems devenus très celebres et attirent souvent dans un jour plus de dix mille pèlerins” (pp. 33–34).

ineffective and perhaps even counter-productive.<sup>28</sup> On the other side of the struggle, the defiant attitude of lay Catholics is further exemplified in an episode of the summer of 1800, at a later stage of the Rhineland's occupation crisis. Near Aldenhoven—just a few miles southeast of Geilenkirchen—the gendarmerie stopped a procession of chanting pilgrims and “pointed out to them that one could not sing prayers in public like that.” The pilgrims reacted: “Instead of singing, they started shouting” those same prayers.<sup>29</sup> In sum, whether to the north or to the south-east of Lorraine, the instability of France's new borders correlated with a profusion of the miraculous toward the end of the revolutionary decade. The events of Hoste and beyond belong in this broader, transregional context.

In Hoste, initially undisturbed by the revolutionary state apparatus, lay Catholics—including women and children in prominent roles—‘made’ the Good Well as an apparition site and pilgrimage place largely on their own terms. A miracle report was soon authored or at least distributed by a layman, a local schoolteacher named Paul Spaeth.<sup>30</sup> According to him, the Virgin appeared on March 24, 1799 to “six innocent children, twelve to thirteen years of age.”<sup>31</sup> Above all, stories of several miraculous healings helped attract more and more Catholics to

<sup>28</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 241,016, Nr. 743, pp. 59–60, Dorsch to Marquis, Aix-la-Chapelle, 1<sup>er</sup> thermidor an VII (July 19, 1799). On these and other miraculous incidents, see also Blanning, *The French Revolution in Germany*, 235–9.

<sup>29</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 241,019, Nr. 959, pp. 1–4: Nicolas-Sébastien Simon (prefect of the Roër) to special commissioner Shée, Aix-la-Chapelle, 23 fructidor an VIII (September 10, 1800): “la gendarmerie ne put considérer ce rassemblement que comme une infraction manifeste aux loix [...] ; elle leur observa donc que l’on ne pouvait ainsi chanter publiquement des prières et alors au lieu de chanter, ils se mirent à crier” (p. 3, underlined in the original). The gendarmerie had been established in the occupied Rhineland in 1799: Aurélien Lignereux, *Servir Napoléon: Policiers et gendarmes dans les départements annexés, 1796–1814* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2012), 27.

<sup>30</sup> “Parmi ces maîtres d’école, on distingue celui d’Achen, canton de Rhorbach-lès-Bitche, qui distribue, en cachette, des écrits fanatiques”: Thiebault and Helfflinger to central administration of the Moselle, Puttelange, 21 prairial an VII (June 9, 1799): Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1071. For the name Paul Spaeth, see Bouvy, “La fontaine de Host,” 126. More generally on the reinforced “autonomie profonde des laïcs” corresponding to an “effacement provisoire du clergé” during the Revolution, see François Lebrun, “Rapport: Dévotions et pèlerinages,” in *Pratiques religieuses, mentalités et spiritualités dans l’Europe révolutionnaire (1770–1820): Actes du colloque, Chantilly 27–29 novembre 1986*, ed. Bernard Plongeron, Paule Lerou, and Raymond Darteville (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 581–86, here 586.

<sup>31</sup> AN, F/7/7612, d. 38 (R/1180), pièce 3: “dans nos tems de tristesse ce merveilleux miracle s’est fait voir encore le Jour que ci-dessus à six enfans innocens de 12 à 13 ans. C’était une image qui se fit voir aux enfans representant Marie, la reine des misericordes.”

Hoste. The report mentions two such healings in some detail, both concerning women. One of them had been mute for four months and regained her voice upon placing her foot in the well water, and the other, possessed by a demon, was delivered from her convulsions when the people who had transported her to the Good Well succeeded in having her swallow a sip of the water. A later gendarmerie report identified a third miraculously cured woman, Gertrude Derving, said to also have recovered her voice on June 2 after no fewer than fourteen years of muteness.<sup>32</sup> We do not know when the other two healings had happened, but by the time revolutionary officials began taking notice, namely in early May, miracle reports must have already been circulating for a while.<sup>33</sup>

These miracles drove a pilgrimage whose remarkable scope is confirmed by both existing scholarship and revolutionary authorities. On June 1, 1799, “indeed at least six thousand souls were gathered at this well” according to a gendarmerie lieutenant stationed at Sarreguemines.<sup>34</sup> Another lieutenant, from Pont-à-Mousson in the Meurthe, reported even higher numbers ten days later: “It is not an exaggeration to say that, across the meadow where this well is located, I have seen more than twelve thousand persons whose fanatical enthusiasm is beyond the imagination of any reasonable human being.”<sup>35</sup> Another two months later, the Directorial commissioner at the cantonal administration of Bascharage (present-day Luxembourg) still complained that

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<sup>32</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 13, lieutenant Fétré to Buquet, chef de la 18<sup>e</sup> division de la Gendarmerie nationale, Sarreguemines, 15 prairial an VII (June 3, 1799).

<sup>33</sup> First piece of the dossier published by Paquet: Thirion, jury director at the *tribunal de police correctionnelle* of Faulquemont, to central administration of the Moselle, Faulquemont, 15 floréal an VII (May 4, 1799): “Déjà, on publie les prodiges qui s’opèrent à une *fontaine miraculeuse* située dans les environs.” Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1060.

<sup>34</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 13, Fétré to Buquet, Sarreguemines, 15 prairial an VII (June 3, 1799): “Il y avoit bien au moins six mille ames rassemblées à cette fontaine, le dit jour 13 où l’on disoit qu’il devoit y avoir ce jour là des miracles et qu’ils voyoient dans cette fontaine une prétendue vierge.”

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pièce 18, lieutenant Rapin to Marchis, capitaine de gendarmerie à Nancy, Pont-à-Mousson, 25 prairial an VII (June 13, 1799): “je n’aurai pas exagérée quand je vous dirai avoir vû dans le prés ou se trouve cette fontaine plus de douze mille personnes dont le fanatique enthousiasme est porté audela de l’imagination d’un etre raisonnable.”



“apparently the Moselle Department has only taken half-hearted measures: otherwise, these gatherings of thousands of fanatics would no longer exist.”<sup>36</sup> Thus, a swelling chorus of republican patriots alerted the government in Paris about the unusual dimensions of this pilgrimage. More recently, historians Joachim Bouflet and Philippe Boutry have characterized the Marian apparition of Hoste as the “most important” one among those that occurred in France during the revolutionary decade.<sup>37</sup>

As the reputation of Hoste spread and pilgrims journeyed back home with water they had bottled at the Good Well, other sites of Marian miracles cropped up throughout the summer of 1799 (see the map below). Among the first of these emergent secondary sites was the parish church of Bacourt (about halfway between Nancy and Saint-Avold), where pilgrims hoped for more miraculous healings thanks to the well water that a female resident of Bacourt had brought home in a bottle from a trip to Hoste. On some days, several thousands of pilgrims crowded through the village all at the same time.<sup>38</sup> Countless Catholics also flocked to other places in the Meurthe Department that reported sightings of the Virgin and miraculous healings, including Chambrey, the Rehtal well near Plaine-de-Walsch, and Bertrambois.<sup>39</sup> A little later, in late July or early August, local and departmental authorities in the Bas-Rhin began noticing a spike in

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., pièce 68, cantonal commissioner Umhœfer to the Minister of Police, Bascharage, 25 thermidor an VII (August 12, 1799): “il paroît que le Département de la Moselle n’a pris que des demi mesures, sans cela ces rassemblemens des milliers des fanatiques n’existeront[sic] plus.”

<sup>37</sup> Joachim Bouflet and Philippe Boutry, *Un signe dans le ciel: Les apparitions de la Vierge* (Paris: Grasset, 1997), 98: “[l]a plus conséquente manifestation religieuse liée à un récit d’apparition durant la Révolution française.”

<sup>38</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 35, Saulnier to the Ministry of Police, Nancy, 4 messidor an VII (June 22, 1799): “Une de ces bouteilles est arrivée dans le canton de Lucy, de ce Département” and has been transferred “à l’église de Bacourt, commune du même canton. Là des pèlerins en grand nombre et présentant quelques fois une réunion de 3 à 4000 ames viennent être ou les témoins ou les objets des miracles.”

<sup>39</sup> On Chambrey: *ibid.*, pièce 38, *état de la situation* written by Saulnier, central commissioner of the Meurthe. On Plaine-de-Walsch and Bertrambois: Pierre Clémendot, *Le Département de la Meurthe à l’époque du Directoire* (Raon-l’Étape: Fetzer, 1966) esp. 489–90 on links established by pilgrims between Rehtal and the Good Well. On pilgrimage to Plaine-de-Walsch, see also AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 39, central administration of Meurthe to Ministry of Police, Nancy, 15 messidor an VII (July 3, 1799).

travel to the regionally well-known chapel of Marienthal. They radically disincentivized this movement by having the chapel doors walled up.<sup>40</sup> Yet the region kept teeming with new miracles in places where pilgrims had transported well water from Hoste: Mars-la-Tour in the western part of the Moselle, Sprinkange and another, unidentified site in the Canton of Bascharage, and the woods north of Virton in present-day Belgium.<sup>41</sup> Finally, there is a potential link between Hoste and the village of Illingen in the French-occupied Rhineland, where local inhabitants constructed a “Marian fountain” (*Liebfrauenbrunnen*) around a well precisely in 1799.<sup>42</sup> This dynamic only died down in September or October, as the pilgrimage season ended.

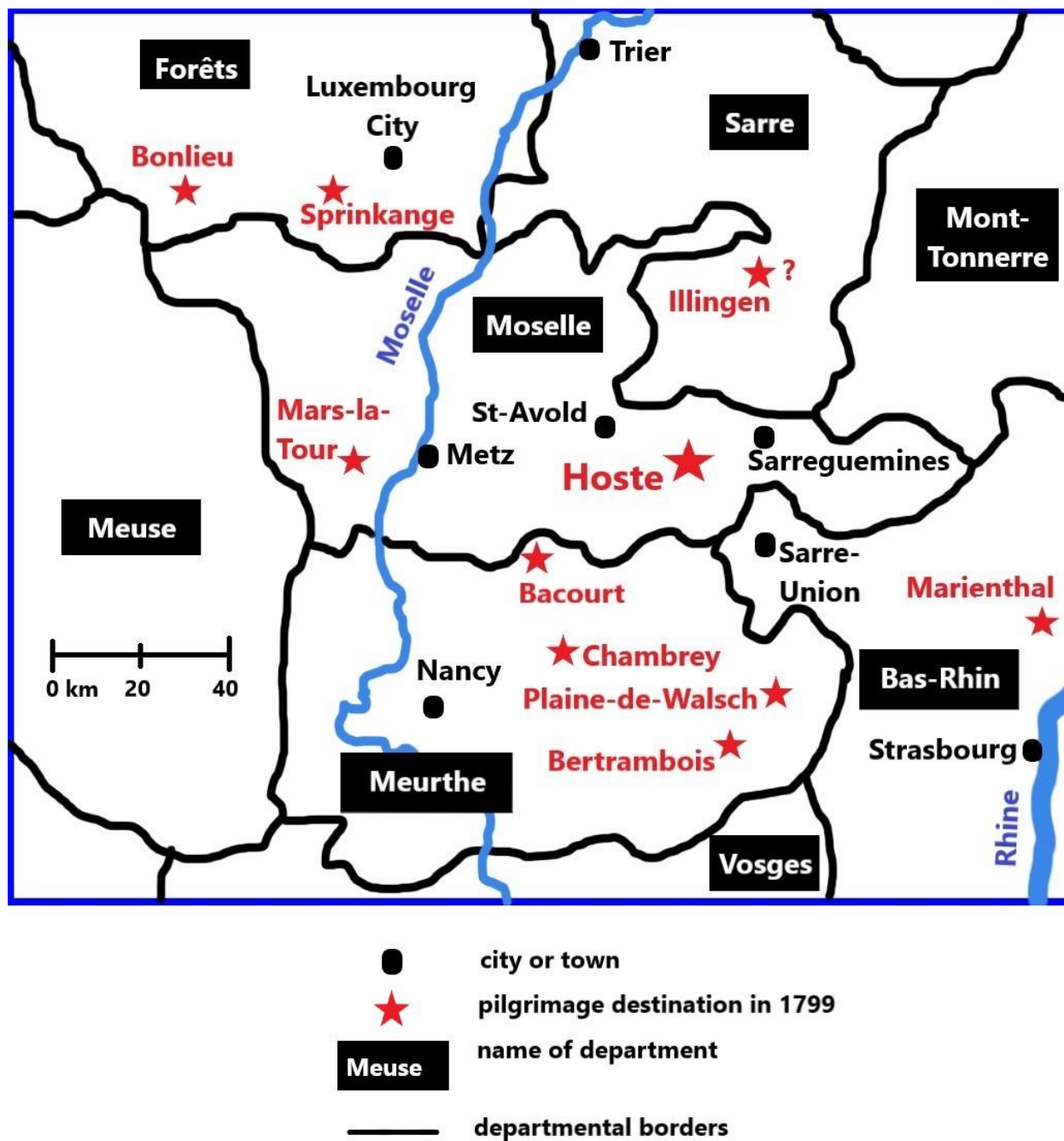
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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pièce 59, central commissioner of the Bas-Rhin to the Ministry of Police, Strasbourg, 16 thermidor an VII (August 3, 1799): “sur l’avis qui m’avoit été donné par mon collègue du Dép(artemen)t de la Meurthe, qu’un grand nombre de fanatiques de son arrondissement se transportoient au pèlerinage de Marienthal près Haguenau ; j’ai invité l’adm(inistrati)on centrale, près laquel[le] je suis placé, à faire murer les portes de lad(it)e chapelle.” For a corresponding decision made by the central administration of the Bas-Rhin: ADBR, 1 L 602, pp. 63–6, arrêté no. 29379bis, 3 thermidor an VII (July 21, 1799). See also André Marcel Burg, *Marienthal: Histoire du couvent et du pèlerinage sous les Guillemites, les Jésuites et le Clergé séculier* (Phalsbourg: Imprimerie franciscaine, 1959), esp. 196–7 on religious effervescence at Marienthal in the summer of 1799. Burg, who made meticulous use of local archives, offers no evidence, however, that this activity centered around a well.

<sup>41</sup> Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1080–1, cantonal administration of Mars-la-Tour to central administration of Moselle, Mars-la-Tour, 18 fructidor an VII (September 4, 1799); AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 68, Umhœfer to Ministry of Police, Bascharage, 25 thermidor an VII (August 12, 1799; “déjà on a voulu établir deux sources de miracles dans deux c(ommu)nes de ce canton”) and AN Lux, B-0864, no. 4917, Delattre (central commissioner of the Forêts) to Umhœfer, Luxembourg, 14 thermidor an VII (August 1, 1799; mention of Sprinkange); AN, F/7/7615, d. 36 (R/1206), Delattre to Ministry of Police, Luxembourg, 7 fructidor an VII (August 24, 1799; on Virton).

<sup>42</sup> Oberhauser, *Wallfahrten*, 26.

Map 4: Hoste and Connected Pilgrimage Sites in the Summer of 1799



Map created by the author. Simplified departmental borders drawn on the basis of Jean-Baptiste Poirson, *Carte de l'Empire français divisé en 110 départements* (1808).

The regional economy of Lorraine facilitated this multiplication of pilgrimage sites as Catholics carried water from the Good Well across the region in glass bottles.<sup>43</sup> Lorraine—and especially its German-speaking parts—had been one of Europe’s great glassmaking regions for centuries. This as well as other regional industries took a severe hit in the revolutionary decade, but most glassworks stayed alive throughout the decade.<sup>44</sup> They were therefore probably able to respond to rising demand in 1799 when thousands—perhaps tens of thousands—of pilgrims to the Good Well needed bottles to fill with their personal portion of the miraculously charged water. More specifically, Plaine-de-Walsch happened also to have constituted a major site of glassmaking industry in the eastern Meurthe since the early eighteenth century. Thus, the vast forests of northeastern Lorraine not only made it easy for pilgrims to elude gendarmes and soldiers but also provided the fuel for the industry whose products pilgrims bought in order to transport the water of Hoste.<sup>45</sup>

Widespread use of glass made it possible for this water to develop a strong—albeit fleeting—religious potential, as many pilgrims could see representations of the Virgin or Jesus swimming in the transparent bottles. Where gendarme Rapin from the district of Pont-à-Mousson (Meurthe) reported about a simple figurine slipped through the bottleneck by the former schoolteacher and “charlatan” Spaeth, many faithful Catholics were prone to think that further genuine apparitions were occurring. As Rapin added, “The inhabitants of the bigger part of my

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<sup>43</sup> For the repeated mention of bottles used by numerous pilgrims to obtain some water for themselves at the Good Well, see AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièces 13, 18, 29, 35, 38; Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1075 (in the report of commissioner Legoux, 4 messidor an VII [June 22, 1799]) and 1077 (municipal administration of Puttelage to central administration of Moselle, Puttelage, 28 messidor an VII [July 16, 1799], on the sale of water at the Good Well).

<sup>44</sup> On the difficulties of this industry in the 1790s, see above all Clémendot, *Le Département de la Meurthe*, 371–5.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 54 on glassworks in Plaine-de-Walsch and 374 on wood (alongside sand) as major local resource used in glassworks. Intriguingly, when a glassworker had discovered an old but undecayed corpse in Baccarat (in the same region of the present-day Meurthe-et-Moselle Department) in the 1770s, another controversial pilgrimage movement seems to have ensued: Jean-Marie Ory, “Comportements populaires et religion éclairée: Enquête sur les origines d’un ‘pèlerinage’ en Lorraine à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Annales de l’Est*, no. 1 (1993): 17–30.

district have gone on pilgrimage. They have returned persuaded that they had seen the Virgin and several miracles.”<sup>46</sup> Bottles containing devotional figurines had become a very popular item in the material culture of eighteenth-century pilgrimage—perhaps a precedent on which to draw for the Catholics who saw bottled apparitions in 1799.<sup>47</sup> At Chambrey, Bacourt, and Mars-la-Tour as well as near Virton, such bottles containing Mary even became the principal objects attracting thousands of pilgrims. For example, either in Chambrey or in Bacourt (the sources are unclear on this point), the bottle “contained extremely dirty and thick water. A little cork swam in it, wrapped in a piece of plain song paper with letters and notes of different colors, which, through the thickness of the water, people took at times for the Virgin and at other times for baby Jesus,” according to revolutionary officials.<sup>48</sup> Later in the summer, at Mars-la-Tour, people stopped coming after they learned that the representation of the Virgin had dissolved in the bottle.<sup>49</sup> The visual qualities of glass and muddy water both enhanced and destabilized pilgrims’ perceptions of the miraculous: north of Virton, if a Virgin appeared in the bottle brought there from Hoste,

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<sup>46</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 18, Lieutenant Rapin to Captain Marchis: “c’étoit une vierge de plâtre que ce charlatant avoit suspendu dans la bouteille par un fil presque imperceptible [...]. Les habitants de la majeure partie de mon arrondissement ont été en pèlerinage. Ils sont revenus avec la persuasion qu’ils avoient [vu] la vierge et des miracles.” On the occasional presence of Jesus, see *ibid.*, pièce 35, Saulnier to Ministry of Police: “des individus crédules ou malveillants ont réussi à se procurer de l’eau de cette fontaine qu’ils ont receüe[sic] dans des bouteilles et dans lesquelles on a encore soutenu qu’on voyoit la Vierge ou l’Enfant Jésus.”

<sup>47</sup> In the late eighteenth century, these bottles with figurines in them began to be sold by the thousands at the famous Marian shrine of Liesse in northern France, not too far from Lorraine: Bruno Maes, *Le roi, la Vierge et la nation: Pèlerinages et identité nationale entre guerre de Cent Ans et Révolution* (Paris: Publisud, 2003), 452–3 (Maes also indicates that other shrines incorporated these bottles into their material culture around the same time); John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France. Volume 2: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 145. Cf. also my remarks in Chapter 1 about Christine Beller, who transported such bottles (among many other devotional objects) from Einsiedeln to Alsace in the 1790s.

<sup>48</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 38, Saulnier’s *état de la situation*: “Une de ces deux bouteilles [of Chambrey and Bacourt] contenoit une eau extrêmement sâle et épaisse au milieu de laquelle étoit un petit bouchon de linge enveloppé d’un morceau de papier de plein chant qui présentoit des lettres et des notes de plusieurs couleurs qu’à travers l’épaisseur de l’eau on prenoit tantôt pour la Vierge, tantôt pour l’Enfant Jésus.” On the strong connection between plain song and French village schools (again pointing to the prominence of schoolteachers in the events of Hoste), see Xavier Bisaro, *Chanter toujours: Plain-chant et religion villageoise dans la France moderne (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), esp. ch. 5 on the revolutionary age.

<sup>49</sup> Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1081, cantonal administration of Mars-la-Tour to central administration of Moselle, 18 fructidor an VII (September 4, 1799): “bientôt, la matière dont cette vierge étoit composée s’étant dissoute dans l’eau, les adorateurs n’ont plus rien vu pour frapper leurs sens et ne sont pas venus rendre visite à cette bouteille.”

she did so only “momentarily.”<sup>50</sup> In short, these perceptions were ephemeral but highly dynamic, and they thus bolstered the logic of proliferation.

To sum up, the apparitions of 1799 continued and heightened a tidal wave of miracles that had been accompanying French revolutionary expansion across large parts of Catholic Europe since 1796. Important differences existed between events playing out in various regions. In Italy, pilgrims converged not on remote wells and villages but on urban power centers including Rome, endowing devotional actions with more immediate visibility. In the Papal States, moreover, Catholics saw moving and crying Marian statues rather than apparitions in water, and in the Rhineland, not all the miraculous phenomena of 1798/9 even involved Mary. Yet an equally important pattern binds together these episodes: miracles triggered more miracles along with spontaneous pilgrimages on the margins of the *Grande Nation*’s expanding territory, according to the vicissitudes of war. Were pilgrims thus mobilizing against the Revolution? Based on the work of the historians who have explored the relevant Italian, Swiss, and Rhenish contexts, the answer seems to be yes. While apparitions and individual Catholics’ quests for miraculous healing or deep spiritual experience cannot be reduced to politics, I suspect that personal and political motives coexisted and even blurred together among pilgrims in the 1790s.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, the next section will probe how the Marian apparitions and pilgrimages of Hoste and beyond intersected with the politics—including the rebordering struggles—of revolutionary France.

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<sup>50</sup> AN, F/7/3676/3, report of central administration of Forêts, Luxembourg, 2 fructidor an VII (August 19, 1799): a large crowd “s’étoit réuni dans les bois de Virton, au lieu dit le bon Lieu, sous le prétexte d’y adorer un crucifi[x] sans tête ni bras et d’y reverer une bouteille d’eau, dans laquelle paroissoit momentanément une Vierge.”

<sup>51</sup> My attempt to take the interplay between politics and individual quest for healing seriously is indebted to the excellent work on Medjugorje done by Élisabeth Claverie, *Les guerres de la Vierge: Une anthropologie des apparitions* (Paris: Gallimard, 2003), esp. 361: “les deux usages dévotionnels de l’apparition (personnel et politique) sont loin d’être sans liens. Ils sont au contraire dans une relation nécessaire : ce que demandent les personnes, c’est que leurs souffrances soient entendues et qu’elles soient mises en rapport avec un monde.”

### Marian Devotion and the Politics of 1799

The pilgrims of 1799 indeed incorporated political goals into their quest to encounter the holy at the Good Well and other apparition places. The evidence for such a politicization process is admittedly indirect, coming overwhelmingly not from the pilgrims themselves but from those who either promoted the apparitions or denounced them to the police. Yet these very attempts to exalt or (more frequently) excoriate pilgrimage to Hoste and other sites invariably suffused the events with the sharply polarized politics of the moment. France was traversing another severe crisis of warfare and government in the spring and summer of 1799, during those last months before Bonaparte would seize the reins of power as First Consul and begin dismantling the Republic. By the end of the revolutionary decade, moreover, both lay Catholics and clergy had learned how to benefit from the various quirks of regional rebordering around Hoste—more specifically, how to practice forms of mobility that disrupted revolutionary *police du culte*. The pilgrimages of 1799 thus appear in part as an uncoordinated yet widespread protest movement against the religious policies and the left-leaning agenda of the late Directory. And while some countervailing evidence reveals that Catholics tried at times to combine enthusiasm about these apparitions with assent to the Revolution, the virulent anti-‘fanatic’ discourse of French state officials and anticlericals swiftly erased any such ambiguities. The intense political mobilization of 1799 thus interacted massively with pilgrimage in this instance.

While the Marian miracles of 1796–8 had coincided mostly with French military successes, the apparitions in and around Hoste took on political meaning in part because of French setbacks, as the tides of military fortunes seemed to turn. In the winter of 1798/9, European monarchies including Great Britain, Austria, and Russia had formed the Second Coalition against the revolutionary republic. In the following spring, French armies suffered

grave defeats in present-day southwestern Germany (Battles of Ostrach and Stockach in late March) and northern Italy (e.g., Battle of Magnano, April 5). After a decade of mutual radicalization between Revolution and Counter-Revolution, French republican leaders and officials recognized in these struggles another, particularly strong and concerted effort of Europe's counter-revolutionary forces.<sup>52</sup> In response, national and neo-Jacobin sentiment was gaining ground not just in Parisian politics but across the country.<sup>53</sup> Patriots may thus have been more eager than ever to suspect and denounce fifth-column activities—especially in France's eastern regions, which were most exposed to the military threat. What is more, enlightened Francophone revolutionaries had classified Alsatians and German-speaking Lorrainers as backward, fanatical, and politically unreliable.<sup>54</sup> Against this backdrop, the apparitions of 1799 gave Catholic pilgrims, anti-revolutionary clergy, and anticlerical republicans ample opportunity to link devotion to politics.

In northern Lorraine, moreover, the proximity of the border with the French-occupied left-bank Rhineland had enabled both laity and clergy to enact politically subversive crossings throughout the 1790s. As the French state policed religious life much less heavily in the occupied lands, thousands of Lorrainers chose to undertake religious excursions across the border. For

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<sup>52</sup> Jean-Clément Martin, *Contre-Révolution, Révolution et Nation en France, 1789–1799* (Paris: Seuil, 1998), esp. 291–6 (on 1799) and 9–13 (on reciprocal radicalization).

<sup>53</sup> Bernard Gainot, *1799, un nouveau Jacobinisme ? La démocratie représentative, une alternative à brumaire* (Paris: CTHS, 2001).

<sup>54</sup> For two examples, see AN, F/7/3682/22, d. 1, pièce 89, central administration of the Moselle to the Minister of Police, Metz, 3 brumaire an VII (October 24, 1798): “La partie allemande de ce Département est celle où le fanatisme religieux est le plus difficile à déraciner.” And F/7/7215, d. B/3/4368, a schoolteacher named Solms to the Corps législatif, Sarrebourg, 22 frimaire an V (December 12, 1796): “Le très grand nombre des autorités constituées de la partie allemande de la république se chauffent encore au feu du fanatisme et des prêtres rebelles rentrés en si grand nombre dans ces pays et qui y ont tout désorganisé.” Most recently on fanaticism as a discursive label of radical otherness and inferiority: Joseph Clarke, “‘The Rage of the Fanatics’: Religious Fanaticism and the Making of Revolutionary Violence,” *French History* 33, no. 2 (2019): 236–58. For similar observations, see already Roger Dupuy, “Ignorance, fanatisme et Contre-Révolution,” in *Les résistances à la Révolution: Actes du colloque de Rennes (17–21 sept. 1985)*, ed. François Lebrun and Roger Dupuy (Paris: Imago, 1988), 37–42, esp. 39.



example, a recent analysis of Church records from the 1790s for just five parishes on the ‘German’ side of that border found 731 baptisms and 510 marriages of Lorrainers.<sup>55</sup> So, after the ecclesiastical oath of 1791 had met with overwhelming rejection in German-speaking Lorraine,<sup>56</sup> the inhabitants of this region developed border-crossing mobility to keep in touch with a clergy who seemed more legitimate to most than the jurors. In turn, certain members of the clergy did not hesitate to accomplish the same movement in the opposite direction—incursions into ‘old’ France from the relatively safe areas that had belonged to the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>57</sup> The most notorious of these priests was Jean Chavant, nicknamed “le Pape du Pays” and author of the counter-revolutionary pamphlet *Te Deum in Gallos*.<sup>58</sup> What is more, an enclave of French-occupied territory persisted within the Moselle Department throughout the 1790s. This enclave of Rouhling and Lixing lay less than ten miles northeast of Hoste. From there, a priest and former monk of Wadgassen Abbey made excursions into ‘old’ French territory to spread “the venom of fanaticism” in 1796.<sup>59</sup> In sum, rebordering had sparked new forms of clandestine religious activity in the region around Hoste long before the apparitions began.

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<sup>55</sup> Wolfgang Laufer, “Seelsorge über Grenzen: Taufen und Heiraten von Lothringern in grenznahen deutschen Pfarreien während der Französischen Revolution,” *Archiv für mittelhessische Kirchengeschichte* 62 (2010): 313–47, esp. 342. For more evidence of this border-crossing movement, see Wolfgang Hans Stein, “La République française et la Rhénanie annexée: Frontière religieuse et autonomie paroissiale,” in *Du Directoire au Consulat*, ed. Jacques Bernet et al., 4 vols. (Lille: Centre de recherches sur l’histoire de l’Europe du Nord-Ouest, 1999–2001), vol. 2, 177–98, here 183. See also Chapter 2 of this dissertation on large-scale pilgrim movement especially in 1796.

<sup>56</sup> See the numbers broken down by districts in Paul Lesprand, *Le clergé de la Moselle pendant la Révolution*, 4 vols. (Montigny-lès-Metz: Paul Lesprand, 1934–1939), 4:461, and the map in Fabienne Henryot, Laurent Jalabert and Philippe Martin, eds., *Atlas de la vie religieuse en Lorraine à l’époque moderne* (Metz: Serpenoise, 2011), 59.

<sup>57</sup> For an anonymous contemporary report on this border-crossing mobility in both directions, see “Moselle, Sarreguemines,” *Annales de la religion* 1, no. 23 (1795): 543–46.

<sup>58</sup> AN, F/7/4279, dossier Chavant, esp. his interrogation before the *tribunal criminel* of the Moselle, Metz, 5 thermidor an IV (July 23, 1796); for further investigations against Chavant in 1797, see AN, F/7/7263, d. B/3/9520; “le Pape du Pays” and authorship of the *Te Deum in Gallos*: AN, F/7/7372, d. B/5/1184, anonymous letter to Reubell, 13 nivôse an VI (January 2, 1798); Dagstuhl connection: SHD, 2 B 277, letter from General Laprun to Sauveton (commander at Saarlouis), Metz, 9 vendémiaire an V (September 30, 1796). Chavant also appears as a regional leader of anti-revolutionary Catholicism in Ulbrich, “Die Bedeutung der Grenzen,” esp. 162. For details on Chavant’s career until 1793, see Lesprand, *Le clergé de la Moselle*, 4:95–103. Finally, see Chapter 2 for more on religious reactions to the epizootic of 1796.

<sup>59</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 241,009, Nr. 319, p. 117, *Direction des pays conquis* to the commissioners of the Moselle Department and the Sarreguemines municipality, Saarbrücken, 17 messidor an IV (July 5, 1796): “j’ordonne

Then, in 1799, refractory clergymen and nuns probably established a discreet presence in the woods around the Good Well after the initial apparition and the spectacular healings had triggered a great influx of pilgrims. The evidence is admittedly delicate to handle in this respect. Revolutionary officials easily convinced themselves that priests were secretly organizing the pilgrimage all along, yet none of the contributors to the various police dossiers ever succeeded in identifying any clergymen involved in organizing the apparition place. Priests probably kept a prudent distance from the public spectacle *at* the well, in which gendarmes, army officers, and administrative commissioners intervened frequently. For example, exorcisms at the Good Well were performed not by clergymen but by Paul Spaeth or another former schoolteacher.<sup>60</sup> That said, the wooded and swampy surroundings certainly made it possible for priests to hide and hear pilgrims' confessions *near* the well. Saulnier, the Directory's commissioner to the Meurthe Department, made a plausible case for this possibility when he noted that pilgrims were proclaiming the necessity of "confessing to a *bon prêtre* (we know what that word means in counter-revolutionary language)." Otherwise, the pilgrims asserted, one could neither perceive the miracles occurring at the well nor be healed oneself. Saulnier concluded from these stories "that *bons prêtres* still exist, especially around the well."<sup>61</sup>

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l'arrestation du nommé Jean Prost ci-devant moine de l'abbaye de Wadgasse qui paroît avoir fixé sa demeure dans la commune de Lixing, en pays conquis, d'où il sort quelques fois pour distiller comme vous me l'avez dénoncé le venin du fanatisme, dans les communes françaises environnantes." On three other priests suspected of similar activities, see StA Tr, Fz 681, Hagre (president of the cantonal administration of Sarreguemines) to the *Agence des domaines du pays conquis*, Sarreguemines, 1<sup>er</sup> nivôse an IV (December 22, 1795).

<sup>60</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 18, Rapin to Marchis, 25 prairial an VII (June 13, 1799): "un fanatique et furieux ci-devant maître d'école et dont je n'ai pu savoir le nom exo[r]cisoit cette malheureuse creature [an elderly woman] en apostrophant le diable de la manière la plus féroce." Cf. also Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1071, for the assertion (made by Helfflinger and Thiebaut, letter to the central administration of the Moselle, Puttelange, 21 prairial an VII [June 9, 1799]) that Paul Spaeth "se mêle d'exorciser de prétendus démoniaques."

<sup>61</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 16, Saulnier to the Ministry of Police, Nancy, 24 prairial an VII (June 12, 1799): "on annonce par exemple qu'on ne peut apercevoir le miracle ou en devenir soi même l'objet, en cas de besoin, qu'on ne se soit préalablement mis en état de grace, en se confessant à un bon prêtre. (on sait ce que signifie ce mot en langage contrerévolutionnaire)." This "prouve en même tems qu'il existe encore des bons prêtres, notamment aux environs de la fontaine pour mettre en état de grace les pèlerins."

Even stronger evidence comes from a denunciation of the Hoste pilgrimage that Marie Anne Mangin, a patriotic inhabitant of Dieuze in the Meurthe, sent to the Directory in early August of 1799. As Mangin explains in her letter, she struck up a conversation with a group of returning pilgrims while tending to her garden. Feigning excitement about the miracles of Hoste, she asked these pilgrims whether she might get an opportunity to confess her sins to a *bon prêtre* near the Good Well. They replied that they themselves had done so in one of the woods north of Hoste, but also that these priests were disguised as peasants to avoid arrest. Upon further questioning from Mangin, the pilgrims told her about “a female religious who was present” as well and who “assured us that the night before, God and the Holy Virgin had spoken to them, that He had said that we needed a king.” The exchange ended there, as Mangin tried unsuccessfully to alert her husband, the *adjoint communal* of Dieuze, so he would get the pilgrims arrested. To be sure, anticlerical exaggeration shaped how Mangin framed her letter: she insisted on “the villainy of priests” and warned the government that “if you don’t clean up there, it could become a Vendée.”<sup>62</sup> Yet this caveat need not lead us to suppose that she falsified the specific information she had received from the group of pilgrims. While non-juring clergy could not control the events of Hoste, many a lay Catholic may well have sought contact with them to bestow additional, sacramental power on the pilgrimage to the Good Well.

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pièce 63, Marie Anne Mangin “au Citoyen Directeur de la Republic française en secret,” Dieuze, 22 thermidor an VII (August 9, 1799): “j’ay vue la dedans de la séleratesse de pretre, je leur dit que j’aimeroit bien dit aller [bien y aller], s’il y avoit des bon pretre pour pouvoir me confessée, il m’ont dit vous en trouvée, mais il sont abliée [habillés] en payisant pour qu’on ne les prenne pas, je lui dit vous les avée vue, il m’on dit, oui il nous ont confessée dans les boit voisin, et que vous ont tile dit, une religieuse qui etoit presente, nous á assurée que la veille, le bon dieu, et la sainte vierge leur avoit parlée, qu’il avoit dit qu’il falloit un roi, sur l’instant, je leur aie dit de m’atendre, que j’alois leur cherché de quoi à rafréchire, mais je crois, qu’on les auras prevenue qui j’etoit, car au moment, que j’ay envoyée cherché mon mary qui e[s]t adjoint de la commune, qui travailloit à l’administration, pour les faire arretée, pour avoir les renseig[n]ement, mais il étoit tous partie [...] si vous n’y metée pas d’ordre celas pourrait donnée une Vendée.”

Pilgrims also encountered subtle political commentary alongside exultation of miracles in the report written or at least disseminated by the local schoolteacher Spaeth. This pamphlet was exuberantly titled, “An extraordinary and very singular miracle, knowledge of which has already spread into this land and which occurred on March 24 of the present year 1799, helping the just to persevere and inviting sinners to repentance and penitence.” Printed copies of the German original of this miracle report circulated “by the thousands” (according to one source) in the spring and summer of 1799; the handwritten French translation that made it into the Directory’s police dossiers came from the departmental administration of the Bas-Rhin.<sup>63</sup> Interestingly, the pamphlet suggests specific prayers that Catholics should consider saying while on pilgrimage to Hoste. Where revolutionary officials saw “*des écrits fanatiques*,”<sup>64</sup> the historian discovers an intricate web of devotional and political references. The last few lines of the prayer, for instance, echo on the one hand the ending of the Hail Mary, while on the other hand the appeal to the Virgin as ‘protectress of France’ hearkens back to the Bourbon monarchy, to Louis XIII who consecrated the Kingdom of France to Mary in 1638: “Oh Mary our Mediatrix, protectress of France, always mother, do not abandon us, oh Mary mother of mercies, now and at the hour of our death. Amen.”<sup>65</sup> New political struggles intertwined with old devotional formulas as Catholic

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<sup>63</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pièce 1; ADBR, 1 L 601, pp. 226–30, departmental arrêté no. 28849: the copy translated by the central administration of the Bas-Rhin had been “trouvé entre les mains d’une femme du canton d’Hochfelden,” an Alsatian town whose municipal agent also “annonce que cette brochure se repand avec profusion sur tout entre les mains des émigrés rentrés, et des ennemis de la liberté” (p. 227). Other mentions of the pamphlet in Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1064, municipal administration of Sarrelibre (Saarlouis) to central administration of the Moselle, Sarrelibre, 12 prairial an VII (May 31, 1799); *ibid.*, cantonal commissioner at Sarreguemines to central administration of the Moselle, Sarreguemines, 13 prairial an VII (June 1, 1799): “Je vous fais passer un imprimé miraculeux, qui se distribue par milliers à la fontaine de Hoste.”

<sup>64</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 6, Thiebault (president of the municipality of Puttelange) and Helfflinger (cantonal commissioner at Puttelange) to central administration of the Moselle, Puttelange, 17 prairial an VII (June 5, 1799).

<sup>65</sup> “Un miracle extraordinaire et très singulier dont la connoissance est déjà parvenue dans ce pays-ci et qui s’est opéré le 24 mars de la presente année 1799 donnant de la constance aux justes et invite[sic] les pecheurs et pecheresses au repentir et à la penitence.” AN, F/7/7612, d. 38 (R/1180), pièce 3. The quote from the end: “O Marie notre médiatrice, protectrice de la France, toujours mere, ne nous abandonne point, o Marie mere des misericordes dans le present moment et à l’heure de notre mort. Amen.”

flocked to Hoste in 1799, in “these alarming times” of revolution as the author of the pamphlet called them.<sup>66</sup>

Among the secondary apparition places, the Bonlieu chapel in the forest north of Virton presents a case of possible political overtones directed against the expanding *Grande Nation*. To be sure, when eleven pilgrims were arrested by an army detachment in the woods and interrogated by a judge in the nearby town of Habay-la-Neuve, they struck no political notes at all. They unanimously declared that they had simply “been hearing people saying for some time that miracles were occurring at the Bonlieu” and had decided “to go say their prayers in that place.”<sup>67</sup> These pilgrims presumably understood that it would have been extremely unwise to talk about politics if they wanted the judge to close the proceedings against them—which he did.<sup>68</sup> Yet they likely knew that the Virton forest had been the main gathering point for rebels in an anti-French insurrection that had rocked this western part of the Forêts Department in the spring of 1796, mere months after the French annexation of the Austrian Netherlands.<sup>69</sup> They may also have known that the order to demolish the old Marian chapel of Bonlieu had come from a special departmental commissioner sent from Luxembourg to quell that insurrection. Many other pilgrims who did not get caught probably learned about this fact at the pilgrimage place, seeing

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.: “Marie, mère des miséricordes, dans ces tems allarmans ou nous vivons, nous hommes malheureux, nous avons plus que jamais besoin de ton secours et de ton assistance.”

<sup>67</sup> AEA 025, no. 62, quoting here from the interrogation of Charles Thiry, 7 fructidor an VII (August 24, 1799): “A répondu qu’après avoir oui dire depuis quelques tems, qu’il s’opéroit des miracles au bon lieu, lui, six particuliers et quatre a cinq femmes de sa commune en partirent hier matin pour aller faire leur prière a cet endroit.”

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., decision of the jury director François-Damien Simonin, 7 fructidor an VII (August 24, 1799).

<sup>69</sup> For some remarks on this underresearched revolt, see Alfred Lefort, *Histoire du département des Forêts (le duché de Luxembourg de 1795 à 1814) d’après les archives du gouvernement grand-ducal et des documents français inédits* (Luxembourg: Worré-Mertens, 1905), 319–20. On the importance of the woods of Virton as a rallying point for rebels during that revolt, see AEA 013, no. 125/43, e.g. unnumbered piece, Gillet (as *directeur du jury d’arrestation*) to special departmental commissioner Légier, Habay-la-Neuve, 27 germinal an IV (April 16, 1796): “Les attroupemens dont je vous ai rendu compte prennent un accroissement considérable et sont aujourd’huy formés en corps armés habitans les bois de Virton.”

the recent ruins in which believers now gathered around a bottle with well water from Hoste.<sup>70</sup> In this context, by reappropriating Bonlieu in the summer of 1799, pilgrims implicitly enacted defiance on the Belgian frontier of the Great Nation—especially after new, more serious and widespread insurrections had shaken the region very recently, in the fall of 1798.<sup>71</sup>

An even clearer instance of politicized resistance related to the Hoste affair occurred in late July 1799 in Trier. There, two processions on a single day animated the city streets and exasperated local French officials. The first one formed after “a woman, who pretends she was miraculously healed at the well of Hoste, went to the Church of Our Lady, gathered a great crowd there and especially women and children.” She formed the center of this procession, “carrying before her a religious image.” The second one was led by a man named Kirn and featured a child “that was allegedly also miraculously healed.”<sup>72</sup> Crucially, in those years, Kirn was also gaining prominence as lay leader of a group of committed Catholics belonging to the city’s Marian civic sodality (*Bürgersodalität*). This group repeatedly challenged the occupiers by

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<sup>70</sup> I have been unable to find the demolition order itself in the archives at Arlon or Luxembourg. But see the description of the Bonlieu hermitage (built right next to the chapel) as a rebels’ “den” in AEA 013, no. 415/13, Gillet (as cantonal commissioner of Virton) to special departmental commissioner Duportail, Virton, 20 floréal an IV (May 9, 1796): “La démolition de l’hermitage du Bonlieu touche à sa fin ; bientôt je vous remettrai une déclaration que ce repaire n’existe plus.” On the medieval and early modern history of Marian pilgrimage to Bonlieu, see André Petit, “L’ermitage Notre-Dame de Bonlieu dans le bois de Virton du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Annales de l’Institut archéologique du Luxembourg à Arlon* 106/107 (1975/1976): 67–136, esp. 67–8 and 98. – It is also worth noting that two priests in the communities of Les Fossés and Mellier were originally from the Canton of Virton, which may have strengthened religious links between these villages and the Bonlieu chapel. Cf. the dossiers on refractory clergy in Les Fossés and Mellier respectively, AEA 013, nos. 349/7 and 351/6.

<sup>71</sup> On these insurrections, see Gilbert Trausch, *La répression des soulèvements paysans de 1798 dans le Département des Forêts* (Luxembourg: Beffort, 1967); on the broader Belgian context, see Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat, “Les résistances à la Révolution: ‘La Vendée belge’ (1798–1799), nationalisme ou religion ?,” in *La Belgique criminelle: Droit, justice, société (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Bruylant-Academia/Université catholique de Louvain, 2006), 183–233, as well as a seminal synthesis by Robert Devleeshouwer, “Le cas de la Belgique,” in *Occupants, occupés, 1792–1815: Colloque de Bruxelles, 29 et 30 janvier 1968* (Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie, 1969), 43–65, esp. 59–60 on the peasant insurrections.

<sup>72</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 276, Nr. 594, p. 19, central administration of Sarre to municipal administration of Trier, Trier, 5 thermidor an VII (July 23, 1799): “dans la journée d’hier une femme, qui pretend avoir été guerie miraculeusement à la fontaine de Host s’est rendue à l’Eglise Notre Dame, y a rassemblé grand monde et surtout des femmes et des enfans dont elle s’est fait accompagner à sa sortie en parcourant les rues en procession et portant devant elle une image religieuse. Une autre procession doit avoir eu lieu hier dans la commune de Treves a la tete de la quelle se trouvait le C.n Kirn avec un enfant encore pretendu miraculeusement gueri.”

using pilgrimages, processions, and petitions to mount an expressly politicized religious resistance to the new, French rulers over Trier.<sup>73</sup> While the lone source offering information on this episode does not mention any bottles filled with well water, the far-flung (trans-)regional impact of the Hoste events does emerge clearly. After all, over sixty miles separate Trier from Hoste, which had never belonged to either the Diocese or the Electorate of Trier.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, Kirn's actions exemplify how laypeople could seize on the miracle stories emanating from the Good Well to reassert public Catholic worship as an exercise in civic belonging—where the *civic* referred necessarily to the old regime the French were trying to eradicate.

Yet the Hoste affair proved ambiguous in its political charge, rather permeable to pro-revolutionary connections and symbols. For one thing, the village priests of Chambrey and Bacourt, who solemnly installed bottles with apparitional water from Hoste on the altars of their parish churches, had sworn the oath on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1791.<sup>75</sup> In other words, they belonged to what had become the ex-constitutional French Church by the time of the Directory: a struggling but vigorous ecclesial community under the indefatigable leadership of Henri Grégoire, which still sought to reconcile Catholicism and revolutionary republicanism.<sup>76</sup> The role played by those two *curés* contradicted blanket assumptions, so frequent in high-level

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<sup>73</sup> For more on Kirn's group, including bibliographical and archival references, see Chapter 4.

<sup>74</sup> Some connections, however, did exist: the dioceses of Lorraine had belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Trier, and in the early 1790s, many refractory clergymen from Lorraine sought refuge in Trier. For one prominent example—Jean-Martin Moye, an important eighteenth-century promoter of Marian devotions—see Georges Tavad, *La Vierge Marie en France aux XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles: Essai d'interprétation* (Paris: Cerf, 1998), 92–5.

<sup>75</sup> For their identification as “assermentés,” see AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 38, Saulnier's report of 1<sup>er</sup> messidor an VII (June 19, 1799).

<sup>76</sup> For an overview of the accomplishments made under Grégoire's leadership, see Bernard Plongeron, “L'impossible laïcité de l'État républicain (1795–1801),” in *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours. Tome X: Les défis de la modernité (1750–1840)*, ed. Bernard Plongeron (Paris: Desclée, 1997), 427–77, esp. 453–6. On the struggles and modest successes of this Church after the fall of Robespierre, see also Rodney J. Dean, *L'abbé Grégoire et l'Église constitutionnelle après la terreur, 1794–1797* (Paris: Picard, 2008); Chopelin, *Ville patriote et ville martyre*, esp. 304–8 and 341–8. Even though the Meurthe Department no longer had a constitutional bishop after 1793/4, about sixty percent of its parishes had (ex-)constitutional *curés* in 1796: Clémendot, *Le Département de la Meurthe*, 144.

revolutionary discourse, that ‘suspicious’ religious practice must be driven by *refractory* clergy. Perhaps even more intriguingly, a resident of Puttelange and ardent promoter of the Hoste miracles called Jean Guerber claimed in the summer of 1799 that pilgrims had actually seen a ‘patriotic’ Virgin in blue, white, and red in the depths of the well.<sup>77</sup> This description evoked the tricolor flag, one of the symbolic keystones of France’s new political culture. While anti-revolutionary and (in annexed and occupied areas) anti-French sentiment clearly informed much place-making around Hoste, the political implications of this devotional phenomenon seem protean on the whole.

The reactions of pro-revolutionary patriots, however, erased any such ambiguities in a discourse that associated the apparitions directly and exclusively with the Counter-Revolution. Warning the government about Bonlieu in late August 1799, a group of Luxembourgian republicans thus asserted that “the fanatics and the royalists converge massively on this place.”<sup>78</sup> Earlier that summer, the central administration of the Moselle had reflected at length on the relationship between this crisis and the political geography of the initial apparition. In an *arrêté* of June 22, 1799, the central administration of the Moselle described “the topographic situation of the well of Hoste, considered from a political angle.” They noted its proximity to the Meurthe and Bas-Rhin Departments as well as to the occupied left-bank Rhineland: because pilgrims were coming from these other regions, a territorial spillover was occurring through which the phenomenon was already exceeding the limits of competence and responsibility set for the Moselle administration. Worse still, according to the *arrêté*, the well was also “surrounded by forests that, on one side, stretch into the interior through the Departments of Meurthe and

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<sup>77</sup> Bouvy, “La fontaine de Host,” 145.

<sup>78</sup> AN, BB/18/933, printed open letter addressed to the Minister of the Interior, Luxembourg, 3 fructidor an VII (August 20, 1799): “Les fanatiques et les royalistes se rendent en foule à cet endroit.”



Vosges, and on the other side, toward the Rhine, where bandits were only waiting for our enemies to throw some minions onto the left bank and deliver the expected ammunition.” For good measure, the administrators expressed their conviction that the pilgrims’ movements were “directed by royalists, by agents of Austria and England”—in sum, that outside forces were threatening to “turn this Department into a new Vendée.”<sup>79</sup> Administrators thus mobilized territorial thinking to explain how pilgrimage to Hoste was linked to all the other dangers besetting the Republic. In the process, they integrated the Moselle Department into a bigger picture of France’s imperiled borders.

Yet in practice, agents of the state needed primarily to navigate the details of this picture in order to carry out effective administrative measures, and the devil was in those details. Internal, that is departmental, borders retained a dazzling complexity throughout the region, as my mention of the Rouhling/Lixing enclave already suggested. This complexity continued mainly because Lorraine, the Austrian Netherlands, and various other parts of the Holy Roman Empire each became absorbed into France at different moments in time. Departments created in different years thus necessarily inherited highly irregular border lines, as those lines had subsisted—at each step of French expansion—between the territory of the First Republic and those of the different parts of the Holy Roman Empire. This process happened to produce, among many other unintended effects, an unusual clustering of internal borders right around the

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<sup>79</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 50, arrêté of the central administration of the Moselle, 4 messidor an VII (June 22, 1799): considering that their “mouvemens étoient dirigés par des royalistes, par des agens de l’Autriche et de l’Angleterre [...] ; qu’enfin il ne manquoit plus à ce formidable noyau que des armes et des munitions de guerre pour exécuter les funestes projets qui étoient concertés, et faire de ce Département une nouvelle Vendée. [...] Que relativement à la situation topographique de la fontaine de Hoste, considérée sous le rapport politique, elle se trouve placée dans une prairie peu éloignée de la grande route de Puttelage et très à portée des pays conquis, des Départemens de la Meurthe et du Bas-Rhin, environnée de forêts qui, d’une part se dirigent dans l’intérieur par les départemens de la Meurthe et des Vosges, et de l’autre se prolongent jusqu’au Rhin, d’où les brigands attendoient pour accomplir leurs projets, que l’ennemi jetta quelques vampires sur la rive gauche de ce fleuve, et fasse arriver les munitions qu’ils attendoient ; ces forêts leur assuroient en outre les moyens de retraite ou de pénétrer plus avant.”

area of Hoste and Sarreguemines (see the map above). Here, the Moselle Department narrowed into a thin territorial strip, sandwiched between the German-speaking part of the Meurthe Department in the south and the left-bank occupied lands in the north.<sup>80</sup> The northern borderline, between the Moselle and the Sarre, was especially complex, despite late-Ancien-Régime attempts to regularize this part of the border between France and the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, just south of Sarreguemines, the County of Saarwerden, an old imperial enclave within France, had turned in 1793 into a western salient of the Bas-Rhin Department (this salient thus acquired the nickname of *l'Alsace bossue*), adding another internal border that ran quite close to Hoste.<sup>82</sup> In short, departmental boundaries had multiplied around what became the apparition place in 1799—and these were above all boundaries *for* revolutionary administrators, boundaries of their respective competence.

Therefore, as soon as pilgrim movement to Hoste outgrew its small-scale origins, the complexity of departmental borders hampered the coordination of state responses to the events. Relatively early on, the departmental administration of the Moselle could and did give guidance on reinforcing passport controls to those of its subordinate cantonal administrations which were responsible for the region surrounding Hoste. But some of these seats of cantonal authority, such as Morhange, were in fact further away from the Good Well than Saarbrücken in the Saar Department or Sarre-Union in the Bas-Rhin, and there is no evidence that the administration of

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<sup>80</sup> This territorial peculiarity resulted from the explicit decision, made by the Constituent Assembly in 1790, against turning Sarreguemines into the *chef-lieu* of a department that would have corresponded to the German-speaking part of Lorraine. See Jean Bourdon, “La formation des départements de l’Est en 1790,” *Annales de l’Est*, no. 3 (1951): 187–217, esp. 215–16.

<sup>81</sup> On these attempts and their limited success, see most recently Pierre Horn, “La monarchie française et l’espace frontalier sarro-lorrain: La régularisation de la seconde moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Annales de l’Est* 60, numéro spécial (2010): 169–88.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Jean-Louis Masson, *Histoire administrative de la Lorraine: Des provinces aux départements et à la région* (Paris: Éditions Fernand Lanore, 1982), 348–53.

the Moselle ever reached out horizontally to the authorities of either of those departments.<sup>83</sup> It preferred to report vertically to the Ministry of Police—which, however, did not always act as an effective coordinating hub. For example, when the zealous cantonal commissioner of Bascharage (Forêts) reported directly to Paris, skipping his departmental administration at Luxembourg, the Ministry responded by writing a letter to the central administration of the Moselle rather than to that of the Forêts. Why? It seems that the Parisian police bureaucrats failed even to recognize that Bascharage was situated quite far (almost 70 miles) from Hoste and in a different department.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, by July 10, when the Ministry finally got around to alerting the departmental administration of the Bas-Rhin, this authority had just begun taking measures spontaneously.<sup>85</sup> If the revolutionary state had great difficulties controlling and repressing pilgrim movement to Hoste, they were due in part to how badly leading officials handled the complex administrative geography of France's northeastern territorial edge.

In particular, the weak official response in the Bas-Rhin held great significance to the Hoste affair because of the special politico-religious climate that prevailed in this Alsatian department. In the religious history of the French Revolution, the Bas-Rhin is well known for having the highest percentage of refractory priests among all French departments in 1791, the

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<sup>83</sup> Instead, and relatively late, the departmental administration of the Bas-Rhin finally contacted that of the Moselle about the events of Hoste: ADBR, 1 L 601, pp. 567–71, arrêté no. 29007, letter of 13 messidor an VII (July 1, 1799). There is also a little evidence of belated horizontal cooperation in this affair between *cantonal* administrations across departmental borders: see ADBR, 1 L 1562, liasse “Instructions,” letter from the cantonal administration of Sarralbe (Moselle) to that of Sarre-Union (Bas-Rhin), Sarralbe, 21 messidor an VII (July 9, 1799). Tellingly, in this letter, instead of counting on direct communication and cooperation between departmental authorities, the administrators of Sarralbe asked their colleagues to in turn “prévenir l’administration centrale de votre Département de prendre des mesures instructives et prohibitives de ces sortes de pèlerinage plus que suspects de chouannerie.”

<sup>84</sup> See AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 70, draft of a letter from the Ministry of Police to the departmental commissioner of the Moselle, Paris, 10 fructidor an VII (August 27, 1799): “On m’assure, Citoyen, que les fanatiques continuent à se rendre en foule à la prétendue fontaine miraculeuse de St. Avolt, les processions se répandent dans les cantons voisins et principalement dans celui du Bas-Charage” (my emphasis).

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., pièce 43, internal bulletin of the Ministry of Police, 26 messidor an VII (July 14, 1799): “22 messidor. Le Ministre écrit au Com(missai)re central du Bas-Rhin, afin d’exciter sa surveillance.” Cf. the first *arrêté* taken by the central administration of the Bas-Rhin to reinforce passport surveillance with regard to the events of Hoste: ADBR, 1 L 601, pp. 847–50, arrêté no. 29142, 19 messidor an VII (July 7, 1799).

year of the oath on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Though far from being the only causal factor here, border complications contributed their fair share to this situation. The Diocese of Strasbourg was a border-crossing territory, straddling French Alsace and the southwestern Holy Roman Empire. Operating from his remaining stronghold on the right bank of the Rhine, the last Old Regime bishop, Cardinal Rohan, thus had ample opportunity to sway his clergy against the Civil Constitution.<sup>86</sup> The ensuing religious troubles were compounded in 1799 by the military defeats I already discussed, and the miracles of Hoste catalyzed a fusion of these two crises, notably in the *Alsace bossue*. In late June, the fortress commander at Saarlouis, Sauveton, commented on the high desertion rates in the Bas-Rhin—especially “around Bouquenom [part of Sarre-Union], a canton bordering on that of Puttelange, where an allegedly miraculous Virgin attracts a considerable influx of fanatics.”<sup>87</sup> Already in early June, local officials in Puttelange had noticed the arrival at the Good Well of “unknown people, suspected to be émigrés or draft-

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<sup>86</sup> The standard work on the oath on a national scale is still Tackett, *Religion, Revolution*. But for more detailed commentary on the oath in Alsace and the border situation of the Diocese of Strasbourg, see Rodolphe Reuss, *La Constitution civile du Clergé et la crise religieuse en Alsace (1790–1795)*, 2 vols. (Strasbourg: Istra, 1922), which focuses largely on Strasbourg and the Bas-Rhin; Claude Muller, “Politische Grenze und religiöse Grenze: Das Elsass im 18. Jahrhundert,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 154 (2006): 241–70, esp. 243–50 on the last Ancien Régime bishops of Strasbourg as border-crossing agents; Claude Muller, “Religion et Révolution en Alsace,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 337 (2004): 63–83, esp. 65–7; Louis Kammerer, “Le clergé constitutionnel en Alsace (1791–1803),” *Archives de l’Église d’Alsace* 48 (1989): 1–55; and above all Varry and Muller, *Hommes de Dieu*, esp. 63–86.

<sup>87</sup> SHD, 2 B 297, p. 19r, Sauveton to the *général de brigade* Belleville, Saarlouis, 4 messidor an VII (June 22, 1799): “Je vous ai déjà fait part que j’avois observé, qu’il y avoit une grande desertion dans les compagnies de conscrits du Département du Bas-Rhin. Voulant en connoître la cause, je suis parvenu à m’assurer, que la majeure partie manquoient aux appels dans les environs de Bouquenom, canton limitrof de celui de Puttelange[sic], ou une prétendue vierge miraculeuse attire un concours considérable de fanatiques, que l’envoie[sic] d’une force armée, a été jugée nécessaire pour les dissiper. Une désertion aussi suivie, ne feroit-elle pas présumer que ces jeunes gens sont débauchées[sic] par les chefs des fanatiques.” The registers of the central administration of the Bas-Rhin confirm that draft-dodging and desertion were especially rampant in the *Alsace bossue*: see ADBR, 1 L 601, pp. 1017–18, arrêté no. 29212, 23 messidor an VII (July 11, 1799), for a letter about this issue to be sent to the cantonal administration and commissioner of Sarre-Union. Finally, from a different part of the Bas-Rhin (the Canton of Villé, southwest of Strasbourg), there is a concrete example of a draft-dodger who on July 19, 1799 had obtained a (procedurally invalid) passport “pour aller à Host et Puttelange”: ADBR, 1 L 605, pp. 27–30, arrêté no. 30977, 2 brumaire an VIII (October 24, 1799).

dodgers or deserters.”<sup>88</sup> In other words, as France’s military front moved west toward the Rhine, pilgrimage to Hoste helped destabilize both eastern Lorraine and Alsace on the exposed margins of the Republic.

In sum, the Good Well and several secondary apparition sites became political rallying points in 1799 for Catholics who held little formal authority but boasted great strength in numbers across the region. Politically either ambiguous or subversive, this massive mobilization eluded revolutionary officials’ attempts to classify or to control it. German-speaking populations easily gathered around the Good Well; then again, the areas of Virton, Mars-la-Tour, Chambrey, and Bacourt were French-speaking, and Lieutenant Rapin reported from the Francophone region of Pont-à-Mousson that the Good Well “attracts today the idiots, the simple-minded, the fanatics of all the communes of my district.”<sup>89</sup> While Paul Spaeth’s miracle report about Hoste gave an oblique royalist tip of the hat to Louis XIII’s Marian vow, Jean Guerber sought to improve the reputation of the Good Well by celebrating a tricolor Virgin. Moreover, the process of French expansion had created a complicated landscape of internal borders in the northeast, and revolutionary officials repeatedly lost their bearings while navigating this landscape to try and halt pilgrim movement toward the Good Well. Yet, as I will discuss in the next section, repressive measures did have significant effects—albeit mostly unintended ones, as pilgrims responded to policing efforts by pioneering new patterns of devotional movement.

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<sup>88</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 6, Thiebault and Helfflinger to central administration of the Moselle, Puttelange, 17 prairial an VII (June 5, 1799): “on voit déjà arriver des gens inconnus, soupçonnés émigrés ou réquisitionnaires ou déserteurs.”

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., pièce 18, gendarmerie lieutenant Rapin to his captain Marchis, Pont-à-Mousson, 25 prairial an VII (June 13, 1799): “Un pèlerinage provoqué sans doute par des prêtres réfractaires, appellés[sic] aujourd’hui les idiots, les simples, les fanatiques de toutes les communes de mon arrondissement. Les imbecilles se portent en foule a quatre lieux d’Altroff [Francaltroff] a Hauche [Hoste] près de Petélang [Puttelange] département de la Moselle.” To see where the language border ran, consult the map (*hors-texte*) in Maurice Toussaint, *La frontière linguistique en Lorraine: Les fluctuations et la délimitation actuelle des langues française et germanique dans la Moselle* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1955).

### Spillover: Writing Hoste into the History of Apparitions

To demonstrate this devotional novelty, I will now try to illumine 1799 as a moment of important shifts in the long historical trajectory of Marian apparitions. Pilgrimage to modern apparition sites has drawn much of its extraordinary appeal from the new and powerful combination of four features: the public charisma of individual seers; the poignancy of the Virgin's messages; the high stakes of confrontation with hostile state authorities; and the fluidity of proliferating holy places. Pilgrimage to Hoste and the other apparition sites in 1799 signals a transition because public focus on seers and messages from Mary played no discernible role in the story of these apparitions but confrontation with the state and fluidity of place did. By discussing heavy-handed state repression, passport issues, and the time sequence of the various apparitions, I will show how pilgrims experimented with fluidity and created spatial spillover effects—not least in response to the problems they were facing with revolutionary *police du culte*. As a comparative look at Marian apparitions in modern Europe reveals, these spillover effects would go on to become a central trait of Catholic mobilization, most notably during the *Kulturkampf* of the 1870s and again in the 1930s.

I conceptualize the shift from early modern to modern apparitions as a transition rather than a rupture because at least three of their other characteristics have recurred time and again at least since the late Middle Ages, and the events of 1799 also illustrate these elements of long continuity. First, whether in the fifteenth and sixteenth or the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the seers were disproportionately often children. Medieval Christians as well as later Catholics often believed these seers, viewing childhood innocence and simplicity as qualities that would naturally make Mary prefer to appear and speak to young boys and girls. In the case of Hoste, Spaeth's miracle report did not fail to mention that the Virgin first appeared on March 24, 1799

to “six innocent children, twelve to thirteen years of age.”<sup>90</sup> Second, the importance of wells and sacred water—so central to the apparitions of 1799—may have grown since the events of Lourdes in 1858, but already in many earlier apparitions, seers reported that Mary designated wells or springs as the special places she had come to sanctify.<sup>91</sup> Beyond the history of apparitions, too, early modern holy wells were often consecrated to Our Lady, and Spaeth’s pamphlet echoes Baroque publications in emphasizing entanglements of Marian and aquatic symbolism.<sup>92</sup> Finally, the promise of miraculous healing constitutes a third feature of the *longue durée*, drawing countless pilgrims to Marian apparition places ever since medieval times. As my earlier discussion of Gertrude Derving’s and other women’s spectacular healings at the Good Well indicates, this aspect applies to the pilgrimages of 1799 as well.

Yet modern apparitions also distinguish themselves from their early modern counterparts in the four significant ways to which I already alluded. In the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, apparitions usually “took place offstage.” Even where they sparked a new pilgrimage,

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<sup>90</sup> AN, F/7/7612, d. 38 (R/1180), pièce 3: “dans nos tems de tristesse ce merveilleux miracle s’est fait voir encore le Jour que ci-dessus à six enfans innocens de 12 à 13 ans.” On the perceived innocence of child-seers as a sacred quality in Spain c. 1500, see William A. Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 216–20. On the critical role of (often female) child-seers in almost all of the great modern apparitions (La Salette, Lourdes, Pontmain, Marpingen, Fátima, Medjugorje, ...), see the works cited in the introduction to this chapter as well as Boufflet and Boutry, *Un signe dans le ciel*.

<sup>91</sup> For late medieval and early modern examples of apparitions in which water appears front and center, see Christian, *Apparitions*, 108, 119–21, and 126–32; Chiron, *Enquête*, 154–6; Reinburg, *Storied Places*, 80; André Vauchez, “L’eau et les sanctuaires chrétiens dans le monde méditerranéen, du Moyen Âge à nos jours,” in *L’eau en Méditerranée de l’Antiquité au Moyen Âge: Actes du 22<sup>e</sup> colloque de la Villa Kérylos à Beaulieu-sur-Mer, les 7 et 8 octobre 2011*, ed. Jacques Jouanna, Pierre Toubert, and Michel Zink (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2012), 325–38, here 333.

<sup>92</sup> Ute Lotz-Heumann, “Repräsentationen von Heilwassern und -quellen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Badeorte, lutherische Wunderquellen und katholische Wallfahrtsorte,” in *Säkularisierungen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Methodische Probleme und empirische Fallstudien*, ed. Matthias Pöhlig et al. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2008), 277–330, esp. 305 (on frequent *Marienpatrozinien*) and 311 (on discourse about water as the ‘virginal’ and therefore Marian element). Cf. Spaeth’s miracle report, AN, F/7/7612, d. 38 (R/1180), pièce 3: “rampez vers la source des misericordes, vers Marie, la Reine des cieux, elle fait sonner sa voix dans nos oreilles, car sa voix est douce et sa face est belle, l’amour de Marie est bien fondé dans ton cœur, tu es une fontaine scellée ; Cant(ique des Cantiques) Chap. 4.” This passage taps into a long tradition of reading the female part in the Song of Songs as pointing to Mary and therefore applying to Mary Solomon’s praise of his lover as, among other things, “a spring shut up, a fountain sealed” (4:12, King James Version). On this tradition of allegorical reading, see Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 15–16 and 158–61.

they remained private experiences, often unmentioned in the historical record until years or even decades later. By contrast, the famous modern apparition cycles of Lourdes, Fátima, or Medjugorje have unfolded as public dramas, as seminal encounters between seers and pilgrim crowds both during and after the moments of apparition.<sup>93</sup> In modern times, seers also took on a new role as transmitters of poignant divine messages with far-reaching implications. Around 1500, Mary might request that a chapel be built at the apparition site by the local community that recognized her as a special protectress; at Fátima in the pivotal year of 1917, she announced little less than an imminent global apocalypse.<sup>94</sup> As the messages grew more urgent and provocative, so did the politics surrounding apparitions and resulting pilgrimage movements. This development came to a head in the 1870s, when the devoutly Catholic and proudly liberal forces of the time collided with unprecedented force and state-sponsored anti-Catholicism peaked. Millions of pilgrims then turned recent as well as brand new apparition places in republican France and Bismarck's Germany into politically explosive sites.<sup>95</sup> Finally, as I argue in greater detail below, these clashes of the modern era tended to provoke a spatial spillover of the holy.

The events of 1799 conform only in part to the model delineated through those four characteristics. The copious police dossiers on Hoste never mention the initial six seers to whom Spaeth alluded only briefly and without giving any names in his miracle report. These children

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<sup>93</sup> Christian, *Apparitions*, 187 (quote). Cf. also Boutry, "Dévotion et apparition," esp. 120–1; Reinburg, *Storied Places*, 208–16, which also discusses the earliest great example of the 'modern' type, the apparitions experienced by Benoîte Rencurel at Le Laus in the French Alps from 1664 until her death in 1718.

<sup>94</sup> On earlier apparitions as phenomena primarily tied to local religious contexts, see Christian, *Apparitions*, 10–26. On "Personal Experiences and Public Demands" at La Salette, Lourdes, and Fátima: Zimdars-Swartz, *Encountering Mary*, 25–91.

<sup>95</sup> Harris, *Lourdes*; Blackburn, *Marpingen*; Patrice M. Dabrowski, "Multiple Visions, Multiple Viewpoints: Apparitions in a German–Polish Borderland, 1877–1880," *The Polish Review* 58, no. 3 (2013): 35–64. By contrast, except for Joan of Arc's politically transformative visions of the late 1420s, pre-modern local and royal authorities either had no reason to feel threatened by apparitions or proceeded to appropriate (rather than denounce) these events for purposes of political stabilization in times of crisis: Christian, *Apparitions*, 203; Paolo Cozzo, "Apparizioni fra 'dubbiezze, dissenzioni e guerre': L'uso pubblico delle ierofanie nel Piemonte meridionale tra fine Cinquecento e metà Seicento," *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 85, no. 2 (2019): 573–86, esp. 581–4.



did not become public personalities, let alone living saints. They resembled the Spanish village seers of the decades around 1500 much more than Bernadette Soubirous of Lourdes or Lúcia dos Santos and the other two seers of Fátima. Something resonates nonetheless between the revolutionary decade and an episode from the apparition boom of the 1870s. In the spring of 1877, thousands of pilgrims a day rushed to Gappenach and later Mülheim (near Koblenz in the Rhineland), excited to see Mary showing up in two bottles of water from the famous recent apparition place of Marpingen.<sup>96</sup> This special kind of apparition parallels what happened in 1799 in Chambrey, Bonlieu, and elsewhere—Mary appearing as a flickering silhouette in water, not to individuals or small groups of seers but to large crowds.<sup>97</sup> But, to my knowledge, the analogy is isolated. Moreover, Mary seems not to have uttered any verbal messages in 1799, unlike in La Salette, Lourdes, Fátima, and most other modern apparition places. These observations make it impossible, on the one hand, to embed the apparitions of Hoste and beyond easily within the history of modern Marian apparitions, even as the sequence of 1799 is chronologically removed from early modern predecessors as well: eighteenth-century Catholic Europe before 1789 had witnessed extremely few apparitions and none of them had generated much attention.<sup>98</sup>

On the other hand, the impact of a hostile state and pilgrims' responses to that hostility shaped the events of 1799 in a way that distinctly evokes later apparitions rather than early modern antecedents. To be sure, war, invasion, and political upheaval had often fostered Marian

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<sup>96</sup> Nils Freytag, *Aberglauben im 19. Jahrhundert: Preußen und seine Rheinprovinz zwischen Tradition und Moderne (1815–1918)* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2003), 106; Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 182.

<sup>97</sup> In fact, such aquatic appearances share some features with moving Marian images rather than with more 'typical' life-sized apparitions. But the boundaries between image and apparition are often surprisingly blurry anyway, as demonstrated masterfully from an anthropological perspective by Marlène Albert-Llorca, *Les Vierges miraculeuses: Légendes et rituels* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), 34–62.

<sup>98</sup> Boufflet and Boutry, *Un signe dans le ciel*, 59. On a parallel eighteenth-century crisis of holy wells (or *fontaines sacrées*) as pilgrimage goals in France, see Brigitte Caulier, *L'eau et le sacré: Les cultes thérapeutiques autour des fontaines en France, du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1990), 135–6; Martin, *Les chemins du sacré*, 245.

effervescence among Catholics for centuries. Famous cases include the apparitions of Guadalupe in Mexico (1531) and the miracle stories about how the fortress and Marian shrine of Jasna Góra (Częstochowa, Poland) withstood a Swedish siege in 1655.<sup>99</sup> Yet within these contexts of general crisis, the specific issue of state-sponsored repression did not move center stage. Even in Protestant parts of Europe, measures against travel to holy wells and other pilgrimage places were by no means as frequent or harsh as one might assume. German Lutheran elites left space and legitimacy for some religious practices tied to visits of ‘miracle wells’ (*Wunderbrunnen*); English Puritans did not radically curb place-making efforts at such wells either, but rather recoded these efforts in a medical, balneological, theologically sanitized key.<sup>100</sup> By contrast, as I showed in the previous section of this chapter, a new level of intensity and new dynamics of politicization characterize the severe policing of worship to which the agents of the revolutionary French state aspired in the 1790s. This dramatic rise in prominence of *police du culte* ties Hoste more to the nineteenth century than to the early modern period.

Indeed, legitimized in terms of *police du culte*, the various measures of state repression ended up weakening the initial pilgrimage to Hoste. The municipal administration of Puttelange made a first attempt to stop the gatherings of pilgrims at the well by sending a commission of three officials accompanied by five gendarmes from Sarreguemines, as decided in an *arrêté* of May 5, 1799.<sup>101</sup> After a brief lull around Pentecost, it became clear that the pilgrimage continued stronger than before, so on May 22, the departmental administration weighed in, deciding to ask

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<sup>99</sup> Patrick Sbalchiero, “Guadalupe,” in *Dictionnaire des “apparitions” de la Vierge Marie: Inventaire des origines à nos jours, méthodologie, bilan interdisciplinaire, prospective*, ed. René Laurentin and Patrick Sbalchiero (Paris: Fayard, 2007), 402–9; Anna Niedźwiedz, *Obraz i postać: Znaczenia wizerunku Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2005), 142–52. For other case studies, see Philippe Desmette and Philippe Martin, eds., *Le miracle de guerre dans la chrétienté occidentale* (Paris: Hémisphères éditions, 2018).

<sup>100</sup> Lotz-Heumann, “Repräsentationen,” 297–305; Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, ch. 6.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1060–1.

the commander of the Third Military Division at Metz, General Morlot, to provide “armed forces sufficient” to block access to the apparition site.<sup>102</sup> It took Morlot almost two weeks to delegate this request to the commander of the fortress of Saarlouis (called Sarrelibre at the time), who finally dispatched thirty hussars to Puttelange on June 6.<sup>103</sup> The soldiers were not only somewhat late but also failed to effectively cut pilgrims off from access to the well water, preferring instead to monopolize and monetize that access: as the gendarmerie lieutenant Rapin reported, the hussars sold the water to pilgrims “at five to six *sols* the bottle.”<sup>104</sup> Little wonder that the commissioner of the departmental administration, Legoux, sent them back immediately when he arrived on the scene a few days later—accompanied by a second, much larger detachment of two hundred infantrymen and two cannons. Legoux succeeded in disbanding the crowds around the Good Well and he had the source blocked with rocks. After he and the soldiers left, new pilgrims kept arriving throughout the summer, but their numbers slowly dwindled.<sup>105</sup>

Stabilization was thus almost impossible to achieve for pilgrims, especially when they tried to move the focus of their activity from the watery, forested margins to established parochial centers of worship. The main police dossier on the affair contains a report about two processions leading from the well to the parish church of Hoste in a single day. The first aimed

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<sup>102</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 2. Administrators of the Directorial period had a general proclivity for enlisting the army’s help to impose public order, not least in matters of *police du culte*; see Brown, *Ending the French Revolution*, esp. 128–41.

<sup>103</sup> SHD, 2 B 297, place de Sarrelibre, registre des ordres du jour de la 3<sup>e</sup> division, f. 13.

<sup>104</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 18, Rapin to Marchis, Pont-à-Mousson, 25 prairial an VII (June 13, 1799): “une trentaine de hussard[s] chargé par le general Morlot d’en deffendre l’approche entourai cette eau sacrée qu’il[s] vendoient cinq ou six sols la bouteille”!

<sup>105</sup> Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1071–6 for Legoux’s reports to central administration of the Moselle; and *ibid.*, 1076, Helfflinger and Thiebaut to central administration of the Moselle, Puttelange, 8 messidor an VII (June 26, 1799): “l’arrivée de la force armée avait imprimé au loin une terreur qui a retenu beaucoup de monde. Cela n’empêche pas qu’il n’en arrive encore journellement des départements étrangers, du Bas-Rhin et de la Meurthe, mais bien isolément.” Later in the summer, the influx of pilgrims did grow again, even prompting the municipal administration of Puttelange to request a new military detachment in late July (100 dragoons from Sarreguemines: cf. AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 [R/841], pièce 66, lieutenant Fétré to captain Dardennes, Sarreguemines, 18 thermidor an VII [August 5, 1799]).

to transport a bottle in which the Virgin seemed to appear to the church, but two gendarmes intervened, confiscating the bottle and disbanding the procession. The second accompanied Gertrude Derving to the parish church to celebrate her miraculous recovery of speech after fourteen years. Here, too, the gendarmerie stepped in, arresting both Derving and two of her male family members.<sup>106</sup> In Chambrey and Bacourt, after pilgrims had brought bottles containing the Virgin or Jesus back home from Hoste, the parishioners formed processions led by their local priests (*curés*), who solemnly placed these bottles on the altars of the respective parish churches.<sup>107</sup> Yet pilgrimages to these two villages lasted only a few weeks, not least because parish churches were relatively easy targets for the revolutionary state: “The bottles displayed for the veneration of citizens in the temples of Bacourt and Chambrey have been removed and the temples have been closed without opposition,” as departmental administrators soon noted.<sup>108</sup> These episodes show how difficult revolutionary officials made it for pilgrims to balance the place-making fluidity facilitated by the water with a measure of stability. Indeed, the proliferation of short-term pilgrimage places in the summer of 1799 suggests that Catholics, unable to ensure that stability, resorted all the more readily to fluid place-making and spatial spillover.

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<sup>106</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 13, Fétré to Buquet, Sarreguemines, 15 prairial an VII (June 3, 1799): “Le 14 le brigadier et un gendarme ont été à Hoste, ont dissipé une nombreuse procession qui apportoit à l’église cette prétendue Vierge dans la bouteille, ils allèrent au devant de cette processions, se saisirent de la bouteille et firent voir à ce peuple que le fait étoit faux, les dissipèrent, mais n’ont pu arrêter les auteurs par la trop grande affluence. Un instant après, une seconde procession [...] amenoit à l’église la nommée Gertrude Derving. [...] Le brigadier et le gendarme Feischmeister accompagné des agent et adjoint de la commune de Hoste se portèrent dans le milieu de la foule, arrêterent cette Gertrude Derving, ainsi que deux hommes qui la réclamoient.” See also Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1075, report of commissioner Legoux, 4 messidor an VII (June 22, 1799): “Lorsque ces prétendus miracles étaient opérés [à la fontaine], on se rendait, en procession, à l’église de Host, où l’on chantait le *Te Deum* et des actions de grâces.”

<sup>107</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 38, Saulnier’s *état de la situation*: denouncing the priests who had become “les principaux acteurs, soit en allant en tête des habitants au-devant des bouteilles, en les installant en pompe sur les autels, soit en fortifiant par des cérémonies et des discours la crédulité des pèlerins.”

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pièce 39, central administration of Meurthe to Ministry of Police, Nancy, 15 messidor an VII (July 3, 1799): “Les bouteilles exposées à la vénération des citoyens dans les Temples de Bacourt et de Chambrey en ont été ôtées et les temples ont été fermés sans opposition.”

But the struggle between pilgrims and agents of the state did not just unfold at apparition sites and churches; it also played out along the innumerable routes the pilgrims took to reach their destinations across the region. Passport surveillance by gendarmes and local administrative or military authorities gained a crucial role in this respect. The Directory had inherited some passport legislation from the late Thermidorian Convention. A law of 10 vendémiaire an IV (October 2, 1795) stipulated that no French citizen could travel outside of their home canton—a remarkably small territorial unit—without a passport signed by the members of the respective urban municipality or cantonal administration. Another law of 28 vendémiaire an VI (October 19, 1797) added the requirement that the travel destination be noted on each passport.<sup>109</sup> In early June of 1799, when the pilgrim movement toward Hoste was peaking, revolutionary officials decided to stimulate the enforcement of these legal dispositions in the Canton of Puttelange and the surrounding region. In a circular letter to nine cantonal commissioners, the central commissioner of the Moselle admonished them: “Give the strictest and clearest orders to the national gendarmerie, to garrisoned troops if there are any in your canton, or to the mobile column in order to have seized, arrested,” and brought before the Justice of the Peace any strangers “heading toward Hoste without passports.”<sup>110</sup>

This reminder had limited effects, as French authorities found it much harder to control pilgrims on the move—and the sacrally charged water they transported—than to crack down on any one specific site of worship. A departmental gendarmerie report from late June included a

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<sup>109</sup> Denis, *Une histoire de l'identité*, esp. 242–66; John C. Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 21–56.

<sup>110</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 8, copy of a letter of Albert, central commissioner of the Moselle, to the cantonal commissioners of St-Avold, Puttelange, Sarreguemines, Hellimer, Morhange, Forbach, Limberg, Bredembach, and Rohrbach, undated (but probably around 19 prairial an VII (June 7, 1799), judging from surrounding pieces in the dossier): “donnez les ordres les plus stricts et les plus positifs à la Gendarmerie n(ationa)le, à la troupe stationnée s’il y en a dans vos cantons ou à la colonne mobile pour faire saisir, arreter et conduire devant l’off(ici)er de police quiconque d’un canton voisin sans être muni de passeport se dirigerait vers Host, pour être puni conformément à la loi du 28 vendemiaire [relative] aux voyageurs sans passeport.”

note that the brigade of Morhange, more than 20 miles southwest of Hoste, had arrested an atypically large number of individuals (37 men) traveling without passports and apparently on their way to the Good Well.<sup>111</sup> Already in May, the brigade of Sarreguemines had arrested 15 citizens without passports at the apparition place itself. But the judicial branch of the revolutionary state had then proved utterly uninterested in punishing these pilgrims.<sup>112</sup> Nor did the national guards collaborate well with the gendarmerie on this point.<sup>113</sup> In sum, administrators and gendarmes mounted a noticeable effort of using the territorial technique of passport surveillance in order to get a handle on the pilgrimage, but this effort may not have produced a major impact.<sup>114</sup>

The impact was rather small not just because the gendarmerie could not control every road and trail in the region, but also because pilgrims had been familiarizing themselves with the world of passports for centuries before the Revolution. As early as the fifteenth century, pilgrims grappled routinely with the need for travel documents, at least if the destination was far from

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<sup>111</sup> AN, F/7/7468, rapports de gendarmerie, état des arrestations faites dans la Moselle, prairial an VII (May/June 1799). The arrested men came from a handful of villages just southwest of Morhange: Dalhain, Achain, Vannecourt, Château-Bréhain, and Sotzeling. Women could face arrestation as well: see Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1067, Boustiquet (chef de brigade commandant la place de Sarreguemines) to General Morlot, Sarreguemines, 15 prairial an VII (June 3, 1799), mentioning 15 women arrested near the Good Well “qui ont été mises en prison à Sarreguemines, et on les a fait relâcher deux heures après y être entrées.” For another example of actions taken, see AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 29, Boucqueau (central commissioner of the Sarre) to the Ministry of Justice, Trier, 29 prairial an VII (June 17, 1799): “des gendarmes et même quelques militaires ont, à différentes reprises, été placés en station sur les points frontières du Département par où les attroupemens passent, afin de demander les passeports aux individus ; il paraît que leur nombre était parfois tel, qu’on se trouvait obligé de se borner à faire retourner ces dupes de la fourberie monacale, dans leurs communes, leur arrestation devenant trop couteuse, a cause de leur affluence.”

<sup>112</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 13, Fétré to Buquet, Sarreguemines, 15 prairial an VII (June 3, 1799): “Le 30 floréal dernier pendant que j’étois en tournée, la brigade de Sarreguemines avec un détachement de sept hommes de cavalerie a arrêté à cette fontaine 15 personnes sans passeports qui après avoir été traduites par devant les assesseurs du juge de paix de Puttelange, ont été renvoyés par devant le tribunal de police correctionnelle de Sarreguemines, lequel à défaut de mandat dans les formes les a mis en liberté sur le champ.”

<sup>113</sup> Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1064, Fétré to Dardenne, Sarreguemines, 15 prairial an VII (June 3, 1799): “Alors la gendarmerie s’est rendue à la fontaine [le 13 prairial] ; elle s’est mise en devoir d’arrêter quelques étrangers sans passeports et les remettait à la garde nationale qui les lâchait aussitôt.”

<sup>114</sup> On passports as territorial technology, see e.g. David Delaney, *Territory: A Short Introduction* (Malden, Mass.: Wiley Blackwell, 2005), 27–8.

home (e.g., Rome for those living north of the Alps).<sup>115</sup> In the eighteenth century, passports often circulated among individuals moving in the interstices between pilgrimage and vagabondage, and pilgrims turned to a wide variety of civil and ecclesiastical authorities in order to obtain the documentation they needed to face border and other territorial controls.<sup>116</sup> Indeed, for the particular case of Hoste, the sparse available evidence suggests that a vast majority of pilgrims did succeed at getting passports, even relatively late in the summer of 1799, when most authorities in the region had grown aware of this religious phenomenon.<sup>117</sup> Above all, we have a telling set of numbers from a Sarreguemines gendarmerie lieutenant who accompanied an expeditionary force of one hundred dragoons to the Good Well in late July. These soldiers managed to seize some two hundred pilgrims, “sleeping in rooms, granaries, stables, and even cellars, of all ages and sexes.” They shepherded the crowd into the parish church of Hoste and then ordered people to come back out one by one for individual passport controls. Of the two hundred, “only twenty-seven” did *not* have a passport on them.<sup>118</sup> In other words, based on this acceptably random and sizeable sample, almost seven eighths of all pilgrims—across boundaries of age and gender—made sure to get passports before heading toward Hoste. Catholics thus proved adept at taking the techniques of a hostile territorial state apparatus into account while contributing to the making of a sacred space.

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<sup>115</sup> Martin, *Pèlerins*, 92.

<sup>116</sup> Julia, *Le voyage aux saints*, esp. ch. 7, “Aveux de pèlerins.”

<sup>117</sup> On source problems, see an especially instructive article by Hans-Ulrich Seifert, “Aus der Franzosenzeit: die ‘Registres des passeports pour l’Intérieur’: Eine wenig genutzte Quelle zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des Saardepartements im Stadtarchiv Trier,” *Landeskundliche Vierteljahresblätter* 44, no. 4 (1998): 133–52.

<sup>118</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 66, Fétré to Dardenne, Sarreguemines, 18 thermidor an VII (August 5, 1799): “Nous avons bien trouvée deux cent personnes couchée[s] dans des chambres, des greniers, des écuries, et même dans des caves, de tous âge et de tout sexe. Je les ayent tous fait conduire dans l’église de Hoste, la perquisition finie, je m’y suis transporté avec une garde a la porte de cette Église, en ayant fait sortir tous les individus l’un après l’autre, et visiter leurs passeports, vingt sept seulement n’en n’étaient[sic] point porteurs (vous verrez par le procès verbal cy joint les lieux de leurs domiciles), lesquels j’ai fait conduire à Puttelange, et qu’au[sic] moment du départ de la troupe de Puttelange se sont évadés.” Unfortunately, the *procès-verbal* mentioned by Fétré did not make it into the police dossier preserved at the National Archives.

What is more, the French revolutionaries had rebordered Lorraine and neighboring regions in ways that facilitated the passport game for Catholics wishing to go on pilgrimage to Hoste. France annexed the Austrian Netherlands in 1795 and, beginning in late 1797, gradually promulgated the laws of the Revolution in the occupied left-bank Rhineland, as I mentioned above. Therefore, by 1799, inhabitants of these two regions only needed internal passports to cross legally into Lorraine—as opposed to the external passports they would have to obtain if they wanted to cross *national* borders.<sup>119</sup> On the terms of the law of 10 vendémiaire an IV, the bureaucratic hurdles for obtaining internal passports remained relatively low and local, as municipal or cantonal administrations were responsible for issuing certificates of this kind. Some cantonal commissioners in the Forêts and Saar Departments did grow wary when an increasing number of people demanded passports for travel to the cantons of Puttrelange or Saint-Avold. But such wariness has become disproportionately visible to historians because those commissioners chose to write up reports, either directly to the Ministry of Police or to the central commissioner of their department.<sup>120</sup> It is plausible to suspect that many more municipal administrations remained quiet and kept issuing passports to hopeful pilgrims—not least because, as the Ministry

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<sup>119</sup> Cf. *Recueil des règlements et arrêtés émanés du commissaire du gouvernement dans les quatre nouveaux départemens de la rive gauche du Rhin: 5<sup>e</sup> tome – 9<sup>e</sup> et 10<sup>e</sup> cahiers* (Strasbourg: Levraut, An VII [1799]), cahier 9, pp. 128–32: on 1<sup>er</sup> thermidor an VI (July 19, 1798), commissioner Rudler published title III (concerning internal passports) of the law of 10 vendémiaire an IV (October 2, 1795) in the occupied Rhineland. For this reason, the story of passport controls in the borderlands between Lorraine and the Rhineland was a different one in 1799 than in 1796—cf. esp. fn. 97 of Chapter 2. On the revolutionary revival (in 1792/3) of the old dualism between *passeports pour l'intérieur* and *pour l'extérieur*, see Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport*, 44–51.

<sup>120</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 68, Umhœfer, cantonal commissioner of Bascharage (Forêts), to the Ministry of Police, Bascharage, 25 thermidor an VII (August 12, 1799): “j’ai requis notre m(unici)p(a)lité de ne plus delivrer des passeports a St Avolt, mais le peuple va sans cela.” This wording suggests that people *did* at first ask to be issued passports and tended to leave without them only if the responsible authority refused the issuance. Also *ibid.*, pièce 29, Boucqueau to the Ministry of Justice, Trier, 29 prairial an VII (June 17, 1799): “informé par plusieurs commissaires, du grand nombre d’habitans qui se présentaient pour obtenir des passeports à l’effet de se rendre dans le Canton où se trouve la fontaine, je leur ai enjoint de s’opposer à ce qu’il en soit délivré pour cette destination, et à refuser leur visa.” Finally, for a specific mention of a group of “étrangers, munis de passeports du Pays de Treves” (part of the occupied Rhineland) and confronted by French troops at the fountain of Hoste, see AN, F/7/7628, d. 58 (R/1280), pièce 6, cantonal commissioner of Puttrelange to central administration of Moselle, 6 fructidor an VII (August 23, 1799).



of Police itself recognized, no clear legal foundation existed for making the issuance of internal passports contingent on proof that a citizen's motives for travel were pressing and respectable from a patriotic viewpoint.<sup>121</sup> Thus, pilgrims had the upper hand in terms of the mobility that constantly enabled spatial spillover of sacred water, while hostile state authorities did manage to disrupt Catholics' attempts at stabilizing their apparition places.

The timing of the secondary apparitions also suggests that pilgrims stayed one step ahead of the police by practicing spillover rather than stability and rapidly valorizing new holy places when necessary. For example, in the first half of a letter sent to the ministry of Police on June 15, 1799, the departmental administrators of the Moselle congratulated themselves on having reestablished public order at the Good Well with the help of special commissioner Legoux and two hundred soldiers. Now, "we hope there will no longer be any question of this gathering on our territory." Yet immediately thereafter, the second part of the letter announced that the pilgrimage might not have disappeared so much as shifted its destination: "We are informed that [the gathering] has re-formed in a commune of the Meurthe Department."<sup>122</sup> And indeed, on June 22, confirmation came from Nancy, *chef-lieu* of the Meurthe, in a letter from commissioner Saulnier notifying the Ministry of Police that pilgrims were now flocking by the thousands to a

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<sup>121</sup> Cf. AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 75, draft of a letter from the Ministry of Police to Thirion (central commissioner of the Moselle), Paris, 24 fructidor an VII (September 10, 1799), marginal annotation: "y a-t-il quelque loi qui autorise les adm. mup. a exiger des françois qui demandent des passeports pour l'intérieur la preuve qu'ils ont des affaires ? la circonstance alléguée suffit-elle pour justifier une semblable mesure. 20 fruct. an 7." The central administrators of the Moselle ended up voicing that suspicion in a circular letter to the cantonal administrations of their department: many local officials continued to facilitate pilgrimage to Hoste by issuing passports for travel to Puttelange or other, nearby cantons: Paquet, *Bibliographie*, 1079, circular letter of Moselle administrators, Metz, 4 fructidor an VII (August 21, 1799). For one example of an indulgent cantonal administrator, at Saverne (Bas-Rhin), issuing a passport to a woman who wanted to visit the Good Well, see Reuss, *La grande fuite*, 257–8. We only know about this case because the official was denounced to the central administration.

<sup>122</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 24, central administration of Moselle to Ministry of Police, Metz, 27 prairial an VII (June 15, 1799): "Au moyen des mesures que nous avons pris[es] et dont nous vous avons rendu compte, nous espérons qu'il ne sera plus question de ce rassemblement dans notre arrondissement. – Nous sommes informé[s] qu'il s'est reporté dans une commune du Département de la Meurthe."

newly established holy site in his department. A few weeks later, Saulnier informed the government in turn that, on the one hand, his administration had effectively counteracted pilgrim gatherings not only in Bacourt, but also in Chambrey and Plaine-de-Walsch, two other villages of the Meurthe. On the other hand, “the allegedly miraculous Virgin,” now “chased away” from both the Moselle and the Meurthe Departments, “has just escaped to a well in the Bas-Rhin”, probably Marienthal, where she was “still attracting a following of thousands of pilgrims.”<sup>123</sup>

The pilgrims of 1799 thus inaugurated a logic of spatial overflow that would serve Catholics well in later, critical moments of heightened state pressure on religious practice. The fluid, ephemeral, and sharply contested place-making of 1799 presents striking similarities with the especially frequent apparitions of the 1870s, another decade of great upheaval from the Franco-Prussian War to the *Kulturkampf*.<sup>124</sup> Numerous apparitions occurred during the same decade in the Franco-German borderlands. This time, borders had just shifted to the *disadvantage* of France, with the German annexation of *Elsass-Lothringen* in 1871. Across the annexed province, Catholics reported recurring Marian apparitions near the Alsatian village of Neubois (1872), but also in L'Hôpital (less than ten miles northwest of Hoste; 1872), Bettviller, Diding, Guising, Reipertswiller, Rixheim, Sarreinsberg, Walbach, and Wittelsheim (all in 1873). In the case of Neubois, Catholics even reported offshoot apparitions that recall the secondary pilgrimage sites of 1799.<sup>125</sup> Finally and most spectacularly, in 1876, Mary appeared to several children near the village of Marpingen, situated in the Saarland about thirty miles north of Hoste.

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid., pièce 42, Saulnier to the Ministry of Police, Nancy, 22 messidor an VII (July 10, 1799): “la prétendue Vierge miraculeuse qui a occasionné des rassemblements nombreux d’abord dans le département de la Moselle, ensuite dans celui-ci, chassée enfin de ces deux arrondissements vient de se réfugier dans une fontaine de celui du Bas-Rhin, attirant toujours à sa suite des pèlerins par milliers.”

<sup>124</sup> On the quantitative peak in apparitions in the 1870s, see Schneider, “Marienerscheinungen,” 92–3.

<sup>125</sup> Muller, *Dieu est catholique et alsacien*, 932–4; Bouflet, “Institution et charisme,” 71–8; Chiron, *Enquête*, 307; Henri Hiegel, “Les apparitions de la Sainte-Vierge en Lorraine de langue allemande en 1799 et 1873,” *Les Cahiers Lorrains*, no. 4 (1957): 68–74, esp. 71–3.

This event sparked a genuine mass mobilization of pilgrims.<sup>126</sup> Heavy-handed repressive measures only accelerated the currents of Catholic enthusiasm and made them more elusive—much the same effects as those produced in 1799 around Hoste. Likewise, just when the newly proclaimed Second Spanish Republic seemed to embark on an anti-Catholic agenda in 1931, countless women and children reported apparitions of Mary and drew pilgrims to dozens and perhaps hundreds of villages, first in the Spanish Basque Country and then across northern and central Spain.<sup>127</sup> Later in the 1930s, pilgrims responded subversively to anti-Catholic crackdowns in Nazi Germany by seeking out numerous new and old apparition places—most notably Heede, Dittrichswalde (present-day Gietrzwałd), and again Marpingen.<sup>128</sup> In short, pilgrims returned to the spillover pattern throughout the Age of Mobilization, whenever political crisis and state pressure reached a higher pitch.<sup>129</sup>

Therefore, the events of 1799 ultimately represent a structural transition—though not a genealogical link—between the early modern and the modern history of Marian apparitions. There is no genealogical connection because Hoste never gained national fame as a place of Marian devotion and was indeed no longer a well-known pilgrimage place by the time of the famous apparitions in Paris (rue du Bac, 1830), La Salette (1846), and Lourdes (1858).<sup>130</sup> But the

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<sup>126</sup> Blackbourn, *Marpingen*.

<sup>127</sup> William A. Christian, *Visionaries: The Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), esp. 163–213.

<sup>128</sup> Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 334–43.

<sup>129</sup> One more example is worth noting: outward from La Salette, secondary apparitions proliferated in southeastern France during the late 1840s, thus coinciding and interacting with the Revolution of 1848. Cf. Langlois, “Mariophanies et mariologies,” 20 (“contagion apparitionnelle”).

<sup>130</sup> In 1799, there was no national newspaper of the non-juring clergy: the *Annales catholiques* had fallen victim to the coup d’État of Fructidor an V (September 1797); cf. Guillaume Colot, “Former l’opinion des Catholiques sous le Directoire: *Les Annales de la religion* et *Les Annales catholiques*,” in *La Révolution française au miroir des recherches actuelles: Actes du colloque tenu à Ivry-sur-Seine, 15–16 juin 2010*, ed. Cyril Triolaire (Paris: Société des études robespierristes, 2011), 207–19. The *Annales de la religion*, the (ex-)constitutional equivalent and rival of the *Annales catholiques*, did mention the miracles of Hoste and Plaine-de-Walsch twice, but only briefly and only to denounce them as outgrowths of superstitious fantasies: “Mozelle,” *Annales de la religion* 8 (1799): 361–62; “Église de France,” *Annales de la religion* 10 (1799/1800): 155–78, here 169–70.

chain apparitions of the 1790s, 1870s, and 1930s show how, in moments of crisis, Catholics repeatedly engaged in a particular type of place-making—rhizomatic, fluid, tied to the logic of spatial spillover. More specifically, around Hoste in 1799, they faced a revolutionary modernity whose *police du culte* attempted to flatten religious practice by erasing the sacred, miraculous “high place” (*haut lieu*), as though it were merely a tear in the tissue of homogenous, empty space.<sup>131</sup> They responded by mobilizing to create a powerful network of ephemeral, politicized holy places.

## Conclusion

In the pilgrimage season of 1799, water from the apparition place of Hoste gave hundreds of thousands of Catholics in northeastern France a sense of connection to divine grace through the Virgin Mary. Women and children stepped forth with claims that bathing in pools of well water had immediately cured them from disease and incapacitation. Some women underwent exorcisms, performed by lay schoolteachers. Printed miracle reports circulated throughout the region. Countless devout or simply excited Catholics, traveling by foot from as far away as Luxembourg, Trier, central Alsace, Mannheim on the right bank of the Rhine, and even Paris, paid visits to the Good Well to pray and experience the spectacle of a religious festival. As a result, “This place resembles a great fairground, more than fifty shops have been set up, as well as guinguettes on the plain and in the woods.”<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> See Marc Augé, *Non-lieux: Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité* (Paris: Seuil, 1992), 78 on special places as “une série de ruptures et de discontinuités dans l’espace” and 114 on the pilgrimage place as “haut lieu.” On empty space and (secular) modernity: William M. Reddy, “The Eurasian Origins of Empty Time and Space: Modernity as Temporality Reconsidered,” *History and Theory* 55, no. 3 (2016): 325–56, esp. 336–42.

<sup>132</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 13, Fétré to Buquet, Sarreguemines, 15 prairial an VII (June 3, 1799): “ce lieu ressemble à une grande foire, plus de cinquante boutiques sont étalées, des guinguettes dans la plaine et dans les bois.” On pilgrims traveling to Hoste from distant places, see *Journal des départemens de la Moselle, de la Meurthe,*

Believers joined in the making of a sacred space with an extraordinary energy that reflects the depths of anxiety generated by the French Revolution's religious policies. Ironically, attempts by revolutionary administrators and gendarmes to stymie this process only heightened its dynamics in the short run. Many pilgrims reacted defiantly to the threat of an encounter with gendarmerie and regular troops.<sup>133</sup> Above all, when agents of the state effectively disrupted place-making at Hoste, these interventions encouraged Catholics to switch to a plurality of *other* places in which to celebrate the miraculous qualities of the water. Pilgrims adjusted their perceptions of the miraculous, heightening their sense of its fluidity as they exploited the potential of the well water to bring a sacral charge to many other places across the region. In this way, the revolutionary situation helped give birth to a new type of devotional space: ephemeral, volatile, elusive, increasingly diffuse, and polycentric. In 1799, Catholics in Lorraine and neighboring regions thus responded creatively to the modern state's policing of worship on the destabilized territorial margins. This pattern would recur in those same regions in the 1870s, following the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and during the *Kulturkampf*. Key aspects of pilgrim mobilization connect Hoste to Marpingen and Lourdes more than to early modern apparition sites, and this finding underscores the formative nature of religious change in the revolutionary age.

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*etc.*, no. 60, 25 prairial an VII (June 13, 1799), p. 5: "Une foule de pèlerins est venu la visiter [i.e. the Good Well]. Il en est arrivé jusques des environs de Cologne et de Manheim."

<sup>133</sup> AN, F/7/7583, d. 51 (R/841), pièce 10, central administration of Moselle to Ministry of Police, Metz, 20 prairial an VII (June 8, 1799), deploring "l'audace de ces religieux energumenes, puisqu'ils ont osé dire que quelque soit la force armée qu'on enverra contr'eux, on ne pourra les empêcher de vénir en pèlerinage à la fontaine de la Vierge."

## Chapter 4

### Reasserting the Holy City: Trier

Three days after Trier capitulated, Pierre Bourbotte and Jean-Marie Goujon announced this latest French triumph in a letter to the Committee of Public Welfare. “Looking at Trier, one might say that the throne of sacerdotal despotism was erected here,” they wrote on August 12, 1794, thrilled that revolutionary France was toppling that throne.<sup>1</sup> Fifteen years later, in 1809, a French administrator named Delamorre gave a similar sigh of relief: grotesque cities-as-monasteries like pre-revolutionary Trier no longer existed in the French Empire to which the city now belonged, in part because the state had dissolved almost all convents.<sup>2</sup> Yet less than a year after Delamorre published his praise of the new, secularized cityscape, Trier turned into a beacon of Catholicism again—and shone even more brightly. Between September 9 and 27, 1810, over 200,000 pilgrims converged on Trier Cathedral to see a relic called the Holy Tunic (*heiliger Rock*). Napoleonic Europe never witnessed a more spectacular pilgrimage event than this showing of a

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<sup>1</sup> Bourbotte and Goujon (two French representatives on mission) to the Committee of Public Welfare, Trier, August 12, 1794, in Alphonse Aulard, ed., *Recueil des actes du Comité de salut public: Avec la correspondance officielle des représentants en mission et le registre du Conseil exécutif provisoire*, 28 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1889–1955), 16:63–4, here 63: “A voir Trèves, on dirait que le trône du despotisme sacerdotal y a été fixé.”

<sup>2</sup> C.-H. Delamorre, *Annuaire topographique et politique du département de la Sarre pour l'an 1810* (Trèves: Hæner, 1809), 37–9. Delamorre served as inspector of weights and measures in the French Rhineland; cf. AN, F/20/150, pièce 195, Delamorre to the Minister of the Interior, Koblenz, May 28, 1810. For another enlightened voice contemplating the legacy of “des troupes de moines” and “des monuments de la plus grossière superstition” in parts of the Rhineland, not least in the former Electorate of Trier, see Georg F. Rebmann, *Coup d’œil sur les quatre départemens de la rive gauche du Rhin, considérés sous le rapport des mœurs de leurs habitants, de leur industrie et des moyens d’amélioration* (Trèves: Lintz, an X [1801/2]), quotes on 11 and 40. On Rebmann as an important figure of the German *Spätaufklärung*, see Marita Gilli, *Pensée et pratique révolutionnaires à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Allemagne* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1983), 263–74.

garment said to have been worn by Jesus at the time of his crucifixion. Bourbotte, Goujon, and Delamorre had celebrated the fall of one of Europe's Catholic capitals a little prematurely.

In this chapter, I argue that the pilgrims and pilgrimage organizers of September 1810 exalted Trier as a holy city whose prestige did not rely exclusively on the Holy Tunic but rather on a panoply of places, objects, and devotions.<sup>3</sup> I will develop three aspects of this argument in detail. First, the pilgrimage to the Tunic capped off a decades-long effort by lay Catholics as well as municipal and ecclesiastical leaders to respond to the radical challenges that Enlightenment and Revolution posed to Trier's urban spiritual cachet. Second, in the years around 1800, the great rebordering entailed by French revolutionary expansion brought opportunities in addition to those challenges for Trier as a holy city. By establishing the Rhine as a new frontier and thus splitting the old Archbishopric-Electorate of Trier that had straddled the river, the French forced a reckoning over *trierisch* relics. As a result, the Holy Tunic returned to the city after it had spent most of the preceding 150 years on the other side of the Rhine. The Napoleonic imperative of order—including territorial order—also encouraged Trier's new bishop Charles Mannay to view and promote the boundaries of his diocese as a territorial frame within which the pilgrimage of 1810 could take place safely. Third, however, diocesan and departmental rebordering around Trier had occurred in such a way as to drive the failure that Napoleonic state and church authorities experienced in orchestrating and controlling this religious event. More than 100,000 pilgrims came unauthorized, from beyond the diocesan boundaries, not least because the new

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<sup>3</sup> A seminal scholarly contribution on the strong link between pilgrimage and urban prestige came from Edith Ennen, "Stadt und Wallfahrt in Frankreich, Belgien, den Niederlanden und Deutschland [1972]," in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zum europäischen Städtewesen und zur rheinischen Geschichte* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1977), 239–58, esp. 245 on Trier and other Rhenish cities.

diocese largely did not coincide with the areas whose Catholic populations had regarded Trier as a holy city for centuries.

With this three-pronged argument, I show how potently pilgrimage contributed to the making of modern Catholic urbanity—not just after but already during the revolutionary era. Secularization theories have often cast cities as hotbeds of an ever-increasing detachment from faith that originated in the Enlightenment.<sup>4</sup> In the last few decades, by contrast, scholarship has begun to address religious ties as a major enduring factor in the history of modern European cities. Most of this revisionist research, however, has eschewed scrutinizing the urban imaginary and has focused instead on the nitty-gritty of church-sponsored charity initiatives or of struggles to adapt the parish structure to population growth.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, even where topoi of the holy city in modernity have received some attention, historians have usually limited themselves to major

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<sup>4</sup> Even very recently, the story of the “secular Enlightenment” has been narrated as an explicitly urban history by Margaret C. Jacob, *The Secular Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019). A landmark case study of eighteenth-century urban “de-Christianization”: Pierre Chaunu, Madeleine Foisil, and Françoise de Noirfontaine, *Le basculement religieux de Paris au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Essai d'histoire politique et religieuse* (Paris: Fayard, 1998). In the smaller French city of Orléans, eighteenth-century urban-dwellers turned away not from Christianity per se, but from the collective, public expressions of Catholic faith, as argued by Gaël Rideau, *De la religion de tous à la religion de chacun: Croire et pratiquer à Orléans au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2009). Similar tendencies toward “secularization” in northern Rhenish cities are captured, but also exaggerated, in Rudolf Schlögl, *Glaube und Religion in der Säkularisierung: Die katholische Stadt (Köln, Aachen, Münster) 1700–1840* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995). On Trier as an (albeit modest) regional center of the Enlightenment, with many local protagonists criticizing either the public prominence of Baroque Catholic piety or Christianity more broadly, see Anna Kallabis, *Katholizismus im Umbruch: Diskurse der Elite im (Erz-)Bistum Trier zwischen Aufklärung und französischer Herrschaft* (Boston: de Gruyter, 2020); Drut-Hours, “Promouvoir le ‘vrai christianisme’,” esp. 44, 47, and 50; Groß, *Trierer Geistesleben*.

<sup>5</sup> For helpful overviews of the recent literature, see Susanne Rau and Jörg Rüpke, “Religion und Urbanität: Wechselseitige Formierungen als Forschungsproblem,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 310, no. 3 (2020): 654–80, esp. 661 for the assertion that there is still a large research deficit in the field of urban religious history; Irene Becci and Marian Burchardt, “Introduction: Religion Takes Place: Producing Urban Locality,” in *Topographies of Faith: Religion in Urban Spaces*, ed. Irene Becci, Marian Burchardt, and José V. Casanova (Boston: Brill, 2013), 1–21; Olivier Chatelan, “Villes et territoires,” in *Le catholicisme en chantiers: France, XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. Bruno Dumons and Christian Sorrel (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2013), 99–110; Antonius Liedhegener, “Religion und Kirchen vor den Herausforderungen der Urbanisierung in Deutschland im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Forschungsstand und Forschungsperspektiven,” in *Die Pfarre in der Stadt: Siedlungskern, Bürgerkirche, urbanes Zentrum*, ed. Werner Freitag (Cologne: Böhlau, 2011), 175–210; Catherine Maurer, “L’espace dans la pratique des historiens français et allemands du fait religieux depuis la fin des années 1980,” in *Topographie du sacré: L’emprise religieuse sur l’espace*, ed. Alain Dierkens and Anne Morelli (Brussels: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 2008), 21–37, esp. 28–30.



cities in the period after 1850 and have barely touched on the topic of pilgrimage. This point concerns analyses of Paris as “the religious capital” of France under Napoleon III, Lyon as the “Rome of France,” and Cologne as the “Rome of the North” imagined by ultramontane elites.<sup>6</sup> Rome itself as *the* sacred city of the Restoration era constitutes the exception to that rule thanks to the work of Philippe Boutry.<sup>7</sup> If the estimated 120,000 to 150,000 pilgrims who visited Rome during the Holy Year of 1825 played a major part in Catholic efforts to resacralize the eternal city, as Boutry argues, then surely the more than 200,000 who converged on Trier within nineteen days in 1810 deserve serious study as well.

A small handful of scholars have attended to this pilgrimage, but they usually load their attempts to make sense of 1810 with the heavy baggage of 1844—the year of the next, even bigger, longer, and more controversial showing of the Tunic.<sup>8</sup> Specifically, Wolfgang Schieder’s

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<sup>6</sup> Jacques-Olivier Boudon, *Paris, capitale religieuse sous le Second Empire* (Paris: Cerf, 2001), esp. 335–8 for a few remarks on pilgrimage; on religion in modern Paris, cf. also Friedrich Lenger, “Die Stadt des 19. Jahrhunderts: Heterogenität, Modernität, Konflikt,” in *Durchbruch der Moderne? Neue Perspektiven auf das 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Birgit Aschmann (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2019), 252–70, here 265. On Lyon: Bruno Dumons, “Lyon, ‘Rome de France’ ? Une ‘utopie’ intransigeante (XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles),” in *Ville et religion en Europe du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle: La cité réenchantée*, ed. Bruno Dumons and Bernard Hours (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 2010), 345–66. For Lyon, however, very good work on the religious history of the Revolution and early nineteenth century exists: Chopelin, *Ville patriote et ville martyre*; Philippe Boutry, “Une dynamique sacrificielle: Le catholicisme lyonnais du premier XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Chocs et ruptures en histoire religieuse (fin XVIII<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, ed. Michel Lagrée (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1998), 151–66. On Cologne: Heinz Finger, *Das heilige Köln - Tochter Roms: Beiträge zu den Grundthemen der Kölner Geschichte* (Köln: Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek mit Bibliothek St. Albertus Magnus, 2020), esp. 213–25. In modern France, at least three cathedrals (those of Chartres, Le Puy, and Paris) must be considered major urban pilgrimage destinations: Mathieu Lours, “Cathédrales, reliques et pèlerinages: L’épreuve de la modernité,” in *Cathédrale et pèlerinage aux époques médiévale et moderne: Reliques, processions et dévotions à l’église-mère du diocèse*, ed. Catherine Vincent and Jacques Pycke (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Erasme, 2010), 105–28, here 128.

<sup>7</sup> Dominique Julia and Philippe Boutry, “Rome, capitale du pèlerinage: Traditions modernes et recompositions postévolutionnaires,” in *Capitales européennes et rayonnement culturel: XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Christophe Charle (Paris: Éditions Rue d’Ulm, 2004), 19–54, here 30–54.

<sup>8</sup> For a concise overview of the giant public debates around the 1844 pilgrimage, see Michael Embach, “Literarische und publizistische Entwicklungen,” in *Auf dem Weg in die Moderne (1802–1880): Geschichte des Bistums Trier, Vol. 4*, ed. Martin Persch and Bernhard Schneider (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2000), 482–502, here 493–7. On the much lesser presence of the 1810 pilgrimage in accounts published by travelers and other writers (who generally spilled much ink on pilgrimage) at the time, see Uta Piereth, “Dem Aberglauben auf der Spur: Notizen zu abergläubischen Phänomenen zwischen Maas und Rhein in Reiseberichten um 1800. Reiseberichte als Quelle der Magie- und Aberglaubensforschung,” *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte* 24 (1998): 245–68, here 266.

classic depiction of the 1844 event as “pilgrimage from above” has colored all subsequent interpretations, including those of 1810.<sup>9</sup> The notion of pilgrimage from above implies thinking about pilgrims primarily in the passive voice: pilgrims were mobilized by the Church hierarchy; their belief in the authenticity and healing power of the Holy Tunic was instrumentalized by elites eager to orchestrate a mass demonstration of anti-revolutionary order. To be sure, Schieder’s approach has provoked criticism for erasing *a priori* the very possibility that pilgrims may have mobilized *themselves* to a certain degree.<sup>10</sup> Yet even the richest existing analysis of the 1810 pilgrimage nuances rather than challenges the notion of ‘pilgrimage from above.’ Elisabeth Wagner frames the event as part of a transition from “traditional, popular pilgrimage” toward the

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<sup>9</sup> Wolfgang Schieder, “Kirche und Revolution: Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte der Trierer Wallfahrt von 1844,” *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 14 (1974): 419–54, here 432: “Wallfahrt von oben.” Examples of works that emphasize 1844 while neglecting or downright ignoring 1810 are numerous; they include among others, in chronological order: Emil Zenz, *Geschichte der Stadt Trier im 19. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Trier: Spee-Verlag, 1979/80), vol. 1, 120–1; Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (Munich: Beck, 1983), 410–12; Werner K. Blessing, “Reform, Restauration, Rezession: Kirchenreligion und Volksreligiosität zwischen Aufklärung und Industrialisierung,” in *Volksreligiosität in der modernen Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Wolfgang Schieder (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 97–122, here 110; Wynands, “Rhein-maasländische Wallfahrten,” esp. 127–8; Holzem, “Religiöse Orientierung,” esp. 341–4; Ernst Heinen, “Aufbruch - Erneuerung - Politik: Rheinischer Katholizismus im 19. Jahrhundert,” *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 64 (2000): 266–89, esp. 274 and 280; Schneider, “Reform of Piety,” here 205; Holzem, *Christentum in Deutschland*, vol. 2, 1012–17. – Recently, Schieder himself extended his reading more explicitly to the 1810 pilgrimage: Wolfgang Schieder, “Der ‘Heilige Rock’ in Trier als Erinnerungsort,” in *Erinnerungsorte in Rheinland-Pfalz*, ed. Franz J. Felten (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2015), 85–101, here 98. For a new analysis that focuses on Catholic elites and projects Schieder’s view of 1844 back onto 1810, see Kallabis, *Katholizismus im Umbruch*, 398–404. More briefly and in a similar vein: Joachim Oepen, “Die Säkularisation von 1802 in den vier rheinischen Departements,” in *200 Jahre Reichsdeputationshauptschluss: Säkularisation, Mediatisierung und Modernisierung zwischen Altem Reich und neuer Staatlichkeit*, ed. Harm Klueting (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), 87–114, here 112; Christof Dipper, “Kirche, Revolution und Kirchengeschichte: Einleitende Bemerkungen,” in *Franzosen und Deutsche am Rhein, 1789, 1918, 1945*, ed. Peter Hüttenberger and Hansgeorg Molitor (Essen: Klartext, 1989), 261–66, here 266; Dipper, “Volksreligiosität und Obrigkeit,” here 93–4.

<sup>10</sup> Apart from an early controversy featuring Rudolf Lill, “Kirche und Revolution: Zu den Anfängen der katholischen Bewegung im Jahrzehnt vor 1848,” *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 18 (1978): 565–75, see Bernhard Schneider, “Wallfahrt, Ultramontanismus und Politik: Studien zu Vorgeschichte und Verlauf der Trierer Hl.-Rock-Wallfahrt von 1844,” in *Der heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi anlässlich der Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt 1996*, ed. Erich Aretz et al. (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995), 237–80 for subtle criticism and Skye Doney, “Moving Toward the Sacred: German Pilgrimage Practices 1832–1937” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2014) for a radical repudiation of Schieder’s viewpoint. For sharp criticism, see also Peter Dohms, *Rheinische Wallfahrten des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld von Staat und Kirche* (Siegburg: Rheinlandia-Verlag, 2005), 49–55.

“organized, churchified, clericalized pilgrimage of the nineteenth century.”<sup>11</sup> Against this backdrop, I aim to revisit the top-down narrative and to integrate perspectives ‘from below’ as much as the sparse available sources permit. By exploring the spatial practices and the topological imagination that played into the making of the 1810 pilgrimage in Trier, we may better understand how urban Catholicism could adapt to the world of revolutionary and post-revolutionary Europe.

### Struggles of a Spiritual Capital (c. 1770–1800)

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, pious visitors encountered Trier as a place with a glorious past—but also as a struggling city for which pilgrimage was becoming a critical answer to mounting challenges. To unfold this first aspect of my argument, I will begin by surveying the numerous holy sites and traditions of pilgrimage and long-distance procession that Trier boasted before the upheavals of the revolutionary age. I will then show that the regional politics and religious reforms of the decades before the French Revolution seriously undermined Trier’s status as both the capital of the eponymous Archbishopric-Electorate and a pilgrimage center. In the late 1780s, municipal leaders stepped up and persuaded the government of the electorate to rescind anti-pilgrimage measures. Soon, however, Trier’s inhabitants and institutions faced new,

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<sup>11</sup> Elisabeth Wagner, “Die Rückführung des Heiligen Rockes nach Trier und die Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt im Jahre 1810,” in *Der heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi anlässlich der Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt 1996*, ed. Erich Aretz et al. (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995), 219–36, here 235: the 1810 pilgrimage as a milestone in “Wiederbelebung von Frömmigkeit und religiöser Praxis” and a “Bindeglied zwischen dem traditionellen, populären Wallfahrtswesen und seiner Reglementierung, zum Teil Unterdrückung, seit dem Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung sowie dem ‘modernen’ organisierten, verkirchlichten und klerikalisierten Wallfahrtswesen des 19. Jahrhunderts.” On the heels of this new interpretation: Bernhard Schneider, “Die Hl.-Rock-Wallfahrten von 1810 und 1844,” in *Auf dem Weg in die Moderne (1802–1880): Geschichte des Bistums Trier*, Vol. 4, ed. Martin Persch and Bernhard Schneider (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2000), 567–79. Similar nuance in Freytag, “Wunderglauben und Aberglauben,” esp. 267–8. Still of interest for his choice to contrast 1810 with 1844: Hubert Schiel, “Zur Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt im Jahre 1810,” *Vierteljahresblätter der Trierer Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschungen* 5 (1959): 17–23.

even bigger conflicts under an occupation regime. By 1794, France's armies were pushing northeast to realize the revolutionary expansion plan that designated the Rhine as the new French border. Non-elite Catholics now also organized and used pilgrimages and processions to face the crises at hand. The clergy continued to exert influence, but as the situation escalated toward 1800, lay pilgrims got increasingly used to acting independently and defying military, civil, and ecclesiastical authorities if necessary. By using pilgrimage to revalidate the notion of the holy city, Catholics in and around Trier initiated a strategy that they would eventually deploy on a much vaster scale in 1810.

In early modern times, Trier was one of three European "pilgrimage capitals" alongside Rome and Cologne, because the city combined the assets of a great pilgrimage place and a territorial center.<sup>12</sup> Aside from the increasingly rare showings of the Holy Tunic (none occurred at the cathedral between 1655 and 1810), Trier's best-known pilgrimage site was the suburban St. Matthias' Abbey, well frequented since the twelfth century as the only place north of the Alps that contained the tomb of an apostle.<sup>13</sup> Over seventy confraternities devoted to St. Matthias organized annual pilgrimages, typically across large distances because most confraternities were located in towns of the northern Rhineland. From there, it took pilgrims between four days and a week to walk all the way south to Trier. At the height of the season, right before Pentecost, more than 10,000 people would visit the abbey in a single week, at least in busy years such as 1759, 1764, and 1778.<sup>14</sup> In addition to individual pious travelers and parish processions, the

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<sup>12</sup> Julia and Boutry, "Rome," 21.

<sup>13</sup> According to Acts 1:23–26, Matthias filled the vacancy created by Judas's treason and suicide.

<sup>14</sup> Guido Groß, "Trier als Pilgerziel in der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zur Wallfahrtsgeschichte des Trierer Raumes," in *Corona amicorum: Alois Thomas zur Vollendung des 90. Lebensjahres*, ed. Andreas Heinz and Martin Persch (Trier: Selbstverlag, 1986), 112–23, esp. 119: 10,438 people in 1759; 11,868 in 1764; 12,189 in 1778. These figures were published at the time by a local newspaper, the *Trierische Wochenblättgen*, probably based on counts that guards conducted at the city gates (cf. *ibid.*, 120).

confraternal pilgrimages have upheld St. Matthias's reputation as a holy site on a regional scale up through the present.<sup>15</sup>

While the Holy Tunic and the relics of the apostle stand out as the city's major spiritual treasures for Catholics today, early modern Trier attracted processions from its hinterland in other ways as well. Every year on the third Friday after Easter, twenty-six parishes from the countryside joined the inhabitants of Trier in celebrating the *statio bannita*, a diocesan holiday introduced by Archbishop Egbert in the late tenth century.<sup>16</sup> Praying for favorable weather that would help the crops grow, Catholics processed through the city to visit eight churches including St. Matthias, the cathedral, St. Simeon, and St. Maximin, all of which possessed well-known relics and constituted holy sites in their own right.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the cathedral attracted large crowds from outside the city—sometimes over 10,000 people within three days—around June 29, the feast day of its patron Saint Peter.<sup>18</sup> Overall, I estimate that more than 50,000 pious

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<sup>15</sup> On pilgrimage to St. Matthias, see above all Birgit Bernard, *Die Wallfahrten der St.-Matthias-Bruderschaften zur Abtei St. Matthias in Trier vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1995), esp. 103–35. Note that most of these confraternities accepted female as well as male members (*ibid.*, 137–8). More recent but less detailed: Winfried Weber, “Wallfahrtsheiligtümer in Trier: Zur architektonischen Ausgestaltung der Wallfahrtsstätten,” in *Wallfahrt und Kommunikation, Kommunikation über Wallfahrt*, ed. Bernhard Schneider (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2004), 353–95, esp. 356 and 376–80. On the history of the abbey itself, see Petrus Becker, *Die Benediktinerabtei St. Eucharius-St. Matthias vor Trier* (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1996), esp. 280–92 on the eighteenth century.

<sup>16</sup> For the list of participating parishes as well as a general history of this ceremony, see Andreas Heinz, “Die vom Erzbischof Egbert gestiftete Bannfeier (Statio bannita): Ursprung und Ende eines trierischen Prozessionsbrauchs,” in *Egbert, Erzbischof von Trier (977–993): Gedenkschrift der Diözese Trier zum 1000. Todestag*, ed. Franz Ronig, Andreas Weiner, and Rita Heyen, 2 vols. (Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, 1993), vol. 2, 67–80 (list on 79). Actually, Catholics from more than twenty-six parishes participated in these processions: in 1791, the parish priest of Waldrach noted that many people from surrounding villages had used to (and were now again trying to) join the *Bannfreitag* procession from Waldrach to Trier on their own account. Cf. BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 26, pp. 323–4, General Vicariate protocol entry of May 2, 1791.

<sup>17</sup> Kyll, *Pflichtprozessionen*, 81–91 and (for processions to St. Maximin) 67–74; on the decline but also the persistence of pilgrimage to St. Maximin through the eighteenth century, see Bertram Resmini, *Die Benediktinerabtei St. Maximin vor Trier* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 624–25; Karl-Josef Gilles, “Unbekannte Wallfahrtsmedaillen und Pilgerzeichen des 16.–19. Jahrhunderts aus Trier,” *Landeskundliche Vierteljahresblätter* 42 (1996): 105–15, esp. 112–13. Cf. also Bernhard Schneider, “Wallfahrten im frühneuzeitlichen Erzbistum Trier,” *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 47 (2007): 347–82, esp. 372 on pilgrimage shrines in Trier other than the cathedral and St. Matthias.

<sup>18</sup> Groß, “Trier als Pilgerziel,” 119; Kyll, *Pflichtprozessionen*, 74–80.

visitors per year came to the city, based on conclusions reached by historian Guido Groß for the period from 1757 to 1784 and assuming that Trier appealed to individual pilgrims as well as entire parishes and confraternities.<sup>19</sup> This devotional influx massively shaped and supported the topos that had first appeared on Trier's municipal seal in the central Middle Ages and epitomized the city's reputation ever since: *Sancta Treveris*, Holy Trier.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, at the dawn of the revolutionary age, Trier was regionally important and even famous, but that fame had more to do with a glorious past than with contemporary dynamism. The city's heyday had transpired in late Antiquity, and when a strong hagiographical tradition developed there in the tenth to twelfth centuries, it easily connected the presence of major relics to Roman imperial glory. Saint Helen, the mother of Constantine the Great, had allegedly offered the early Christian community of Trier many of the treasures she had discovered during her journey to the Holy Land—including the Holy Tunic, the bones of the apostle Matthias, and one of the nails from Jesus's crucifixion.<sup>21</sup> The Archbishop-Elector of Trier also governed a vast

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<sup>19</sup> Guido Groß, "Prozessionen und Wallfahrten nach Trier im Widerstreit geistiger Strömungen und ökonomischer Interessen," in *Zwischen Andacht und Andenken: Kleinodien religiöser Kunst und Wallfahrtsandenken aus Trierer Sammlungen - ein Katalog zur Gemeinschaftsausstellung des Bischöflichen Dom- und Diözesanmuseums Trier und des Städtischen Museums Simeonstift Trier vom 16. Oktober 1992 bis 17. Januar 1993*, ed. Elisabeth Dühr, Markus Groß-Morgen, and Burkhard Kaufmann (Trier: Selbstverlag des Bischöflichen Dom- und Diözesanmuseums Trier und des Städtischen Museums Simeonstift Trier, 1992), 79–88, esp. 84. An estimate of 40,000 pilgrims a year for St. Matthias alone in the eighteenth century is given by Gunther Franz, "Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte 1560–1794," in *2000 Jahre Trier*, ed. Universität Trier, 3 vols. (Trier: Spee-Verlag, 1985–1996), vol. 3, 203–373, here 329.

<sup>20</sup> Wolfgang Schmid, "Sancta Treveris: Zur Bedeutung der Formel vom Heiligen Trier in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit," *Rheinische Heimatpflege* 37 (2000): 12–18. Cf. also Sabine Reichert, "'Heiliges Trier': Die Sakralisierung des städtischen Raumes im Mittelalter," in *Die Stadt im Raum: Vorstellungen, Entwürfe und Gestaltungen im vormodernen Europa*, ed. Karsten Igel and Thomas Lau (Köln: Böhlau, 2016), 89–99 (limited to the Middle Ages but adopting a very interesting focus on spatial practices).

<sup>21</sup> Just two examples of pilgrimage books that conveyed this tradition throughout the eighteenth century and (in the form of reeditions) into the revolutionary era: Maurus Hillar, *Mathianischer Ehren- und Andachts-Tempel: Darinn vorgestellt die Historie des Gotteshauses S. Mathiae, die genaue Lebensbeschreibung dieses H. Apostels; Die Geschichten von seinen heiligen Reliquien; vielen und großen Wunderwerken bis auf das laufende Jahrhundert; Die Verzeichnung deren aus alten Schriften bekannten, allhier befindlichen, höchst ehr- und wunderwürdigen Reliquien; Wie auch das Jahr hindurch zu verdienenden Abläßen, mit dero gründlicher Auslegung, samt einem Gebetbüchlein mit schönen Sittenlehren*, 3rd ed. (Trier: Steinbüchel, 1793), esp. 44–52; *Andachts-Uebungen bei einer achttägigen Pilgerfahrt, welche zur Verehrung des Hl. Apostels Mathias und dessen zu Trier aufbehaltenen hl. Reliquien aus der Pfarrkirche der Gemeinde Anrath alle Jahr auf den ersten Freitag nach Christi Himmelfahrt ausgeführt wird*, 3., vermehrte Aufl. (Krefeld: P. Schüllers Witwe, 1808), esp. 7–30. On how the inhabitants of Trier in the central

diocese and—as a temporal ruler—a sizeable territory of the Holy Roman Empire, from the confines of Luxembourg down the Moselle Valley to Koblenz and on to the right bank of the Rhine (see the map in the Introduction). Parts of the diocese, however, were lost due to the Protestant Reformation, and neighboring France’s wars hit Trier hard in the seventeenth century. The city struggled economically and demographically. Around 1695, fewer than 3,000 people lived inside its walls. A quick recovery ensued in the first half of the eighteenth century, but in the decades after 1750, the number of inhabitants stagnated again, this time around 8,000.<sup>22</sup>

Even within the Electorate of Trier, the episcopal city was ceding ground to its main rival, Koblenz—a trend reflected in the history of the Holy Tunic. Located more centrally within the Holy Roman Empire and less exposed to French military incursions, Koblenz served as the main residence of the archbishop-electors in the eighteenth century. The last archbishop, Clemens Wenceslaus (1768–1802), showered particular attention on Koblenz while treating Trier like a backwater.<sup>23</sup> His predecessors, to be sure, had sponsored several prestigious projects in Trier, not least a magnificent Baroque chapel dedicated to the Holy Tunic and built between 1687 and 1710 within the choir of the cathedral. But the large and highly visible reliquary in the

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medieval period began to narrate a special relationship between their city and Saint Helen, see Lukas Clemens, “Zum Umgang mit der Antike im hochmittelalterlichen Trier,” in *2000 Jahre Trier*, ed. Universität Trier, 3 vols. (Trier: Spee-Verlag, 1985–1996), vol. 2, 167–202, esp. 195–6. For interesting (albeit somewhat declensionist) reflections on the importance of Helen’s trip to the Holy Land within the history of sanctity and place in Christianity, see Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 79–88.

<sup>22</sup> For a short but insightful and recent overview of the history of Trier, see Gabriele B. Clemens and Lukas Clemens, *Geschichte der Stadt Trier* (Munich: Beck, 2007). Population figures are taken from Thomas Kohl, *Familie und soziale Schichtung: Zur historischen Demographie Triers, 1730–1860* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985), 212–13.

<sup>23</sup> On Trier’s loss of ground relative to Koblenz, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, see Klaus Wolf, “Absolutistische Repräsentation und zweckrationale Reformpolitik: Clemens Wenceslaus von Sachsen als Kurfürst und Erzbischof von Trier in den Jahren 1768 bis 1794,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 135 (2015): 307–63, esp. 334–9 and 361–3; Johannes Dillinger, “Städte und ihr Umland in der Frühen Neuzeit,” in *Städte an Mosel und Rhein von der Antike bis nach 1945*, ed. Franz J. Felten (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013), 65–80, esp. 70–1. Trier also hardly benefited from its proximity to France, with cultural exchange across the border down to a trickle in the later *ancien régime*: cf. Étienne François, “Villes et frontière: Les relations entre les villes allemandes et les villes françaises de l’axe mosellan au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Annales de l’Est*, no. 4 (1988): 321–32.

front of that chapel remained empty.<sup>24</sup> Except in the years 1759–65, the electors now kept the relic at their fortress Ehrenbreitstein, on the right bank of the Rhine opposite Koblenz. Moreover, Archbishop-Elector Johann Philipp von Walderdorff (1756–68) organized the eighteenth century’s only public showing of the relic right after its return to Ehrenbreitstein, on May 4, 1765. Many thousands of pilgrims rushed to catch a glimpse of the Tunic and have their personal objects of devotion—rosaries, pious images, and so on—touch the powerful relic.<sup>25</sup> This event showed just how tenuous Trier’s status as a pilgrimage capital had become.<sup>26</sup>

This crisis of *Sancta Treveris* reached the next level due to more general restrictive measures enacted by Clemens Wenceslaus, who “supported Reform Catholicism” in the mid-1780s.<sup>27</sup> On November 29, 1784, he published a decree banning longer processions because they lured people away from “true devotion” and made them “wander around in idle swarms, without any edification or any expectable spiritual benefit.”<sup>28</sup> This change primarily concerned the more

<sup>24</sup> Franz J. Ronig, “Die Ausstattung,” in *Der Trierer Dom*, ed. Gustav Bereths and Franz J. Ronig (Neuss: Verlag Gesellschaft für Buchdruckerei, 1980), 225–362, esp. 285–96. The reliquary was made in 1729–32.

<sup>25</sup> Jens Fachbach and Mario Simmer, “Eine höfische Wallfahrt: Die Ausstellung des Heiligen Rockes auf dem Ehrenbreitstein 1765,” *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 65 (2013): 235–80; Wolfgang Seibrich, “Die Heilig-Rock-Ausstellungen und Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrten von 1512 bis 1765,” in *Der heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi anlässlich der Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt 1996*, ed. Erich Aretz et al. (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995), 175–217, esp. 213–15.

<sup>26</sup> In 1783, moreover, Koblenz’s ecclesiastical authorities persuaded the local St. Matthias confraternity to give up its yearly pilgrimage to Trier: BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 21a, pp. 25–6, *Temporale ecclesiasticum* entry of May 23, 1783; cf. also LHA Ko, Best. 1C, Nr. 11248, p. 23. This decision was perhaps not simply imposed from above: Bernard, *Die Wallfahrten*, 109 argues that members of this confraternity had been losing interest in the Trier/St. Matthias pilgrimage for decades.

<sup>27</sup> Lees, “Clemens Wenceslaus,” quote on 138: Clemens Wenceslaus “unterstützte den Reformkatholizismus” even though he persistently flirted with Counter-Enlightenment as well.

<sup>28</sup> “Ordinatio processionis concernens, in specie quod processiones omnes ultra horam interdictae sint. 29. Novembris 1784,” in *Statuta synodalia, ordinationes et mandata Archidieocesis Trevirensis*, ed. Johann Jacob Blattau, 8 vols. (Trier: Lintz, 1844–1849), vol. 5, 396–97, here 396: Clemens Wenceslaus deplored that “mehrere Unterthanen aus übertriebenem Eifer durch dergleichen entfernte Wallfahrten nebst nachtheiligem Zehrungs-Aufwand ihre Haushaltungen acht und mehrere Tage ohne Vorstand verließen, und statt der wahren Andacht und des heiligen Gottesdienstes in der Pfarrkirche ohne Erbauung und jemals zu erwartenden Seelen-Nutzen müßig und schwärmend herumwanderten.”



popular holy places, the ones that, like Trier, had attracted processions from far and wide.<sup>29</sup> Nobody could stop lay Catholics from going on less official, individual or small-group trips to Trier around the traditional feast days, and indeed, many pilgrims still came to the city—but probably not nearly as many as before the decree of 1784.<sup>30</sup> The burghers of Trier even claimed in a petition to the elector that his move to restrict pilgrimage processions was reducing the income of the city’s merchants and artisans by a whopping total of 30,000 *Reichstaler* each year.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, Trier by no means presents an isolated case within a broader regional panorama. Across the Rhineland and beyond, champions of Catholic Enlightenment enacted reforms of religious life that jeopardized the devotional prestige and the local economies of pilgrimage centers in the 1770s and 1780s. Cities with important shrines—including Trier, Luxembourg, Aachen, and Cologne—bore the brunt of these Enlightenment policies. So, too, did many smaller towns that had built their renown largely on their pilgrimage festivals, for example Echternach in eastern Luxembourg, Prüm in the Eifel, Sankt Wendel in the Saar region (see Chapter 2), and Walldürn, the most famous pilgrimage place of the Diocese of Mainz.<sup>32</sup> In short,

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<sup>29</sup> Andreas Heinz, “Prozessionen und Wallfahrten im Gegenwind der Aufklärung,” *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 58 (2018): 155–71. Cf. also, for an older contribution using different sources, Andreas Schüller, “Das Prozessionswesen im Trierischen vor der großen französischen Revolution,” *Pastor bonus* 50, no. 5 (1939): 137–45.

<sup>30</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 63, Nr. 16, anonymous document dated August 9, 1789: based on a recent episcopal visitation of St. Matthias’ Abbey, the author reported among other things that the abbey continued to a remarkably well-frequented pilgrimage place all year long (pp. 3–4). For a case study of resistance to the decree of 1784, see Pauly, “Die Pfarrgemeinde Senheim.” But see also BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 24, pp. 72–3, General Vicariate protocol entry of January 11, 1788: one priest in the countryside talked in rather laconic terms about “the processions that were once customarily led to Trier” (“processionibus olim in Treviros duci solitis”).

<sup>31</sup> Günter Birtsch, “Soziale Unruhen, ständische Gesellschaft und politische Repräsentation: Trier in der Zeit der Französischen Revolution, 1781–1794,” in *Mentalitäten und Lebensverhältnisse: Beispiele aus der Sozialgeschichte der Neuzeit. Rudolf Vierhaus zum 60. Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 143–59, esp. 153 emphasizes the scale of this sum. For another analysis of the socioeconomic problems and unrest that Trier faced in the 1780s, see Alois Schumacher, “Mouvements insurrectionnels à Trèves à l’époque de la Révolution française 1781 à 1792,” in *Échanges internationaux idéologiques et culturels dans la mouvance de la Révolution française*, ed. Michel Baridon (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1987), 67–89.

<sup>32</sup> On Luxembourg City: Trausch, “L’Octave,” and on Aachen: Dieter P. J. Wynands, *Geschichte der Wallfahrten im Bistum Aachen* (Aachen: Einhard-Verlag, 1986), esp. 83. On Cologne: Hegel, “Prozessionen und Wallfahrten,” esp.

the Catholic Enlightenment created at least some precedent to the challenge that Revolution and French expansion were about to bring to the inhabitants of these towns and cities and the pilgrims who visited them.<sup>33</sup>

As the ecclesiastical hierarchy under Clemens Wenceslaus was disavowing allegedly vulgar or backward collective expressions of piety, the municipality of Trier and many of its lay burghers stepped up. I already mentioned the petition to the elector that included among Trier's grievances the economic losses incurred each pilgrimage season due to the decree of 1784. The assembled burghers (*Bürgerschaft*) also pressured Clemens Wenceslaus via a petition addressed to the cathedral chapter. Among other things, they asked him specifically to reinstate the yearly solemn procession that led from the cathedral to St. Matthias' Abbey on the feast of the Nativity of Mary (September 8) and that had fallen victim to the 1784 decree as well.<sup>34</sup> On September 5, 1789—just seven days after the cathedral chapter had received this petition—the government acquiesced. Moreover, in January 1790, Clemens Wenceslaus instructed the General Vicariate to allow all pilgrimage processions to the cathedral as well as to St. Matthias to take place again.<sup>35</sup>

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313–18. On Echternach: a fundamental contribution from Georges Vuillermoz, *Die Schicksale der Echternacher Springprozession im Ausgang des 18. und zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Luxembourg: Sankt-Paulus-Druckerei, 1951); Alex Langini, *La procession dansante d'Echternach: Son origine et son histoire* (Echternach: Société d'embellissement et de tourisme, 1977), esp. 61–7; Andreas Heinz, "Westeifeler Pflichtprozessionen nach Echternach im letzten Jahrhundert ihres Bestehens," *Echternacher Studien* 2 (1982): 41–69; Andreas Heinz, "Das Ende der Pflichtprozessionen der Pfarrei Waxweiler nach Echternach und Prüm," *Der Prümer Landbote* 31, no. 3 (2012): 18–29; Andreas Heinz, "Die Pflichtprozessionen nach Echternach, Metterich und Prüm sowie sonstige Prozessionen der Pfarrei Bickendorf (1764)," *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 58 (2018): 173–93; Georges Kiesel, "Die Springprozession des hl. Willibrord: Geschichte und Deutung eines Kultphänomens," in *Harmonie municipale Echternach 1872–1972: Témoignages et présences* (Luxembourg: Saint-Paul, 1972), 135–57, esp. 153–5. On Prüm: Heinz, "Die Prümer Springprozession," and finally, on Walldürn: Brückner, *Die Verehrung*, esp. 122–5, 154–65.

<sup>33</sup> A point already made by Hansgeorg Molitor, "La vie religieuse populaire en Rhénanie française, 1794–1815," in *Pratiques religieuses, mentalités et spiritualités dans l'Europe révolutionnaire (1770–1820): Actes du colloque, Chantilly 27–29 novembre 1986*, ed. Bernard Plongeron, Paule Lerou, and Raymond Darteville (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 59–68, esp. 66.

<sup>34</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 1D, Nr. 4102, petition of Trier *Bürgerschaft*, August 29, 1789: this petition ends on the wish that "bei nächsten Mariae Geburtsfest die Prozession wie für Alters wiederum gehalten werden möge." Cf. BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 22, pp. 548–9, General Vicariate protocol entry of September 6, 1785.

<sup>35</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 71,165, Nr. 25: circular letter from the General Vicariate to all parish priests of the Upper Electorate, January 18, 1790.

Laypeople's initiatives in defense of pilgrimage processions and related festivals clearly paid off in this case.

This lay push to reinvigorate Trier as a spiritual center also involved the Holy Tunic. In order to address the burghers' grievances of August 1789,<sup>36</sup> the city magistrate confronted Clemens Wenceslaus with their wish to obtain the relic for a public showing at Trier Cathedral. In May 1790, Clemens Wenceslaus announced to the magistrate his "decision that the said holy relic shall be transferred to Trier for the desired purpose on the next appropriate occasion."<sup>37</sup> Timing mattered here and the burghers did not hesitate to refer to "the current, already very troubled times" in their petition of late August, when revolution was underway in France, the Prince-Bishopric of Liège, and the Austrian Netherlands.<sup>38</sup> In other words, the elector did not simply develop an abstract fear of revolutionary 'contagion' in 1789/90 or make a strategic policy move;<sup>39</sup> rather, he was reconsidering his relationship to the city of Trier under very specific pressure from its burghers. The plan to show the Tunic never came to fruition during the next few years, and in 1792, the cathedral chapter had to ship all the most precious pieces of its treasure down the Moselle to Koblenz, due to the danger that French revolutionary armies might

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<sup>36</sup> For great detail on these grievances and surrounding social unrest, see Wolf-Ulrich Rapp, *Stadtverfassung und Territorialverfassung: Koblenz und Trier unter Kurfürst Clemens Wenzeslaus (1768–1794)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), 197–217, 261–72.

<sup>37</sup> StA Tr, Ta 42/46, letter from Clemens Wenceslaus to the magistrate of Trier, Koblenz, May 11, 1790: responding to the burghers' grievances and the suggestions made by magistrate and provincial estates with the "Entschließung, daß die besagte heilige Reliquie zur ersten bequemen Zeit nacher Trier zu dem angetragenen Endt überbracht werden solle, und desfalls die nöthige Einleitungen wirkklich getroffen warden." Cf. also LHA Ko, Best. 1C, Nr. 11362, p. 11, minutes of the *Kurtrier* Secret Council meeting of April 18, 1790, for Clemens Wenceslaus's decision in favor of showing the relic to the public in Trier.

<sup>38</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 1D, Nr. 4102, petition of Trier *Bürgerschaft*, August 29, 1789: "bei dermaligen ohnehin sehr verworrenen Zeiten."

<sup>39</sup> Trier began to receive émigrés in late 1789, and Koblenz became an epicenter of counter-revolution in 1791. Cf. Jort Blazejewski and Stephan Laux, "Trier, Luxemburg und die Émigrés der Französischen Revolution seit 1789: Tendenzen und Perspektiven der Forschung," *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 54 (2014): 211–42, esp. 229–30; Christian Henke, *Coblentz, Symbol für die Gegenrevolution: Die französische Emigration nach Koblenz und Kurtrier 1789–1792 und die politische Diskussion des revolutionären Frankreichs 1791–1794* (Stuttgart: J. Thorbecke, 2000).

conquer Trier at any moment.<sup>40</sup> Yet the magistrate's and the burghers' demands—and the elector's willingness to fulfill them—demonstrate how forcefully lay civic leaders intervened to foster pilgrimage and thus help reverse Trier's recent losses in economic and spiritual clout.

Further into the 1790s, lay Catholics led this renewed push in favor of pilgrimage, while ecclesiastical and civil authorities remained hesitant or even grew increasingly hostile. The General Vicariate had attached some strings to the reinstatement of communal pilgrimages to Trier in January 1790: they must start at the parish church and their participants must maintain processional solemnity, order, and discipline the entire time, even on their way back from Trier. When the parishioners of Bischofsdhron (about 25 miles east-northeast of Trier) asked in June 1791 for a partial relaxation on this point to make the pilgrimage “more convenient” especially for those living in surrounding villages (*Filialisten*), the General Vicariate rejected their petition.<sup>41</sup> Five of the seven villages that belonged to this parish were situated west or northwest of Bischofsdhron.<sup>42</sup> For their inhabitants, it made little sense to go east to reach Bischofsdhron and then head west again in the direction of Trier—not a giant detour but quite possibly a symbolic humiliation for the ‘filialists’ vis-à-vis the ‘main’ parish church. Instead, the parish community unsuccessfully proposed to the General Vicariate an assembly point to the west (in Berglicht), outside the boundaries of the parish. Depending on local geography, other parishes must have had the same problem.<sup>43</sup> At any rate, the interaction between the Catholics of Bischofsdhron and the General Vicariate signals both a local desire to organize the space of

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<sup>40</sup> Lager, “Mitteilungen,” here 9:161.

<sup>41</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 26, p. 416, General Vicariate protocol entry no. 654, June 6, 1791: “Zu Bischofsdhron Pfarrgenossen wegen ihrem jährlichen Bittgang nach Trier[.] Dieselbe bitten um Urlaub, sich zur Procession in Berg versammeln – fort diese zu s. Paulin zum Ruckzug schliesen zu mögen, weils so den Filialisten respce und überhaupt gemächlicher. R. Kann dem gegen die höchste Verordnung gehenden Begehren nicht willfahren werden.”

<sup>42</sup> Cf. the list of filial churches in Ferdinand Pauly, *Siedlung und Pfarrorganisation im Alten Erzbistum Trier: Zusammenfassung und Ergebnisse* (Koblenz: Landesarchivverwaltung Rheinland-Pfalz, 1976), 30–31.

<sup>43</sup> See Chapter 5 for more detail on the frequent tensions between parish and filial churches.

pilgrimage autonomously and the restrictions that authorities continued to place on any such autonomy.<sup>44</sup>

After the French conquest of Trier and its region, the epizootic of 1796 (see Chapter 2) stimulated religious fervor among a population already affected by the hardships of war and occupation. Again, lay Catholics took the initiative in responding to the crisis. St. Matthias' Abbey saw an unusual autumnal influx of pilgrims, most notably a group of over a hundred from Adenau, almost sixty miles north of Trier.<sup>45</sup> A St. Matthias confraternity had existed in Adenau since 1629,<sup>46</sup> but in the crisis of 1796, the inhabitants of this minuscule town gave additional proof of their devotion by offering the abbey a votive plaque (see the image below). The artful yet sober appearance of the plaque may indicate the tough times through which the people of Adenau were living, as well as a strong penitential aspect in their pilgrimage.<sup>47</sup> When the burghers of Trier persuaded the General Vicariate—also in September 1796—to allow a series of weekly parish processions from the city to St. Matthias, they, too, framed these ceremonies as “journeys of penitence and prayer to avert the current pestilence.”<sup>48</sup> In short, many Catholics clearly placed their hopes on holy places including St. Matthias' Abbey at the height of the epizootic.

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<sup>44</sup> This point is only reinforced by the observation that the Koblenz counterpart (responsible for the Lower Electorate) of the Trier General Vicariate (which controlled the Upper Electorate in terms of day-to-day diocesan administration) was even more restrictive and skeptical when it came to pilgrimage toward the end of the Old Regime. Cf. Heinz, “Prozessionen und Wallfahrten,” 157–8.

<sup>45</sup> Hansen, *Quellen*, 3:830.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Bernard, *Die Wallfahrten*, 243.

<sup>47</sup> On relative sobriety at the peak of the crisis, cf. by way of contrast the more visually exuberant ex-votos preserved in Alsace and commissioned in 1797 to thank Mary and the saints as the epizootic was beginning to ebb away: Herberich-Marx and Raphaël, “L'imagerie religieuse,” here 342–3.

<sup>48</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 27, p. 335, General Vicariate protocol entry no. 598, September 7, 1796: “Nachdem der Bürgerschaft ihre Bitte, die feyerliche Prozession am Mariengeburtstefte auf S. Matheis zu führen, von Hrn Officialen vor dieß Jahr war abgeschlagen worden, bat sie daß zu Abwendung der gegenwärtigen Plagen eine Buß- und Bittfahrt, wochentlich am Montage, oder einem anderen zu beliebenden Tage unter Abwechselung der Pfarreyen der Stadt, und Begleitung eines Pfarrgeistlichen, nach S. Matheis angeordnet werden möchte. R. per circulum: gestattet, und seyn die pastores dazu einzuladen.”

Image 1: Votive Plaque Gifted to St. Matthias by the Parish Community of Adenau<sup>49</sup>



Events of 1797 to 1800 intensified the battle over Trier as a holy place. A small but extremely vocal and active group of burghers fought this battle openly, defying the French occupying military as well as administrative authorities. That group was known as the Burghers' Marian Sodality (*Marianische Bürgersodalität*), a confraternity of devout lay men founded by Jesuits and brought under the direction of the Augustinian friars after the papacy had suppressed the Society of Jesus in 1773. This congregation boasted a large membership of nearly 300 in the

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<sup>49</sup> Photograph taken by the author on July 22, 2018.

later eighteenth century but already found itself on the defensive before the 1790s, as many of Trier's upper-class men switched to a rival sodality, the *Herrensodalität*.<sup>50</sup> By late 1797, the leaders of the Marian sodality felt much more radically threatened as the French government installed a more stable, civilian administration in the occupied Rhineland. This shift and the measures that followed in 1798 signaled that the French were determined to introduce the revolutionary Republic's legislation and value system to this area.<sup>51</sup> While the civilian takeover brought some relief to exploited populations, the members of the Marian sodality watched in horror as they could no longer correlate their sense of Trier as an officially, constitutively Catholic city to political and spatial realities.<sup>52</sup> They deplored that clergymen took oaths of fidelity to the occupation government, processions and other forms of public worship were outlawed in May 1798, and the new magistrates designated the former Jesuits' church as the site for quasi-cultic celebrations of the republican *décadi*.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Bernhard Schneider, *Bruderschaften im Trierer Land: Ihre Geschichte und ihr Gottesdienst zwischen Tridentinum und Säkularisation* (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1989), 218–19 and 248.

<sup>51</sup> See, e.g., Müller, "1798," and Roger Dufrasse, "L'installation de l'institution départementale sur la rive gauche du Rhin (4 novembre 1797–23 septembre 1802)," in *L'Allemagne à l'époque napoléonienne: Questions d'histoire politique, économique et sociale*, Pariser historische Studien 34 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1992), 77–103, esp. 89–95.

<sup>52</sup> The relief and sense of legitimacy brought by the civilian administration is emphasized by Hansgeorg Molitor, *Vom Untertan zum Administré: Studien zur französischen Herrschaft und zum Verhalten der Bevölkerung im Rhein-Mosel-Raum von den Revolutionskriegen bis zum Ende der napoleonischen Zeit* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1980), 211, but minimized by Blanning, *The French Revolution in Germany*, esp. 168–206. Blanning's work has been harshly criticized for its premise that "the great majority of the Rhinelanders" stubbornly resented and resisted French occupation (*ibid.*, v): for such criticism, see, e.g., Gabriele B. Clemens, "Verwaltungseliten und die napoleonische Amalgampolitik in den linksrheinischen Départements," in *Napoléon Bonaparte oder der entfesselte Prometheus: Napoléon Bonaparte ou Prométhée déchaîné*, ed. Guido Braun (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015), 67–92, here 70. Scholars agree, however, that Catholics in the left-bank Rhineland by and large perceived French church policies and their implementation as very hostile, and that a committed *minority* combatted these policies as downright unacceptable: cf. Alois Schumacher, *Idéologie révolutionnaire et pratique politique de la France en Rhénanie de 1794 à 1801: L'exemple du pays de Trèves* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1989), 107–26; Müller, "1798," 224–34; Wolfgang Hans Stein, "Polizeiüberwachung und politische Opposition im Saar-Departement unter dem Direktorium 1798–1800," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 64 (2000): 208–65, esp. 226–33.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the grievances in a long letter they addressed in 1801 to Clemens Wenceslaus, whom they still regarded as their legitimate ruler even then (after the Peace of Lunéville): BA Tr, Abt. R 1100,58, Nr. 3, esp. 2–6, 11. Cf. K. T. F. Bormann and A. v. Daniels, eds., *Handbuch der für die Königlich Preußischen Rheinprovinzen verkündigten Gesetze, Verordnungen und Regierungsbeschlüsse aus der Zeit der Fremdherrschaft*, 8 vols. (Cologne: Hauser, 1833–1843), 3:193, on the publication, on 8 prairial an VI (May 27, 1798), of parts of a French law on *police du*

In the response of the outraged devout, at least one clergyman played a significant part. That priest, an Augustine friar named Ernst Kronenberger, had been preaching along Counter-Enlightenment lines since around 1790, most notably when the Marian sodality he directed gathered at the Jesuits' church on Sundays. In the later 1790s, his published sermons exalted "Trier! holy Trier!" as a "German Jerusalem," proud and splendid but now castigated by war and occupation, and more durably and radically threatened by freemasons as well as other forces of false Enlightenment.<sup>54</sup> In 1797 and 1798, he also engaged in an escalating polemic against local champions of the Catholic Enlightenment who were questioning pilgrimage practices, the belief in miracles, and the authenticity of Trier's foremost relics—including the Holy Tunic and the Holy Nail.<sup>55</sup>

Yet Kronenberger's public presence should not obscure the fact that lay members of the Marian sodality—far from serving as mere marionets—pulled most of the strings themselves. After April 1798, when he fled eastwards to escape arrest and deportation by the French police, the *lay* leaders of the Marian sodality only intensified their struggle for the holy city.<sup>56</sup> Above all,

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*culte extérieur* (of 7 vendémiaire an IV; see Chapters 2 and 3 for more detail) that banned processions and other outdoors ceremonies of worship.

<sup>54</sup> Ernest Kronenberger, *Fastenreden: Ein Betrachtungsbuch für alle Stände*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Deutz: Haas und Sohn, 1800 [first ed. 1797/8]), esp. 2:10 ("die Schätze von Trier, diesem deutschen Jerusalem"), 2:20 ("Trier! heiliges Trier!") and cf. for similar exclamations 2:41 and 2:89; 2:28 on masonic lodges; and 2:34 on recent warfare.

<sup>55</sup> Johann Jakob Stammel, *Trierische Kronik für den Bürger und Landmann* (Trier: Schröll, 1797), esp. 26–7, 71–2, 87, 117; Ernest Kronenberger, *Was ist die stamml'sche Trierische Kronik und Wer sind ihre Vertheidiger?* (Luxembourg: Perl & Cercelet, 1797), esp. 43–6; Johann Kaspar Müller, *Auch das Volk soll und darf die Wahrheit wissen* (Luxembourg: Perl & Cercelet, 1797), esp. 41–6, 76–7, 82–4, 120; Ernest Kronenberger, *Polemische Kanzelreden über die Verirrungen der Vernunft und schreckliche Lage unserer Zeiten in alphabetischer Ordnung: Ein Handbuch für Diktairgelehrte* (Köln: Haas, 1798), esp. 483–507 ("Rede über die Wunderwerke"). This polemic is analyzed in great detail by Kallabis, *Katholizismus im Umbruch*, 419–527. On Kronenberger, see also Guido Groß, "Der Trierer Prediger P. Ernst Kronenberger OESA: Ein Beitrag zum Kirchenkampf im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 11 (1959): 207–25.

<sup>56</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 241,015, Nr. 565, report from departmental administration of the Sarre to central government commissioner Rudler for the third *décade* of germinal an VI (early April 1798), here p. 34: "le moine Ernest Cronenberger à passé le 2 avril (v.s.) [i.e., vieux style] à Willmar au delà du Rhin." On the laymen's religious protests from 1798 to 1800, cf. Kallabis, *Katholizismus im Umbruch*, 327–31 and 361–2; Schneider, *Bruderschaften*, 179–81; Blanning, *The French Revolution in Germany*, 233–4.



they carried out frequent, spectacular, and illegal processions through the streets of Trier and south to St. Matthias.<sup>57</sup> In August 1799, the French Directory itself intervened with a decree that placed Karl Kaspar Kirn, the most prominent of these radical lay Catholics, under municipal surveillance.<sup>58</sup> Even in 1797, when Kronenberger had still been in Trier, Kirn had already drawn attention as someone who actively and successfully placed demands for frequent public processions on the city's clergy, such that the General Vicariate admonished him not to encroach on clerical prerogatives.<sup>59</sup> In short, some laymen such as Kirn poured more energy into defending their ideal of a truly Catholic Trier than did any ecclesiastical authority.

Not content to try and embody this ideal through processions *within* Trier, the group around Kirn also tied pilgrimage *to and from* the city into their struggle. As members of a Marian sodality, they consistently preferred shrines known for their miraculous statues of the Virgin.<sup>60</sup> In

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<sup>57</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 276, Nr. 594, pp. 15–16, petition of sodality members including Karl Kaspar Kirn, Johann Jakob Vacano, and Peter Bartholomae, addressed to the central departmental administration, undated (early April 1798); StA Tr, Fz 66, ch. 10 (“police spéciale”), letter from Kirn to municipal administration of Trier, undated. Although the signatories of those petitions formed a small group, they clearly fed off earlier attempts by larger parts of Trier’s *Bürgerschaft* to obtain permission for processions through the city streets. Cf. my remarks on 1796 above, and on late 1797: StA Tr, Fz 679, military commander of Trier to the civil magistrate, 29 brumaire an VI (November 19, 1796; order to ban processions), and Fz 680, petition by 15 burghers to the military commander, also speaking on behalf of the entire *Bürgerschaft* (but in a much less defiant tone than the sodality leaders would in 1798) and causing the commander to quickly re-allow at least one procession on 4 frimaire an VI (November 24, 1797). For a sharp condemnation of the frequent processions organized by Trier’s Marian sodality throughout the years of military occupation, see Johann Jakob Haan’s *Journal für das Saardepartement*, no. 4, 13 floréal an VI (May 2, 1798), pp. 49–58. On Haan as a Catholic theologian with radical Enlightenment leanings and a neo-Jacobin, see Wolfgang Hans Stein, “Verwaltungspartizipation, Denunziation und Öffentlichkeit im Saar-Departement unter dem Direktorium 1798–1800: Teil 1: Departementalverwaltung; Teil 2: Die Kantonsmunicipalitäten; Teil 3: Besetzungsliste und Personalkatalog der Kantonsverwaltungen,” *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte* 26/27/28 (2000/2001/2002): 179–214/109–180/315–393, here 26:183–98.

<sup>58</sup> StA Tr, Fz 68, ch. 20 (“passeports et surveillance”), Directorial *arrêté*, 8 fructidor an VII (August 25, 1799). This surveillance was complicated and often unsuccessful, producing a 132-page police dossier: LHA Ko, Best. 276, Nr. 595.

<sup>59</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 27, p. 904, General Vicariate protocol entry no. 637, July 24, 1797 (“Stadtbrunnenmeisters Kirn enthusiastische Einmischung in kirchendienstliche Handlungen”).

<sup>60</sup> Before the Revolution, they had made an annual procession to Igel in the Duchy of Luxembourg, a village whose church featured one of the oldest copies of Our Lady of Luxembourg. This trip to Igel had fallen victim to the decree of November 1784, but as soon as restrictions loosened in 1790, the sodality petitioned successfully for the reinstatement of their pilgrimage procession. Cf. BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 25, p. 798, General Vicariate protocol entry no. 1260, September 6, 1790.

the conflict-ridden years of 1798 to 1800, Kirn organized visits to the region's most important Marian shrines, Beurig and (Eberhards-)Klausen.<sup>61</sup> The conflict with French authorities escalated in 1800 on the weekend of Pentecost, when the sodality timed a trip to Klausen to coincide with the usual influx of pilgrims to Trier. In the northern suburbs, Kirn and up to one hundred fellow confraternity members returning from Klausen placed themselves in the lead of a procession joined by hundreds of these other pilgrims. They marched to the city's central market square, near the cathedral, and Kirn led a public prayer session with clear political overtones. He especially invoked the Sacred Heart of Jesus, that master symbol of counter-revolution in the 1790s. Eventually, the gendarmerie used physical force to stop the spectacle and disperse the crowd, arresting Kirn and eight other pilgrims, including two women. Just two days prior, leading members of the sodality had demanded the release of several other recently arrested pilgrims, unjustly persecuted "because they fulfilled their first and even their most sacred duty to their creator—that is to say, because they publicly confessed and praised God the Lord."<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 241,019, Nr. 960, pp. 51–2, departmental administration to Trier municipality, 15 frimaire an VIII (December 6, 1799), on Kirn's weekly appearances at Beurig (on Fridays). Beurig as a Marian shrine is not well researched; the most helpful work is Patricius Schlager, *Marienlob: Wallfahrtsbüchlein enthaltend die Geschichte des Gnadenbildes in Beurig, nebst Gebeten und Liedern für die Wallfahrer* (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1907). On Beurig as a site of multiple spectacular healings in 1783, cf. Nils Freytag, "Exorzismus und Wunderglaube im späten 18. Jahrhundert: Reaktionen auf die Teufelsbanner und Wunderheiler Johann Joseph Gaßner und Adam Knoerzer," in *Regionales Prisma der Vergangenheit: Perspektiven der modernen Regionalgeschichte (19./20. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Edwin Dillmann (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 1996), 89–105, esp. 92–4. – On Eberhardklausen, see below.

<sup>62</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 241,019, Nr. 960, pp. 9–12, copy of petition signed by five burghers including Vacano and Bartholomae, addressed to the local commanding general, May 30, 1800: pilgrims arrested "puisqu'ils ont remplis les premiers devoirs et même les plus sacrés envers leur créateur, c'est-à-dire parce qu'ils ont publiquement confessé et loué Dieu le Seigneur et le Maître Suprême de tous les êtres par des prières et cantiques." On the procession and prayer session led by Kirn on the Sunday of Pentecost (June 1, 1800/12 prairial an VIII), see *ibid.*, pp. 5–7, General Laroche to central commissioner Shée, Koblenz, 13 prairial an VIII (June 2, 1800), esp. p. 5: "Il se rend dans cette ville une affluence prodigieuse de pèlerins, et les fanatiques enhardis par leur présence se livrent à toutes sortes d'excès." Also *ibid.*, pp. 21–23, departmental administration to Shée, Trier, 13 prairial an VIII (June 2, 1800), noting among other things that this Pentecost procession had not been led or accompanied by any priests; *ibid.*, pp. 27–30, *accusateur public près le tribunal criminel de la Sarre* to Shée, Trier, 13 prairial an VIII (June 2, 1800), claiming that the pilgrimage to Klausen had been made by "une centaine d'extravagants"; StA Tr, Fz 66, ch. 10, Shée's response to the *accusateur public*, Mainz, 25 prairial an VIII (June 14, 1800; preparing the trial of the arrested pilgrims); LHA Ko, Best. 276, Nr. 595, esp. pp. 65–7, Régnier (military commander of Saar Department) to Shée, Trier, 13 prairial an VIII (June 2, 1800; detailed report on the incident), and pp. 125–6, gendarmerie report of 12

By insisting on the *public* expression of faith, the sodality leaders touched on a crucial point. With the benefit of hindsight, we can say that their vision of Trier as “a city where all inhabitants are Catholic Christians” was not only inaccurate—a Jewish community also called Trier home—but also futile.<sup>63</sup> Trier was never to regain its place within a monoconfessional, ecclesiastical principality. Moreover, most inhabitants and pilgrims did not echo the stridency of the sodality members. Earlier that same week before Pentecost in 1800, hundreds of pilgrims from the region of Cologne traversed Trier on their way to St. Matthias’ Abbey. Far from offering a provocative public spectacle, they walked the streets quietly, holding candles but not reciting any prayers, escorted by gendarmerie after having showed their passports at the city gates.<sup>64</sup> Yet the quick escalation of the following days demonstrates just how critical pilgrimage had become to the religiously grounded sense of place that Trier provided as a holy city to many Catholics. Clemens Wenceslaus had confronted that development in 1789/90; the French, too,

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messidor an VIII (July 1, 1800; on the number and gender of arrested pilgrims); LHA Ko, Best. 241,019, Nr. 958, pp. 1–3, General Laroche to Shée, Koblenz, 15 prairial an VIII (June 4, 1800); LHA Ko, Best. 700,062, Nr. 28, diary of Trier citizen Ludwig Müller, year 1800, ff. 21v–22r (prayers to the Sacred Heart; Müller also gives a much lower estimate of the number of people who had accompanied Kirn to Klausen—only “about 28 or 29”). On how devotion to the Sacred Heart flourished around 1800 in the groups that (in Trier and a few other places) radically rejected French rule for religious reasons, see also BA Tr, Abt. R 1100,58, Nr. 2, esp. an anonymous letter written to these groups, probably by a priest in January 1806. On the Sacred Heart and the Counter-Revolution: Jonas, *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart*, esp. 83–90. – See further StA Tr, Fz 86, for a report by the municipal commissioner Neveux, Trier, 11 prairial an VIII (31 May, 1800), on a previous “rassemblement de fanatiques” in the early morning of the Saturday before Pentecost. Moreover, 1800 was not the first year in which the French administration and gendarmerie intervened against the masses of pilgrims that continued to visit Trier: on actions proposed and taken in 1798, see StA Tr, Fz 678, departmental commissioner Boucqueau to municipal commissioner Lequereux, Trier, 6 prairial an VI (May 25, 1798); LHA Ko, Best. 241,015, Nr. 565, pp. 39–42, *arrêté* of Saar departmental administration, 23 germinal an VI (April 12, 1798); LHA Ko, Best. 700,062, Nr. 28, Müller’s diary, year 1798, f. 26r. – On Klausen as an exceptionally popular pilgrimage place since the late Middle Ages, including throughout the revolutionary era, see Peter Dohms, “Die Wallfahrt nach Klausen in Geschichte und Gegenwart,” in *500 Jahre Wallfahrtskirche Klausen*, ed. Martin Persch, Michael Embach, and Peter Dohms (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2003), 9–68, esp. 18–19, 49.

<sup>63</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 241,019, Nr. 960, pp. 9–12, petition of May 30, 1800, here 10 (“une ville où les habitants sont tous chrétiens catholiques”) and 11 (the city “est autorisée d’exiger la protection et la sûreté, non seulement de ses biens temporels, mais aussi la protection et sûreté de ses droits, mœurs, coutumes, observances et usages catholiques”).

<sup>64</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 700,062, Nr. 28, Müller’s diary, year 1800, f. 20v: “fanden sich doch am Montag, Dienstag und Mittwoch in der Pfingstwochen einige hundert kölnische Pilger hier ein, so ihre Kerzen auf S. Matheis getragen, doch still ohne Gebeth, sie hatten all ihre Pässe bey sich weil sie sonst nicht durchkommen wären; die ankommende wurden immer von den Gensdarmen hineingeführt.”

confronted and galvanized it ten years later. The more the upheavals of Enlightenment and Revolution challenged that sense of place, the more saliently lay Catholics would pursue—whether in somber silence or loud and defiant prayer—the pilgrim’s quest for the holy-in-place.

### Placing the Church of Trier in Napoleonic France (1801–1810)

While ordinary pilgrims could and did embody the assertion that Trier was still a holy city, they could not bring back the most prestigious of all *trierisch* relics, the Holy Tunic. Only governing elites could pull the necessary legal and diplomatic strings to retrieve this cloth with which “to cover the nudity and misery of my church,” as Charles Mannay, Bishop of Trier in 1802–16, put it in early 1810.<sup>65</sup> Hence, before turning to the pilgrims of September 1810 in the final third of the chapter, I will explore in this second section how high politics determined the return of the relic to Trier, how Mannay planned the pilgrimage, and how the rebordering of revolutionary Europe shaped these plans. On the one hand, the “nudity and misery” deplored by Mannay stemmed in part from the Napoleonic push to enshrine French territorial order in the Rhineland and consequently to bring new religious policies to bear on the region. On the other hand, in sorting out the ramifications of rebordering, rulers confronted the old ambiguity over where the Holy Tunic should belong—in Trier, in Ehrenbreitstein, or elsewhere on the right bank of the Rhine? Clemens Wenceslaus finally lifted this ambiguity in favor of Trier. Soon afterwards, Mannay began organizing the big pilgrimage. Again, borders played a major role: the bishop used the limits of his diocese as a frame within which he claimed pilgrims’ movement would

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<sup>65</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 265, p. 18, Mannay to French embassy in Munich, undated draft: “Cette precieuse robe me seroit bien necessaire pour couvrir la nudité et la misere de mon Eglise.” I date this draft to early 1810 based on directly related correspondence in ADipl, 16CP/186, f. 102, Bogne (secretary at the embassy in Munich) to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Munich, March 9, 1810.

mostly be confined, so as not to violate Napoleonic norms of public tranquility. Overall, both state and diocesan boundaries were crucial to the contributions from above that paved the way for the event of September 1810.

By 1802, France had solidified its new border along the Rhine. With the Treaty of Lunéville, signed in February 1801, the Holy Roman Emperor officially ceded the entire left-bank Rhineland to France. On June 30, 1802, Napoleon Bonaparte and his fellow consuls decreed the complete legal and administrative assimilation of the four Rhenish departments—including the Saar Department of which Trier had been the capital since 1798—to the rest of the Republic.<sup>66</sup> Thus, Trier definitively lost its position as the capital of an ecclesiastical electorate, becoming instead a thoroughly provincial, average urban center in the vast French Republic, the soon-to-be French Empire.<sup>67</sup> Another government decree of July 2, 1802 quickly compounded the city's loss of spiritual cachet by dissolving most monasteries, convents, congregations, and canon chapters in the left-bank Rhineland and transferring their property to the state.<sup>68</sup> As much as Bonaparte wanted to achieve some form of reconciliation between Catholicism and the French Revolution, he above all wanted to control the Church and turn it into a docile junior partner of the state.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, after this institutional secularization (*Säkularisation*), Catholics in Trier

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<sup>66</sup> This assimilation was decreed to take effect on September 23, 1802. See Dufraisse, "L'installation," in *L'Allemagne à l'époque napoléonienne*, here 101.

<sup>67</sup> On provincialization as a broader theme of the Napoleonic period: Wolfgang Wüst, "Die Provinzialisierung der Region: Identitätsverlust durch Säkularisation und Mediatisierung," in *Mikro - Meso - Makro: Regionenforschung im Aufbruch*, ed. Wolfgang Wüst (Erlangen: Zentralinstitut für Regionalforschung, 2005), 126–70. Cf. also, for the urban-history facets of this theme, Yair Mintzker, *The Defortification of the German City, 1689–1866* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), esp. 124–35 on Ehrenbreitstein; Mack Walker, *German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate, 1648–1871* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998 [first ed. 1971]), esp. 194–205.

<sup>68</sup> Bormann and Daniels, *Handbuch*, 4:391–5.

<sup>69</sup> Cf., e.g., the overview given by Boudon, *Napoléon et les cultes*, esp. 55–70. On how Napoleonic administrators sought to control and instrumentalize the Church specifically in the Rhineland, see Elisabeth Wagner, "Die Kirchenpolitik im napoleonischen Rheinland: Zur Indienstnahme der Geistlichen," in *Napoleonische Herrschaft in Deutschland und Italien - Verwaltung und Justiz*, ed. Christof Dipper, Wolfgang Schieder, and Reiner Schulze (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1996), 201–23.

and its hinterland needed to rebuild many things from scratch, under difficult conditions and in a new empire.

As French administrators quickly implemented *Säkularisation* in the Rhineland, they met little resistance, but the resulting disruption of Church life caused many Catholics to wax nostalgic.<sup>70</sup> In Trier alone, more than a dozen monasteries and convents dissolved by government fiat—including the abbeys of St. Matthias and St. Maximin whose churches had attracted pilgrims since the Middle Ages. A local parish priest and self-described “son of a burgher of Trier,” Franz Tobias Müller, reacted by writing a book-length manuscript on “The fate of the churches in and near Trier since the hostile arrival of the French in 1794.” For his intended audience of “the burghers who have stayed faithful to their God and His Catholic religion,” Müller catalogued what he viewed as an almost endless string of humiliations, a systematic desecration of urban space.<sup>71</sup> In some way, his resentment at these secularizations mirrors the

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<sup>70</sup> The literature on *Säkularisation* in early-nineteenth-century Germany is vast. In recent decades, scholars have avoided reproducing a mere ‘loss and decay’ narrative of the process and have instead sought to weigh a “negative balance sheet” in cultural and religious terms against the “regeneration” that became possible as a result. For the Rhineland, see Georg Mölich, Joachim Oepen, and Wolfgang Rosen, “Klosterkultur und Säkularisation im Rheinland: Einleitende Bemerkungen,” in *Klosterkultur und Säkularisation im Rheinland*, ed. Georg Mölich, Joachim Oepen, and Wolfgang Rosen (Essen: Klartext-Verlag, 2002), 11–27, quotes on 22. On lack of noteworthy resistance: Oepen, “Die Säkularisation von 1802,” 98–9, and Bertram Resmini, “Aufklärung und Säkularisation im Trierer Erzstift, vornehmlich bei den Klostergemeinschaften in der Eifel und in der Stadt Trier,” in *Klosterkultur und Säkularisation im Rheinland*, ed. Georg Mölich, Joachim Oepen, and Wolfgang Rosen (Essen: Klartext-Verlag, 2002), 81–104, esp. 100–1. For a concise overview that focuses on the Diocese of Trier, see also Elisabeth Wagner, “Die Säkularisation,” in *Auf dem Weg in die Moderne (1802–1880): Geschichte des Bistums Trier, Vol. 4*, ed. Martin Persch and Bernhard Schneider (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2000), 37–40. On the history of the word *Säkularisation*, which has come to denote the strictly legal and institutional processes of secularization, see Hartmut Lehmann, “Säkularisation und Säkularisierung: Zwei umstrittene historische Deutungskategorien,” in *200 Jahre Reichsdeputationshauptschluss: Säkularisation, Mediatisierung und Modernisierung zwischen Altem Reich und neuer Staatlichkeit*, ed. Harm Klueting (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), 7–26.

<sup>71</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 95, Nr. 342, title page: “Die Schicksale der Gottes-Häuser in, und nahe bei Trier, seithero der feindlichen Ankunft der Franzosen im Jahre 1794 sammt den Vorfällen mit der damaligen Geistlichkeit. Beschrieben mit Zusätzen aus den vorigen Zeiten, für die ihrem Gott und seiner Katholischen Religion treu gebliebenen Bürger; von Franz Tobias Müller, Pastorn zu Longuich, einem trierschen Bürgers-Sohn.” Partly edited with comments by Johann Christian Lager, *Die Kirchen und klösterlichen Genossenschaften Triers vor der Säkularisation: Nach den Aufzeichnungen von Franz Tobias Müller und anderen Quellen* (Trier: Lintz, 1920). For a comparison case from ‘inner’ France, see Benoît Garnot, “Une désacralisation inachevée de l’espace urbain: L’exemple de Chartres pendant la Révolution,” in *Pratiques religieuses, mentalités et spiritualités dans l’Europe*

comments of his pro-Enlightenment contemporaries, who celebrated the erasure of “sacerdotal despotism” from Trier’s cityscape.<sup>72</sup>

Moreover, the Napoleonic restructuring of France and its new Rhenish borderlands had demoted Trier from one of Europe’s most prestigious archbishoprics to a relatively minor episcopal see—another change deplored by Müller.<sup>73</sup> In 1801, the First Consul and Pope Pius VII had negotiated a concordat that marked a fragile return to normalcy and state recognition for French Catholicism, though no longer as state religion. As the Concordat went into effect with the Organic Articles of 1802, a mere sixty dioceses subsisted within France, each covering between one and three departments. By comparison, on the eve of the Revolution, the country’s much smaller territory had contained no fewer than 134 bishoprics. Therefore, Trier could have fared worse in the sweeping reorganization of 1801/2: the famous archiepiscopal sees of Cologne and Reims, for instance, simply disappeared for the next two decades.<sup>74</sup> Yet the new bishopric of Trier certainly did not cut an impressive figure, with jurisdiction over just one, not very populous department (the Saar). Moreover, Clemens Wenceslaus and his cathedral chapter had hidden away countless precious diocesan possessions—including the Holy Tunic—east of the Rhine in

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*révolutionnaire (1770–1820): Actes du colloque, Chantilly 27–29 novembre 1986*, ed. Bernard Plongeron, Paule Lerou, and Raymond Darteville (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 315–21.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. the introduction to this chapter and specifically fn. 1.

<sup>73</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 95, Nr. 342, “Die Schicksale der Gottes-Häuser [...]”, p. 10.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France. Volume 1: The Clerical Establishment and Its Social Ramifications* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 177 (number of dioceses in pre-revolutionary France including Corsica); Langlois et al., *Atlas de la Révolution*, 9, esp. 60 (map); Jacques-Olivier Boudon, “La reconstruction des diocèses en 1802,” in *Le Concordat et le retour de la paix religieuse: Actes du colloque organisé par l’Institut Napoléon et la Bibliothèque Marmottan le 13 octobre 2001*, ed. Jacques-Olivier Boudon (Paris: Éditions SPM, 2008), 135–49; specifically on present-day western Germany, Paul Warmbrunn, “Die Neuorganisation der katholischen Kirche im Westen und Südwesten Deutschlands als Folge des Umbruchs in der Napoleonischen Zeit,” *Archiv für mittelhessische Kirchengeschichte* 68 (2016): 115–39; finally, on the new Diocese of Trier, Elisabeth Wagner, “Das Konkordat von 1801/02 und seine Umsetzung,” in *Auf dem Weg in die Moderne (1802–1880): Geschichte des Bistums Trier, Vol. 4*, ed. Martin Persch and Bernhard Schneider (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2000), 41–46.

the early 1790s.<sup>75</sup> So, even as Trier was gaining in importance during those years as a seat of civil and judicial authorities,<sup>76</sup> its lowered ecclesiastical status preoccupied not only local Catholics such as Müller but also the new bishop Mannay, nominated by Bonaparte in 1802.<sup>77</sup> Mannay's later interest in retrieving the Tunic and organizing a spectacular pilgrimage stemmed in part from this sentiment of loss and lack.

At the same time, by enshrining the Rhine as the new border, French hegemony raised an even more fundamental question about place: where was the church of Trier? Both the old archdiocese and the Electorate of Trier had straddled the Rhine. While the left-bank parts of the electorate fell to France, the ones on the right bank—including Ehrenbreitstein—were absorbed into the Imperial County of Nassau-Weilburg (which would become part of the Duchy of Nassau in 1806) on the basis of the Treaty of Lunéville and the Final Recess of the Imperial Deputation (*Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*, 1803). By contrast, the right-bank part of the archdiocese subsisted, and Clemens Wenceslaus retained his spiritual jurisdiction there, leaving the de-facto administration to his Vicar General Ludwig Josef Beck.<sup>78</sup> Did not this rump archdiocese form a more immediate legal successor to the old Archdiocese of Trier than the new Diocese of Trier

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<sup>75</sup> Hans Wolfgang Kuhn, "Zur Geschichte des Trierer und des Limburger Domschatzes: Die Pretiosenüberlieferung aus dem linksrheinischen Erzstift Trier seit 1792," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 28 (1976): 155–207, here esp. 161 and 175–6.

<sup>76</sup> Clemens and Clemens, *Geschichte*, 127.

<sup>77</sup> On Mannay's perception of Trier as a somewhat mediocre episcopal see (especially when compared to its own former splendor), cf. BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 111, pp. 63–4 and 196–8, letters exchanged between Mannay and Clemens Wenceslaus, May 24 and July 2, 1803; AN, F/19/2481, d. 1, pièce 15, Mannay to Bigot de Préameneu (*ministre des Cultes*), Trier, November 19, 1810: right after the Concordat, "connoissant combien les grandes chaleurs me sont contraires, je me permis de demander de ne pas être porté à des sièges du Midi, dont plusieurs étoient encore vacants, et bien préférables d'ailleurs à celui que j'occupe" (my emphasis).

<sup>78</sup> On Nassau-Weilburg and its Old-Regime left-bank territories for which the princes of Nassau received compensation in 1803, cf. Wilhelm, *Nassau-Weilburg*. See also Winfried Schüler, *Das Herzogtum Nassau (1806–1866): Deutsche Geschichte im Kleinformat* (Wiesbaden: Historische Kommission für Nassau, 2006), 8–45 (map on 22). On the right-bank diocesan administration after 1802: Alois Thomas, "Die Verwaltung des rechtsrheinischen Bistums Trier 1802–1825," in *Römische Kurie. Kirchliche Finanzen. Vatikanisches Archiv: Studien zu Ehren von Hermann Hoberg*, ed. Erwin Gatz (Roma: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1979), 913–79, esp. 915–16 (the article focuses mostly on the years after 1812).



governed by Mannay? And did not the princes of Nassau have a stronger claim to the secularized treasures of the old electorate and cathedral chapter than the French government? Indeed, in 1803/4, Clemens Wenceslaus and the former cathedral canons accepted the transfer of nearly the entirety of these riches to the treasury of Nassau-Weilburg. This transfer included many relics, some of which had played a prominent role in Trier's life as a holy city and pilgrimage capital—most notably the Holy Nail and the Staff of St. Peter.<sup>79</sup> Founded on Nassau territory in 1827, the Diocese of Limburg possesses the Staff of St. Peter to this day.

Therefore, it was by no means self-evident for Mannay and his friends in the French government to reestablish Trier as the place where the Holy Tunic truly belonged. Mannay began tracking down the relic rather late, in August 1808, and he faced stiff competition in his attempts to retrieve it from Clemens Wenceslaus who kept it hidden in his castle near Augsburg.<sup>80</sup> Already in 1802 and 1803, the burghers of Ehrenbreitstein had sent petitions to the Archbishop-Elector and the Vicar General in Limburg, asking for the Holy Tunic to be given to the parish church of Ehrenbreitstein. While these petitions apparently have not survived, the burghers perhaps insisted that the relic had spent most of the last 150 years at the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein and that the last public showing had occurred there (in 1765, as discussed above).<sup>81</sup> Vicar General Beck, meanwhile, tried to convince Clemens Wenceslaus to transfer the relic to the main church of Limburg, envisioned as the cathedral of a soon-to-be-erected separate

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<sup>79</sup> Kuhn, "Zur Geschichte," esp. 164 (electoral treasure), 170 (Staff of St. Peter), 180–2 (cathedral treasure). On the Trier's possession of (part of) St. Peter's Staff and its centrality to the self-image of Trier as 'second Rome' since the early Middle Ages, see Finger, *Das heilige Köln*, 98–103. On the Holy Nail, cf. BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 265, f. 29, Mannay to his negotiator Gattermann, draft dated July 19, 1810.

<sup>80</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 357, ff. 155v–156r, Mannay to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, August 10, 1808. Cf. also BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 265, f. 12, anonymous letter, Trier, March 25, 1809: "Mgr l'Eveque parla il y a déjà quelque tems a Mr de Gagern ministre du Prince de Nassau Weilburg, pour qu'on lui remette la dite Robe, mais celui-ci fit entendre, qu'elle etoit encore entre les mains de l'Electeur de Treves."

<sup>81</sup> DAL, protocols of the General Vicariate, vol. 20, entry no. 5822, December 10, 1803; Leo Weber, "Der Heilige Rock und Augsburg," *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte* 31 (1997): 197–221, here 210–11.

diocese by both Beck himself and the princes of Nassau.<sup>82</sup> The archbishop-electoral came under even greater pressure from the regency of Ehrenbreitstein, a branch of the Nassau government whose agents grew increasingly frustrated that Clemens Wenceslaus was withholding the most prestigious relic of the old church of Trier from them.<sup>83</sup> In the end, French diplomatic hegemony alone did not decide the issue.<sup>84</sup> Rather, Clemens Wenceslaus made a difference by personally favoring the cathedral church of Trier on this point, disavowing not only the burghers of Ehrenbreitstein but also his own Vicar General in Limburg and the princes of Nassau.<sup>85</sup>

The archbishop-electoral's rationale involved a specific framing of place, in tune with Mannay's interests but sharply opposed to the legal and historical claims raised by Nassau-Weilburg. According to Clemens Wenceslaus, Saint Helen had gifted the Holy Tunic—and other relics she had found in the Holy Land—directly to the emerging cathedral church of Trier in the fourth century. Extraditing these relics to Ehrenbreitstein or Limburg would therefore violate the “original local destination” of the Holy Tunic.<sup>86</sup> In his correspondence with the government of

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<sup>82</sup> Weber, “Der heilige Rock,” 212. See also DAL, protocols of the General Vicariate, vol. 26, entry no. 8827, September 20, 1809. On Beck's and the Nassau government's early projects for a new episcopal see in Limburg, cf. DAL, V/14, memoranda by Beck on establishment of a new diocese (1802–8); Klaus Schatz, *Geschichte des Bistums Limburg* (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1983), 24–30.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. a large dossier on Nassau's “Claims to the Holy Tunic, 1809/10”: LHA Ko, Best. 332, Nr. 907, esp. p. 69, resolution by Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Nassau-Weilburg, Hachenberg, November 10, 1809; and, for the anger and disappointment when the prince and the Ehrenbreitstein regency realized that they had lost the race: *ibid.*, pp. 143–4, resolution by Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, Weilburg, September 7, 1810. For a brief moment in 1803, the Bavarian government also claimed the relic: cf. Wagner, “Die Rückführung,” 222.

<sup>84</sup> For much detail on Mannay's own efforts and French diplomatic moves, see Wagner, “Die Rückführung,” 220–4. Cf. also a Nassau diplomat's memoirs on this point: Hans Christoph von Gagern, *Mein Antheil an der Politik: I. Unter Napoleons Herrschaft* (Stuttgart, Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1823), 198–200.

<sup>85</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, f. 70, Philipp von Kesselstadt (a cathedral canon and confidant of Clemens Wenceslaus) to his brother Clemens, Augsburg, April 17, 1809, esp. 70r: “Son Altesse Electorale [i.e., Clemens Wenceslaus] sait que d'après le Récès de l'Empire en l'année 1802 la Maison de Nassau pourroit réclamer et prétendre à ce saint dépôt [i.e. the Holy Tunic] ; mais Elle voudroit d'après ses sentimens intérieurs qu'il pût être remis et rendu à l'Eglise cathédrale de Treves.” Cf. also DAL, protocols of General Vicariate, vol. 27, entry no. 9242, July 12, 1810.

<sup>86</sup> DAL, protocols of the General Vicariate, vol. 20, entry no. 5822, December 10, 1803: “mit gnädigstem Anfügen: So viel jedoch mit Ungewisheit, erinnerlich seye, habe die Kayserin Helena ihren Pallast zu Trier samt Umfang zur Aufführung einer Domkirche übergeben, dieselbe fundiret, und dahin den h. Rock, samt mehrern andern h. Reliquien geschenkt. – In dieser Unterstellung schiene es S(einer) K(urfürstlichen) D(urch)l(auch)t zweifelhaft, ob hochstdieselbe diesen h. Rock, welcher nunmehr in hiesiger Schloß-Capel in stiller Aufbewahrung sich befinde, gegen seine ursprüngliche locale Bestimmung an eine andere Kirche der Diözes abzugeben befugt.”

Nassau-Weilburg, Mannay echoed this assertion by arguing that the Holy Tunic had always belonged to “the Church of Trier,” meaning the cathedral. The archbishop-electors had only stored this relic at the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for security reasons, Mannay continued.<sup>87</sup> On the other side of the dispute, a councillor at the Ehrenbreitstein regency had penned a sophisticated treatise about the legal status of the Holy Tunic in 1805, referencing the great early modern Church historians of Trier (Brower, Masenius, Hontheim) as well as archival material. This treatise sought to demonstrate that the new cathedral chapter of Trier held none of the same legal titles and claims as the old one that had been secularized in 1802. Since “the Holy Tunic was *originally* gifted not to the cathedral church but to the entire Archbishopric of Trier,” it must fall to Nassau-Weilburg together with the archbishopric’s other secularized property, as “official state treaties” had stipulated.<sup>88</sup> In short, two origin stories were clashing here about what Saint Helen had intended and done and what the phrase “*Ecclesia Trevirensis*”—the Church of Trier—had really meant to her.<sup>89</sup>

Clemens Wenceslaus thus made a choice between competing traditions by ceding the relic to the new French Diocese of Trier in June 1810.<sup>90</sup> The French Revolution, France’s

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<sup>87</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 265, f. 19, Mannay to Baron von Gagern, Trier, August 27, 1809: the Tunic has always belonged to “l’Eglise de Trèves.”

<sup>88</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, ff. 114–20, Regierungsrat von Coll, “Diplomatische Notizen: Ueber den vor dem Rhein-Uebergange der franz. Armeen auf der Festung Ehrenbreitstein aufbewahrt gewesenen ungenähten Rock Christi,” esp. 118v (“habe ich hoffentlich beruhigend aufgewiesen, daß der heilige Rock ursprünglich nicht der Domkirche, sondern dem ganzen Erzstifte Treier geschenkt worden sey”; emphasis in the original) and 119v (“daß das vormahls trierische Domkapitel gar nicht mehr besteht – daß alle seine vorigen Güter beweglicher und unbeweglicher Gattung gänzlich secularisiret, und durch feyerliche Staatsverträge den betreffenden Gouvernements zugewiesen worden sind”). On the date of this treatise (1805), cf. BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 417, last folio.

<sup>89</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, ff. 114–20, von Coll’s treatise, here 114v–115r: “In allen diesen Urkunden und Geschichtsquellen kommt nie ein anderer Ausdruck als *Ecclesia Trevirensis* vor; und daß hierunter nie die Domkirche, sondern das ganze Erzstift oder die trierische Kirche überhaupt verstanden werden konnte und mußte, wird wohl kain der Kirchen Geschichte, und der lateinischen Sprache nur einiger Maßen kundiger Mann bezweifeln.”

<sup>90</sup> Mannay’s Vicar General Anton Cordel journeyed to Augsburg to retrieve the relic: cf. the diary he kept of this trip, published by Eduard Lichter, “Die Rückkehr des Hl. Rockes aus Augsburg im Jahre 1810,” *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 8/9 (1968/1969): 241–255/160–176 esp. 8:248–51.

territorial expansion to the Rhine, and the legal ruptures of *Säkularisation* had not simply created a need to invent or construct traditions. They also brought about or exacerbated a need for *selection* of tradition—in this case, a need to discard one of two irreconcilable narratives about Saint Helen, the Holy Tunic, and the historical meaning of *Ecclesia Trevirensis*.<sup>91</sup> These narratives had already diverged before the revolutionary era, though in a veiled and different form. In that period, the cathedral chapter had favored Trier while the archbishops had imposed Ehrenbreitstein as the most appropriate place for storing and showing the relic. Now that the “Napoleonic territorial revolution”<sup>92</sup> had eliminated the Electorate and split the old archdiocese apart, the competition grew much more overt, especially because Ehrenbreitstein lay on the right bank of the Rhine. The moment for a definitive decision had arrived.

In this situation, Clemens Wenceslaus and Mannay together reanchored the notion of holy Trier in the assumption that the Holy Tunic truly belonged in the city’s cathedral and nowhere else. Franz Tobias Müller echoed this assumption in a report he wrote after leading his parishioners to Trier in September 1810. He commented that the Tunic “has therefore reappeared in the place to which the empress Saint Helen had assigned it.”<sup>93</sup> The selection of tradition also shaped the devotional booklet printed by the thousands for the pilgrims who came to see the

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<sup>91</sup> My concept ‘selection of tradition’ is inspired by Jean-Paul Bertaud’s recent characterization of Napoleon as a selective heir to the Revolution, a ruler who picked and chose from among various layers of political legacy. Bertaud, *Napoléon et les Français*, esp. 12. I also modify here the approach pioneered in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1983]), and applied to the study of pilgrimage and topoi of the holy city, respectively, by Harris, *Lourdes*, esp. 247, and Nicolas Guyard, “Saintetés urbaines et reliques, Lyon, Metz et Toulouse à l’époque moderne: ‘Il-y-a-t-il ville plus célèbre en sainteté, après Jerusalem et Romme que ceste-cy ?’,” in *Saintetés politiques du IX<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Autour de la Lotharingie-Dorsale catholique*, ed. Sylvène Édouard (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2020), 117–32, here 119. On Napoleonic “construction” of tradition, see Rüdiger Schmidt and Hans-Ulrich Thamer, eds., *Die Konstruktion von Tradition: Inszenierung und Propaganda napoleonischer Herrschaft (1799–1815)* (Münster: Rhema-Verlag, 2010).

<sup>92</sup> Schnabel-Schüle, “Ansteckungsgefahr,” esp. 26–30.

<sup>93</sup> This source was edited by Mario Simmer, “Ein neu entdeckter Bericht über die Wallfahrt zum Heiligen Rock im Jahre 1810 von Franz Tobias Müller,” *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 53 (2013): 251–74, here 271–4 (quote on 272: the Tunic “ist also wiederum dort erschienen, wo ihn die h. Kaiserinn Helena zur Zeit unsers h. Erzbischofs Agritius bestimmt hatte”; names underlined in the original.)

relic.<sup>94</sup> For a short history of the Tunic, this text simply reprinted parts of a devotional book published in 1698, such that the showing that had taken place in Trier in 1655 appeared as “the fourth and most recent one (which is still in the fresh memory of all God-fearing hearts).”<sup>95</sup> By omitting the public showing of 1765 at Ehrenbreitstein, the 1810 booklet promoted not just a “fresh” but above all a selective memory, to the benefit of holy Trier.

After securing the famous relic for Trier Cathedral, the bishop and other local authorities also took steps to orchestrate and control the pilgrimage itself down to the detail. They began to encourage public devotion to the Holy Tunic in July, when Mannay’s Vicar General, Anton Cordel, returned to Trier after having retrieved the relic at Clemens Wenceslaus’s castle near Augsburg.<sup>96</sup> On August 22, in a printed pastoral proclamation (*exhortation aux fidèles*), Mannay followed up by announcing his plan to show the tunic in the cathedral the next month. He emphasized collaboration between the Church and the Napoleonic state, noting that the French government itself had “resolved to add its powerful support” in helping to return the relic to its rightful place in Trier.<sup>97</sup> The bishop projected a strictly regimented pilgrimage: from among the

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<sup>94</sup> Lichter, “Die Rückkehr des Hl. Rockes,” 170–1: according to Cordel, the official publisher of the booklet, Schroell, sold nearly 16,000 copies, but Schroell’s competitor Leistenschneider quickly pirated the work (and probably also sold many thousands of copies).

<sup>95</sup> *Kurzer Begriff der Historie, sammt einem Lobgesang von dem H. ungenähten Rock Jesu Christi: Im Thon: Ist das der Leib Herr Jesu Christ* (s.l., [1810]), 4: “ist die vierte und letzte [Zeigung] (so noch in frischer aller gottesfürchtiger Herzen Gedächniß) in dem Jahr 1655 geschehen.” This erasure of 1765 was not entirely systematic. Cf. the inscription of a paper image (*Anrührbildchen*) categorized as piece no. B 52 in Markus Groß-Morgen, “Wallfahrtsandenken (mit Ausnahme der Medaillen),” in *Zwischen Andacht und Andenken: Kleinodien religiöser Kunst und Wallfahrtsandenken aus Trierer Sammlungen - ein Katalog zur Gemeinschaftsausstellung des Bischöflichen Dom- und Diözesanmuseums Trier und des Städtischen Museums Simeonstift Trier vom 16. Oktober 1992 bis 17. Januar 1993*, ed. Elisabeth Dühr, Markus Groß-Morgen, and Burkhard Kaufmann (Trier: Selbstverlag des Bischöflichen Dom- und Diözesanmuseums Trier und des Städtischen Museums Simeonstift Trier, 1992), 245–415, here 281: “Erster Schatz der Domkirche zu Trier / ist zur öffentlichen Verehrung ausgesetzt / worden 1196, 1512, 1585, 1655, 1765 und / vom 9. bis 27. / sep: 1810.” Even in this example, however, what does get erased in the emphasis on the “cathedral at Trier” is the fact that the showing of 1765 had not taken place in Trier at all.

<sup>96</sup> Lichter, “Die Rückkehr des Hl. Rockes,” 8:254–55 and 9:160–65.

<sup>97</sup> AN, F/7/8069, folder entitled, “Sarre – Préfet – La vraie Robe de Jesus Christ à Trèves,” brochure: *Exhortation aux fidèles au sujet de l'exposition de la Robe de Notre Seigneur* [...], p. 6: return of the relic “que le Gouvernement a daigné puissamment appuyer.”

nineteen days between September 9 and 27, he allocated two days to each canton of the Saar Department whose territory coincided with that of his diocese. On either of these two days, the inhabitants of a given canton would be allowed to come to Trier—in processional order and escorted by parish clergy, who must lead the processions back out of the city as quickly as possible, within two hours after their visit to the cathedral.<sup>98</sup> Prompted by the prefect, the mayor of Trier likewise publicized elaborate orders and “special police measures” to enforce “public order” in the city during the time of the pilgrimage.<sup>99</sup> In short, a state apparatus that appreciated disciplined devotion seemed to join forces with a bishopric that tried to re-sanctify the city and episcopal see of Trier.

These top-down planning efforts perhaps appeared all the more promising because, far from being unprecedented, they followed tried and true Baroque methods of mobilizing large numbers of Catholics for pilgrimage events. When Archbishop-Elector Karl Kaspar von der Leyen had organized the last public showing of the Holy Tunic at Trier Cathedral in 1655, he had already designated specific pilgrimage days for each region from which he expected many thousands of pilgrims.<sup>100</sup> More generally, Catholicism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had fostered a predilection for giant pilgrimage festivals at which processions served to symbolize both splendor and order. In 1754, for instance, when the Prince-Bishop of Münster in Westphalia invited the Catholics of his territory to come celebrate the centenary of the renowned Marian chapel at Telgte, he issued elaborate rules and schedules for processions. These

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<sup>98</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, f. 97, “Règlement à l’occasion de l’exposition de la Sainte Robe,” sent by Mannay to local civil and military authorities on August 28, 1810. For the cantonal timetable, see BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 211, f. 13.

<sup>99</sup> StA Tr, Tb 18/292, printed mayoral resolution of August 27, 1810: “besondere Polizeymaßregeln zu ergreifen, damit die Stadt mit hinlänglichen Lebensmitteln, und zwar in den gewöhnlichen Preißen versehen, und die öffentliche Ruhe, und gute Ordnung gehandhabt werde.” This resolution also appeared in the local journal, the *Journal du Département de la Sarre*, no. 49, September 5, 1810: StBib Tr, T 8.

<sup>100</sup> Seibrich, “Die Heilig-Rock-Ausstellungen,” 199.

festivities attracted between 60,000 and 80,000 pilgrims within two weeks.<sup>101</sup> Closer to Mannay's own time and place, the clergy of Luxembourg had been experimenting at least since 1804 with procession timetables for the main annual pilgrimage week in Luxembourg City, the Octave of Our Lady of Consolation.<sup>102</sup> Mannay sojourned in Luxembourg more than once even though it now belonged to the Diocese of Metz and no longer to that of Trier. In May 1810, invited by the Bishop of Metz who did much to promote devotion to Our Lady of Consolation, Mannay even celebrated the final Mass of the Octave and took part in a procession through the streets of Luxembourg together with thousands of pilgrims.<sup>103</sup> In short, Mannay and his collaborators at the Bishopric of Trier may very well have drawn on a strong Baroque legacy—including a direct Luxembourgian model of urban pilgrimage—as they organized the showing of the Holy Tunic.

And although the new ideas and politics of the revolutionary era questioned that Baroque legacy, Mannay was able to fit his pilgrimage event within the tight legal and spatial frameworks that constrained him as a bishop in Napoleonic France. To be sure, the precedent that Clemens Wenceslaus had set in 1784 as well as Napoleon's enlightened despotism shaped official policy,

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<sup>101</sup> Freitag, *Volks- und Elitenfrömmigkeit*, 151–63. On a similar pilgrimage event that brought tens of thousands of pilgrims to Fulda Cathedral in 1755 (a thousand years after the martyrdom of Saint Boniface, whose relics are housed in that cathedral), see Müller, *Fürstbischof Heinrich von Bibra*, 381–2.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. ADM, 29 J 824, entry no. 1878, Neunheuser (*provinciaire* for Luxembourg) to Oster (Vicar General at the Bishopric of Metz), 2 germinal [an XII].

<sup>103</sup> BnF, NAF 6169, pp. 253–4, description of the Octave ceremonies of 1810 in Bishop Jauffret's registers. On Jauffret as a promoter of this Marian devotion, see also Georges Hellinghausen, "Patronne de la Cité: Tradition et traditions," in *Notre-Dame de Luxembourg: Dévotion et patrimoine*, ed. Sébastien Pierre (Bastogne: Musée en Piconrue, 2016), 35–50, esp. 46, and esp. below, fn. 170. For more historiographical references on pilgrimage to Our Lady of Luxembourg, see Chapter 5. On the Forêts Department as part of the Diocese of Metz after the Concordat, see René Schneider, "Le Luxembourg dans le diocèse de Metz, 1801–1823," *Annales de l'Est* 58, numéro spécial (2008): 193–202. On Mannay's previous trips to Luxembourg, cf. BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 243, *provinciaire* Neunheuser to Mannay's Vicar General Garnier, Luxembourg, June 7, 1809 ("Auserai-je[sic] vous prier Monsieur de me rappeler au souvenir de votre respectable prélat et de lui présenter mes hommages très respectueux, j'espère que si vous venez encore avec lui à Luxemb[our]g que je serais plus heureux qu'à votre dernier passage"); see also, for previous friendly exchanges between Mannay and Jauffret, BnF, NAF 28917, vol. 6, registers of Jauffret's outgoing correspondence, esp. pp. 18 (September 27, 1806), 33 (December 22, 1806), and 56 (January 16, 1808).

discouraging the processional form of pilgrimage that had become so popular in early modern Catholic Germany. After 1802, no procession beyond the boundaries of the home parish could take place in the Saar Department without the bishop's explicit permission and the prior knowledge of the sub-prefect.<sup>104</sup> But by the same token, the bishopric and the prefecture together did have the authority to project the department as a legitimate space for exceptional pilgrimage processions to Trier. Therefore, when writing to the French *ministre des cultes* Bigot de Préameneu on August 27, Mannay did not bother to ask the ministry for permission to carry out the showing of the relic. Rather, he confronted Bigot de Préameneu with the *fait accompli* of a decision already made in accordance with the prefect of the Saar and the general who commanded the armed forces in the department.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, while the official pilgrimage timetable incorporated the likelihood that some Catholics from the peripheries of neighboring departments would join the processions that departed from nearby cantons of the Saar, Mannay did not mention even this scenario of minimal outside participation in his letter to Bigot de Préameneu.<sup>106</sup> In short, Mannay claimed to keep the pilgrimage within the bounds of legality by keeping it within the limits of the diocese and the department.

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<sup>104</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 276, Nr. 594, pp. 125–6, prefect Ormechville to General Vicariate, Trier, 16 prairial an X (June 5, 1802), and p. 35, acquiescent reply from the General Vicariate, Trier, 18 prairial an X (June 7, 1802). On March 26, 1804, Mannay also reiterated Clemens Wenceslaus's 1784 decree on processions: "Observatio ordinationis processionis concernentis 29. Novembris 1784, inculcatur. 26. Martii 1804," in *Statuta synodalia, ordinationes et mandata Archidioecesis Trevirensis*, ed. Johann Jacob Blattau, 8 vols. (Trier: Lintz, 1844–1849), vol. 7, 215–16. On Napoleonic-era pilgrimage policies in this region, see also Elisabeth Wagner, "Revolution, Religiosität und Kirchen im Rheinland um 1800," in *Franzosen und Deutsche am Rhein, 1789, 1918, 1945*, ed. Peter Hüttenberger and Hansgeorg Molitor (Essen: Klartext, 1989), 267–88, esp. 282–4. On Napoleonic rule as enlightened despotism, see Broers, *Europe under Napoleon*, esp. 2.

<sup>105</sup> AN, F/19/1073/A, folder on Diocese of Trier, Mannay to Bigot de Préameneu, Trier, August 27, 1810. BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, f. 94, margin note at the bottom of a letter from Mannay to the prefect of the Saar, August 2, 1810: "M. le Général commandant le Département a été prévenu et consulté en même tems de vive voix."

<sup>106</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, f. 94, Mannay to the prefect of the Saar, August 14, 1810: "les jours destinés aux cantons frontières, je mets moins de cantons, ou une moindre population du Département, à cause des étrangers qui ces jours là pourroient se joindre à eux."



In discussing the return of the Holy Tunic to Trier, I necessarily homed in on high politics and the strategies and arguments of ecclesiastical elites. Bishop Mannay and Archbishop-Elector Clemens Wenceslaus made crucial decisions, while the burghers of Ehrenbreitstein petitioned in vain to secure the enormously prestigious relic for their parish church. That the pilgrimage took place in Trier in 1810 became possible only through interventions ‘from above’—and more specifically, I have argued, through the conclusions to which governing elites came in figuring out the new regime of imperial, departmental, and diocesan borders in the Rhineland. In particular, Bishop Mannay used this border regime to propose a form of territorial containment for the pilgrimage, and thus to try and place the holy city securely within an imperial frame of public order. So, if the story ended here, it would clearly confirm a narrative that presents the modern pilgrimages to the Holy Tunic as events of top-down mass mobilization, orchestrated by the Church and supported by the state. But the story goes on, and it calls for attention to the difference between a plan and its execution, between theory and practice. “The showing [of the Tunic] was in theory (*eigentlich*) only for the Saar Department,” Franz Tobias Müller wrote.<sup>107</sup> What happened in practice is the subject of the next and final section.

### Public Order and Other Miracles (September 1810)

To rebuild the prestige of his episcopal see while respecting Napoleonic norms of territorial order, Charles Mannay had envisioned a decidedly diocesan pilgrimage event. In the first half of this section, I discuss how the faultlines within his strategy of containment cracked wide open as

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<sup>107</sup> Simmer, “Ein neu entdeckter Bericht,” 273: “das Aussetzen ware eigentlich nur für das Saardepartement”—but in reality, Müller goes on to suggest, things looked quite different.

the showing of the relic began—and, in the case of the Forêts Department, even before then. Recently created and oddly shaped, the Saar Department could hardly yield effective top-down boundaries for what students of pilgrimage would call the “catchment basin” of Trier in 1810, that is to say, the regions “from which the shrine draws all or most of its religiously oriented visitors.”<sup>108</sup> This failure of boundary-setting triggered concern, and in some cases shrill alarm, among imperial administrators in Luxembourg City, Koblenz, Metz, and Paris. Ultimately, elites’ frustrations highlight the need to consider pilgrims’ decisions and practices from below. I have already shown that, throughout the challenging times of Clemens Wenceslaus and the French Revolution, lay Catholics in and around Trier had placed pilgrimage front and center in their struggle to retain a vision of Trier as spiritual capital. In the second half of this section, I will follow these threads of lay initiative further, by arguing that the pilgrims of 1810 overwhelmingly came from regions where this imaginary of the spiritual center resonated as a centuries-old tradition. This tradition inserted the Holy Tunic in a broader recognition of Trier’s holiness, nourished by a history of archiepiscopal and temporal power, the presence of Saint Matthias’s relics, and a more recent flourishing of Marian devotion.

The attempt to orchestrate and regulate pilgrimage to Trier in September 1810 almost appears less remarkable than the lack of coordination and numerous glitches that soon came to plague this attempt. First, communication between Trier and Paris proved ineffectual. Bigot de Préameneu never responded to the bishop’s letter of August 27.<sup>109</sup> Nor did the prefect of the Saar Department receive any instructions from the Ministry of Police when he wrote—as early as August 6—to inform the ministry of Mannay’s plans and to ask whether all pilgrims should be

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<sup>108</sup> Mary Lee Nolan and Sidney Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 22.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. a draft of that letter in BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, f. 94v, with the margin note: “Il n’y a pas eu de réponse à cette lettre.”

required to obtain individual passports for their trip to Trier.<sup>110</sup> The ministerial bureaucracy reacted with concern and emphasized in an internal note that the pilgrimage could cause “regrettable scenes” and that, more generally, “these pilgrimages could at the very least foster laziness and serve as pretexts for vagabondage.”<sup>111</sup> The emperor’s police council was supposed to discuss this issue on August 24.<sup>112</sup> Yet Mannay’s plan to show the Holy Tunic does not appear in any of the versions of Napoleon’s daily police bulletin that I was able to consult, and the Ministry of Police lost sight of the pilgrimage until late September when it was almost over.<sup>113</sup> For once, Napoleon had a hard time “making order reign” in his empire when his own police apparatus perceived clear risks yet failed to inform him beforehand of what would become one of the biggest mass events of his time.<sup>114</sup>

At the Bishopric of Trier, too, organizing the pilgrimage proved less straightforward than Mannay’s self-confident letter to Bigot de Préameneu might suggest. On July 17, Mannay sent a letter on this topic to Franz Richard Gattermann, a local judge who had helped navigate the negotiations between Trier and Ehrenbreitstein over Jesus’s tunic and other relics. The bishop announced to Gattermann “that I have finally received the Holy Tunic. To respond to the pious

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<sup>110</sup> AN, F/7/8069, folder entitled, “Sarre – Préfet – La vraie Robe de Jesus Christ à Trèves,” Saar prefecture to police minister Savary, Trier, August 6, 1810.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., *note pour le Conseil de Police*, August 22, 1810: “M. le Préfet de la Sarre convient que, sans des précautions particulières, il y aurait à craindre que la diversité des opinions, ne produisît dans cette circonstance quelques scènes facheuses. Je ne sais en effet si les processions annoncées seraient sans inconvénients. [...] Il a été reconnu que ces pèlerinages pourraient tout au moins servir d’aliment à l’oisiveté, ou de prétextes au vagabondage.”

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., margin note: “Note succincte et substantielle au Bulletin – B(ulle)tin 24 août.”

<sup>113</sup> AN, F/7/3721, minutes of police bulletins, June thru August 1810; Nicole Gotteri, ed., *La police secrète du Premier Empire: Bulletins quotidiens adressés par Savary à l’Empereur de juin à décembre 1810* (Paris: H. Champion, 1997).

<sup>114</sup> Jacques-Olivier Boudon, *L’Empire des polices: Comment Napoléon faisait régner l’ordre* (Paris: La Librairie Vuibert, 2017), who ascribes to the Napoleonic police system “une efficacité réelle, sinon complète, sur le contrôle des populations” (p. 8). On Napoleon’s police as “generally efficient,” see also Michael Sibalís, “The Napoleonic Police State,” in *Napoleon and Europe*, ed. Philip G. Dwyer (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 79–94, quote on 93.

eagerness of the population, I would like to exhibit [the relic] for just one day.”<sup>115</sup> This plan would have yielded a pilgrimage similar to the short showing that had occurred at Ehrenbreitstein in 1765. Within weeks, Mannay changed his mind and opted for a much grander, nineteen-day showing. But, as his Vicar General Cordel noted in his diary, the last days before the start of the pilgrimage brought even greater hesitations. Afraid that “things might go badly,” and well aware that the central government had at no point given the bishopric or the prefecture permission to go ahead with their plans, the local authorities considered calling the whole event off at the last minute.<sup>116</sup> They eventually decided not to—realizing perhaps that such an about-face would only further imperil ‘public order’ by creating confusion and resentment among the faithful.

Mannay also vacillated on what to do about pilgrims coming to Trier from other departments and dioceses. By the end of August, he realized that people’s interest in visiting the city and seeing the relic was going to exceed his initial expectations dramatically, thus jeopardizing the logistics of channeling processions to, through, and from Trier according to schedule. At the same time, he received news that Catholics in large parts of the neighboring Forêts Department were spontaneously planning to send processions to Trier between September 10 and 27. Alarmed at the prospect of “confusion and disorder” that would arise if an excess number of daily pilgrims rushed to see the Holy Tunic, the bishop wrote to Luxembourg (the

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<sup>115</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 265, f. 29, draft of letter from Mannay to Gattermann(?), July 19, 1810: “Vous savez que j’ai enfin reçu la ste Robe. Pour répondre au pieux empressement des habitants je desirerois l’exposer pour un jour seulement à leur devotion.” For biographical information on Gattermann, see Gabriele B. Clemens, “Die Notabeln der Franzosenzeit,” in *Unter der Trikolore: Trier in Frankreich – Napoleon in Trier (1794–1814)*, ed. Elisabeth Dühr, 2 vols. (Trier: Städtisches Museum Simeonstift, 2004), vol. 1, 105–80, here 129–30.

<sup>116</sup> Lichter, “Die Rückkehr des Hl. Rockes,” 9:169: “Einige Tage vor dem Anfang der Ausstellung wollte man dieselbe widerstellen aus Furcht, es möge übel ausschlagen und man sich Verdruß zuziehen, weil von der Regierung keine Authorisation ware begehret und erhalten worden.” This hesitation may be related to the fact that a new prefect (A.-F. Bruneteau de Sainte-Suzanne, cf. Clemens, “Die Notabeln,” 118–19) had very recently been appointed for the Saar Department (on August 7, 1810).

capital of the Forêts) and announced that he was going to prolong the showing by six days—specifically for pilgrims of that department, so their processions would not clash with those from within the Saar Department.<sup>117</sup> The Bishopric of Metz applauded this change of plan.<sup>118</sup> The prefect of the Forêts, however, decided in early September to prohibit any and all processions from within his department to Trier on the occasion of this pilgrimage, and he ordered the gendarmerie to enforce this ban.<sup>119</sup> Ultimately, the Catholics of the Forêts cared neither about their prefect and gendarmes nor about Mannay's modified timetable: by mid-September, they were already pouring into Trier by the thousands. On September 14, therefore, Mannay retracted his decision to extend the showing by six days and only asked that larger pilgrim groups from the Forêts “be accompanied by clerics, to maintain good order and ensure that everything happens in an edifying manner.”<sup>120</sup> In short, the bishop found himself forced to compromise repeatedly on what constituted that elusive ‘good order’ and on how to enforce it.

If the pilgrimage organizers had such great difficulties using the territorial unit of the department-as-diocese to orchestrate the flow of pilgrims to Trier, this problem resulted in part

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<sup>117</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 357, f. 189v, Mannay to *provinciaire* Neunheuser, Trier, August 31, 1810: “Je viens d’être informé que 18 cantons du Dépt des Forêts se proposent de venir ici successivement pour l’exposition de la Ste Robe, c’est-à-dire depuis le 10 septembre prochain, jusqu’au 27 septembre prochain inclusivement. Mais je vois par les autres renseignements que j’ai reçus, que l’affluence sera beaucoup plus considérable qu’on ne s’y attendoit ; et si les fidèles de votre département viennent concurremment avec ceux de mon Diocèse, pour lesquels j’avois organisé mon plan de répartition, il est à craindre qu’il n’en résulte confusion et désordre ; et d’ailleurs ce seroit pour la ville un fardeau qu’elle ne pourroit soutenir.”

<sup>118</sup> ADM, 29 J 169, entry no. 746, Vicar General Tournefort to Neunheuser, September 5, 1810.

<sup>119</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, f. 99, Neunheuser to Mannay, Luxembourg, September 7, 1810. Neunheuser claimed in this letter that the prefect had been alerted to the dangers of the pilgrimage event by the “Conseiller d’état qui a le département de la Saar.” More precisely, information about the upcoming showing of the relic had apparently come from the prefecture of the Saar; cf. AN, F/1cIII/forets/5, prefectural report for the third trimester of 1810: “Le 31 août. Lettre du Préfet de la Sarre, portant invitation de prendre les mesures convenables pour empêcher la trop grande affluence des processions étrangères qui se transporteront à Trêves, pour voir la relique dite de la ste. Robe. Le 8 septembre. Lettre au command(an)t de la Gendarmerie.” On the hostility to pilgrimage that Napoleonic administrators showed in the Forêts and other departments of the region, cf. Horn, *Le défi de l’enracinement*, 88.

<sup>120</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, f. 100, Mannay to Neunheuser, September 14, 1810: “seulement, ce que nous avons à cœur, c’est que s’ils viennent en certain nombre ils soient accompagnés d’ecclésiastiques, pour maintenir le bon ordre et veiller à ce que tout se passe avec édification.”

from the rebordering struggles of expanding France. French administrators and bishops inherited from the Old Regime an extremely long and complicated boundary between the Forêts and the Saar Departments (see the map in the Introduction). Despite many efforts and laboriously developed solutions for some especially sensitive spots, not much changed until 1815, when the Congress of Vienna created a radically simplified border between the new Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg and the Prussian Rhine Province.<sup>121</sup> In his statistical and topographical yearbook for 1810, C.-H. Delamorre even asserted that “in the entire [French] Empire, there is not a single department that is as misproportioned (*mal arrondi*) as that of the Saar.”<sup>122</sup> Stretched thin along a north–south axis, riddled with enclaves and territorial salients, this department hardly lent itself as an effective spatial container for a pilgrimage that might bring to Trier “a quarter of the population of the surrounding regions in a radius of thirty to forty [French] miles,” as the prefecture already suspected by early August.<sup>123</sup> The dead ends and chaotic moments in correspondence between Trier, Paris, and Luxembourg only aggravated those issues of territorial containment that agents of Church and state found especially intractable—once again—in the borderlands.

In addition to the Forêts, other neighboring prefectures took restrictive measures and eventually sent messages of alarm to Paris after the pilgrimage had begun. The departmental administration of Rhin-et-Moselle, based in Koblenz, had been developing a hardline anti-pilgrimage stance for several years—in part because the eastern border of this department, the

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<sup>121</sup> On small-scale clarifications and changes accomplished during the Directorial and Napoleonic periods, cf. AN, F/2(I)/854; AN, F/7/8380, esp. a speech given by Lacoste (prefect of the Forêts) to the general council of his department during its session in 1806; and abundant material in AN Lux, B-0001. See also Chapter 5 for more detail on this point.

<sup>122</sup> Delamorre, *Annuaire*, 3: “En jetant un coup-d’œil sur la carte, on verra qu’il n’y a pas dans tout l’Empire un département qui soit aussi mal arrondi que celui de la Sarre.”

<sup>123</sup> AN, F/7/8069, folder entitled, “Sarre – Préfet – La vraie Robe de Jesus Christ à Trèves,” Saar prefecture to Savary, Trier, August 6, 1810: “le quart de la population des pays circonvoisins, dans un rayon de 30 à 40 lieues.”

Rhine, also constituted the border of the Empire, and the prefect suspected that pilgrims who visited right-bank shrines often engaged in smuggling.<sup>124</sup> The old rivalry between Koblenz and Trier also fed into this restrictive approach. As the Rhin-et-Moselle prefecture complained to the Ministry of Police in June 1810, authorities at Koblenz fought an uphill battle against religious “prejudices” as long as the administrators of the Saar Department welcomed pilgrims “in order to favor the city of Trier.”<sup>125</sup> Therefore, the prefecture at Koblenz reacted with a mix of vigor and frustration when confronted with the news that large crowds of pilgrims from the Rhin-et-Moselle were leaving for Trier to see the Holy Tunic. A circular letter sent on September 12 instructed all mayors in the Rhin-et-Moselle to conduct rigorous controls and send back home any pilgrims who had failed to obtain passports.<sup>126</sup> But this measure probably did not disrupt many people’s pious travels. In October, the prefecture sent two plaintive and disillusioned reports to Paris, depicting the pilgrimage to the Holy Tunic as a “torrent” that had broken the dam erected against superstition and had brought about “a great step backward in popular reason.”<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 256, Nr. 7793, pp. 32–4, Adrien de Lezay-Marnésia (prefect of Rhin-et-Moselle) to Marc-Antoine Berdolet (bishop of Aachen), July 9, 1808. On Lezay-Marnésia’s attempts to repress pilgrimage, cf. numerous other pieces in that same dossier, as well as LHA Ko, Best. 261, Nr. 138, circular letters of May 31 and December 4, 1809, from the prefecture of Rhin-et-Moselle to the sub-prefects and *maires* of that department, and AN, F/7/8068, dossier Rhin-et-Moselle, several letters sent in May and June 1810 by Beving (*conseiller de préfecture* of Rhin-et-Moselle) to the Ministry of Police.

<sup>125</sup> AN, F/7/8068, dossier Rhin-et-Moselle, Beving to Ministry of Police, Koblenz, June 25, 1810: “tant que dans le département de la Roer l’on ne cherchera pas à détruire, par des mesures rigoureuses, l’habitude des Pèlerinages et tant que dans celui de la Sarre on accueillera ces réunions, pour favoriser la ville de Trèves, le département de Rhin & Moselle aura à combattre, tous les ans, les préjugés, réveillés & fortifiés par l’exemple de ses deux voisins.” Cf. also a tense exchange on how to discourage pilgrimages to Trier and Klausen (situated in the Saar Department, close to the border with Rhin-et-Moselle) between the prefects of Rhin-et-Moselle and Saar in 1809: LHA Ko, Best. 276, Nr. 594, pp. 163–73. – A strong general case for the importance of urban rivalries in that period is made by Ted W. Margadant, *Urban Rivalries in the French Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

<sup>126</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 655,117, Nr. 466, prefecture of Rhin-et-Moselle to *mairie* of Lutzerath, September 12, 1810.

<sup>127</sup> AN, F/7/8068, Beving to Ministry of Police, Koblenz, October 2, 1810: the circumstances of the pilgrimage “ont fait faire à la raison du peuple un grand pas rétrograde”; *ibid.*, Fermath (another *conseiller de préfecture*) to Ministry of Police, Koblenz, October 23, 1810: “cette dévotion extraordinaire a eu la plus pernicieuse influence sur tout ce que l’administration a fait dans mon Départ(emen)t pour éclairer les habitants et pour les faire renoncer à d’anciennes habitudes aussi contraires à l’intérêt de la religion qu’à celui du Gouvernement. Placé entre deux Départemens, la

The prefect of the Moselle Department, Vincent-Marie de Vaublanc, displayed the same impotent anger after he learned that many of his administrative subjects had decided to go and see the tunic as well. In late September and early October, he began bombarding the Ministry of Police with a series of reports that emphasized the chaos and dangers of this mass mobility. He claimed, for example, that “entire communities were spending the night in the fields or in the middle of the road” and that “there may be brigands among these numerous pilgrims who traverse a wooded countryside on their way to Trier.”<sup>128</sup> But Vaublanc did not give any concrete orders to halt pilgrimage processions before September 24, so these measures could hardly be implemented by local administrators and police forces before the showing of the relic ended.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, the prefect both received and gave contradictory information about pilgrims’ behaviors and motives. The mayor of Beaumarais alerted Vaublanc that pilgrims formed “processions that are up to half a mile long”; the mayor of Saarlouis insisted that he did not know of a single large communal procession from inside the Moselle Department to Trier.<sup>130</sup> In turn, Vaublanc reported to Paris that, according to hearsay, pilgrims had “proffered ill-considered

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Sarre et la Roër, où les pèlerinages se font ouvertement, je prévois qu’il sera dorénavant impossible de garantir mes administrés de la contagion, que ceux-là même qui penseront bien, seront obligés de suivre le torrent.”

<sup>128</sup> AN, F/7/8069, folder entitled, “Sarre – Préfet – La vraie Robe de Jesus Christ à Trèves,” letters from Vaublanc to Ministry of Police, Metz, September 24, 25 (“des communes entières passaient la nuit dans les champs ou au milieu des rues”), 27, 28 (“[o]n craint qu’entre ces nombreux pèlerins qui traversent jusqu’à Trèves un pays couvert de forêt, il ne se trouve des brigands”), and October 1, 1810. On Vaublanc as a loyal servant of Napoleon and a strict enforcer of state surveillance of religious practice despite his royalist leanings, cf. Thierry Lentz and Denis Imhoff, *La Moselle et Napoléon: Étude d’un département sous le Consulat et l’Empire* (Metz: Serpenoise, 1986), 37–39 and 185; AN, F/7/8066, dossier Moselle, Vaublanc to Ministry of Police, February 3, 1808 (on Catholics’ refusal to stop celebrating officially abolished feast days).

<sup>129</sup> ADM, 1 V 26, prefectoral *arrêté* of September 24, 1810: “Mr le maire de Sarrelouis est délégué pour arrêter les processions des pèlerins qui se rendent à Trèves. Il est même autorisé à requerrir, s’il le juge nécessaire, l’assistance de la force armée.”

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., mayor of Beaumarais to sub-prefect of Thionville, September 14, 1810: “les gens de campagnes quittent en foule leurs ménages et leurs travaux et se rendent en procession a Treves ou on expose a leur vûe un habit de Jesus. Ces pelerinages sont si nombreux qu’ils ressemblent à une division d’armée en marche, plusieurs villages se réunissent et forment des processions qui ont jusqu’à une demie lieue de long.” This letter only arrived at the sub-prefecture on September 21 and was forwarded to Metz the following day: *ibid.*, sub-prefect of Thionville to Vaublanc, September 22, 1810. – Ibid., mayor of Saarlouis to Vaublanc, Saarlouis, September 26, 1810: “Je ne connois aucune commune de votre Département dont les habitants ont été processionnellement a Treves. Beaucoup ont fait ce pèlerinage, mais sans rassemblement.”



remarks about the pope and about religious affairs.” In other words, they were practicing subversive speech by criticizing Napoleon’s detainment of Pope Pius VII since 1809.<sup>131</sup> Yet four days later, Vaublanc claimed that “the biggest part of those from my department who have gone on this trip would not have done so” if they had not believed the rumor that the government had officially authorized the showing of the Holy Tunic.<sup>132</sup> These rumors probably spread far and wide.<sup>133</sup> Napoleon’s police apparatus not only failed to produce a central decision on the pilgrimage to Trier but even lost discursive control over what the emperor had and had not approved.

In short, seen from above, the pilgrimage of 1810 looked like a hot mess. About two weeks after the showing ended, the ministries of *cultes* and Police sent letters of sharp rebuke to Mannay and the prefect of the Saar. Yet in their respective responses, the bishop and the prefect simply asserted that pilgrims had displayed great “tranquility” and “moderation.”<sup>134</sup> Indeed, ‘public order’ may have prevailed in September 1810, although Vaublanc and others thought it had not. Either way, the primary wellspring of disorder—communicative, bureaucratic, and territorial muddle—had been inside the hierarchies of Napoleon’s empire all along.

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<sup>131</sup> AN, F/7/8069, Vaublanc to Ministry of Police, September 28, 1810: “On m’a rapporté que ces pèlerins dont la tête paraît exaltée ont tenu, en passant sur les limites de mon département des propos inconsidérés sur le pape, sur la religion.”

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., Vaublanc to Ministry of Police, October 1, 1810: “On a même répandu que l’exposition de cette robe était autorisée par le Gouvernement, et sans cette croyance, la plus grande partie des personnes de mon département qui ont fait ce voyage ne l’auraient pas entrepris.”

<sup>133</sup> They are also mentioned in the correspondence between Koblenz and Paris: AN, F/7/8068, dossier Rhin-et-Moselle, Fermath to Ministry of Police, October 23, 1810 (“les annonces répandues partout de son exposition [i.e., that of the Holy Tunic], ont facilement fait croire au public que le Gouvernement avait autorisé tout ce qui se pratiquait autrefois”).

<sup>134</sup> AN, F/7/8069, folder entitled, “Sarre – Préfet – La vraie Robe de Jesus Christ à Trèves,” ministry of Police to Sainte-Suzanne (draft), October 10, 1810; Sainte-Suzanne to Réal (state councilor at the ministry of Police), Trier, October 17, 1810 (“modération”). BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, f. 104, Bigot de Préameneu to Mannay, Paris, October 12, 1810; f. 105, Mannay to Bigot de Préameneu, Trier, October 19, 1810 (“un ordre et une tranquillité qui ont surpassé tous les vœux”).

Governing elites' perspectives on the events of September 1810 thus raise more questions than they answer about why pilgrims did what they did, as distinct from what Mannay and other organizers of the pilgrimage had expected and prescribed. The feverish correspondence of the Moselle and Rhin-et-Moselle prefectures already suggests that well-organized, clergy-led processions were only part of the story. What other factors may have played into the decision to hit the road and see the Holy Tunic? Work on the 1844 pilgrimage has sometimes relied on the argument that ordinary Catholics supposedly shared a "naïve belief" in the miraculous powers of relics or a "downright inherent propensity for pilgrimage."<sup>135</sup> Yes, perhaps they did. But such generic claims cannot explain the finding I discuss below, namely that the inhabitants of *particular* regions showed more interest than others in going on this *particular* pilgrimage. To account for these patterns, I suggest probing the relationship between devotion to the Holy Tunic and Catholics' broader familiarity with Trier as a holy city.

The fragmentary text of a sermon written for the showing of 1810 reveals the power of that relationship—two intertwined stories, one specifically about the Tunic and another, more holistic one about the city. The author of the sermon dwells first on the biblical mentions of Jesus's clothing and its miraculous power.<sup>136</sup> Then, however, the text pivots to a praise of Trier and its splendid history as "the second Rome" to explain why Saint Helen chose it as the "natural" home of the Holy Tunic.<sup>137</sup> The author took this rhetoric further by apostrophizing the city: "The excellent piety, the immaculate, steadfast faith of your ancestors, even their dead and

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<sup>135</sup> Schieder, "Kirche und Revolution," 451: "naiven Wunderglauben"; Dohms, *Rheinische Wallfahrten*, 53 claims that "in der Tat die Pilger von einem geradezu originären Hang zum Wallfahrten beseelt gewesen sein müssen."

<sup>136</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 211, ff. 1–4, untitled sermon, here f. 1. Crucial verses interpreted by the author include Lk 8:43–44 and Jn 19:23–24.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., f. 3v: "Damals wurde Trier genannt, das es war, das 2te Rom" and 4r: "Da also der Himmel, jenen großen Schatz, den h. Rock der Erde vergönnen wollte, so war unsre Kirch diejenige, der solcher zukam, wenn man nach der natürlichen Lag der Dinge urtheilen will."

decayed bones, the treasures you have received from Jesus, they continue to be effective and attract the world to you even in times of unbelief. For in you, peoples find what they cannot find otherwise and in you they feel what they do not feel elsewhere.”<sup>138</sup> Thus, the sermon writer portrayed Trier as an oasis of Catholicism in a post-revolutionary, more skeptical world—an oasis whose sources were multiple, not limited to any *one* treasure such as Jesus’s contact relic. This sermon walked a fine line between poetic flourish and sheer exaggeration, and we might question how strongly the pilgrimage event of September 1810 really resonated among various ‘peoples,’ especially beyond the diocesan boundaries that underlay the bishop’s procession schedule.

Yet, based on the quantitative analyses presented in the Appendix, I hazard the educated guess that about 230,000 Catholics went on this pilgrimage and that more than 100,000 of them came from outside the Saar department. In other words, some 45% percent of them did not come from the department and diocese for which the ecclesiastical organizers led by Mannay had officially intended the showing of the Holy Tunic—and for which they had received a local authorization from the prefecture at Trier. The notion of a pilgrimage event carefully and successfully organized and controlled from above thus proves misleading in this case. A remarkably great number of uninvited pilgrims participated, and conversely, a large minority of Catholics living within the Diocese of Trier *failed* to do so. Therefore, instead of relying on the cliché of generic and well-orchestrated mass mobilization from above, we might want to ask more precise questions about who felt motivated to go to Trier and why.

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid., f. 4v: “Die ausgezeichnete Frommigkeit, der unbefleckte, unerschütterliche Glaub deiner Voreltern, selbst ihre todte, und zum [?] vermoderten Gebeine, die Schätze, die du von J[esus] hast, fahren fort zu wirken, und ziehen dir, selbst in den Zeiten des Unglaubens, die Welt zu. Weil die Volker bei dir finden, was sie sonst nicht finden, in dir empfinden, was sie anders wo nicht empfinden.”

The answer to these questions is, in a nutshell, that Catholics tended to participate massively in the pilgrimage of 1810 only if they held a preexisting religious attachment to Trier. Many from the northern parts and some other cantons of the Saar Department had not traditionally cultivated such ties and this lack corresponds to the low participation rates recorded for these cantons, although physical distance from Trier also matters here (see Appendix). By contrast, remarkably large numbers of pilgrims came from regions *beyond* the borders of the department. Overall, the evidence from administrative sources strongly corroborates Vicar General Cordel's note that these outside regions most notably included Luxembourg, Lorraine, and the hinterlands of Koblenz and Cologne.<sup>139</sup> Crucially, all these regions also featured centuries-old relationships to Trier as a holy city, largely based on practices of pilgrimage.<sup>140</sup> In other words, the routes Catholics took in September 1810 to get to Trier had constituted well-trodden pilgrim paths for centuries.

Laypeople had already taken strong ownership of these routes against the constraints imposed by Napoleonic state and church decrees, in a way that echoes the struggles of the 1790s. In May 1810, for instance, the mayor of Lutzerath complained to the prefect that each year around and after Pentecost, eight to ten thousand pilgrims from the Eifel region passed through Lutzerath on their way to Klausen and Trier. In the process, they not only allegedly disrupted public order but also violated a recent ban on pilgrimages exceeding the boundaries of their home diocese (Aachen). These pilgrimage processions escaped the control of the parish clergy because they were organized and presided over by local lay leaders such as churchwardens.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Lichter, "Die Rückkehr des Hl. Rockes," 9:168–9.

<sup>140</sup> See the Appendix for an in-depth demonstration of this point.

<sup>141</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 256, Nr. 7793, pp. 73–5, mayor of Lutzerath to prefecture, Lutzerath, May 27, 1810. A similar complaint had been voiced in 1802 by the mayor of Eller, a village situated on the left bank of the Mosel and the southeastern fringe of the Rhin-et-Moselle; this mayor interestingly referred back to Clemens Wenceslaus's 1784 decree on processions. See *ibid.*, pp. 7–9. For the ban on trans-diocesan pilgrimages pronounced on February 14,

Lay leadership also characterized the pilgrimage groups that came to Trier from the Rhin-et-Moselle in September 1810—in sharp contrast to the clericalized processions from inside the Saar Department.<sup>142</sup>

Here, I find strong resonances between the events of September 1810 and the pilgrimage traditions of the confraternities devoted to St. Matthias. Throughout the early modern period, these pilgrimage confraternities had been led by lay men, the *Brudermeister*, and had guarded almost complete independence from the clergy.<sup>143</sup> In the Napoleonic period, Mannay saved the church of the dissolved St. Matthias' Abbey by repurposing it as a parish church. The steady income from pilgrims' offerings was substantial enough to quickly set off disputes between the churchwardens (the lay administrators of the parish budget) and the priest.<sup>144</sup> This evidence dovetails with a list of some two dozens of large votive candles that pilgrimage processions from all over the Rhineland offered at St. Matthias in the first decade of the nineteenth century.<sup>145</sup> And even the pedagogical impulses of the Catholic Enlightenment may have fostered rather than hampered this particular pilgrimage. One of the major representatives of the moderate

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1810 by the Bishopric of Aachen (whose area of spiritual jurisdiction comprised the Rhin-et-Moselle and Roër Departments), cf. AN, F/7/8068, dossier Rhin-et-Moselle, bishopric of Aachen to prefecture of Rhin-et-Moselle, July 13, 1810 (much detail on lay leadership of processions in this letter as well as the one written by the Lutzerath mayor); AN, F/19/146, p. 30, Bigot de Préameneu to the Vicars General of Aachen, August 14, 1810.

<sup>142</sup> AN, F/7/8068, dossier Rhin-et-Moselle, Fermath to Réal, Koblenz, October 23, 1810: "Les curés et desservans n'ont point accompagné en procession les devots pèlerins, mais plusieurs d'entre eux se sont rendus eux-mêmes à Trêves et ont exalté par là le fanatisme de leurs paroissiens."

<sup>143</sup> Bernard, *Die Wallfahrten*, esp. 177; more on lack of clerical oversight in the case of the Cologne confraternity of St. Matthias: Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, *Struktur und kollektiver Eigensinn: Kölner Laienbruderschaften im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 314–15 and 369–72; Yuki Ikari, *Wallfahrtswesen in Köln vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Aufklärung* (Cologne: SH-Verlag, 2009), 182–88.

<sup>144</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 169 (St. Matthias parish), esp. the following letters: Trier's mayor Recking to prefect Keppler, Trier, 11 floréal an XII (May 1, 1804); Keppler to Mannay, Trier, 17 floréal an XII (May 7, 1804); Recking to Mannay, Trier, 22 floréal an XII (May 12, 1804; "la semaine prochaine les pèlerins arriveront de tous cotés en grand nombre pour les fêtes de Pentecotte, et vont à St. Mathias, but de leur pèlerinage"). Later in the Napoleonic period, the *fabrique intérieure* of St. Matthias parish reported an income of 588.76 *francs* from the church's offertory boxes (*troncs*)—an exorbitant sum by comparison to other parishes: LHA Ko, Best. 276, Nr. 530, statistics on *fabrique* revenues, separate sheet for St. Matthias.

<sup>145</sup> StA Tr, Ta 43/3, "Nahmen derjenigen frembden Pfarreien, welche noch in letzteren Jahren in der Kirche St. Matheis gewallfahrtet, und eine Kertze daselbst geopfert haben" (undated, list completed in 1814 or slightly later).

Enlightenment in Trier, Viktor Dewora, served as parish priest of St. Matthias from 1808 to 1824.<sup>146</sup> Even before 1808, Dewora began publishing devotional booklets that foregrounded Enlightenment notions to reframe pilgrimage and prayers to Saint Matthias. Instead of publicizing miracles, Dewora encouraged devotees of the saint to emulate Matthias's virtues and the patience he had displayed as a martyr.<sup>147</sup> Whether or not Dewora succeeded in conveying to pilgrims this shift in emphasis from the miraculous to the moral, his interest in the pilgrimage as such helped the lay confraternities that maintained their traditions of annual journeys to the apostle's tomb.<sup>148</sup> In short, pilgrimage to Trier flourished in the first decade of the nineteenth century largely in the form of long-distance trips to St. Matthias.

By putting Trier prominently on the pilgrim's mental map and keeping it there long after the 1655 showing of the Tunic had faded from living memory, devotion to Matthias factored into Catholics' decision to visit Trier for the showing of 1810. During that event, notable clusters of pilgrims came from quite distant areas to the southwest and south-southeast of Bonn—a region with a particularly high density of Matthias confraternities.<sup>149</sup> As for the town of Adenau, whence a formal procession arrived in Trier on September 25, we have already encountered its Catholics as organizers of an especially notable pilgrimage to St. Matthias in 1796. Other types of sources also reveal that pilgrims had connected the devotions to Saint Matthias and to the

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<sup>146</sup> On Dewora, cf. Kallabis, *Katholizismus im Umbruch*, esp. 406–10, 524; Viktor Joseph Dewora, 'Ehrendenkmal': *Quellen zur Geschichte der Koalitionskriege 1792–1801* (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1994), XXI–XLV (introduction by Michael Embach); Joseph Nießen and Peter Mertes, *Viktor Joseph Dewora, der trierische Overberg: Sein Leben, Wirken und seine Schriften* (Trier: Loewenberg, 1896), esp. 4 and 17 for the date range of Dewora's position as parish priest.

<sup>147</sup> Viktor Joseph Dewora, *Andachtsbuch für die Verehrer des heiligen Mathias* (Trier: Schröll, s.d.)—see the non-paginated dedication that reveals that Dewora wrote this book while his predecessor in the parish of St. Matthias, Nikolaus Hubert Becker, was still alive, i.e., before 1808; Viktor Joseph Dewora, *Das Wichtigste für katholische Christen, welche zum Grabe des heiligen Mathias wallfahrten* (Trier: Schröll, s.d.); Viktor Joseph Dewora, *Bruderschaftsbüchelchen für die Verehrer des H. Mathias* (Trier: Schröll, s.d.).

<sup>148</sup> On lively and long-standing correspondence between confraternity leaders and Dewora, cf. also LHA Ko, Best. 355, Nr. 521, Dewora to the mayor of Trier, St. Matthias, February 23, 1814.

<sup>149</sup> See the map in the Appendix; cf. also Bernard, *Die Wallfahrten*, 16 and 275–76.

Holy Tunic long before 1810. Pilgrimage guidebooks of Matthias confraternities typically contained prayers or songs that honored the Tunic and indicated Trier Cathedral as the pilgrimage groups' last significant stop before St. Matthias' Abbey. The guide reprinted in 1808 for the Matthias confraternity of Anrath, for instance, instructed pilgrims to sing '*Ist das der Rock Herr Jesu Christ,*' the most famous of early modern songs about the Tunic, while entering Trier.<sup>150</sup> Likewise, pilgrimage coins from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sometimes showed Saint Matthias on the front and the Holy Tunic on the back.<sup>151</sup> This juxtaposition made sense because the saint's relics and the Tunic also appeared side by side in the origin story of Trier as a holy city. They both belonged to the spiritual treasure that Saint Helen was said to have retrieved in the Holy Land and donated to Trier in the fourth century.<sup>152</sup>

Last but not least, devotion to the Virgin Mary also underwrote the pilgrimage of 1810. On Sunday, September 9, the first day of the showing, Trier was overrun by crowds of pilgrims who had acquired the habit of visiting the city each year on September 8 to witness the great

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<sup>150</sup> *Andachts-Uebungen*, 195. For other examples of homage paid to the Holy Tunic and/or Trier Cathedral in Matthias pilgrimage guides, see *Coblentzer Wallfahrt: Worin alle Stationes daraus nacher der Stadt Trier ordentlich bis zu S. Mathias angezeigt werden [...]* (Coblentz: Krabben, 1765), 268; *Erneuerte Einrichtung der Bruderschaft des H. Apostels Matthias so in der Chur-Cöllnischen Stadt Kempen ... andächtig gehalten wird, samt Ordnung der Pilgerfahrt auf Trier ...* (Kempen, 1777), 360–64; *New in Truck außgegebener Stadt Sigburgischer Pilgrams-Trost nacher Trier zu dem Heyligen Weit in der Welt berühmten Teutschen Apostel Matthiam: Nicht allein für jetzige wie auch zukünftige Brüder und Schwester der Stadt Sigburg / sondern auch allen herumb wohnenden Benachbarten zu mehrerer Aufmunterung des Gemüths in ihrer Andacht / und zum Trost ihrer Seelen-Heyl eingerichtet. Getheilt in 4 Theil. Alles zu grösserer Ehr Gottes / Und des Heil. Apostels Matthiä* (Cologne: Joh. Egid Constant. Müller, 1727), 221. Of this last book, a nearly unmodified second edition appeared in 1744: cf. Dieter Schmellekamp, "*Richtiger Wegzeiger für die Reyß zu Land von Siegburg auff Trier*": *Auf den Spuren der Pilger zum Grab des Heiligen Matthias* (Siegburg: Rheinlandia-Verlag, 2002), 12 and 157.

<sup>151</sup> Three examples in Ursula Hagen, *Die Wallfahrtsmedaillen des Rheinlandes in Geschichte und Volksleben* (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag, 1973), 224–26; a fourth one in Hans-Joachim Kann, "Wallfahrtsmedaillen," in *Zwischen Andacht und Andenken: Kleinodien religiöser Kunst und Wallfahrtsandenken aus Trierer Sammlungen - ein Katalog zur Gemeinschaftsausstellung des Bischöflichen Dom- und Diözesanmuseums Trier und des Städtischen Museums Simeonstift Trier vom 16. Oktober 1992 bis 17. Januar 1993*, ed. Elisabeth Dühr, Markus Groß-Morgen, and Burkhard Kaufmann (Trier: Selbstverlag des Bischöflichen Dom- und Diözesanmuseums Trier und des Städtischen Museums Simeonstift Trier, 1992), 417–83, here 474. Intriguingly, Kann speculates (*ibid.*, 475) that the two coins that Hagen dates to the eighteenth century were actually minted on the occasion of the 1810 pilgrimage.

<sup>152</sup> Cf., e.g., Hillar, *Mathianischer Ehren- und Andachts-Tempel*, 45–6.

procession of the Nativity of Mary.<sup>153</sup> The origins of this annual urban procession from the cathedral to St. Matthias and back lay in 1675, when Archbishop Karl Kaspar had first organized it to say thanks for a retreat of the French army from the Rhineland during the Franco-Dutch War of 1672–78.<sup>154</sup> Thus, the weekend of September 8 and 9 saw a seamless transition from a highlight of devotion to Mary—whom the song ‘*Ist das der Rock Herr Jesu Christ*’ presented as the weaver of the Holy Tunic—to the adoration of her son.<sup>155</sup>

What is more, since 1697, the cathedral had been home to a Marian statue whose reputed miraculous powers had become a pilgrimage attraction in its own right over the course of the eighteenth century. Within the cathedral, the chapel that housed this statue was located on the south side of the choir, relatively close to the chapel of the Holy Tunic.<sup>156</sup> Even in the years 1794 to 1802, when the French occupying troops sequestered the cathedral building and used the Marian chapel as a stable for their horses, Mary’s devotees could still pray in front of the statue because it had been transferred to the neighboring Church of Our Lady (*Liebfrauenkirche*).<sup>157</sup> Perhaps, alongside the Matthias confraternities, this Marian devotion provided the second main element of continuity in pilgrimage to Trier across the two decades of French rule. At least when the mayor of Lutzerath denounced the persistence of that pilgrimage in May 1810, he described

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<sup>153</sup> Cf. Appendix, fn. 8.

<sup>154</sup> The origins and history of the procession are discussed in some detail in Guido Groß, “Abtei und Kirche St. Matthias und die Trierer Familie Neurohr im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert,” *Neues trierisches Jahrbuch* 41 (2001): 113–37, esp. 113–19.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. *Kurzer Begriff*, 5: “Ist dies das Kleid Herr Jesu Christ, / Das von Maria gewebet ist” (beginning of third verse).

<sup>156</sup> Ronig, “Die Ausstattung,” 303–304 and plan no. VIII in the annex. For the parallel case of a miraculous Marian statue standing in a chapel of Cologne Cathedral and much visited by pilgrims since the early seventeenth century, see Wolfgang Schmid, *Graphische Medien und katholische Reform: Reliquienverehrung, Goldschmiedekunst und Wallfahrt in rheinischen Städten nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2008), 96–7.

<sup>157</sup> This is according to Franz Tobias Müller’s manuscript on “The fate of the churches in and near Trier since the hostile arrival of the French in 1794.” BA Tr, Abt. 95, Nr. 342, p. 4: “Die sonst täglich stark besuchte Muttergottes Capelle aber, mußte zu einem Pferdsstalle dienen: das miraculöse Bild hat man unterdeßen, in der Kirche Unser Lieben Frauen bewahret.”



the city as home to a prestigious image of Mary while failing to mention St. Matthias.<sup>158</sup> And for this Marian element, too, the producers of pilgrimage coins had long forged a relationship to the Holy Tunic: a coin from the year 1698 shows Trier's miraculous statue of the Virgin on one side and the tunic on the other.<sup>159</sup>

During the pilgrimage of September 1810, this connection resurfaced in the only experience of sacred healing that Vicar General Cordel considered worth recording even though he refused to classify it as a miracle. Rumors about miraculous healings probably played a major role in motivating many Catholics to go on the pilgrimage (see Appendix), so it is worth considering the protocol written up by Cordel in some detail. At the age of fifty-two, Elisabetha Klein, a widowed woman and mother of five, had been suffering from fevers and gout for three years, to the point of near-total incapacitation. Although she consulted doctors from ten different towns including Sankt Wendel, Birkenfeld, and Trier, none of them could help her find relief. So, when she learned about the upcoming pilgrimage in 1810, she decided "to let herself be transported to the Holy Tunic."<sup>160</sup> Friends and family members placed her on a cart and dragged her from her home village Neunkirchen on the River Nahe (in the Saar Department) across the Hunsrück mountains to Trier, roughly thirty miles. They arrived on the evening of September 18. After her first night in the city, Klein already began feeling a bit better. She insisted that her helpers need not use the cart again and instead simply prop her up for the walk to the cathedral. At 7:30 on the morning of September 19, she entered the church. Her guides obtained permission

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<sup>158</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 256, Nr. 7793, pp. 73–5, mayor of Lutzerath to prefecture, Lutzerath, May 27, 1810, here p. 73: "L'epoque approche, ou des reunions[sic] de pèlerins se rendent tous les ans, en masse, à Trèves et Clausen, pour porter leurs prières devant la Vierge, réputée miraculeuse, se trouvant encore conservée en des Églises de ces communes." I hesitate, however, to attribute too much weight to this statement. It is quite possible that this mayor, who resided in a place much closer to Klausen than to Trier, simply lumped Trier together with Klausen as another place of Marian pilgrimage.

<sup>159</sup> Hagen, *Die Wallfahrtsmedaillen*, 223–24.

<sup>160</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 211, f. 87, healing protocol written on September 20, 1810, quote on f. 87r: "sich zum h. Rock transportiren zu lassen."

to lead her right through one of the regular processions so she could kneel and pray individually in front of the Holy Tunic for almost ten minutes. Then “she left, now holding the hands of her guides: they no longer needed to hold her under her arms.”<sup>161</sup>

Instead of stopping there, Klein now took a turn toward Mary. According to Cordel, Klein went to the Church of Our Lady and said more prayers there after her first encounter with the Tunic. Next, she returned to the cathedral, still holding her guides’ hands, and paid a visit “to the Chapel of the Mother of God, where she knelt on the naked floor, stood up by herself, and let herself be guided to the Holy Tunic once more even though she felt strong enough to go there by herself.”<sup>162</sup> By noon on September 20, when she talked to Cordel about her experience, she was able to walk all by herself, although she suffered from great fatigue. Undeniably, the relic and its powers sat at the heart of Klein’s story. Yet she described a gradual improvement—a small journey of healing that led her from the glass reliquary in which the Holy Tunic was placed to the city’s great Marian church and back, via the Marian chapel to which the miraculous statue had probably returned after 1802.

This journey demonstrates how one woman could pursue her quest for healing in the midst of a pilgrimage event that, at first glance, left space only for mass processions. Even as a resident of the Saar Department, Klein was not beholden to the schedule and instructions given by the bishopric—a point that applies far beyond her individual experience. For example, the official rules prescribed that each procession, upon leaving the cathedral after passing in front of

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid., f. 87v: “sie gieng nun fort, faste ihre Führer nun bei der Hand, warn selbe nicht mehr nöthig, sie unter die Armen zu fassen.”

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.: from the Church of Our Lady “gieng sie in den Dom in den Händen ihrer Führer zu der Mutter Gottes Kapelle, wo sie kniete auf dem freien Boden, alleine aufstand, und abermal zum h. Rock sich führen ließ, obgleich sie sich stark genug fühlte allein hinzugehen.”

the Holy Tunic, “shall be led out of the city immediately and must not reenter it.”<sup>163</sup> But in practice, as almost all processional envoys openly acknowledged, pilgrims took several hours to get some rest and perhaps make small purchases of pious objects and food while still in the city, and many thousands stayed in Trier overnight.<sup>164</sup> We cannot know how many of them seized the opportunity to pray in the Church of Our Lady or in the cathedral’s Marian chapel, as Klein did, or how many added a detour to St. Matthias.<sup>165</sup> At any rate, Klein’s story suggests how an individual pilgrim could connect various strands and sites of devotion, thus activating a broader imaginary of holy Trier in which Jesus’s tunic played a critical but by no means isolated role.

To sum up, in the pilgrimage of September 1810, Trier as an urban beacon of Catholicism benefited spectacularly from what the state and church apparatuses of Napoleonic France could *and could not* accomplish in their efforts of imperial expansion and integration. On the one hand, by enacting *Säkularisation*, enshrining the Rhine border that split apart the former territory of the Electorate of Trier, and establishing a new Diocese of Trier, French rule forced a decision about where the Holy Tunic ‘really’ belonged. As the electorate ceased to exist and as Ehrenbreitstein and the city of Trier ended up on different sides of the border, could this most prestigious relic of the Church of Trier still have its place on the right bank of the Rhine? Clemens Wenceslaus, the last archbishop-elect, did not think so, and his opinion in this matter

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<sup>163</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 211, ff. 108–109, “Règlement pour l’exposition de la ste Robe,” art. 13: “La procession sortant de la Cathédrale sera conduite aussitôt hors de la ville, ou elle ne doit plus rentrer. Les curés qui président à la procession, sont responsables de l’exécution de cet article.”

<sup>164</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, ff. 111–21; Simmer, “Ein neu entdeckter Bericht,” 273. See also BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, ff. 127–28, a protocol documenting that the mayor of Trier auctioned off the rights to erect a total of 45 makeshift street shops at which local inhabitants could sell their goods to visitors during the pilgrimage. Such economic arrangements would hardly have made sense if pilgrims had been as strictly bound to the collectivity and itinerary of the procession as the *Règlement pour l’exposition* asserted they should be. A similar point has already been made by Richard Laufner, “Logistische und organisatorische, finanzielle und wirtschaftliche Aspekte bei den Hl.-Rock-Wallfahrten 1512 bis 1959,” in *Der heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi anlässlich der Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt 1996*, ed. Erich Aretz et al. (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995), 457–81, here 466–7.

<sup>165</sup> There was, moreover, no detour to speak of for all those pilgrims who entered Trier from the south, as they passed right through the southern suburb of St. Matthias anyway.

enabled Mannay and the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to secure the Tunic for Trier Cathedral against serious competition from Limburg, Ehrenbreitstein, and Nassau-Weilburg.

On the other hand, when Mannay tried to tap into the new, departmentalized territorial order to create a well-bounded, strictly orchestrated pilgrimage to the Holy Tunic, the limitations of this order became spectacularly visible. By the tens of thousands, Catholics from all over Luxembourg, Lorraine, and large swaths of the Rhineland frustrated both Mannay's attempt at boundary-setting and the *police du culte* that Napoleonic administrators in Koblenz, Luxembourg City, Metz, and Paris scrambled to enact. As my analysis of pilgrims' numbers and places of departure from inside and outside the Saar Department shows, being invited by the bishop (and thus 'from above') proved less decisive than did distance and the presence or absence of a long-standing attachment to Trier as a multifaceted spiritual center. In short, the pilgrimage could take place in part because French expansion had precipitated the relic's return to the city. Yet the stunning influx of more than 200,000 pilgrims only came to pass because French control and rebordering could not overwrite the religious mental maps of lay Catholics in different parts of the region, who cherished not only the Holy Tunic but also, more broadly, holy Trier.

## Conclusion

For Trier, ultimately, the pilgrimage of 1810 helped secure a notion of the holy city that resonated through the nineteenth century and beyond. Mannay's successor on the episcopal see, Joseph von Hommer (1824–36), adhered to the ideals of a moderate Enlightenment and took a cautious but restrictive and sometimes overtly dismissive approach to pilgrimage.<sup>166</sup> In 1802 and

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<sup>166</sup> See Schiffhauer, "Das Wallfahrtswesen," 346–9.

1803, however, when the parishioners of Ehrenbreitstein had petitioned Clemens Wenceslaus and the General Vicariate in Limburg to claim the Tunic for their church, their parish priest had been none other than Joseph von Hommer.<sup>167</sup> Later, much like Mannay had done before, Bishop von Hommer faced the challenge of integrating a modified ecclesial territory under unprecedented political conditions. Trier and its region now belonged to the Prussian Rhine Province and thus to a primarily Protestant state. In addition, another concordat, signed in 1821 between Prussia and the Holy See, had redrawn the boundaries of the Diocese of Trier again. In this situation, von Hommer had recourse to the idea that “the holy city of Trier” should serve “as an example to all other places” in the diocese when it came to religious ceremonies and practices.<sup>168</sup> He also penned a short treatise on the history of the Holy Tunic. To be sure, this posthumously published piece reflected its author’s notions of Enlightenment: he affirmed the authenticity of the relic only with some hesitations and deemphasized its role as a medium of miraculous healing. Yet in 1844, the clergy who organized the next public showing of the Holy Tunic deemed von Hommer’s piece useful and worthy of two reprints.<sup>169</sup> Thus, even through a trajectory and personality such as von Hommer’s—a man profoundly inspired by the Enlightenment and skeptical of pilgrims’ practices—several lines run from the pilgrimage dynamics of the revolutionary era to the modern iteration of the holy city that the famous showing of the Holy Tunic in 1844 exemplifies so well.

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<sup>167</sup> Cf. Weber, “Der Heilige Rock,” 211. Weber even assumes that von Hommer wrote at least the second of these two petitions himself. Hommer’s autobiography, however, remains silent on this episode: cf. Joseph von Hommer, *Meditationes in vitam meam peractam: Eine Selbstbiographie, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Alois Thomas* (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1976).

<sup>168</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 51, Nr. 156, p. 15, printed circular letter from von Hommer to his parish clergy, Trier, April 4, 1826. In this letter, the bishop tried to reorient the imaginary of holy Trier toward a classic goal of the Catholic Enlightenment, namely the removal of clothed statues and images from processions in which the eucharistic sacrament was also present.

<sup>169</sup> Joseph von Hommer, “Geschichte des heiligen Rockes unseres Heilandes,” *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und katholische Theologie* 7, no. 25 (1838): 192–208. On the reprints, see Doney, “Moving Toward the Sacred,” 356.

Moreover, as a small to mid-sized city that faced drastic changes and difficulties around 1800 but triumphed as a sacred center on France's periphery, Trier does not represent an isolated case. Similar stories could be told about the Marian pilgrimage to Luxembourg City and the so-called *Aachenfahrt* (pilgrimage to Aachen).<sup>170</sup> In both these other cases, the borderlands situation held significant implications as well. For example, the first Bishops of Metz appointed after the Concordat took a lively interest in supporting the devotion and pilgrimage to Our Lady of Luxembourg because they were looking for ways to integrate this newly French, culturally

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<sup>170</sup> I have found primary sources suggesting the resilience and political importance of pilgrimage to Luxembourg City in AN, F/19/702/C, "Département des Forêts. Extrait du Projet de Circonscription des Cures & Succursales de l'arrondissement de Luxembourg" (undated but from ca. 1802/3); AN, F/19/5687, *police des cultes* in the post-Concordat Diocese of Metz; AN, F/19/324 and F/19/737 on a passionate dispute over the pilgrimage church between the Bishop of Metz (Bienaymé) and the Prefect of the Forêts (more on this dispute in AN Lux, B-0062 and -0620); SHD, 1 I 14 on the annual pilgrimage festival from the perspective of the command of the Luxembourg fortress; BnF, NAF 6169, 6170, and 28917 (vol.s 6, 7, and 8) on Bishop Jauffret's interest in and support for the pilgrimage (cf. also ADM, 29 J 144, 29 J 825, and 29 J 847 on this aspect); AGR, I 071, no. 2611 and no. 2682 as well as T 460, no. 704/A on the conflicts of the Josephist period (mid-to-late 1780s); AN Lux, A-XXXVIII-03-0037, -0267, -0281, -0283, -0303, -0446, -0447 on the last decades of the Old Regime, B-0622, -0837, -0847, and -0862 on the late 1790s, and B-0033, -0056, -0878, and -0880 on the Napoleonic period; ADioc Lux, ND 21a on the transition from a Jesuit-organized to a parish-based pilgrimage in the 1770s (for more on this, see AGR, T 460, no. 844/A), and ADioc Lux, ND 89 and 137 as well as the file "Unterlagen Grob, no. 1058" on the remarkable stream of revenues obtained and communion hosts distributed during the pilgrimage Octave between the 1780s and the 1810s; AM Lux, LU I 10, no. 34 (also on the transition of the 1770s), and LU 02.1, nos. 1 and 5 as well as LU 11 II, no. 381 on how the devotion to Our Lady of Luxembourg weathered the crisis of the mid-to-late 1790s; ADM, 29 J 365–372 (results of the pastoral enquiry of 1807, numerous mentions of Luxembourg City as a pilgrimage destination) and 29 J 824 on the Octave right after the Concordat; Martin Blum, "Sammlung von Aktenstücken zur Geschichte des Gnadenbildes Mariä, der Trösterin der Betrübten, zu Luxemburg: Marche qui sera suivie pour la Procession de la Vierge, fixée à Dimanche 16 floréal an 12," *Ons Hémecht* 25 (1919): 159–60 (and several other installments in this series of documents edited by Blum in the same journal between 1906 and 1921). A crucial printed primary source is: *Description du jubilé, célébré à l'honneur de Marie, Consalatrice des Affligés: Choisie depuis plus de cent ans pour Patronne & Protectrice de la Ville & du Duché de Luxembourg, avec le récit des décorations qui y ont paru* (Luxembourg: André Chevalier, 1781). Secondary literature on the struggles of the 1780s and 90s: Trausch, "L'Octave," but also Gilbert Trausch, "L'octave en 1798: La ville de Luxembourg à l'heure républicaine," in *Un passé resté vivant: Mélanges d'histoire luxembourgeoise* (Luxembourg: Lions Club Luxembourg Doyen, 1995), 47–52, and Michael Faltz, *Heimstätte U. L. Frau von Luxemburg*, 3., vermehrte Aufl. (Luxembourg: Sankt-Paulus-Druckerei, 1948), 22–26. For the case of Luxembourg City, too, I therefore remain skeptical of attempts to narrate a revolutionary-era slump followed by a mid-nineteenth-century revival: for two such attempts, see Georges Hellinghausen, "Bischof Laurent und die Wiederbelebung der Oktave," *Nos cahiers. Lëtzeburger Zäitschrëft fir Kultur* 18, no. 2 (1997): 9–39; Jean Hengen, "Luxemburg und seine Patronin: Maria Trösterin der Betrübten," *Sedes Sapientiae. Mariologisches Jahrbuch* 2, no. 2 (1998): 11–41, esp. 29–30. On the septennial pilgrimage to Aachen during the Napoleonic period, see, e.g., AN, F/19/5568 on the year 1804 (Portalis to Bonaparte, Paris, 29 messidor an XII [July 18, 1804]), and on 1811: F/7/8069, folder entitled, "Roer, Préfet, Rapport sur les Pèlerinages dans ce Département," esp. letter from Bigot de Préameneu to Savary, Paris, July 3, 1811.

‘German’ city and its hinterland into their diocese.<sup>171</sup> In Aachen, meanwhile, the French government decided to erect a new episcopal see and to support the great pilgrimage of 1804—the year of Napoleon’s coronation. They lent this support because they recognized the double spiritual power of Aachen as both a destination for pilgrims and the city of Charlemagne, offering an ideal symbol for the new French Empire.<sup>172</sup>

Through the dramatic changes of the revolutionary era, pilgrimage proved key to the struggle over whether and how Trier might keep asserting itself as a holy city after the collapse of the Old Regime. Spatially salient and devotionally rich, pilgrim’s practices contributed mightily to this assertion. In the process, Catholics reconnected the various dots of pious traditions that rulers and bishops could help select but not invent, control, or revive—if only because the imaginary of holy Trier, though seriously challenged, had never been dead or even languishing in the first place. The continuities of these traditions do not amount to utter lack of change. For one thing, the political conflicts of the 1780s and 90s entailed a shift for lay Catholics, who gained a sharper sense of pilgrimage as one of the most apt practices through which to insist on the city’s holiness. Moreover, pilgrims activated layers of varying historical depth when they decided to visit Trier in September 1810. These layers included—among others—the cult of Saint Matthias that reached back to the central Middle Ages, the early modern development of devotion to the Holy Tunic, and the more recent presence of a miraculous Marian statue in a chapel of Trier Cathedral. While agents of Church and state engaged in ill-coordinated attempts to enforce the constraints of timetables and territory, pilgrims often crossed

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<sup>171</sup> Most notably, Jauffret consecrated his diocese to Our Lady of Luxembourg in 1807, cf. AN, F/19/5687, Jauffret to *ministre des cultes* Portalis, Luxembourg, May 7, 1807, and above all BnF, NAF 22312, ff. 156r–162r (Jauffret’s report on the Octave of 1807). See also ADM, 19 J 748, memorandum by Jauffret for his successor Laurent (hence probably written in 1811), suggesting ways to help develop Luxembourg City into the center of “la partie allemande du diocèse, qui est considérable.”

<sup>172</sup> Wynands, *Geschichte*, 58.

borders and re-produced the holy city through forms of spatial and religious bricolage. The pilgrimage dynamics of Trier in the revolutionary era thus exemplify why urban historians are right to be setting a new agenda that envisions “the *city as a changing configuration of places*.”<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Richard Rodger and Susanne Rau, “Thinking Spatially: New Horizons for Urban History,” *Urban History* 47, no. 3 (2020): 372–83, here 383 (emphasis in the original).



## Chapter 5

## Glimpses of Shrines and Lines: Malberg, Girsterklaus, Lambertsberg

Nestled among the rolling hills of the Eifel, north of Trier and northeast of Luxembourg, dozens of miles removed from these urban centers, the village of Lambertsberg and its church have their own, modest yet intriguing story to tell about pilgrimage. At least since the seventeenth century, pilgrims have come here to pray in the presence of Saint Lambert's relics. Larger crowds gathered at what used to be a mere chapel once a year on September 17, the feast day of this early medieval bishop and martyr—and the first day of a weeklong market fair that was well known throughout the region.<sup>1</sup> A pastoral inquiry from the Napoleonic period suggests that three to four thousand pilgrims visited the chapel on that day alone. Many of them took the sacraments of penance and communion and said the prescribed prayers to gain a plenary indulgence. Others simply left offerings, ranging from coins to numerous live chickens.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, the building was in bad repair around 1800 and could barely hold two hundred people.<sup>3</sup> Yet despite its small size, the Lambertsberg chapel had a special feature, one I would like to explore in greater depth:

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<sup>1</sup> Schneider, "Wallfahrten," here 367; Christine Cüppers and Ingrid Fusenig, *Glaube unterwegs - nach nebenan: Wallfahrtsorte im Bistum Trier* (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2012), 33–4; above all, Peter Oster, *Geschichte der Pfarreien der Dekanate Prüm-Waxweiler* (Trier: Paulinus-Druckerei, 1927), 686–95.

<sup>2</sup> ADM, 29 J 372, diocesan pastoral *enquête* of 1807, response from the *curé* of Waxweiler. Moreover, throughout the warmer months of the year, a few pilgrims a day found their way to the Lambertsberg chapel, often imploring the saint to intercede in cases of grave sickness, such as palsy and epilepsy. Cf. BnF, NAF 22312, papers of Bishop Jauffret, ff. 155–84, "Mémoires sur ma première visite pastorale dans le département des Forêts. 1807," here 182v–184r (text on f. 183 is unrelated): "On vient à cette chapelle en dévotion de dix à douze lieues à la ronde, et tous les jours pendant la belle saison il y arrive quelques pèlerins. On recourt à S. Lambert pour les paralysies, le mal caduc et autres maladies semblables."

<sup>3</sup> AN Lux, B-0386, "Tableau indicatif du nombre des édifices non aliénés employés à l'exercice des Cultes dans l'Arrond.t de Bitbourg, de l'état actuel dans lequel ils se trouvent, et du nombre d'individus qu'ils peuvent contenir en exécution de la lettre du Prefet du 23 nivôse an X [January 13, 1802]," signed by the sub-prefect of Bitburg, 6 ventôse an X (February 25, 1802).

it was situated on two different territories at the same time. Most notably, between 1795 and 1802, the state border of the French Republic ran right through this chapel.

In this chapter, I will analyze the fortunes of three shrines in the decades around 1800—Malberg, Girsterklaus, and Lambertsberg. Among the more than two thousand pilgrimage destinations of early modern and modern German-speaking Europe, these three places belong to the vast majority of smaller shrines, which held local as opposed to regional or even wider importance.<sup>4</sup> All three of them also had in common their position on the border between the Electorate of Trier and the Duchy of Luxembourg until 1795, subsequently morphing into the border between France and the French-occupied Rhineland (until 1802) and between two French departments, the Saar and the Forêts (until 1814; see the map in the Introduction). Girsterklaus was situated in a Trier enclave within Luxembourg. The inhabitants of Malberg found themselves on Luxembourgian territory yet they belonged to the parish of Kyllburg, a *trierisch* town, until about 1800. In other words, this chapter deals with smaller shrines and communities that became embroiled in what we might call local geopolitics—the minor but pervasive border troubles that marked the revolutionary era just as much as did sweeping efforts to redraw the map of Europe.

Far from sucking us into a swamp of irrelevant anecdotes about the freak accidents of territory, the local geopolitics of Malberg, Girsterklaus, and Lambertsberg lead onto the fertile plains of a growing scholarly discussion about border shrines. In the last two decades, several leading historians of pilgrimage have begun to highlight the distinct significance and great number of shrines directly tied to territorial boundaries, whether between states, provinces,

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<sup>4</sup> Nolan and Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage*, 28–35; Hersche, *Muße und Verschwendung*, esp. 798–804.

dioceses, or simply parishes.<sup>5</sup> Interest in this type of shrine echoes a major tenet in the classic anthropological theory of pilgrimage: pilgrimage is a liminal or liminoid activity and shrines often sit on borders or right next to them because people used to view the margins themselves as inherently sacred, fostering direct encounters with the holy instead of the tamer routines of devotion cultivated in the centers.<sup>6</sup> Much like in the broader field I survey in the Introduction, certain issues have by and large remained unaddressed in this scholarship. Above all, the profane politics of borders have received scarce attention from anthropologists and historians who have chosen instead to focus on issues of sacred space.<sup>7</sup> We know especially little about how the massive rebordering efforts of the revolutionary era challenged and energized local lay Catholic leaders as well as clergy to intervene in the geopolitics of border shrines.

Against this backdrop, I argue that the spiritual prestige and material lure of local shrines pushed Catholic “border societies” to engage intensely with the rebordering of the revolutionary era.<sup>8</sup> In other words, this chapter is less about pilgrims than about those who lived near shrines

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<sup>5</sup> Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, “Paysage et topographie des lieux de pèlerinage: Les sanctuaires provençaux à l’époque moderne,” in *Paysage et religion: Perception et créations chrétiennes*, ed. Serge Brunet and Philippe Martin (Paris: CTHS Éditions, 2015), 79–94; Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, “Espace et sacré au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Présentation des sources,” in *Lieux sacrés, lieux de culte, sanctuaires: Approches terminologiques, méthodologiques, historiques et monographiques*, ed. André Vauchez (Rome: École française de Rome, 2000), 297–316, esp. 314–15; André Vauchez, “Santuari di confine: Appunti per una tipologia,” in *Santuari di confine: Una tipologia? Atti del convegno di studi, Gorizia, Nova Gorica, 7–8 ottobre 2004*, ed. Andrea Tilatti (Gorizia: Istituto di Storia Sociale e Religiosa, 2008), 7–11, esp. 9; Hersche, *Muße und Verschwendung*, 819–20.

<sup>6</sup> Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, esp. 1–17 and 34–9; cf. also Jacques Gélis, “Les pierres de confins: Contribution à une anthropologie religieuse des limites,” in *Homo religiosus: Autour de Jean Delumeau* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 17–24, esp. 23; Jean-Pierre Albert, “Des lieux où souffle l’esprit,” *Archives de Sciences sociales des Religions*, no. 111 (2000): 111–23, esp. 120–2.

<sup>7</sup> A few valuable hints do exist as to how one might close the gap between the study of border shrines and enquiries into local geopolitics: cf. above all the passages on the Hülfsenberg shrine in Duhamelle, *La frontière au village*, 154–68; also, Andrea Tilatti, “Conclusioni,” in *Santuari di confine: Una tipologia? Atti del convegno di studi, Gorizia, Nova Gorica, 7–8 ottobre 2004*, ed. Andrea Tilatti (Gorizia: Istituto di Storia Sociale e Religiosa, 2008), 265–70, esp. 268–9.

<sup>8</sup> On the concept of border societies (“sociétés de frontière”), see most recently Dauphant, “L’historiographie,” esp. 300–1. Milestones in the micro-history of early modern and modern European border societies include Sahlins, *Boundaries*; Antonio Stopani, *La production des frontières: État et communautés en Toscane (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2008); Edith Sheffer, *Burned Bridge: How East and West Germans Made the Iron Curtain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). On the territorial sensitivity of borderland inhabitants, see also Dunlop, *Cartophilia*.

and hoped to benefit from pilgrims' influx and generosity.<sup>9</sup> Catholic border communities defended, promoted, and tried to reconfigure 'their' shrines—and such pursuits routinely led them to encounter the new border regime. At Malberg, the emergence of a new pilgrimage sharpened provincial identities and fueled a quest for parochial independence that Napoleonic authorities eventually endorsed for their own, very different reasons. At Girsterklaus, an enclaved shrine became a beacon of anti-revolutionary Catholic subversion as the French hegemon struggled to reconcile the dynamics of territorial expansion with the desire to 'fix' both internal administrative and external state borders. At Lambertsberg, border conflicts and conflicts over a pilgrimage chapel reinforced each other, spiraling almost to the point of jeopardizing the unity and spatial stability of the shrine itself. In all these instances as well as in comparison cases I will sketch toward the end of each section, lower clergy and local lay communities displayed striking agency in their dealings with prelates, prefects, and other governing elites.<sup>10</sup> In short, the power of pilgrimage both motivated and enabled Catholics to use borders as strategic tools.

More specifically, these local actors also learned to negotiate different *types* of borders as territorial shifts accelerated and multiplied in the decades around 1800.<sup>11</sup> Taken together, the three case studies in this chapter deal with the chronological sequence in which the border between two territories of the Holy Roman Empire (Trier and Luxembourg) became a state border of revolutionary France and later a departmental boundary before the Congress of Vienna

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<sup>9</sup> For lack of relevant source material, I am quite simply unable to say how—or even whether—the pilgrims themselves experienced and negotiated the border on their way to these smaller shrines.

<sup>10</sup> For a similar point about local agency, see Christian Windler, "Grenzen vor Ort," *Rechtsgeschichte - Legal History* 1 (2002): 122–45, esp. 130 and 144.

<sup>11</sup> A recent call to study multiple kinds of borders at the same time is Violet Soen et al., "How to do Transregional History: A Concept, Method and Tool for Early Modern Border Research," *Journal of Early Modern History* 21, no. 4 (2017): 343–64, esp. 346–52.

radically reorganized the region again. As I will also show, in all three instances, lay Catholics as well as priests struggled over the parish—another territorial unit that underwent drastic modifications in revolutionary Europe. Historians have already pointed out how vigorously local communities reacted when revolutionary and Napoleonic authorities redrew parish boundaries on a grand scale and even wiped thousands of parishes off the map entirely.<sup>12</sup> Admittedly, many of these communities did not have shrines over which to fight. Yet the stories of Malberg, Girsterklaus, and Lambertsberg suggest that where pilgrimage places existed, they played major roles in the territorial strife that unfolded not just among emerging nation-states and empires but also on the parish level. In other words, while few sites have as remarkable a border predicament as did Lambertsberg around 1800, countless shrines may very well have become embroiled in *some* kind of border trouble in that period.

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<sup>12</sup> Paul Chopelin, “Le remodelage des circonscriptions paroissiales urbaines en France pendant la Révolution (1791–1803),” in *Ville et religion en Europe du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle: La cité réenchantée*, ed. Bruno Dumons and Bernard Hours (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 2010), 49–63; Jacques Fontaine, “Un aspect de la législation concordataire: Le nouveau découpage des circonscriptions ecclésiastiques,” in *Mélanges à la mémoire de Michel Péronnet*, ed. Joël Fouilleron and Henri Michel, 3 vols. (Montpellier: Centre d’histoire moderne et contemporaine de l’Europe méditerranéenne et de ses périphéries, 2003–2006), vol. 3, 269–79; Françoise Panhaleux, “La circonscription des paroisses dans le Morbihan de 1790 au 10 août 1792,” in *Pratiques religieuses, mentalités et spiritualités dans l’Europe révolutionnaire (1770–1820): Actes du colloque, Chantilly 27–29 novembre 1986*, ed. Bernard Plongeron, Paule Lerou, and Raymond Darteville (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 225–29; Peter Jones, *The Peasantry in the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 202–4; Jean de Viguerie, “La circonscription des paroisses pendant la Révolution: Premières recherches,” in *Histoire de la paroisse: Actes de la onzième rencontre d’histoire religieuse tenue à Fontevraud les 2 et 3 octobre 1987* (Angers: Presses de l’Université d’Angers, 1988), 101–21. Historiographical overview: Philippe Boutry, “Paroisses et clergé paroissial en France,” in *L’histoire religieuse en France et en Espagne: Colloque international (Casa de Velázquez, 2–5 avril 2001)*, ed. Benoît Pellistrandi (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2004), 175–200, esp. 181–3 on the disruptions of the revolutionary era. Methodologically important for their insistence on the historical malleability of parish boundaries: Dominique Iogna-Prat and Élisabeth Zadora-Rio, “Formation et transformations des territoires paroissiaux,” in *La paroisse: Genèse d’une forme territoriale*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat and Élisabeth Zadora-Rio (Saint-Denis: Presses universitaires de Vincennes, 2005), 5–10. Much of the best recent work demonstrating the local political potency of parish boundaries concerns early modern England: Nicola Whyte, “Landscape, Memory and Custom: Parish Identities c. 1550–1700,” *Social History* 32, no. 2 (2007): 166–86; Steve Hindle, “Beating the Bounds of the Parish: Order, Memory, and Identity in the English Local Community, c. 1500–1700,” in *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Michael Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling (New York: Routledge, 2008), 205–27; Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 200–213.

### Malberg: Our Parish, Our Province, Our Pilgrimage

Malberg, the first of my three cases, shows how the birth of a pilgrimage helped Catholic villagers to envision building a parish community of their own while wielding their provincial allegiance. This story is remarkable for the strange bedfellows it features: a zest for miracles, indulgences, and emerging Marian shrines combined with an enlightened and revolutionary desire for spatial order at the border to produce a parish identity for Malberg. In the late Old Regime and especially after the outbreak of the French Revolution, elites worked hard to reduce border chaos by making different types of territories fit each other neatly. For example, diocesan boundaries should run along the same lines as state borders, and parishes should not straddle higher-level territorial entities such as departments (see the Introduction). Formulated in the rarefied sphere of government councils and treatises on statecraft, these principles would ultimately have to stand the test of implementation on the ground, in local contexts. And here, state and church administrators sometimes found that their concerns resonated in ways they would not have expected or appreciated. In the case of Malberg, when rebordering occurred around 1800, it merely officialized a parish autonomy that the village community had already been pursuing for decades. In that pursuit, nothing had proved as consequential as the enthusiasm with which the noble seigneurs as well as the villagers of Malberg promoted devotion and pilgrimage to a miraculous statue of Our Lady of Luxembourg. Through these means, Malbergers asserted their independence as Luxembourgiens from the *trierisch* parish of Kyllburg long before Napoleonic territorial reform effectively turned Malberg into a separate parish.

Border troubles between Malberg and Kyllburg by no means first emerged in the Enlightenment and the French Revolution; rather, they had recurred many times since at least the later Middle Ages. In 1404, the Duke of Luxembourg and the Archbishop-Elector of Trier agreed

to share feudal lordship over Malberg. Yet by the end of the sixteenth century, the accord became obsolete as the dukes had moved to monopolize these rights of lordship. Repeated struggles erupted across the early modern centuries over the exact line of demarcation between the then Luxembourgian seigniory of Malberg and the *trierisch* district (*Amt*) of Kyllburg, as well as over respective tithe claims.<sup>13</sup> All the while, in terms of spiritual jurisdiction, both settlements belonged to the same Diocese of Trier and even to the same parish, whose main church stood in Kyllburg and where pastoral care was exercised by a member of the Kyllburg canon chapter.<sup>14</sup> This parochial subordination of Malberg to Kyllburg, however, also turned into a bone of contention after the seigneurs of Malberg, the von Veyder family, had a chapel built and consecrated in 1720 as part of their castle.<sup>15</sup> Fifty years later, Maria Theresia Josepha, dowager baroness von Veyder, would assert that “this chapel has always been recognized as a public chapel”—rather than a merely domestic one—“and as independent from the parish and the collegiate church of Kyllburg.”<sup>16</sup>

While border debates were thus longstanding between Luxembourg and Trier or more specifically between Malberg and Kyllburg, enlightened projects of state and Church reform created a new, even more politically charged situation around 1770. On the secular side of

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<sup>13</sup> Renate Schindler, “Zwischen Trier und Luxemburg: Zur Geschichte der Herrschaft Malberg in der Eifel,” *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte* 26 (2000): 35–50. For an example of tithe litigation in the years 1740–74 between the seigneurs of Malberg and the canon chapter of Kyllburg, see KrA Bit, Best. 53C53, Nr. 193.

<sup>14</sup> Franz-Josef Heyen, *Das St.-Marien-Stift in Kyllburg* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 306–10; Ferdinand Pauly, *Siedlung und Pfarrorganisation im alten Erzbistum Trier: Das Landkapitel Kyllburg-Bitburg* (Trier: Bistumsarchiv Trier, 1963), 125–30.

<sup>15</sup> Andreas Heinz, “Ein päpstlicher Ablass für die Schlosskapelle von Malberg,” *Malberger Schloßbote* 13 (2018): 31–35, esp. 32–3. The von Veyders were a family of relatively recent (i.e., sixteenth-century) nobility: cf. Calixte Hudemann-Simon, *La noblesse luxembourgeoise au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Luxembourg: Saint-Paul, 1985), 89.

<sup>16</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 35, Nr. 617, ff. 10–11 and 15, petition of the baroness to the provincial council of Luxembourg, early May 1772, here f. 10r: “cette chapelle a toujours été reconnuë pour une chapelle publique et independante de la paroisse et de l’Eglise Collegiale de Kÿlbouurg au paÿs de Treves.” Unsurprisingly, the canon and parish priest of Kyllburg, Karl Kaspar Güntheritz, contested this assertion by describing the Malberg castle chapel as one “de quo hucusque incertum, utrum pro publico oratorio, an pro domestico sacello tantum haberi debeat”: *ibid.*, f. 1, letter from Güntheritz to auxiliary bishop Hontheim, May 5, 1772, here f. 1r.

things, in the 1760s and 1770s, the governments of France, the Austrian Netherlands, and Trier worked hard to clarify and simplify their shared borders.<sup>17</sup> At least between Trier and Luxembourg, these efforts meant that local actors engaging in territorial struggle now drew the increased attention of central authorities.<sup>18</sup> For example, in 1766, the district administrator (*Amtmann*) of Kyllburg notified the dean of the Trier cathedral chapter that officials from Malberg had recently dared to proceed unilaterally to a survey of estates along and across the border.<sup>19</sup> In 1771, the government in Brussels even instructed an engineer of the Austrian army, Bergé, to produce a detailed map of the Trier–Luxembourg border in order to get not only a better sense of the situation there but also an authoritative document from which to argue in future conflicts.<sup>20</sup> On the ecclesiastical side, the bishopric of Trier decreed a new diocesan-wide regulation on holidays in November 1769. While reducing the overall number of official feast days, this decree also acknowledged that the Luxembourgian parts of the diocese differed devotionally. For this region, the feast of Our Lady of Luxembourg remained on the shortened list of obligatory holidays.<sup>21</sup> This detail would grow important in the 1770s, when provincial

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<sup>17</sup> Nordman, *Frontières de France*, 387–414; Horn, “La monarchie française,” esp. 180–1.

<sup>18</sup> See BA Tr, Abt. 2,2, Nr. 4, a late-eighteenth-century register that lists *trierisch* border affairs with Luxembourg: a disproportionate number of these affairs date from the years around 1770.

<sup>19</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 5,4, Nr. 2, pp. 8–9, order from *Amtmann* Düppenweiler, Kyllburg, July 29, 1766.

<sup>20</sup> Martin Uhrmacher, “Die Karte des luxemburgisch-kurtrierischen Grenzverlaufs aus dem Jahr 1776: Ein Meisterwerk der Kartographie des späten Ancien Régime und eine faszinierende Quelle für die Landesgeschichte,” accessed August 11, 2018, <http://hdl.handle.net/10993/29394>. Bergé discussed border conflicts involving Malberg and Kyllburg in remarkable detail in the notes attached to his map: AN Lux, A-XI-11-02, pp. 185–200.

<sup>21</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 22, Nr. 13, pp. 87–121, decree of November 13, 1769, and episcopal pastoral letter of September 13, 1771 proclaiming that decree for the Luxembourgian part of the diocese after papal confirmation; cf. esp. p. 99 on the “Festo Beatae Mariae Virginis Consolatricis Afflictorum” to be celebrated “[i]n Ducato Luxemburgico.” Intriguingly, a handwritten copy of this decree is preserved in the archives of the Malberg seignior, suggesting that the von Veyders took an active interest in this matter: KrA Bit, Best. 53C53, Nr. 222. — On the Enlightenment-era reduction of holidays in the Diocese of Trier, see also Bernhard Schneider, “Heilige Zeiten und Frömmigkeitsformen im Spannungsfeld von Norm und Praxis, Wandel und Beharrung,” in *Kirchenreform und Konfessionsstaat (1500–1801): Geschichte des Bistums Trier*, Vol. 3, ed. Bernhard Schneider (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2010), 323–87, here 326–7. More broadly on the reduction of feast days as a typical agenda item for enlightened rulers in Catholic Europe: Hersche, *Muße und Verschwendung*, 963–5 and 999–1000.



Marian devotion directly underwrote the Malbergers' bid to establish their village as a pilgrimage place.

This devotion bore all the hallmarks of early modern Catholicism, from laypeople's keen interest in sacred depictions of Mary to strong Jesuit influence. The three estates of the Duchy of Luxembourg had consecrated their province to the Virgin in 1678.<sup>22</sup> In fact, devotion to Our Lady of Luxembourg had begun to spread even earlier, beginning in the 1640s, when rapidly swelling pilgrim crowds converged on a miraculous statue of Mary, Consoler of the Afflicted, in a chapel built by the Jesuits on the outskirts of Luxembourg City.<sup>23</sup> Individual Catholics as well as communities throughout Luxembourg and beyond not only went on this pilgrimage but also placed many dozens (perhaps hundreds) of copies or pictures of the statue in their own villages and towns, whether in parish churches, chapels, or on the roadside.<sup>24</sup> Some of these copies in turn started to attract pilgrims in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—most famously Kevelaer in the rather distant Lower Rhine region, but also Baslieux in northern Lorraine and a few places within the Duchy of Luxembourg, including Auw an der Kyll and Igel.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Annick Delfosse, *La "protectrice du Païs-Bas": Stratégies politiques et figures de la Vierge dans les Pays-Bas espagnols* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), esp. 63–71.

<sup>23</sup> Giovanni Andriani, "Notre-Dame de Luxembourg: Le rayonnement d'un sanctuaire," *Annales de l'Est* 58, numéro spécial (2008): 145–60.

<sup>24</sup> Joseph Maertz, "1678–1978: Notre-Dame de Luxembourg, Consolatrice des affligés, vénérée pendant 300 ans dans la Province belge de Luxembourg," *Hémecht. Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte = Revue d'histoire luxembourgeoise* 30, no. 1 (1978): 9–143; Andreas Heinz, "Die Verehrung des Luxemburger Gnadenbildes der 'Trösterin der Betrübten' im Bitburger Land," *Hémecht. Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte = Revue d'histoire luxembourgeoise* 25, no. 1 (1973): 7–64; Andreas Heinz, "Die Verehrung der Trösterin der Betrübten in den alt-luxemburgischen Gebieten der Eifel und an der Obermosel: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Marienfrömmigkeit und des Wallfahrtswesens im trierisch-luxemburgischen Raum," *Hémecht. Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte = Revue d'histoire luxembourgeoise* 30, no. 2 (1978): 233–58; Andreas Heinz, "Schicksale einer Wallfahrt: Zum Kult der 'Trösterin der Betrübten' in den 1815 abgetrennten altluxemburgischen Gebieten," *Hémecht. Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte = Revue d'histoire luxembourgeoise* 31, no. 1 (1979): 5–52; Marie-France Jacops, "Images et témoignages de la dévotion des habitants du nord de la Lorraine à Notre-Dame de Luxembourg, consolatrice des affligés," *Le pays gaumais* 54–57 (1993–1996): 267–82; Faltz, *Heimstätte*, 13 (apologetic and not entirely trustworthy).

<sup>25</sup> The literature on Kevelaer, one of Europe's most-frequented Marian shrines, is vast; for a recent synthesis, see Peter Dohms, ed., *Kleine Geschichte der Kevelaer-Wallfahrt* (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 2008). On Baslieux, cf. BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 83, pp. 394–405, pastoral visit at Baslieux, May 8, 1785, here p. 398: "praeter consuetas fit

In Malberg, the initial spark for a pilgrimage came through a miracle, wrought in 1771 and ascribed to intercession by Our Lady of Luxembourg.<sup>26</sup> As the elderly dowager baroness von Veyder reported one year later to the provincial council of Luxembourg and to auxiliary bishop Hontheim, she had been “stricken not just with a single disease but with four or five deadly ones simultaneously.” In this terrible crisis, she had “recourse to the good Virgin of Luxembourg, our dear patroness, the Consoler of the Afflicted.” More specifically, von Veyder made a vow: if she recovered, she would have a copy of the Luxembourg statue made for her castle chapel and institute a solemn annual celebration in honor of Our Lady during the week starting on the fourth Sunday after Easter, “as is customary on that day in all parishes and other churches of the Duchy of Luxembourg and County of Chiny.”<sup>27</sup> Indeed, death spared her on this occasion, and “Monsieur Probst, her doctor, could testify himself, if necessary, that he had only been the instrument of this beautiful recovery that God has effected in her.”<sup>28</sup> Therefore, she went about fulfilling the promise she had made to the Virgin.

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processio solemnior cum Ssmo in honorem B.M.V. Consolatrix sub approbatione ordinarii de 13 martii 1783. Ea processio magno circumjacentium populorum concursu celebratur Dominicâ quintâ post Pascha.” The existence of a chapel and statue in honor of Our Lady of Luxembourg is documented in Jacops, “Images et témoignages,” 280–1. I conclude that this statue was at the center of the pilgrimage festival mentioned in the pastoral visit report of 1785 because of the Marian title (*consolatrix*) and the date (which corresponds to the end of the octave in honor of Our Lady of Luxembourg). – On Auw/Kyll, see Andreas Heinz, “Zur Geschichte der Auwer Marienkirche und der Wallfahrten nach Auw,” *Heimatkalendar für den Kreis Bitburg*, 1967, pp. 95–102; Heinz, “Die Verehrung,” 10–13. On Igel, cf. Chapter 4 of this dissertation, fn. 60.

<sup>26</sup> On this episode, see already Jean Malget, “Verehrung der Trösterin der Betrübten in der Eifel,” *Heimatkalendar Landkreis Bitburg-Prüm*, 1982, pp. 200–210; Heinz, “Ein päpstlicher Ablass,” 33–34.

<sup>27</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 35, Nr. 617, ff. 8–16, esp. 8 in von Veyder’s letter to Hontheim, June 1772: “je futs attaquée non pas d’une seule mais de quatre a cinq maladies mortelles a la fois, de sorte qu’a tout moment on attendoit ma mort, dans cette triste situation j’eusse recours a la bonne vierge de Luxembourg notre chère Patrone Consolatrice des affligés et promis qu’en cas que par son intercession je puisse recuperer ma santé je ferai faire a Luxembourg une copie semblable a l’original miraculeux et la ferai exposer a la devotion du peuple dans la chapelle castrale de Malberg, chapelle dediée et consacrée aussi à l’honneur de la Sainte Vierge. De plus que je ferai tous les ans le quatrieme dimanche apres paques jour de la grande solemnité chanter grande messe et tenir une petite exhortation comme l’on est accoutumé de faire ce jour la dans toutes les paroisses et autres Eglises du pays duché de Luxembourg et Comté de Chinÿ.”

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., von Veyder’s petition to the provincial council, here ff. 11v and 15r (ff. 12–14 contain other documents): “M. Probst son medecin pouroit attester lui-même s’il etoit besoin, qu’il n’avoit été que l’instrument de cette belle cure que le bon Dieu a operé en elle.”

The baroness's health eventually deteriorated again and she died in 1773, but the devotion she had sponsored late in her life outlasted her. A pilgrimage seems to have gotten off the ground over the subsequent two decades, although the relevant evidence is sparse and a little circumstantial, as it is for the history of countless other minor shrines.<sup>29</sup> For the Marian octave between the fourth and fifth Sunday after easter, the papacy issued indulgences in favor of Malberg's castle chapel at least twice, in 1775 and again in 1792. In other words, both local Catholics and pilgrims could gain a remission of sins if they said the prescribed prayers at this chapel after taking the sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion.<sup>30</sup> To be sure, not every opportunity to gain an indulgence effectively attracted pilgrim crowds. But in his petition to Rome for one of these indulgences, Baron Peter Ernst von Veyder (the dowager baroness's son) asserted that, in past years, the octave of Our Lady of Luxembourg had been drawing "a very great confluence of people to this devotion" in Malberg and that such a "solemn celebration exists nowhere else within a radius of twelve miles."<sup>31</sup> Moreover, already in 1772 the parish priest of Kyllburg claimed that the von Veyders were planning on calling in several priests to dispense the sacraments during the upcoming octave in Malberg, which suggests that the family

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<sup>29</sup> In her final will of February 10, 1773, von Veyder allotted significant capital (2,000 *Reichstaler*) to the castle chapel and the Marian feasts to be celebrated there: KrA Bit, Best. 53C53, Nr. 180.

<sup>30</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 35, Nr. 617, f. 26, Baron von Veyder to Hontheim, Malberg, December 19, 1775 on the first indulgence bull; for the second, see KrA Bit, Best. 53C53, Nr. 697 (papal bull of February 28, 1792) and Nr. 338, pp. 11 and 13 (copies of broadsheets publicizing this indulgence).

<sup>31</sup> KrA Bit, Best. 53C53, Nr. 338, p. 195, undated petition from Baron von Veyder to the pope: "quae solemnitas in circumferentia duodecim leucarum non habetur [...] ab annis elapsis fuerit observata maxima populi ad illam devotionem confluentis frequentia." Heinz, "Ein päpstlicher Ablass," 32 argues that this petition must have been the one that was fulfilled with the bull of 1792. – The close relationship between indulgence and pilgrimage in early modern Catholic Europe is increasingly well researched: Tingle, *Sacred Journeys*, 107–11 and 153–6; Philipp Zwysig, *Täler voller Wunder: Eine katholische Verflechtungsgeschichte der Drei Bünde und des Veltlins (17. und 18. Jahrhundert)* (Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2018), 253–64 and 386–7; Sidler, *Heiligkeit aushandeln*, 276–81; Christian, *Local Religion*, 141–6; Hans Dünninger, "Ablaßbilder: Zur Klärung der Begriffe Gnadenbild und Gnadenstätte," in *Wallfahrt und Bilderkult: Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Wolfgang Brückner, Jürgen Lenssen, and Klaus Wittstadt (Würzburg: Echter, 1995), 353–92; last but not least, Georges Provost, *La fête et le sacré: Pardons et pèlerinages en Bretagne aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Cerf, 1998), 145–8 and 297–333. In some regions, the word for 'indulgence' could even be used synonymously to 'pilgrimage,' e.g. in Brittany (cf. *ibid.*, 141) or Poland—cf. Brückner, "Zur Phänomenologie und Nomenklatur," in *Kulturtechniken*, here 242–3.

was expecting a significant influx of pilgrims after the miracle of 1771.<sup>32</sup> Finally, a Napoleonic-era inventory of liturgical objects used for church service in Malberg mentions ten miniature robes with which to clothe the local statue of Our Lady. Parishes in the region more typically possessed only up to five or six pieces of this type of parament. Considering that the statue in Malberg was only thirty-five years old at that time, it seems plausible that pious offerings by pilgrims account for at least part of this quick accumulation of robes.<sup>33</sup>

While we ultimately cannot know how attractive the pilgrimage became or from what places pilgrims came to Malberg, we do know that this new local devotion caused massive concern across the border in Kyllburg. As the octave of Our Lady of Luxembourg approached in 1772, the canon chapter of Kyllburg first refused to send the parish priest Güntheritz to Malberg for the purpose of celebrating the feast. In response, the dowager baroness asked the provincial council of Luxembourg and the auxiliary bishop Hontheim to let her employ Luxembourgian clergy for the octave instead—in turn prompting the canon chapter to denounce her initiative as infringing on their pastoral rights in the parish of Kyllburg. As Güntheritz asserted in his complaints to Hontheim, a mere castle chapel such as that in Malberg ought not to become the site of a major, public Marian celebration, and the baroness's plans were “prejudicial to local parish jurisdiction.”<sup>34</sup> The canons also feared that a rival shrine might emerge within their own parish, possibly eclipsing the collegiate church in Kyllburg, which had been a small pilgrimage

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<sup>32</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 35, Nr. 617, f. 1, Güntheritz to Hontheim, May 5, 1772.

<sup>33</sup> KrA Bit, Best. 53C53, Nr. 213, inventory of paraments and other liturgical objects, Malberg, June 17, 1808, item no. 1: “Zehen Röcke für die Mutter Gottes mit Schleyeren.” Heinz, “Schicksale einer Wallfahrt,” estimates that many rural parish churches in eighteenth-century Luxembourg possessed half a dozen Marian robes and “[a]t pilgrimage places, an even greater selection of clothes for Mary existed” (p. 26). On the wardrobe of Our Lady of Luxembourg, see also Muriel Prieur, “Consolatrix Afflictorum: Étude stylistique et iconographique. L’importance de la garde-robe,” in *Notre-Dame de Luxembourg: Dévotion et patrimoine*, ed. Sébastien Pierre (Bastogne: Musée en Piconrue, 2016), 19–33, esp. 25–30. In many places across Europe, the clothing of Marian statues has retained vast and gendered importance into the present: cf. Albert-Llorca, *Les Vierges miraculeuses*, 117–22 and 135–67.

<sup>34</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 35, Nr. 617, f. 2, second letter from Güntheritz to Hontheim, undated, “in Causa denuntiationis der vom Haus Malberg in praejudicium hiesiger Pfarrgerichtsamen unternommenen novitet” (2r).

destination in its own right since the late Middle Ages. According to Güntheritz, the plenary papal indulgences attached to his church “thus seem to be greatly cheapened” and this development would hurt Marian devotion “on the feast days of the Blessed Virgin and on the first Sunday of each month, around an image of the same heavenly Queen that has been venerated here for several centuries and has become very well known for its miracles.”<sup>35</sup> In sum, from the canons’ perspective, the unity of the parish would suffer if the miraculous Marian statue in Kyllburg had to compete with Our Lady of Luxembourg in Malberg.

Meanwhile, in their bid to defend the blossoming devotion to their own, Luxembourgian version of Mary, the inhabitants of Malberg indeed questioned that unity by emphasizing the border that ran through the parish. As Baroness von Veyder told the provincial council, she had reminded Güntheritz that “us Luxembourgiens” constituted a majority among the parishioners. Devotion to Our Lady of Luxembourg had been unjustly silenced in this “parish located in the Electorate of Trier,” where Güntheritz and his predecessors had “never publicized or even acknowledged this feast even though they should have.” After all, “we are no less Luxembourgian than those who reside close to the capital.”<sup>36</sup> In August 1772, the mayor and community of Malberg sounded a very similar note when they petitioned a regional ecclesiastical

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<sup>35</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 35, Nr. 617, f. 1, Güntheritz to Hontheim, May 5, 1772, here 1r: “inde vilesce non parum videantur indulgentiæ illæ, quas Collegiata in dicto Kÿlburgo Parochialis ibidem vera matrix singulis B.V.M. festivitibus, et qualibet cujusvis mensis Ima Dominica ratione imaginis ejusdem coelestis Reginæ ibidem a pluribus sæculis cultæ, et a miraculis plurimum notæ plenarias habet.” Cf. also the renewed complaint by the canon chapter to Hontheim (Kyllburg, January 3, 1776) after the Malberg chapel obtained its first papal indulgence: *ibid.*, f. 27. On the history of the Kyllburg collegiate church as a minor pilgrimage shrine, see Heyen, *Das St.-Marien-Stift in Kyllburg*, 151 and 232–7; Andreas Heinz, “Streit um die ‘Wetter-Prozessionen’ der ‘Sieben Pfarreien’ nach Kyllburg und Weidingen (1860),” *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 55 (2015): 199–222, esp. 202–4. Specifically, for the last decades before the Revolution, the archival dossier of an episcopal visitation of the collegiate church in 1789 suggests that pilgrims visited it in large numbers: LHA Ko, Best. 1C, Nr. 18939, esp. ff. 63v and 119v.

<sup>36</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 35, Nr. 617, von Veyder’s petition to the provincial council, here ff. 11r–11v: “nous Luxembourggeois vos paroissiens qui sont le plus grand nombre de la paroisse dependons d’une paroisse située au paÿs de Treves, ou l’on n’at jamais publié ni fait la moindre mention de cette fête ce que cependant vos devanciers auroient dû faire et en faire le service pour animer les paroissiens Luxembourggeois à la devotion de leur chere patrone et protectrice comme font ce jour la tous les curés de la province, puisque nous ne sommes pas moins Luxembourggeois que ceux qui demeurent tout près de la capitale.”

authority, the dean of the rural chapter of Bitburg: “our ancestors the Luxembourgiens” had promised to honor Marian as their provincial patroness in 1678 and the Kyllburg canons’ attempts to keep Malbergers from honoring this promise were outrageous. Translating from French into German the words already used by the dowager baroness, these petitioners pointed out that “we are no lesser Luxembourgiens than those who live right in the capital city of Luxembourg.”<sup>37</sup> Non-noble villagers thus joined the von Veyder family as they mobilized their provincial identity to promote the Malberg castle chapel as a site of miracles and devotion. In doing so, they valorized the border between Luxembourg and Trier over against the parish boundaries that tied and subordinated Malberg to Kyllburg.

What is more, instead of merely echoing the rhetoric coming out of Malberg Castle, the villagers went further in their appropriation of Luxembourgian identity by telling the story of the miracle differently. As I mentioned above, Baroness von Veyder wrote about her own prayers and her personal vow to have a replica of the statue of Our Lady of Luxembourg made for her castle chapel if she recovered. When auxiliary bishop Hontheim sent an ecclesiastical commissioner to adjudicate the dispute between the von Veyders and the canons of Kyllburg, the commissioner also solicited the testimony of two elderly village notables from Malberg, Johannes Roderman and Menrich Etteldorff. These two men remembered a sequence of events that did not quite match the timeline presented in the baroness’s petition. According to both Roderman and Etteldorff, the baroness had miraculously started to get better only *after* “placing the Marian image of Our Lady of Luxembourg in the chapel and exposing it to the devotion of

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., f. 20, petition by Malberg’s *Bürgermeister* and *Gemeindevorsteher* on behalf of the entire community to Bitburg dean, Malberg, August 17, 1772, here f. 20r: “wir Bürgermeister und Vorsteher der Gemeinden zu Malberg in Erfahrung kommen das der Herr Dechant, Pastor, und sambtliches Capitul des Stifteß Kylbourg sich der Andacht widersetzen wollen so unsere Vorfahr die Lutzembourgirer der heyiligen Mutter Mariae Trösterin der Betrübtten als Patronen des gantzen Hertzogtumb so traulich vor viellen Jahren zu halten versprochen haben [...] wir seindt ja nicht weniger Lutzembourgirer als diejenige so inmitten der Hauptstadt Lutzembourg wohnhafft seindt.”

the common people.”<sup>38</sup> In other words, villagers linked von Veyder’s recovery not simply to her own trust in the provincial patroness but to the prayers of the entire community. Both Roderman and Etteldorff also emphasized how actively the population of Malberg had participated in worship at the castle chapel since its construction, again highlighting relative detachment from the parish services held in Kyllburg.<sup>39</sup> With these witness testimonies as well as their collective petition, non-noble Malbergers staked their own claims in the border-crossing controversy over parish jurisdiction and Marian miracles.

The baroness and the villagers succeeded. On September 5, 1772, Hontheim granted von Veyder’s request to celebrate the Luxembourgian octave solemnly and publicly at the castle chapel.<sup>40</sup> In 1776, Güntheritz and his fellow Kyllburg canons suffered another defeat when they tried unsuccessfully to prevent or delay the publication of the first papal indulgence in favor of the chapel, again with a view “to defending our parish rights.”<sup>41</sup> Eventually, benefiting from the great territorial restructuring that French rule entailed in the region, Malbergers got what they seemed to have wanted all along: in or around 1804, with the consent of Napoleonic administrators, the bishopric of Metz gave Malberg a parish of its own.<sup>42</sup> This decision suited the revolutionary and Napoleonic preference for territorial consistency and the disentanglement of

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., f. 19, witness testimony recorded by Bitburg dean on August 15, 1772; quote from Roderman’s testimony (f. 19r): “er deponens halte fur ein Miracel, daß, so bald die jetzige gnädige Fraw, so uber ein Jahr lang gefährlich und tödtlich krank gelegen daß jedermann an ihrer Genesung völlig verzweifelt, daß Mariae Bild der Mutter Gottes zu Luxemburg in gelete[?] Capell aufrichten und der Andacht des gemeinen Volcks ausstellen und so reichlich beschenckt und ziehren laßen, von gemelter Stund an besser worden.” (Etteldorff echoes this story—cf. f. 19v.)

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., f. 24.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., ff. 26–30, esp. ff. 27–8, Kyllburg canons to Hontheim, Kyllburg, January 3, 1776 (quote on 27v: “ad tuenda Jura nostra parochialia”).

<sup>42</sup> Malberg was listed as a parish by 1805, for example in AN, F/19/702/C, folder Forêts, “État général des Communes où sont placées les Cures et les Succursales de ce département, avec les noms, prénoms et dates de naissance des Ecclésiastiques qui les desservent, et l’indication des pensions dont ils jouissent,” Metz, 3 floréal an XIII (April 23, 1805). Cf. also AN Lux, B-0752, undated tables for a “Projet sur le placement des succursales dans le département des Forêts.”

cross-cutting boundaries. Since Malberg and Kyllburg now belonged to different departments (Forêts and Saar, respectively), they should in theory form separate parishes as well. In practice, cantonal authorities in Bitburg and the prefect of the Forêts initially advocated re-attaching Malberg to the parish of Kyllburg for financial and geographical reasons.<sup>43</sup> The inhabitants of Malberg, however, had already petitioned their bishop to secure the new parochial status that they were finally about to achieve.<sup>44</sup>

Their victory also followed another slew of conflicts over where the border ran—and where it should run in the future—between Malberg and Kyllburg.<sup>45</sup> And after receiving their own parish, Malbergers took two more telling actions. First, they sued Kyllburg over how to divide the temporalities of the previous parish entity that had included both Malberg and Kyllburg. This litigation went on for years and became so intractable and acerbic that the central government in Paris had to issue an imperial decree to resolve the conflict in 1812.<sup>46</sup> Second, even though French rule had obliterated the Duchy of Luxembourg in 1795, the parish

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. AN, F/19/702/C, prefectural “Projet de placement des Eglises paroissiales et succursales dans le département des Forêts” (an early, undated plan); LHA Ko, Best. 300, Nr. 457, Bitburg *juge de paix* Simons and cantonal *curé* Simon to the prefect, Bitburg, 14 thermidor an XII (August 2, 1804).

<sup>44</sup> ADM, 29 J 852, folder Malberg, petition by Malberg’s mayor and municipal council to Bienaymé (bishop of Metz), 30 germinal an XI (April 20, 1803).

<sup>45</sup> Abundant information on these conflicts in LHA Ko, Best. 300, Nr. 6, entire dossier on the demarcation between Malberg and Kyllburg (an VII [1798/9]); LHA Ko, Best. 276, Nr. 73, esp. letter from cantonal commissioner Roblot to departmental administration of the Saar, Kyllburg, 6 nivôse an VII (December 26, 1798); AN Lux, B-0001, esp. d. 10 (“Indicateur servant à inscrire les contestations de démarcation”), entry no. 17; StBib Tr, Ms 1566/200, f. 122, map of Kyllburg canton with suggested territorial rearrangements (undated, ca. 1800); AN, F/2(I)/854, esp. minutes of an extraordinary session of the Malberg municipal council, 24 prairial an XI (June 13, 1803). During the so-called *Kleppelkrich*, an anti-conscription and pro-Catholic peasant revolt in northern Luxembourg that erupted in the fall of 1798, Malbergers allegedly even invaded Kyllburg, cut down the revolutionary liberty tree planted there, and replaced it with a cross: see AN, BB/30/169, printed *arrêté* by the departmental administration of the Saar, 18 brumaire an VII (November 8, 1798); *ibid.*, commissioner’s report to the same administration, Prüm, 14 brumaire an VII (November 4, 1798). This incident reveals the continued intersection between religious conflict and local politics. The key work on the *Kleppelkrich* is Trausch, *La répression des soulèvements*.

<sup>46</sup> Again, the paper trail left behind by this affair is impressive: BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 357, Mannay’s episcopal registers, esp. ff. 43v, 87v, 131v–132r, 187v, 191; BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 176, folder on the *partage de la fabrique* between Kyllburg and Malberg; LHA Ko, Best. 300, Nr. 455, dossier containing more than a hundred pieces of correspondence about this issue; LHA Ko, Best. 276, Nr. 456, large dossier on the “contestations entre la fabrique de Kilbourg (Sarre) et celle de Malberg (Forêts)”; AN, F/19/396, esp. minister of the Interior (Cretet) to minister of *cultes* (Portalis), Paris, October 29, 1807; AN, F/19/629, imperial decree of December 20, 1812.



community of Malberg put an image of Our Lady of Luxembourg on their first parish banner at some point between 1804 and 1807.<sup>47</sup> As Malbergers emerged from the border contests of the revolutionary era with a parish of their own, they thus paid homage once more to the Luxembourgian Mary. From their perspective, her miracle of 1771 had given them an opportunity to turn the castle chapel into a pilgrimage shrine and thus to assert more and more strongly the autonomy of that chapel vis-à-vis the parish church in Kyllburg.

For all its peculiarities, the case of Malberg and Kyllburg was in many ways far from unique. For one thing, the following sections on Girsterklaus and Lambertsberg will also showcase parishes that straddled territorial and later departmental borders. But moreover, other examples from the same Eifel-Mosel region and the same time period illustrate the role that pilgrimage could play in local communities' ambitions to modify parish boundaries and elevate the status of their village chapels or churches.<sup>48</sup> My first example concerns Eisenschmitt, a Luxembourgian (today German) village only about ten kilometers east of Kyllburg. The inhabitants of Eisenschmitt belonged to the parish of Oberkail but preferred to attend services conducted by a chaplain at their local chapel instead of sending at least one person per household to church in Oberkail, as the parish priest demanded in the early 1770s.<sup>49</sup> The situation changed in 1775, due to another church reform measure in tune with the Catholic Enlightenment. Auxiliary bishop Hontheim issued a pastoral letter forbidding his Luxembourgian parish clergy from carrying the Eucharist along in outdoors processions except on Corpus Christi.<sup>50</sup> In

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. Heinz, "Schicksale einer Wallfahrt," 18.

<sup>48</sup> Philippe Martin has coined the helpful concept of "religion de proximité" to capture the desire of village communities in Lorraine to establish parishes of their own: Philippe Martin, "Vers une religion de proximité ? L'évolution de la carte paroissiale des archiprêtres de Saint-Avold et Saint-Arnuald au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Les Cahiers Lorrains*, no. 3 (1997): 205–30, esp. 215.

<sup>49</sup> The parish priest raised his complaints about the people of Eisenschmitt during a pastoral visit in 1772: BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 77, pp. 716–39.

<sup>50</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 22, Nr. 15, pp. 32–4, *mandement* by Hontheim, March 22, 1775.

response, the mayor and village community of Eisenschmitt petitioned Hontheim to make an exception for them. They would soon be unable to maintain their chapel in good repair if they could no longer count on sufficient revenue from offerings received on the feast day of Saint Servatius, the chapel's patron saint. On that day, they wrote, "not only do all parishes within three to four hours of walking distance come here in processions but so, too, do a great number of people individually for devotion and pilgrimage." But, they added, this influx of pilgrims might slow down to a mere trickle if the parish priest was no longer allowed—let alone obligated—to crown Saint Servatius's Day with a eucharistic procession through Eisenschmitt. Hontheim did not care all that much: he denied the villagers' request to continue holding that annual procession with the Eucharist.<sup>51</sup>

In the late 1780s, however, the people of Eisenschmitt got another chance to solve the problems of their chapel-shrine and its subordinate parochial status. In 1787, overt struggles were raging over enlightened, state-sponsored church reform in the Habsburg lands, including Luxembourg.<sup>52</sup> Against this backdrop, the clergy of the Luxembourgian rural chapter of Bitburg sent a request to the new auxiliary bishop, Jean-Marie Cuchot d'Herbain—a man much less favorable to the Enlightenment than his predecessor.<sup>53</sup> The priests asked and received permission to re-introduce a second eucharistic outdoor procession, to be held on a day of their choice. The parish priest of Oberkail, however, selected not Saint Servatius's Day (May 13) but rather

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<sup>51</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 35, Nr. 459, unpaginated, undated petition with negative reply by Hontheim on May 16, 1777; quote: "am 13. Mai der Festag Sti Servatii alß primarii patroni der Capell auf besagter Eisenschmitt nit allein alle ad 3 bis 4 Stunden ringß herum umliegende Pfahren processionaliter, sondern auch eine große Menge Menschen particulariter zur Andacht, und Wahlfahrt dahin kommen."

<sup>52</sup> For a great overview of these reforms usually called 'Josephist' after their protagonist Emperor Joseph II, see Beales, *Joseph II*, vol. 2, 271–332, esp. 314–26 on attempts to restrict Baroque religious practices including frequent processions and pilgrimages. And specifically for Luxembourg: Trausch, "L'Octave," as well as Schneider, *Bruderschaften*, 147–62.

<sup>53</sup> On Cuchot d'Herbain as a figure of the Counter-Enlightenment who would go on to organize resistance to the religious policies of the French Revolution, see most recently Lees, "Clemens Wenzeslaus," here 160–1.

August 15, the Assumption of Mary, for a procession to the Frohnert chapel, another minor pilgrimage place right outside of Oberkail.<sup>54</sup> I cannot prove that the community of Eisenschmitt felt snubbed by their parish priest as a result. Yet it seems telling that, right around that time in the late 1780s, they petitioned to have their village established as a separate parish after renovating their chapel in 1785.<sup>55</sup> They apparently succeeded in 1793, right before the expanding French Revolution swept across the region. Eisenschmitt became the first of more than three dozen new parishes to be created in the western Eifel during the revolutionary era.<sup>56</sup> In Eisenschmitt as in Malberg, the spiritual prestige and material benefits accruing from pilgrimage buoyed the villagers' desire for a redrawing of parish borders that would establish them as independent spiritual communities.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 35, Nr. 404, dossier on *processiones cum venerabili* in the rural chapter of Bitburg, pp. 1–8 for a letter from the Bitburg dean, dated February 5, 1787 and containing the individual requests for a second procession; p. 11 for a draft of what seems to be Cuchot d'Herbain's favorable but somewhat ambiguous answer of March 15, 1787: the auxiliary bishop granted the second procession but seems to have wanted all parishes to hold it on the same day, that of the Ascension of Christ. Of course, what priests and parishioners actually practiced is another matter altogether; what matters to my interpretation, however, is that the parish priest of Oberkail was openly privileging the Frohnert chapel over the one in Eisenschmitt. On Frohnert as a small pilgrimage place since the mid-seventeenth century, see Erich Gerten and Jörg Kreutz, *Frohnert: Geschichte einer Wallfahrtskapelle bei Oberkail/Eifel* (Oberkail: Katholische Kirchengemeinde Oberkail, 1996), esp. 93–4.

<sup>55</sup> For their corresponding communal resolution of April 28, 1789, see AN Lux, A-XXIII-12, pp. 19–22. On the renovation, cf. the declaration of May 5, 1788 in AGR, I 001, no. 46810 (entry on "Kayl," i.e. Oberkail).

<sup>56</sup> AN Lux, B-0386, d. 4455, Bitburg sub-prefectoral "Etat des cures, fabriques, et vicariats compris dans l'exception de l'Arrêté du Directoire exécutif du 17 ventôse an VI, et dont les Titulaires sont demeurés en possession par suite de leur soumission," 9 germinal an X (March 30, 1802): "Le village d'Eisenschmidt fesant cidevant partie de la paroisse d'Oberkayl a été érigé le 1<sup>er</sup> novembre 1793 en paroisse particuliere." On this rather complicated case and on the creation of many new parishes under French rule, see also Andreas Heinz, *Die sonn- und feiertägliche Pfarrmesse im Landkapitel Bitburg-Kyllburg der alten Erzdiözese Trier von der Mitte des 18. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1978), 28–29.

<sup>57</sup> I do not wish to suggest a monocausal story here. While the people and the chapel of Eisenschmitt asserted that they drew significant financial benefit from pilgrims' offerings (at least as of the mid-to-late 1770s, when they wrote the petition to Hontheim that I discuss above), they needed additional help to shoulder the increased cost that came with parish status—maintaining a parish priest instead of a mere chaplain, constructing and maintaining a cemetery and a presbytery, and so forth. The sub-prefectoral "Etat des cures [...]" cited in the preceding note details that the episcopal consistory of Trier had agreed to give 350 *Gulden* annually toward the salary of the prospective parish priest of Eisenschmitt, and that the village would also receive funds from a foundation established specifically for endowing new parishes after the recent death of a Trier cathedral canon, Karl Anton von Stadion. Stadion's bequest and his passing in January 1789 also help explain the timing of the petition from Eisenschmitt (cf. Heinz, *Die sonn- und feiertägliche Pfarrmesse*, 28).

Another example from the 1780s offers an even clearer view of how pilgrimage could push local communities and ecclesiastical authorities to modify the territorial patchwork of parishes. On the Kinheimer Berg, a hill overlooking the left bank of the Mosel about halfway between Trier and Koblenz, several miracles occurred around 1780 at the site of an image or sculpture depicting Mary as *Mater Dolorosa*. By 1782, pilgrims visiting this place were leaving such generous offerings that the community of Kinheim planned to use this money for the construction of a chapel on the hilltop and petitioned the general vicariate in Trier accordingly.<sup>58</sup> And by late 1788, the villagers of Kinderbeuern just north of the hill asked to receive a regular portion of the income from pilgrims' offerings to help them endow a parish of their own, separate from that of Kröv (south of the hill and east of Kinheim) to which they had belonged for centuries.<sup>59</sup> Overriding the Kröv parish priest's protests, the general vicariate approved the creation of a new parish in Kinderbeuern. The diocesan authority even allotted the non-negligible sum of 400 *Gulden* from pilgrim offerings collected on Kinheimer Berg to the construction of a presbytery in Kinderbeuern.<sup>60</sup> In this way, not unlike what happened in Malberg, a nascent pilgrimage developed the power to destabilize age-old territorial arrangements.

To sum up, Catholic communities in the Eifel region repeatedly managed to create synergies between parish rebordering driven by Enlightenment elites and some of the favorite

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<sup>58</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 161, f. 14 (of year 1782), General Vicariate protocol entry of January 22, 1782.

<sup>59</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 24, pp. 858 and 875, General Vicariate protocol entries no. 1296 (September 23, 1788) and no. 1331 (October 3, 1788).

<sup>60</sup> Numerous relevant General Vicariate protocol entries in BA Tr, Abt. 20, Nr. 162 (for the year 1789), ff. 291r–292v, 477v–478r, 513r; and Nr. 25 (for 1790), pp. 33, 103, 347, 424. In the Napoleonic era, Kinderbeuern was attached to the parish of Bausendorf but “retained a residential priest and was later considered an episcopal parish” (“[b]ehielt einen Kuratvikar und wurde später als bischöfliche Pfarrei betrachtet”): Adam Eismann, *Umschreibung der Diözese Trier und ihrer Pfarreien (1802–1821)* (Saarbrücken: Verlag für religiöses Schrifttum Krueckemeyer, 1941), 56. On the historical development of the parish of Kröv in the medieval and early modern periods, see also Ferdinand Pauly, *Siedlung und Pfarrorganisation im alten Erzbistum Trier: Das Landkapitel Kaimt-Zell* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1957), 124–43, esp. 128 and 138 for allusions to the changes that occurred right before the Revolution.

objects of enlightened critique and revolutionary wrath—miracles and pilgrimage.<sup>61</sup> As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, many parishes across Europe were dissolved rather than newly established during the revolutionary era. But in the Eifel and other poor rural areas with a relatively low density of existing parish centers, authorities were often interested in creating new parishes. After all, enlightened thinkers and decision-makers valued the parish across the board, from the champions of Reform Catholicism to Rousseau who sang the praises of the socially useful and morally exemplary *bon curé*, the ‘good parish priest.’<sup>62</sup> In special cases, such as Malberg and Kyllburg, splitting a parish in two also helped these elites to disentangle borders between different territories such as departments and dioceses. But the petitions and complaints coming out of Malberg, Eisenschmitt, and Kinderbeuern reveal that new parish borders did not simply come into being by administrative fiat. While or even before being pondered and formally instituted by those who governed, these borders often also took shape in the heads of ordinary villagers, in their corporate pride and self-image, in their longstanding quarrels with neighboring villages, in their sense of provincial belonging—and in their delight at miraculous healings.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> This link between pilgrimages and the making of new parishes may be seen as complementary to another way of valorizing the parish during the revolutionary era—what Dominique Julia calls “une gigantesque ‘sanctuarisation’ des églises paroissiales” (i.e., turning existing parish churches into shrines). All over France in the early years of the Revolution, parish communities solemnly transferred into their churches the relics and miraculous images previously possessed by freshly dissolved monastic communities. Julia, *Le voyage aux saints*, 138. For more detail on relics transferred in this way, see also Stéphane Baciocchi and Dominique Julia, “Reliques et Révolution française (1789–1804),” in *Reliques modernes: Cultes et usages chrétiens des corps saints des réformes aux révolutions*, ed. Philippe Boutry, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and Dominique Julia, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions de l’EHESS, 2009), vol. 2, 483–585, here 489–521.

<sup>62</sup> Specifically on the Diocese of Trier: Heinz, “Liturgie,” esp. 26–31; Bernhard Schneider, “Strukturen der Seelsorge und überpfarrlichen Zusammenarbeit: Dekanate und Pfarreien, Dekanatskapitel und Pastoral-Konferenzen,” in *Auf dem Weg in die Moderne (1802–1880): Geschichte des Bistums Trier*, Vol. 4, ed. Martin Persch and Bernhard Schneider (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 2000), 141–50. Cf. also Schneider, “Wallfahrtskritik,” esp. 306–7; Handschuh, *Die wahre Aufklärung*, esp. 184–5; Duhamelle, *La frontière au village*, 82–3; McManners, *Church and Society 1*, 359 (on Rousseau’s attitude).

<sup>63</sup> On the frequency of parish border struggles, see the testimony by the French minister of *cultes*, Bigot de Préameneu, who dealt with “thousands of complaints” (“des milliers de réclamations”) from local communities during the last Napoleonic redrawing of the parish map: AN, F/19/5596, “Compte moral et état des travaux du

### Girsterklaus: The Unruly Enclave

The previous section showcased those local actors who challenged the territorial status quo, those who harnessed their quest for a parish of their own both to the power of pilgrimage and to state- and church-elite projects of rebordering. My next case study flips this perspective by exploring how some pilgrimage promoters relied on the persistence of old borders rather than supported the creation of new ones. More specifically, this section revolves around Girsterklaus, a border shrine that became a thorn in the side of revolutionary and Napoleonic administrators around 1800. For years, a hot-headed, anti-revolutionary Luxembourgian priest and his supporters rallied at Girsterklaus, because it held centuries-old prestige as a Marian shrine *and* because its location within an old *trierisch* enclave afforded them greater safety from state intervention. Girsterklaus thus became a site of local Catholic mobilization in large part because its special territorial status subsisted under French rule. As the French failed to smooth and simplify the border between what they named the Forêts and the Saar Departments, the controversy generated by their clerical oath requirements quite literally *took place*. In other words, the Girsterklaus shrine turned into a place that a non-juring priest and crowds of pilgrims were both eager and able to take—a refuge they could claim and occupy thanks to a stubborn quirk in the border.

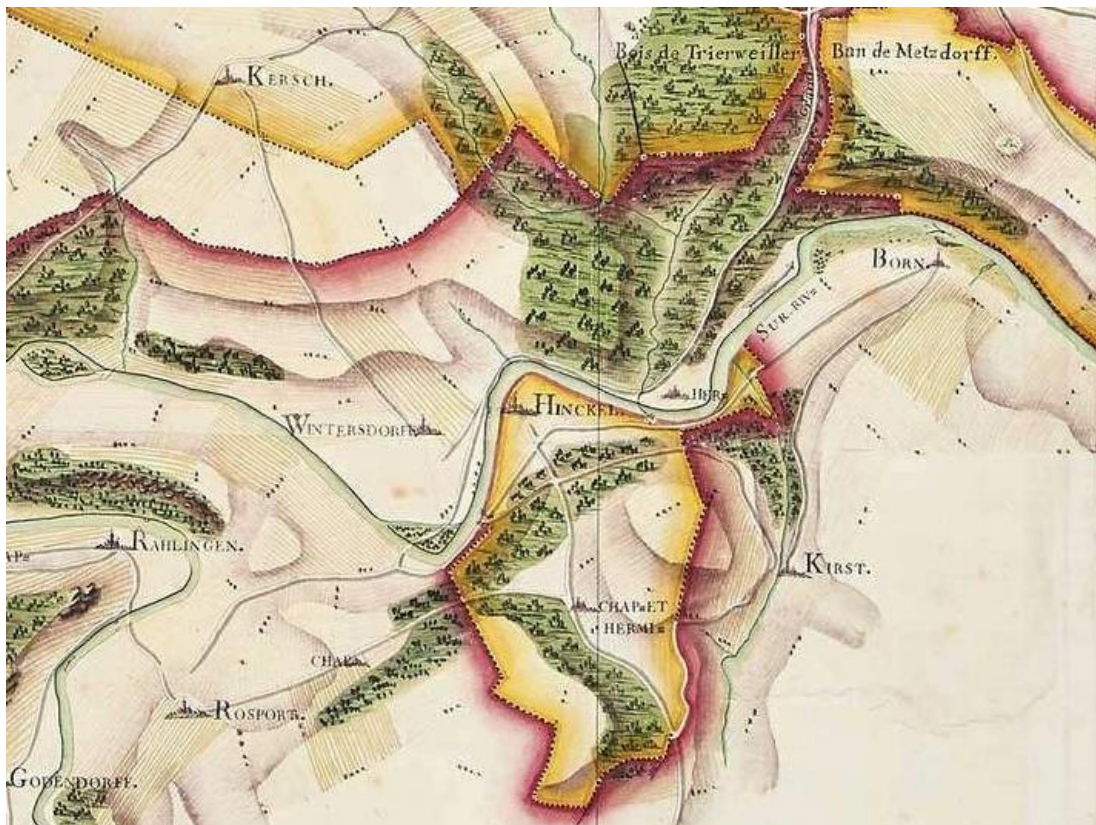
Located today within the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, Girsterklaus appears in local publications as an “old Luxembourgian Marian shrine,” but its history of territorial affiliation is

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Min(istère) des Cultes pendant le 1<sup>er</sup> trimestre de 1808.” For similar statements, see AN, F/19/6428, circular letters from the ministry of *cultes* to French bishops, 10 messidor an XII (June 29, 1804) and 5 ventôse an XIII (February 24, 1805); AN, F/19/702/D, folder entitled “Population,” bishop Mannay to Charles Portalis, Trier, October 9, 1807. Cf. also the secondary literature cited above in fn. 12.

complex.<sup>64</sup> A pilgrimage destination since the thirteenth or fourteenth century,<sup>65</sup> the chapel with its adjacent hermitage did not belong to Luxembourg but rather to the Electorate of Trier at the dawn of the revolutionary era. This territorial status was accepted even on the Luxembourgian side. Austrian engineer Bergé marked the area including the hamlet of Hinkel and the “*chap(elle) et hermi(tage)*” of Girsterklaus unambiguously as a Trier exclave on his map of 1776 (Image 2 below).<sup>66</sup> Likewise, in the ecclesiastical enquiry launched by the *Chambre des comptes* of the Austrian Netherlands in 1786, Girsterklaus figured as “*trierisch*.”<sup>67</sup>

Image 2: Detail of Bergé’s 1776 Map Showing the Girsterklaus Enclave



<sup>64</sup> Aloyse Steinmetz, “Die Girsterklaus, alter luxemburgischer Marienwallfahrtsort an der Untersauer,” *Heimatkalender Landkreis Bitburg-Prüm*, 2002, pp. 58-64.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Schneider, “Wallfahrten,” 365.

<sup>66</sup> AN Lux, CP-A-45.

<sup>67</sup> AGR, I 001, no. 46808, declaration by Rosport parish priest on the chapel of Girst(er)klaus).

Yet this *trierisch* enclave of Girsterklaus belonged to the Luxembourgian parish of Rosport, a village situated a bit further north (i.e., to the left on Bergé's map). The parish priest of Rosport drew a significant portion of his income—over 70 *Gulden* a year on average—from pilgrims' offerings collected at Girsterklaus and from the salary he received for frequently conducting worship services and hearing pilgrims' confessions there.<sup>68</sup> He also held the authority to appoint the men who would inhabit the hermitage next to the chapel.<sup>69</sup> Thus, by including the Hinkel/Girsterklaus enclave, the parish of Rosport straddled the border between Luxembourg and Trier. Moreover, the ecclesiastical enquiry of 1786 confirms that Girsterklaus constituted an active pilgrimage site in the eighteenth century. As previous scholarship has shown, this era was a golden age for the numerous hermitages and assorted pilgrimage chapels strewn across Luxembourg's eastern confines.<sup>70</sup>

In the 1790s and early 1800s, French state administrators failed to eliminate this territorial complexity because France's revolutionary expansion proceeded step by step, producing makeshift solutions rather than sweeping, once-and-for-all measures of rebordering. Already in 1795, the Duchy of Luxembourg disappeared alongside the rest of the Austrian Netherlands and the Prince-Bishopric of Liège, transformed into nine new departments of the First French Republic, including the Forêts Department. At that moment, French armies were

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 64, Nr. 37, report on pastoral visit of hermitages in 'German' (as opposed to 'Walloon') Luxembourg in 1771, p. 13. On the obedience that a hermit was supposed to display toward 'his' parish priest, cf. *Institut der Eremiten in den deutschen Decanaten des Erzstiftes Trier, unter der Anrufung des heiligen Joannes des Täuflers: Nach der trierischen Ausgabe von 1703* (Luxembourg: Bey den Schevalierischen Erben, 1775), 26 and 47–8. On the various and increasingly numerous congregations of hermits in the Archdiocese of Trier, cf. Ernst Schneck, "Die Eremitenkongregationen des 18. Jahrhunderts im Erzbistum Trier: Voraussetzungen - Entwicklung - Statuten," in *Actes du Colloque de Schengen (7–8 mars 2003) sur les ermites et les ermitages au Luxembourg et en Europe*, ed. Jean-Claude Muller (Luxembourg: Les Amis de l'Histoire, 2003), 199–216, esp. 205–6.

<sup>70</sup> Andreas Heinz, "Eremitagen im trierisch-luxemburgischen Grenzraum als Ziel von Pflichtprozessionen im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Actes du Colloque de Schengen (7–8 mars 2003) sur les ermites et les ermitages au Luxembourg et en Europe*, ed. Jean-Claude Muller (Luxembourg: Les Amis de l'Histoire, 2003), 85–106; Werner Laeis, *Die Schankweiler Klausen* (Trier: Nikola Gross, 1991).



occupying the left-bank Rhineland and thus the Upper Electorate of Trier as well. On the level of international law, however, the Rhineland's status remained undefined until its formal cessation to France based on the Treaty of Lunéville (1801), and French administrators only created departments in the occupied area in late 1797.<sup>71</sup> In other words, France did not departmentalize the Forêts and the Sarre simultaneously and therefore could not create a simplified eastern border for the Forêts in 1795. Later, when both departments existed and the dust had settled after the revolutionary storm, regional agents of the state did attempt at least to erase what they perceived as the most cumbersome border irregularities, among which they classified enclaves such as that of Hinkel and Girsterklaus.<sup>72</sup> Yet they were unable to obtain anything more than minimal clarifications.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, Girsterklaus would belong to the Saar Department until the end of the Napoleonic period.

Along with the rest of rural Luxembourg, the area of Rosport came under secure French control by 1794, but in late 1797, a dynamic of religious conflict began to unfold, eventually adding a communal split within Rosport to the territorial split of the parish. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy was technically obsolete by 1794 and never applied to priests who resided in regions annexed in 1795 or later. Therefore, in Luxembourg, this religious reform could not become a bone of contention among ordinary Catholics the way it did, for example, in Alsace, as I discussed in Chapter 1. In September 1797, however, the left-wing coup d'état of Fructidor entailed new policies targeting the clergy, who now faced the alternative of either

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<sup>71</sup> On the Forêts: Dubois, *La révolution géographique*, esp. 108–10. On the left-bank Rhineland: Dufraisse, “L’installation,” in *L’Allemagne à l’époque napoléonienne*; Stein, “République,” esp. 177–8.

<sup>72</sup> For attempts to create a territorial exchange whereby, among other things, Hinkel and Girsterklaus would fall to the Forêts, see AN Lux, B-0001, d. 2, sub-prefect of Bitburg to prefect of Forêts, Bitburg, 5 vendémiaire an X (September 27, 1801); AN, F/2(I)/854, *arrêté* by Forêts prefect, Luxembourg, 5 fructidor an XI (August 23, 1803).

<sup>73</sup> Uhrmacher, “Neue Staaten - neue Grenzen,” esp. 160–1. On the local struggles and uncertainties that made even the precise demarcation of the existing border—let alone its modification—almost impossible to effect, see also AN, F/7/8380, speech by Forêts prefect at the annual session of the general departmental council in 1806 (section “Délimitation”).

taking a so-called oath of Hatred for Royalty or renouncing any pastoral functions. Many priests refused this new oath, not least in the Forêts, where only about 300 out of 1100 accepted it.<sup>74</sup> But in the eastern regions around the towns of Bitburg and Echternach, the acceptance rate far surpassed the departmental average. In these areas, like in southern Alsace after 1790, local pro- and anti-oath factions may have competed all the more bitterly because they were relatively equal in strength.<sup>75</sup> In Rosport, “a majority of householders” decided to turn their back on their priest of almost twenty years, Charles Bernard Masius, who had refused the oath. Instead of protecting him and encouraging him to exercise his functions clandestinely as did so many others, this group of villagers elected the oath-taking priest Laurent Schengen, previously Masius’s vicar, as their new main parish priest in July 1798.<sup>76</sup> By contrast, as we will see, other inhabitants of Rosport would continue to support Masius.

In this conflict, the communal and territorial splits soon began to feed off each other as crowds of pilgrims used the Girsterklaus enclave to gather around the non-juror Masius and worship in relative safety. Again, the available evidence is frustratingly sparse, but a likely allusion to the shrine appears on a list of the more than 150 “most dangerous” priests of the Forêts. The list includes Masius and asserts that “he corrupted a great many inhabitants of the communes he visited so they went and listened to the sermons he delivered in the *trierisch* lands, at a hermitage where he had found refuge.”<sup>77</sup> Due to the different legal situation in the occupied

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<sup>74</sup> Alfred Minke, *Hommes de Dieu et Révolution: Entre Meuse, Rhin et Moselle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 179–97. For an overview of widespread clerical resistance to this oath, see Aston, *Religion and Revolution*, 312–13.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Minke, *Hommes de Dieu*, 187–8 and 231–2.

<sup>76</sup> AN, F/7/7985, série S/5, d. 9081, copy of “Erwählungs act von seiten der Pfahrkinder von Rosport zu Nutz des Bürgern Schengen Priester alda,” 26 messidor an VI (July 14, 1798). The remark that “la majorité des peres de famille” of Rosport had elected Schengen—implying that the election had not been unanimous—is in AN Lux, B-0700, d. 6, prefectoral arrêté of 1<sup>er</sup> fructidor an X (August 19, 1802). Masius had been parish priest at Rosport since 1779 according to the “Kleruskartei” of the Archives diocésaines de Luxembourg; I thank Valentin Wagner, the director of this archive, for sharing with me the information contained in that file.

<sup>77</sup> AN Lux, B-0078, d. 857, “Etat des prêtres du departement des Forests qui ont été reconnus les plus dangereux et qui ont constamment montrés des principes antirépublicains,” no. 146 on “Massingen” (a bad misspelling of

Electorate of Trier, priests residing there never had to comply with the Fructidorian oath requirement. As a non-juring priest, Masius therefore did not break the law by saying the Mass in a chapel located beyond the formal borders of the French Republic. Moreover, after the election of the juror Schengen in July, it made sense for Masius to retreat to the Girsterklaus for the peak of the local pilgrimage season. At this shrine dedicated to the Assumption of Mary, the corresponding feast day, August 15, held special significance.<sup>78</sup> When the pilgrimage season ended and Masius returned to his father's house in Echternach, however, he ran into a revolutionary campaign against oath-refusing priests. In response to ostentatiously Catholic, anti-conscription uprisings that erupted in Luxembourg and across the southern Netherlands in October 1798, the French authorities rounded up and deported as many of these priests as they could, including Masius. He spent all of 1799 as a prisoner off the French Atlantic coast, on the island of Ré.<sup>79</sup>

But the unruly enclave and its shrine as a place for subversive acts of worship had not run their course yet, even after the Concordat of July 1801 enshrined some measure of reconciliation between Paris and the papacy. In September 1801, the Bishopric of Metz granted Masius a provisional commission to exercise pastoral care for the parishioners of Rosport after he had

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'Masius' but from the context it is still reasonably clear to whom this note refers): "il a debauché un grand nombre d'habitants des communes qu'il a parcourues pour aller entendre les sermons qu'il débitait dans le Pays de Trèves, dans un hermitage ou il s'était réfugié." Put together for policing and surveillance purposes, this list is undated, but the range of dates mentioned in its notes suggests a *terminus ante quem* of early 1800, as does the rather strident pro-republican tone of the author, who was operating with rather pre-Napoleonic anticlerical categories. For this reason and because Masius was exiled during all of 1799, I believe that this note must refer to events that transpired in 1798.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Steinmetz, "Die Girsterklaus."

<sup>79</sup> On Masius's arrest in late October 1798, deportation decided in early November 1798, and time as a deportee until late 1799, see AN Lux, B-0505, d. 62, unpaginated document at end of dossier, cantonal commissioner Heilbrunn to departmental commissioner Failly, Echternach, 8 brumaire an VII (October 29, 1798); AN, F/7/7619, d. 10 (R/1252), and F/7/7639, d. 32 (R/1561). On the Belgian peasant uprisings of 1798: Fred Stevens, "Les résistances au Directoire dans les départements réunis: La 'Guerre des paysans' (octobre–novembre 1798)," in *La République directoriale: Actes du colloque de Clermont-Ferrand, 22–24 mai 1997*, ed. Philippe Bourdin and Bernard Gainot (Paris: Société des études robespierristes, 1998), 1025–45; Trausch, *La répression des soulèvements*; Minke, *Hommes de Dieu*, 203–16 on the consequent "déportation générale" of non-juring priests.

taken an oath of fidelity to the new, Napoleonic government.<sup>80</sup> Like other firebrand priests in the Forêts, however, Masius continued to crystallize and stoke political and religious division.<sup>81</sup> He denounced his fellow clergymen who had taken the oath of Hatred for Royalty in 1797, and in 1802 he allegedly even denied that he had accepted the more recent, pro-Napoleonic oath. Again, the Girsterklaus served as his headquarters in the spring and summer of 1802. “Many people, seduced by him and his ilk, run to him at Girst, where he resides in an isolated former hermitage, in order to hear Mass and receive the sacraments from a supposedly non-juring priest,” as the exasperated mayor of Echternach put it. On Saturdays and feast days, when there was often “a very considerable gathering” of pilgrims at the shrine, Masius also invited other non-jurors to celebrate Mass while rejecting oath-taking priests who would have liked to do the same.<sup>82</sup> Finally, on August 17, five days after obtaining another temporary commission from the bishopric and only two days after preaching to a big crowd at Girsterklaus on the Feast of the Assumption, Masius felt strong enough to confront his rival, the juror Schengen, in Rosport. But when Masius asked for the keys to the parish church, Schengen refused to hand them in and relied on the support he was receiving from Rosport’s mayor.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> AN, F/7/7985, série S/5, d. 9081, *arrêté* of Echternach mayor, 2 prairial an X (May 22, 1802).

<sup>81</sup> On other cases of controversial priests, see various documents in AN, F/19/5687, esp. a letter from the Forêts prefect to the ministry of *cultes*, Luxembourg, 28 fructidor an X (September 15, 1802).

<sup>82</sup> AN, F/7/7985, série S/5, d. 9081, *arrêté* of Echternach mayor, 2 prairial an X (May 22, 1802): “Que beaucoup de personnes, seduities par lui et ses semblables, courent chez lui a Girst, ou il sejourne dans un ci-devant héremitage isolé, pour entendre la messe d’un prêtre prétendu insermenté, et en recevoir les sacremens. [...] Que c’est encore aujourd’hui, qu’il a défendu a des prêtres d’Echternach de dire la messe dans la dite chapelle de Girst, ou il y avait un rassemblement tres considérable de monde, et entre autres des habitans de cette Commune d’Echternach, et ce pour le seul motif, que lesdits prêtres s’étaient soumis aux lois de la République, qu’ils avaient prêté le serment prescrit, tandis qu’il a permis d’y dire la messe a des prêtres refractaires comme lui.”

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, mayor of Rosport to sub-prefect of Bitburg, Rosport, 29 thermidor an X (August 17, 1802). Additional evidence on the renewed power struggle between Masius and Schengen and on the fact that each of them had supporters among the inhabitants of Rosport: ADM, 29 J 143, outgoing correspondence of Metz bishopric, register no. 1, entries no. 39 and 48 (from fructidor an X [August/September 1802]); ADM, 29 J 854, dossier Rosport, petitions in favor of Masius on the one hand (6 vendémiaire an XI [September 28, 1802]) and Schengen on the other (22 vendémiaire an XI [October 14, 1802]). See also the next footnote below.

Once more, community divisions as well as the complexity of the border help explain why the Girsterklaus pilgrimage could create such a wide-open space for political and religious subversion, even within the authoritarian framework of Napoleonic France. For one thing, Masius had vocal supporters in Rosport, laypeople who disliked Schengen and praised Masius as “a true pastor,” insisting in a petition they sent to Metz on his “steadfastness”—his meritorious “refusal to take the oath and his exile on Ré.”<sup>84</sup> At the same time, Masius and the pilgrims who joined him at Girsterklaus also benefited from the difficulties that agents of the state in Rosport, Echternach, and Luxembourg City faced in projecting their authority across the border of the Forêts and into the enclave. For example, in late May of 1802, the mayor of Echternach called on the prefect of the Forêts to in turn ask the prefect of the Saar, “on whose territory the abovementioned hermitage of Girst is located, to put an end to the public scandal that Masius causes there.”<sup>85</sup> No such intervention from Trier, however, seems to have taken place in subsequent months. Likewise, in his annual police report for the Year X (1801/2), the prefect of the Forêts noted that Masius had succeeded at stirring up much trouble after “retreating near Echternach to an isolated hermitage on the confines of the Saar Department” and organizing “clandestine worship” there.<sup>86</sup> This episode exemplifies the same administrative inability to control pilgrimage dynamics across departmental boundaries that we already encountered in the

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<sup>84</sup> ADM, 29 J 828, seven inhabitants of Rosport to Oster (vicar general at Metz bishopric), July 23, 1801: “Exposent les députés de la paroisse de Rosport arrondissement de Bitbourg departement des Forets, que Monsieur Masius ancien curé auroit gouverné ladite paroisse de Rosport pendant vingt trois ans consécutifs remplissant très exactement toutes les fonctions d’un vrais[sic] pasteur ; que sa fermeté son refus de prêter serment et son exile dans l’île de Rhé lui auroient mérités de la part de ses paroissiens un attachement et un estime digne de sa conduite et ses sentimens.” This earlier petition in favor of Masius may well have prompted Oster to give Masius another temporary commission on August 12.

<sup>85</sup> AN, F/7/7985, série S/5, d. 9081, *arrêté* of Echternach mayor, 2 prairial an X (May 22, 1802): “Le Préfet du Département des Forêts est invité a vouloir bien s’employer auprès du Préfet du département de la Sarre, dans le territoire duquel est située la susdite hermitage de Girst, a l’effet de faire cesser le scandale public que le dit Masius y donne.”

<sup>86</sup> AN Lux, B-0074, d. 816, annual report by Forêts prefect to ministry of Police: Masius “s’étoit retiré près d’Echternach dans un hermitage isolé sur les confins du Département de la Sarre, où il attiroit beaucoup de personnes au culte clandestin qu’il exerçoit.”

case of the Marian apparitions of 1799 (Chapter 3). Eventually, the Bishopric of Metz only solved the issue by moving Masius to another, rather distant parish in September 1802.<sup>87</sup>

Yet Napoleonic church and state administrators were still not done wrestling with the enclave status of Girsterklaus and creating new tensions around this shrine in the process. According to the principle of territorial consistency, the parish of Rosport and the Diocese of Metz could not stretch beyond the boundaries of the Forêts and into the Saar Department. After 1802, therefore, Hinkel and Girsterklaus automatically fell to the new Diocese of Trier and the parish of Trierweiler, to the east and across the Sauer river. This change made little sense to the inhabitants of Hinkel, who complained to the Bishop of Trier that “it is inconceivable by what misfortune we have been placed in the parish of Trierweiler.”<sup>88</sup> Between 1805 and 1810, the bishoprics of Metz and Trier had several tense interactions on this issue, trying to solve the problem and get state approval to attribute pastoral care for the population of the enclave to the parish priest of Rosport by way of exception.<sup>89</sup> These projects failed—in part because his colleague at Trierweiler was determined not to relinquish the control he had recently gained over the Girsterklaus shrine. As the provicar general for the Forêts noted in a letter of 1809, the priests of both Trierweiler and Rosport “consider this [hamlet of] Hinkel important due to a small

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<sup>87</sup> ADM, 29 J 143, outgoing correspondence of Metz bishopric, register no. 1, entry no. 69 (letter to Masius, mid-September 1802); AN Lux, B-0386, d. 4450, sub-prefectoral “Etat des Communes de l’Arrondissement de Bitbourg, où Mr l’Eveque a établi des ecclésiastiques munis de Commissions provisoires,” 17 brumaire an XI (November 8, 1802).

<sup>88</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 243, undated petition from Hinkel communal deputies to Mannay: “Nous faisons de temps immémoriales partie de la succursale de Roesport qui n’est éloigné de nous, qu’une demie lieu, et il est inconcevable, par quel malheur on nous a placé dans la succursale de Trierweiler, qui est éloignée de nous une et demie lieu.” For further analysis, cf. Bernhard Schneider, “Pfarrorganisation und pfarrliches Leben zur Zeit der französischen Herrschaft: Dargestellt am Beispiel der Pfarrei Trierweiler,” *Landeskundliche Vierteljahresblätter* 28 (1982): 49–64. In this article, however, Schneider was unable to clarify the territorial status of the Girsterklaus as fully as I am based on Bergé’s map and other evidence presented in this chapter.

<sup>89</sup> AN Lux, B-0062, d. 664, Bienaymé (bishop of Metz) to ministry of *cultes*, Metz, August 21, 1805; ADioc Lux, PA.Rosport 27, ordinance by Bishop Jauffret, Metz, October 15, 1808; ADM, 29 J 189, Trier episcopal secretary Garnier to Metz bishopric, Trier, June 5, 1810; various documents in BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 243.

chapel located there, for which people in this area have great devotion” and where they consequently left a good deal of offerings.<sup>90</sup> In the midst of a tiny enclave, Girsterklaus remained an unruly place—in large part due to its prestige as a shrine. It kept eluding the domestication of borders by secular and ecclesiastical elites of the revolutionary era.

While I have been unable to identify parallel cases from the Eifel mountains or the Mosel Valley for the enclaved shrine of Girsterklaus, similar scenarios unfolded around the same time further south. As I discussed in Chapter 3, the southern border of the Saar Department also featured several enclaves throughout the revolutionary period, for example that of Rouhling and Lixing. While not strictly speaking pilgrimage places, these enclaves facilitated phenomena of religious border traffic between French-occupied and fully French areas that the governmental commissioner Rudler condemned as subversive “kinds of pilgrimage” in 1798.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, I have analyzed pilgrimage to Mariastein as a Swiss outpost of anti-revolutionary Catholicism, enclaved within France after the revolutionaries annexed the northern parts of the Episcopal Principality of Basel in 1793 (see Chapter 1). Pilgrimage places in enclaves may not count among the more frequent types of shrines, but in an age of great border struggle, they easily became some of the more hotly contested, politically and religiously subversive ones.

In sum, due to its remote location but also its peculiar territorial status, Girsterklaus offered a space of refuge to malcontent Catholics, such as the priest Charles Bernard Masius and his supporters. Here, pilgrims could more easily and safely venerate Mary and follow worship

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<sup>90</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 243, provicar general Neunheuser to Garnier, Luxembourg, June 7, 1809: “je pense que les desservans de Trierweiler si j’ai bien retenu et de Rosport mettent de l’importance pour ce Hinckels à raison d’une petite chapelle qui se trouve dans ce dernier endroit à laquelle le voisinage a beaucoup de dévotion et qu’on y donne beaucoup de mets[?].”

<sup>91</sup> AN, BB/18/557, Rudler to ministry of Justice, Mainz, 2 fructidor an VI (August 19, 1798), on “la tendance des habitans des départemens de l’Intérieur limitrophes de ceux-ci [i.e. of the occupied regions] à faire ces sortes de pèlerinage.”

services led by a clergyman who refused an oath that many viewed as godless and required by an illegitimate government. And as the petition by inhabitants of Rosport in 1801 suggests, Masius only heightened his reputation by his willingness to pay the price of deportation in 1798.<sup>92</sup> Meanwhile, French authorities proved unable to crack the territorial nut of this enclave. In Malberg, a local push for territorial change fueled an emerging pilgrimage and succeeded as Malbergers obtained their own parish, in part because this push dovetailed with top-down projects to simplify the border. At Girsterklaus, by contrast, pilgrimage benefitted from the *persistence* of a territorial quirk throughout the revolutionary and Napoleonic years. In both cases, we may wonder how clearly the average pilgrim understood the intricacies of the border; at any rate, the sources stay silent on this point. But for governing elites as well as local communities, the people who struggled to tame the border and those who lived with it, pilgrimage raised the stakes dramatically. That effect could result even from the presence of relatively minor shrines, of which many thousands existed in Catholic Europe. Both in Malberg and at Girsterklaus, moreover, border trouble only ceased *after* the defeat of the French Revolution's ambiguous heir Napoleon. By establishing a 'natural' border along the rivers Mosel, Sauer, and Our between the new Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg and the equally new Prussian Rhine Province, the Congress of Vienna (1814/15) dissolved the Hinkel enclave into the Grand-Duchy. To the east of those three rivers, the inhabitants of Malberg and Kyllburg now shared the common fate of Prussian rule.<sup>93</sup> Ironically, in this region, the so-called Restoration

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<sup>92</sup> Cf. above, fn. 84.

<sup>93</sup> Uhrmacher, "Neue Staaten - neue Grenzen," esp. 178–83. It seems that devotion to Our Lady of Luxembourg soon faded in Malberg as a result of these changes brought by the Congress of Vienna. A nineteenth-century village chronicle contains no hints that pilgrimage to Malberg continued (I thank Karl Solchenbach, a resident of Malberg, for this information), and neither do pastoral visit reports of 1827, 1848, and 1882 (BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 106b, Nr. 140, and Nr. 250).



obliterated the borders bequeathed by the Old Regime much more thoroughly than the Revolution had done.

### Lambertsberg: A Shrine on the Line, Literally (and Figuratively)

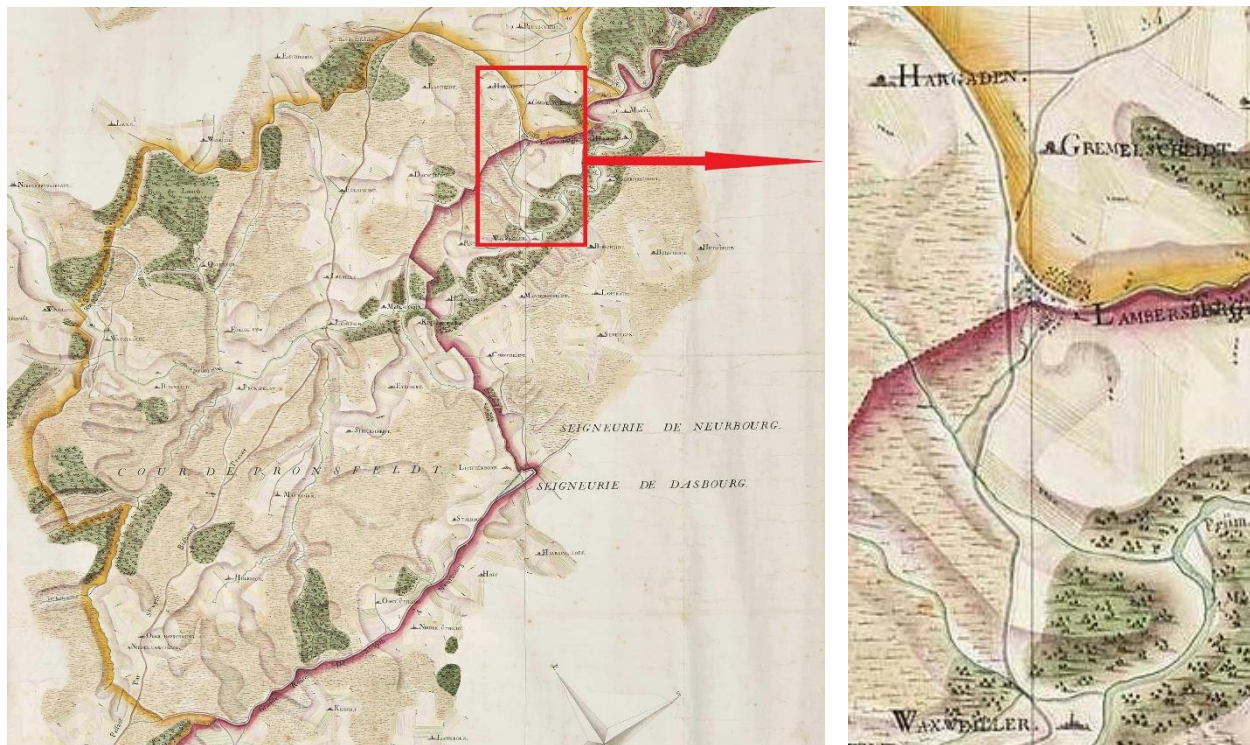
With Lambertsberg, however, I now turn to a place where the revolutionaries did modify the line of the border above the parish level, as they and their Napoleonic successors did in countless other areas across western and central Europe. Specifically, in 1795, the French annexed a tiny territory called Pronsfeld Court along with the Duchy of Luxembourg. Pronsfeld Court consisted of twenty-three villages and hamlets, barely more than two hundred houses in total, squeezed in between the Duchy of Luxembourg and the Electorate of Trier. As Bergé's map of 1776 shows (Image 3 below), the situation of Lambertsberg was especially complicated: this tiny hamlet huddled in a border triangle where the Duchy, the Electorate, and Pronsfeld Court met. During the Old Regime, the three lay householders of Lambertsberg considered themselves residents of Pronsfeld Court. By contrast, two thirds of the pilgrimage chapel as well as the vicar's house stood on the *trierisch* territory of Schönecken, a district of the former Abbatial Principality of Prüm that had been absorbed into the Electorate by the eighteenth century.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, Lambertsberg belonged to the parish of Waxweiler, a large Luxembourgian village only about one mile to the west, and the parish priest presided over the major feasts—including Saint Lambert's Day on September 17—that punctuated the pilgrimage season at the chapel. But according to the Habsburg ecclesiastical enquiry of 1786/7, this parish was formally divided in two "church districts" (*Kirchspiele*), one Luxembourgian and the other *trierisch*, the latter

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<sup>94</sup> AN Lux, A-XI-11-02, pp. 274–83 (Bergé's explanatory note on Pronsfeld Court); BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 178, Lasel parish priest Bechmann to Trier general vicariate, Lasel, October 24, 1804; cf. also Oster, *Geschichte*, 686–7.

organized around the “*trierisch* filial church of Saint Lambert.”<sup>95</sup> Is it any wonder that revolutionary and Napoleonic administrations would find it tough to clarify, untangle, and simplify these borders?

Image 3: Bergé Map, Pronsfeld Court with “Lambersberg” Detail<sup>96</sup>



I argue that these administrative attempts and the attendant difficulties triggered two interrelated processes, both of which illustrate how intensely the struggle over borders and the struggle over holy places intertwined on the local level. First, clergy and lay notables around Lambertsberg became very active in trying to demonstrate that the shrine either was or *ought* to be on their own respective side of the border. In doing so, they often managed to influence their hierarchical superiors in Church and state and pit them against each other. Second, this

<sup>95</sup> AGR, I 001, no. 46816, declaration by Waxweiler parish priest: “Nota ultimo das hiesige Pfahr in zwey Kirchspill abgetheilet, nemblich in das luxemburgierische, welches zu Pfahrkirch in Waxweiler undt das Trierische, welches zur trierische Filialkirch ad S(anc)tum Lambertum gehöret.”

<sup>96</sup> AN Lux, CP-A-46.

cacophony questioned the spatial anchoring of the holy after revolutionary policies had already jeopardized the existence of the Lambertsberg chapel. If the border could not move because competing territorial claims kept canceling each other out, then perhaps the pilgrimage itself might have to move? Ultimately, however, the pilgrimage stayed and the border budged, no longer running through the shrine after 1805.

To understand what the agents of the French Republic did when they first tried to eliminate the border ambiguity of Lambertsberg in 1795, we need to take a closer look at the unique Old-Regime entity that was Pronsfeld Court. In the language of international law, we might call Pronsfeld a condominium, one of many in the Holy Roman Empire, where several rulers shared rights of sovereignty—in this case the Archbishop-Elector of Trier and the Duke of Luxembourg.<sup>97</sup> Bergé, at least, used the concept of “sovereignty” in the commentary on his map when discussing Pronsfeld Court. Yet by the end of his note, he also described the situation as “some sort of anarchy prevailing in this vast canton.” Local inhabitants viewed themselves as subject to one of four different jurisdictions—those of the Abbot of Prüm, the Prince of Orange, and the Seigneurs of Hartelstein and Neuerburg—not depending on where exactly in Pronsfeld Court they lived, but to what family they belonged. They also held assemblies in Pronsfeld and deliberated “on the preservation of their supposed independence,” as Bergé put it sneeringly.<sup>98</sup> All of Lambertsberg’s three householders, however, recognized the jurisdiction of Prüm and thus arguably of the Archbishop-Elector.<sup>99</sup> In this sense, Lambertsberg appeared as a “completely

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<sup>97</sup> On Pronsfeld Court as one of 68 condominia that existed in the (broadly defined) Rhineland in 1789, see Franz Irsigler, *Geschichtlicher Atlas der Rheinlande, Beiheft V/1: Herrschaftsgebiete im Jahre 1789* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1982), 6–7. More detail on Pronsfeld: Wilhelm Fabricius, *Erläuterungen zum Geschichtlichen Atlas der Rheinprovinz. Zweiter Band: Die Karte von 1789. Einteilung und Entwicklung der Territorien von 1600 bis 1794* (Bonn: Hermann Behrendt, 1898), 593–5.

<sup>98</sup> AN Lux, A-XI-11-02, notes on the Bergé map, pp. 274–83, quotes on 276 (“cent cinquante trois sujets de cette enclave appartiennent à la Souveraineté du Duché de Luxembourg”), 282 (“l’espece d’anarchie qui regne dans ce vaste canton”), 274 (“ils confèrent ensemble sur le maintien de leur prétendue indépendance”).

<sup>99</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 283, and (from a *trierisch* perspective of the 1780s) Brommer, *Kurtrier*, 2:976.

*trierisch*” village before the Revolution, in the words of a Waxweiler parish priest who tried to reconstruct these Old-Regime circumstances in 1803.<sup>100</sup> Outsiders such as French government commissioners might thus easily fail to notice that a border ran right through this tiny hamlet, dividing the Pronsfeld part from the Schönecken district that belonged more strictly to Prüm and ultimately to the Electorate of Trier.

Whether these agents of the French Republic genuinely overlooked the border or actively chose to ignore it, they soon began to treat all of Lambertsberg—including the chapel and the vicar’s house—as belonging to the Forêts Department. They justified this approach by pointing to a resolution issued in late September 1795 by the representative of the people on mission Louis Joubert and to a subsequent confirmation by ministerial decree.<sup>101</sup> The French-occupied but in some sense still *trierisch* district administrator of Schönecken eventually pushed back. He created a commission of villagers and judicial notables who inspected the old boundary markers “located inside and outside the church” of Lambertsberg. They concluded that only half the bell tower and a third of the sacristy were situated “on the Luxembourgian side,” that is in the “former Pronsfeld Court.” Therefore, “the church simply belongs entirely to the district of Schönecken.”<sup>102</sup> The cantonal commissioner of Arzfeld in the Forêts, however, rode roughshod over this opposition from Schönecken, Prüm, and local villagers. In late 1797 or early 1798, he

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<sup>100</sup> ADM, 29 J 851, dossier Waxweiler, letter from Gerhard Spoo (*desservant* of Waxweiler) to bishop Bienaymé, 9 fructidor an XI (August 27, 1803): “Das Dorf Lambertsberg [...] war ganz trierisch.”

<sup>101</sup> On Joubert’s *arrêté*, see BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 357, *cahier* no. 2, f. 44v, bishop Mannay to Saar prefect, 18 fructidor an XII (September 5, 1804); ADM, 29 J 851, Spoo to Bienaymé, 9 fructidor an XI (August 27, 1803). A later ministerial decree is mentioned in BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 178, priest Wegener to Garnier, Freisen, September 18, 1804.

<sup>102</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 178, commission protocol of October 26, 1797: “Haben Unterschriebene uns anheute auf Lambertsberg begeben, und die Limithen zwischen Luxemburg, vormaligem Hof Bronsfeld und Eulscheid, und dem trierischen Gericht Plütscheid abgegangen, und hat sich befunden, daß der Kirchthurm halb zur Luxemburger Seite gehöret; sodann gemäß in und aus der Kirche befindende Marcksteine ist klar zu machen, daß der dritte theil der Kirchen-Sakrystey zu dem Luxemburger Gebiete gehöret; also die Kirche schier ganz zu dem Amte Schönecken gehöret.”

had the chapel sequestered and transferred into state domain as a *bien national*, an act of secularization for which a legal basis existed in the Forêts but not (yet) in the occupied Rhineland. Then, the regional domain collector sold the property in the spring or early summer of 1798.<sup>103</sup> Later, the priest Wegener, who served as vicar in Lambertsberg during those years, would insinuate that the Arzfeld commissioner pursued a specific anti-pilgrimage agenda: “He wanted to reduce [the chapel] to a private and profane house, perhaps in order to destroy a place famous for its sacred pilgrimages.”<sup>104</sup>

In this crisis, local actors living on the border intervened to save the Lambertsberg chapel and, by extension, the pilgrimage. For one thing, people on the occupied *trierisch* side continued to try and push their claims that the chapel had been sequestered, nationalized, and sold illegitimately because it actually stood on their side of the border rather than in the territory of the Forêts.<sup>105</sup> More crucially, when the domain collector auctioned off the chapel, one inhabitant of Lambertsberg bought the building itself while the others did the same for the liturgical objects and other movable goods (*mobilier*).<sup>106</sup> In other words, the hamlet community turned former church property into their own property—apparently eager not to ‘profane’ the church but, quite the contrary, to enable their vicar Wegener to keep conducting worship services for themselves, and indirectly for the population of surrounding hamlets and pilgrims as well. At the very least, the evidence suggests that Wegener kept exercising his sacerdotal functions. After the Fructidor coup, when the Arzfeld commissioner forced him to either take the oath of Hatred for Royalty or

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<sup>103</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 276, Nr. 73, cantonal commissioner Gabriel to Saar departmental commissioner Boucqueau, Prüm, 26 fructidor an VI (September 12, 1798).

<sup>104</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 178, Wegener to Garnier, September 18, 1804: “post diuturnam mei vexationem tandem Ecclesiam cum omnibus mobilibus sub hafta vendidit, eamque in domum privatam profanamque redigere voluit, forte ex fine destruendi locum sacris peregrinationibus celebrem.”

<sup>105</sup> LHA Ko, Best. 276, Nr. 73, Gabriel to Boucqueau, 26 fructidor an VI (September 12, 1798).

<sup>106</sup> ADM, 29 J 851, Spoo to Bienaymé, 9 fructidor an XI (August 27, 1803): “Die obgemeldte Kirche wurde darauf, wie alle übrige Filial Kirchen sequestrirt, die Kirche Lambertsberg versteigert an Johann Ritter von Lambertsberg, die Moebeln derselben an die Inwohner von Lambertsberg.”

stop saying the Mass at Lambertsberg, Wegener opted for the oath.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, Lambertsberg exemplifies on the one hand how the border shifts of the Revolution could jeopardize a shrine. On the other hand, lay Catholic villagers and lower clergy together still managed to prevent an interruption of worship and pilgrimage.

Yet the enlightened border simplifiers continued their work beyond the revolutionary decade, and so did the local border troubles around Lambertsberg that the pursuit of that project ironically triggered. As I noted above in my discussions of Malberg and Kyllburg as well as Girsterklaus, parishes could no longer sit astride the old Trier–Luxembourg border after the Concordat, when that border became one between the two dioceses of Metz and Trier by virtue of also being a departmental one between the Forêts and the Sarre. This change split apart the old parish of Waxweiler. Its formerly *trierisch* church district was now incorporated into the parish of Lasel by the new bishop of Trier, Charles Mannay.<sup>108</sup> In addition to the hamlets of Greimelscheid, Plütscheid, and Gesotz, all situated between Lambertsberg and Lasel, should the church of Lambertsberg itself also belong to this newly formed parish and be served by the parish priest of Lasel and his vicar? Bishop Mannay certainly thought so in the first years after his arrival in Trier. The sub-prefect of Prüm agreed, insisting that three quarters of this chapel as well as the entire adjacent cemetery were situated on the territory of the Saar—and thus proving that the border conflict over Lambertsberg was still not settled.<sup>109</sup> Mannay’s secretary Simon Garnier also asked the Bishopric of Metz to cede spiritual jurisdiction over the other quarter of the church building, which “cannot be occupied by both dioceses at the same time.”<sup>110</sup> Garnier

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<sup>107</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 178, Wegener to Garnier, September 18, 1804.

<sup>108</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 6, notes on parish *circonscription* from the early years of Mannay’s episcopate, p. 12.

<sup>109</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 355, “2<sup>e</sup> protocole supplémentaire de l’organisation,” p. 255, entry no. 140.

<sup>110</sup> ADM, 29 J 189, Garnier to a vicar general of the bishop of Metz, Trier, October 26, 1803: “M. l’Evêque demande que M. de Metz lui cede l’usage seulement de la portion qui lui appartient, puisque l’Eglise ne peut être en même tems occupée par les deux Diocèses.”

neatly encapsulated the issue here. The Concordat had created a diocesan boundary that cut absurdly through the church of Lambertsberg, where previously there had not even been a parish boundary.

Although diocesan and prefectural elites thus struggled to read and rectify the border, the actual initiative for renewed border conflict over Lambertsberg came primarily from *local* actors. In June 1803, while Mannay was still only beginning to familiarize himself with his diocese and to figure out how to organize it after the Concordat, it was the parish priest of Lasel, a man named Bechmann, who first alerted his bishop about “the need to preserve the church of Saint Lambert for the communes of Greimelscheid and Plütscheid.”<sup>111</sup> Lasel was about five kilometers away from Plütscheid and even further from Greimelscheid. Therefore, to guarantee good pastoral care to those two communes, Bechmann said he needed a vicar residing in Lambertsberg—only a few hundred meters west of Greimelscheid.<sup>112</sup> His counterpart Spoo in Waxweiler, however, doubted that everyday pastoral concerns genuinely motivated Bechmann. After all, why not use the fairly spacious chapel of Plütscheid rather than that of Lambertsberg as a filial church within the parish of Lasel? In reality, Spoo informed his bishop Bienaymé of Metz, “It is the material interest and the offerings at Lambertsberg that attract this parish priest,” that is to say Bechmann.<sup>113</sup> Evidence from the *trierisch* side of the struggle confirms Spoo’s suspicion. As Mannay himself pointed out to Bienaymé in November 1803, Bechmann had gone to Lambertsberg several times and attempted to appropriate the chapel by celebrating the Mass

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<sup>111</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 355, p. 5, protocol entry no. 34, June 10, 1803: “Lasel. Le dess(ervan)t expose la nécessité de conserver l’Eglise de S. Lambert pour les communes de Plütscheid et Greimelscheid.”

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., “2<sup>e</sup> protocole supplémentaire de l’organisation,” p. 255, entry no. 140.

<sup>113</sup> ADM, 29 J 851, Spoo to Bienaymé, 9 fructidor an XI (August 27, 1803): “man will die Plütscheider ais ihrem eigenen Dorfe und Kirche auf Lambertsberg eine halbe Stunde weit ins Walder-Departemente hinführen. Warum dies Monseigneur? Es ist der interesse, und der Opfer von Lambertsberg so diesen Succursalen dahin verleiten.”

there, “especially on the Day of Saint Lambert, the patronal feast day.”<sup>114</sup> Conversely, Spoo hinted that no parish priest of Waxweiler could subsist decently without the revenues from the Lambertsberg shrine.<sup>115</sup> In other words, local clergy in both Lasel and Waxweiler had their eyes not just on their own parishioners but also on the pilgrims who converged on Lambertsberg by the thousands on September 17 and left offerings there.

Once more, the Catholic laity in villages on both sides of the border invested themselves in this contest around a shrine as well. After all, the offerings collected at Lambertsberg would benefit not only the priest but also the temporal administration of the parish, the *fabrique*, in which lay notables continued to have a say after the Concordat. The revenues from the Lambertsberg pilgrimage “constitute the better part of the Waxweiler *fabrique*” according to a slightly later report (perhaps from the later 1810s).<sup>116</sup> Therefore, when it became clear toward mid-September 1803 that Bechmann intended to preside over the great upcoming pilgrimage festival at Lambertsberg, the mayor of Waxweiler rose up to enforce communal “policing measures.” In concert with the sub-prefect of Bitburg, the mayor weighed his options for preventing the imminent “trouble” brought by Bechmann, “a priest from another diocese who wants to take over the Lambertsberg chapel.” If necessary, a special gendarmerie detachment should stop Bechmann from executing his plans.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, on September 17, the Lasel parish

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<sup>114</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 357, *cahier* no. 2, ff. 25v–26v, Mannay to Bienaymé, November 14, 1803, here f. 26v: Bechmann “s’est présenté plusieurs fois pour faire les fonctions dans cette chapelle, et spécialement le jour de S. Lambert fête patronale.”

<sup>115</sup> ADM, 29 J 851, dossier Waxweiler, Spoo to Metz vicar general Oster, 10 fructidor an XI (August 28, 1803): “ein Pastor zu Waxweiler würde niemals ohne die Kirche Lambertsberg bestehen können.”

<sup>116</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 661, Waxweiler parish priest’s response to a diocesan questionnaire, June 12 [1817?]: the Lambertsberg shrine “hat viele Einkunfthen welche jetz den besten Theil der Fabrique Waxweiler ausmachen.”

<sup>117</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 178, Bitburg sub-prefect to Waxweiler mayor, Bitburg, 28 fructidor an XI (September 15, 1803): “faire cesser le trouble, dont votre mairie est menacé[e] pour les journées de demain et après demain, par un prêtre d’un diocèse étranger, qui veut s’emparer de la chapelle de Lampersberg [...]. Afin que de ce côté les mesures de police que les circonstances pourront vous déterminer a prendre soient assuré de leur exécution, je vais prier le command(an)t de la gend(armer)ie de donner les ordres en conséquence.”



priest was blocked from conducting worship at the Lambertsberg chapel.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, in early 1805, when an administrator from the Saar Department initiated another inspection of the border at Lambertsberg, the mayor of Waxweiler downright refused to sign the resulting minutes.<sup>119</sup> Presumably, the formerly *trierisch* side had reiterated its claim to the pilgrimage chapel.

Beyond individual notables, the broader local population also paid attention and responded forcefully to Bechmann's and his allies' attempts to take over Lambertsberg and its pilgrimage. A clergyman called Simon, Spoo's successor as parish priest of Waxweiler, claimed in the spring of 1805 that "public opinion" held the Trier diocesan authorities—egged on by the priest of Lasel—responsible for perpetuating the border conflict.<sup>120</sup> Already in 1803, Spoo had written similarly that all his parishioners were "furious" at Bechmann.<sup>121</sup> They probably understood that their parish would suffer badly if it lost the revenue from the shrine. In addition, some of these laypeople got engaged in the struggle because they feared losing the Lambertsberg chapel as their regular place of Sunday worship. This concern occupies center stage in a petition sent to the Bishopric of Metz, co-signed by Spoo but authored by the inhabitants of Lambertsberg and three other surrounding hamlets located in the Forêts Department and the Waxweiler parish.<sup>122</sup> On the other side of the border, Bechmann's successor in Lasel, too, received help from local laypeople. At one point, he alerted Mannay "once more about

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<sup>118</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 357, *cahier* no. 2, ff. 25v–26v, Mannay to Bienaymé, November 14, 1803, here f. 26v.

<sup>119</sup> AN Lux, B-0001, d. 10, entry no. 14 on the mayor's report, 23 ventôse an XIII (March 14, 1805). On additional pressure regarding this issue, exercised earlier by the prefect of the Saar: AN Lux, B-0388, d. 4477, Forêts prefect to Bitburg sub-prefect, 28 brumaire an XII (November 20, 1803).

<sup>120</sup> ADM, 29 J 851, dossier "correspondance du curé cantonal," Simon to Bienaymé, Waxweiler, March 26, 1805: "Si la contestation de la dite chapelle est mise en mouvement par l'administration ecclésiastique du D(é)p(artemen)t de la Saar, comme l'opinion publique porte, en ce cas ce ne peut provenir, que de l'interet particulier du desservant de la succursale de Lasel même D(é)p(artemen)t."

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., dossier Waxweiler, Spoo to Bienaymé, 9 fructidor an XI (August 27, 1803): "meine Pfarrei, welche ganz gegen diesen Succursalen [i.e. Bechmann] aufgebracht ist."

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., petition by inhabitants of Lambertsberg, Mauel, Lascheid, and Hargarten to Bienaymé, Waxweiler, 18 germinal an XII (April 8, 1804).

Lambertsberg,” noting that “the people of Plütscheid had found a legal title to prove that three quarters of the church and the vicar’s house are situated in our department.”<sup>123</sup> We can see now why governing elites found the task of fixing the border both indispensable and intractable in this case. The importance of the disputed shrine triggered a lengthy shouting match of sorts, in which the panoply of local actors used letters and petitions to mobilize their respective church and state authorities against each other.

This cacophony of competing voices even ended up putting Lambertsberg in question as a pilgrimage place again, though in a different way from the crisis the shrine had faced in 1797/8 after the coup of Fructidor. In April 1805, the Waxweiler parish priest Simon proposed a radical solution to the border struggle: he asked for his bishop’s permission “to transfer the image of Saint Lambert, which is venerated in said chapel, with his holy relics into our parish church.”<sup>124</sup> In other words, Waxweiler should replace Lambertsberg as the pilgrimage destination for devotees of this saint. To support his proposal, Simon pointed out two likely benefits. First, at the center of the parish, he and his vicar would be able to ensure that pilgrims expressed their devotion to Saint Lambert with greater “decency” and none of the “abuses which take place at a chapel in the countryside.”<sup>125</sup> Here, Simon employed a notion that the Council of Trent had already firmly implanted in Catholicism but that the Catholic Enlightenment—and especially the early French Revolution—had attempted to massively put into practice. The parish church constituted the ideal place of worship, whereas peripheral chapels appeared as increasingly

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<sup>123</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 355, unnumbered *cahier*, p. 294, entry no. 214 (undated): “Mr Jansen curé de Lasel écrit encore une fois pour le Lambertsberg, et observe que les gens de Ploetscheid [= Plütscheid] avoi[en]t trouvé un titre pour prouver que  $\frac{3}{4}$  de l’église et presbytere sont situées dans notre dep(artemen)t.”

<sup>124</sup> ADM, Moselle, 29 J 851, dossier “correspondance du curé cantonal,” Simon to Bienaymé, Waxweiler, April 28, 1805: request for “votre autorisation episcopale de transférer l’image de St Lambert, qui est en vénération dans ladite chapelle avec les sts reliques dans notre église paroissiale, et en permettant d’y faire le service solennel le jour de St Lambert comme il étoit d’usage de le faire dans la chapelle.”

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.: “la dévotion envers St Lambert auroit plus de décence [...]. Et différents abus, auxquels une chapelle de campagne donne lieu seroient supprimés.”

suspect, undersurveilled sites of devotion to the ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>126</sup> Second, Simon predicted that the border conflict would cease immediately if Lambertsberg lost its spiritual prestige as a holy place and consequently its juicy revenues from pilgrims' offerings.<sup>127</sup> Ultimately, due to the onslaught of contestation from across the departmental and diocesan border, he felt that his control over the chapel and the pilgrimage remained fragile. The boundary dispute might go on indefinitely, he implied, unless he disassembled the holy place itself by separating Saint Lambert's relics and sacred image from Saint Lambert's chapel.

While such a proposal may sound somewhat radical, the case of Lambertsberg turns out to be far from unique. Clergy made similar proposals elsewhere in the Diocese of Metz after the French Revolution dramatically altered parish borders and topographies. About eighty kilometers south of Lambertsberg, in the northernmost part of the Moselle Department, the mayor of Rustroff wrote a bitter complaint to the bishop in 1810. First, this mayor noted, the Revolution had wrested the status of parish center away from the church of Rustroff by turning the nearby town of Sierck into the seat of the parish. Now, the priest of Sierck added insult to injury by trying to have a miraculous Marian statue ("the Virgin of Rustroff") and its associated, vibrant pilgrimage transferred from Rustroff to the new parish church. The mayor of Rustroff did not hesitate to utter threats: if this translation happened, the inhabitants of his commune "would revolt."<sup>128</sup> Similarly, between at least 1804 and 1812, fierce struggles occurred over the status of

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<sup>126</sup> Cf. above, fn. 62. On the post-Tridentine *longue durée* of the tension between parish and pilgrimage, see also Martin, *Les chemins du sacré*, esp. 306.

<sup>127</sup> ADM, 29 J 851, Simon to Bienaymé, Waxweiler, April 28, 1805: "le grand envie[sic] qui est portée à cette chapelle par d'autres viendroit à cesser."

<sup>128</sup> ADM, 29 J 743, Pichancourt (*maire* of Rustroff) to Bishop Jauffret, December 24, 1810: "Le curé s'est retiré et a porté ses plaintes à l'autorité supérieure et a dit-on obtenu l'ordre de faire fermer l'Eglise de Rustroff et de transporter la vierge à Sierck, mais s'il n'a pas mi[s] cet ordre à exécution c'est qu'il était certain d'abord que les habitants se revo[l]teroient et que d'un autre côté une foi[s] la vierge déplacée la grande réputation de la vierge de Rustroff tomberait par sa translation." On the vibrancy of Rustroff as a pilgrimage place in the Napoleonic period, cf. ADM, 29 J 365-372, pastoral *enquête* of the Bishopric of Metz in 1807, responses from Basse-Yeutz, Basse- and Haute-Kontz, Manom, Puttelange-lès-Thionville, Rodemack, Sierck, Waldwiese, Apach, Kerling, Freymacher,

the Mont Saint-Walfroy in the Ardennes Department, a very old and regionally important hermitage, visited by pilgrims living as far as eighty to one hundred kilometers away.<sup>129</sup> The pilgrimage chapel and the adjacent hermitage had been auctioned off as *biens nationaux* under the Revolution and had been acquired by a layman, Jean-Baptiste Montlibert, who by no means intended to stifle the pilgrimage. He acted instead as guardian of the chapel and claimed a much bigger part of pilgrims' offerings for himself than the local parish priest of La Ferté would have liked.<sup>130</sup> In 1808, after struggling for years to reassert clerical control over the shrine, one of the bishop's vicars general put forth the idea of redirecting devotion to Saint Walfroy toward the parish church of La Ferté by means of an altar, a statue of the saint, and a papal indulgence.<sup>131</sup> Ultimately, the bishopric preferred not to follow through on this plan and instead negotiate a new compromise with Montlibert in the spring of 1809.<sup>132</sup>

Mont Saint-Walfroy also merits attention as a border shrine, even though the border in this case ran merely between two parishes and communes, those of La Ferté and Bièvres. In 1809, Montlibert's bid to outmaneuver his rival, the parish priest of La Ferté, involved claiming

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Ham, and Oudrenne (all in 29 J 366); ADM, 19 J 748, undated notes by Bishop Jauffret on the parish of Sierck in a dossier on the *cures* of the Moselle Department. More broadly on the history of pilgrimage to Rustroff: *Le culte de la très sainte et immaculée Vierge Marie au Diocèse de Metz* (Metz: Imprimerie lorraine, 1904), 150–6. On the makeup of the parish of Rustroff/Sierck before the Revolution: Ferdinand Pauly, *Siedlung und Pfarrorganisation im alten Erzbistum Trier: Das Landkapitel Perl und die rechts der Mosel gelegenen Pfarreien des Landkapitels Remich. Das Burdekanat Trier* (Trier: Bistumsarchiv Trier, 1968), 158–61.

<sup>129</sup> ADM, 29 J 365–372, pastoral *enquête* of 1807, response from Signy-Montlibert (a village near the Mont Saint-Walfroy) in 29 J 369. On the early-medieval origins of the Mont Saint-Walfroy as a holy place: Jean-Claude Muller, “De saint Walfroy-le-Stylite à Saint-Pirmin-lez-Kaundorf: Ermites et ermitages de l’ancien duché de Luxembourg,” in *Actes du Colloque de Schengen (7–8 mars 2003) sur les ermites et les ermitages au Luxembourg et en Europe*, ed. Jean-Claude Muller (Luxembourg: Les Amis de l’Histoire, 2003), 185–97, here 185–7.

<sup>130</sup> ADM, 29 J 140, entry no. 1166, Bishop Bienaymé to the parish priest of La Ferté, late pluviôse an XII (mid-February 1804); ADM, 29 J 139, entry no. 71, Bishop Jauffret to Jacquemin (*provicaire général* of the Ardennes), October 11, 1807; ADM, 29 J 168, entry no. 91, bishopric of Metz to Cunisse (cantonal *curé* of Carignan), July 26, 1812; and, above all, a massive dossier on La Ferté and the Mont Saint-Walfroy in ADM, 29 J 804. For a detailed discussion of these struggles, see also Jean Leflon, *Le Mont Saint-Walfroy: Un haut lieu d’Ardenne* (Charleville-Mézières: L’Ardennais, 1971 [1960]), 67–74.

<sup>131</sup> ADM, 29 J 167, entry no. 382, vicar general Tournefort to Cunisse, November 30, 1808.

<sup>132</sup> ADM, 29 J 343, pp. 75–9, episcopal ordinance of June 7, 1809.

that the bigger part of the chapel and the hermitage were actually located on the territory of Bièvres. In response, the priest not only reaffirmed that the shrine belonged to his own parish territory but also asked the vicar general to execute after all the project of transferring the image of Saint Walfroy from the chapel on the hill to the church of La Ferté.<sup>133</sup> The bishopric rejected this solution again and tried to play the role of arbiter in this confusing situation, but in July 1809, vicar general Dubois noted that the “chapel of Walfroy is apparently on the territory of two communes” at the same time.<sup>134</sup> Finally, the diocesan authorities decided that the Mont Saint-Walfroy belonged indeed to La Ferté. Yet in 1812 the churchwardens of Bièvres as well as the priest of a third nearby parish, that of Signy, were still making claims on the pilgrimage and its revenues.<sup>135</sup> On the border between parishes, clerical control flickered, especially after the Revolution had destabilized the Catholic Church and shaken up its spatial order. Pilgrims visiting the remote Saint-Walfroy hermitage had already had a rather autonomous experience of the holy in the Old Regime, but Montlibert’s actions further challenged ecclesiastical power.<sup>136</sup> Conversely, the clergy of Napoleonic France were also more nervous than ever before about such a lack of control, and out of this anxiety grew the curious and failed proposals to uproot holy places and centralize them—to remove them from the treacherous territorial margins.

In Lambertsberg, too, the disassembling project never came to fruition. Bishop Mannay of Trier eventually disavowed the claim that the church and vicar’s house of Lambertsberg belonged to his diocese and to the parish of Lasel. The pilgrimage chapel dedicated to Saint Lambert thus demonstrated greater staying power than the border that had run through it. More

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<sup>133</sup> ADM, 29 J 804, dossier St-Walfroy, pièce 21, Barthélemy to Tournefort, June 10, 1809.

<sup>134</sup> ADM, 29 J 167, entry no. 456, Dubois to Jacquemin, July 3, 1809: “La chapelle de Valfroid est apparemment sur le territoire de deux communes.”

<sup>135</sup> ADM, 29 J 168, entry no. 91, bishopric of Metz to Cunisse, July 26, 1812.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Leflon, *Le Mont Saint-Walfroy*, 57 on the lack of pilgrimage organization in the Old Regime.

precisely, Mannay probably reached the conclusion to accept the status quo by August 1805.<sup>137</sup>

Why did he change his mind? It is tempting to speculate that the proposal coming from Waxweiler in April 1805 had done its work as a threat: if the formerly *trierisch* local actors kept raising doubts about the territorial status of Lambertsberg, the Bishop of Metz might just make the power move of transferring the relics and image of Saint Lambert to the Waxweiler parish church. In any case, after letting go of the pilgrimage chapel, the parish priest of Lasel and the Bishopric of Trier lost interest in the nearby hamlet of Greimelscheid as well. In June 1810, Mannay and Bienaymé's successor Jauffret agreed to exchange several dozen hamlets between their dioceses as far as pastoral care and spiritual jurisdiction were concerned. This final effort to 'fix' the diocesan border brought Greimelscheid *de facto* into the Diocese of Metz. Lambertsberg and Greimelscheid would belong to the parish of Waxweiler for the rest of the nineteenth century.<sup>138</sup> Moreover, the entire area including Waxweiler and Lasel fell to Prussia in 1815. The state border moved west and stabilized. Yet for almost ten years during and after the French Revolution, the shrine and the border had been pondered and contested together—not just by bishops and prefects but first and foremost by the inhabitants of surrounding villages. In this sense, the power of pilgrimage in places such as Lambertsberg and Mont Saint-Walfroy drastically raised the stakes of the great revolutionary rebordering for local Catholic communities.

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<sup>137</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 52, Nr. 357, *cahier* no. 3, ff. 71v-72r, Mannay to Bienaymé, August 6, 1805, here f. 72r: "Quant à l'Eglise de Lambertsberg, qui est en litige, et dont je vous demandois alors la cession, j'y renonce bien volontiers." This evidence is a little inconclusive because the part of the draft I just quoted was struck out in the *cahier*. Moreover, I was unable to find the definitive version of that letter at the ADM.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Eismann, *Umschreibung*, 66–70. It is worth noting that the agreement of 1810 did not include the enclave of Hinkel and Girsterklaus.

## Conclusion

This chapter has shown that struggles over territorial status and rebordering raised the profile even of smaller border shrines in the revolutionary era. In Malberg, Catholic nobles and villagers fused the practice of border conflict with their attempt to encourage local inhabitants' as well as pilgrims' devotion to Our Lady of Luxembourg. In the case of Girsterklaus, an anti-revolutionary priest and his allies chose a Marian shrine as their refuge not simply because of its quality as a place of worship but also because of its protected location within an enclave. Finally, in Lambertsberg, territorial ambiguity jeopardized the very existence of the shrine as local actors, both lay and clerical, tore at this place from various directions to pull it to their respective side of the border. As my comparative glances have confirmed, such territorial, spiritual, and economic ambitions mingled and crystallized quite frequently around shrines, thus fostering their local political importance—already by the 1770s, as the section on Malberg demonstrates, but especially in a time of revolutionary upheaval as illustrated by Girsterklaus and Lambertsberg.

The history of modern Europe might yield further parallels if we asked how, for example, the making of the Iron Curtain changed the trajectory of several prominent pilgrimage places. Examples might include the Hülfsberg on the very fringes of present-day Thuringia (and thus previously of the GDR), Neukirchen beim Heiligen Blut on the German–Czech border, and Sveta Gora in Slovenia, a Marian shrine on the outskirts of Gorizia and strongly associated with this Italian city—but cut off from it territorially since the Treaty of Paris modified the border between Italy and Yugoslavia in 1947.<sup>139</sup> Here, I merely suggest these parallels to point out that

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<sup>139</sup> On the Hülfsberg, see Duhamelle, *La frontière au village*, 154–68. On Neukirchen as a border shrine: Walter Hartinger, “Die Bedeutung Böhmens für die Wallfahrt Neukirchen bei heilig Blut,” in *Regensburg und Böhmen: Festschrift zur Tausendjahrfeier des Regierungsantrittes Bischof Wolfgangs von Regensburg und der Errichtung des Bistums Prag*, ed. Georg Schwaiger and Josef Staber (Regensburg: Verlag des Vereins für Regensburger Bistumsgeschichte, 1972), 257–65; Günther Bauernfeind, “Wo sind denn meine lieben Kinder aus

the problems of rebordering may have continued to intersect with the geography and politics of European pilgrimage far beyond the revolutionary era.

At any rate, border shrines were not just testimony to a supposedly timeless human desire to encounter the sacred on the margins, but potent sites of religious, social, political, and administrative conflict. In the revolutionary era, the struggle over Catholic devotion in these places drew laypeople, priests, bishops, and agents of the state into a different but equally vast struggle, namely the one for a modern spatial order. Moreover, since rebordering was occurring on every level from parish to empire, pilgrimage could fuel conflicts of this kind just about anywhere. Cases such as Kinderbeuern or Mont Saint-Walfroy suggest that the salience of shrines and local actors' attention to territorial boundaries reinforced each other even in the absence of a higher-level state border. The sense of place tied to the proximity of a shrine fused intimately with the sense of nearby borders that enveloped place in territory. Thus, Catholics used the power of pilgrimage to make and defend place throughout the revolutionary era—even when they were not acting as pilgrims themselves. Far from clinging to residual or archaic ways of producing “locality,” they baked their concern for place-making around shrines into the new politics and territorial projects of the revolutionary era.<sup>140</sup> In this sense, too, pilgrimage mobilized Catholics to participate locally in the creation of a new spatial order and to navigate and exploit the homogenizing, top-down rebordering impulses that drove this creation.

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Böhmen so lange geblieben?': Die grenzüberschreitende Wallfahrt Neukirchen b. Hl. Blut," in *Brücke zum Wunderbaren: Von Wallfahrten und Glaubensbildern, Ausdrucksformen der Frömmigkeit in Ostbayern - Begleitband zur Ausstellung im Historischen Museum der Stadt Regensburg, 15. April bis 06. Juli 2014*, ed. Karin Geiger, Sabine Tausch, and Klemens Unger (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014), 171–77. On the traditional association of Sveta Gora (often called 'Heiliger Berg' or 'Monte Santo' in previous centuries) with Gorizia: Johann Polk, *Der Wallfahrtsort vom heiligen Berge bei Görz im Küstenlande: Ein Culturbild aus dem 16. Jahrhunderte* (Triest: L. Herrmanstorfer, 1867).

<sup>140</sup> On the problematic “production of locality” under modern circumstances, see Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 178–99.



## Conclusion

“Men’s ideas about the merits of pilgrimage have truly changed,” the Chevalier de Jaucourt asserted in his entry on pilgrimage for the *Encyclopédie*, that centerpiece of the French Enlightenment. No longer did sensible and responsible people “visit distant places” to obtain special divine grace. Only some “rascals” still insisted on going to Loreto or Santiago de Compostela “out of superstition, laziness, or licentiousness.”<sup>1</sup> In short, writing in the 1760s, Jaucourt declared pilgrimage dead and he was happy to dance on its grave. One hundred years later, however, not just France but all of Europe was in uproar over the recent birth of what would become the continent’s most emblematic modern pilgrimage—Lourdes. Today, pilgrimage keeps flourishing within Christianity as well as in many other traditions.<sup>2</sup> Jaucourt was a bad prophet when he implied that pilgrimage would have no place in a more and more enlightened world. But he was also wrong to presume the quaint irrelevance of this religious practice in his own time. Through decades of Enlightenment reforms, revolution, and Napoleonic authoritarianism, pilgrims tenaciously visited and revisited their regional and local shrines in western central Europe, from the majestic Swiss Alps to the modest Eifel mountains. And far from merely sticking around in times of crisis, pilgrimage proved a potent, transformative experience as Catholics trod new paths of devotion and politics.

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<sup>1</sup> Louis Jaucourt, “Pèlerinage,” in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project, 2017 [1751–1772]), vol. 12, 282–83: “les idées des hommes ont bien changé sur le mérite des *pélerinages* [...]. On est revenu de cet empressement d’aller visiter des lieux lointains [...]. En un mot, les courses de cette espèce ne sont plus faites que pour des coureurs de profession, des gueux qui, par superstition, par oisiveté, ou par libertinage, vont se rendre à Notre-Dame de Lorette, ou à S. Jacques de Compostelle en Galice, en demandant l’aumône sur la route” (accessed online, March 29, 2021: <https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/encyclopedia1117/navigate/12/1048/>).

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., Ian Reader, *Pilgrimage: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 117–20.

In this dissertation, I have presented a series of case studies to show how Catholics participated in five arenas of change. National awareness grew while its political implications shifted. Laypeople reoriented their confessional pride. Subversive encounters with Mary proliferated. Pilgrims reasserted public worship and sacred prestige in cities touched by secularization. And Catholic border communities changed local power dynamics by endowing the big territorial shifts of the revolutionary era with meaning on the ground. Across all five arenas, holy places emerged quickly as focal points of creativity, struggles, and Catholic mobilization, whether at long-established shrines such as Einsiedeln in Switzerland or at ephemeral apparition sites such as Hoste in Lorraine. In these struggles, pilgrims usually took a stance against the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, at least in the regions I have studied. At first glance, therefore, pilgrim resistance might look like stubborn adherence to traditions inherited from early modern times. But when Catholics felt threatened and repelled by an enlightened or a revolutionary reform measure, they often resisted by innovating.

More specifically, they made pilgrimage politically relevant by engaging with major themes and ideals that reformers and revolutionaries themselves were promoting. For instance, French revolutionaries hoped to fuse national identity and territorial security by criminalizing emigration, casting departures as betrayals of the *patrie*. French Catholics adopted this national lens—while also subverting it—when they reinvented their traditional pilgrimages to Switzerland as decidedly *transnational* acts defying revolutionary religious policies. Supposed Catholic inferiority was another theme that preoccupied enlightened clergy by the mid-eighteenth century as well as revolutionary elites in the 1790s. On this front, lay villagers and townspeople defended shrines as sites of confessional distinction, insisting that abandoning such outposts would *weaken* Catholicism's ability to inspire respect rather than ridicule. And in 1810,

more than 200,000 pilgrims saw the Holy Tunic and exalted Trier as a holy city, about 100,000 of them coming unauthorized—all under the cover of what pilgrimage organizers touted as public order, that keyword of Napoleon’s enlightened despotism. In other words, pilgrims did not try to isolate their religious practices from such urgent issues as national identity, new notions of confessional balance, or the Napoleonic bid to resolidify authority over against contestation. Rather, Catholics learned how to repurpose pilgrimage as a strong, politically charged intervention on those issues.

In various ways, conflicts over pilgrimage thus prompted Catholics to move actively into the dawning Age of Mobilization. This movement represents a transition, a cluster of piecemeal shifts from the Baroque toward the modern, rather than a rupture or cataclysm followed by reconstruction.<sup>3</sup> In the revolutionary era, pilgrims often built on foundations laid by Baroque Catholicism. For example, Catholics had long been producing a specific form of territory by visiting and promoting shrines. In 1698, a pilgrimage booklet on the shrine of Notre-Dame de Sion in central Lorraine called the hill of Sion “the territory of Mary.”<sup>4</sup> More generally, the notion that the Blessed Virgin and the saints exercised patronage over certain lands created an early modern form of “territorial bond,” tying the inhabitants of those lands to sacred centers.<sup>5</sup> Pilgrims’ desire to honor and reproduce such Baroque bonds thus predisposed them to speak the language of territory deftly when enlightened and revolutionary elites pushed border questions to

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<sup>3</sup> In conceptualizing change around 1800 as both transitional and formative, I am indebted to the notion of *Sattelzeit* proposed by the German school of *Begriffsgeschichte* (history of concepts). The seminal text here is Reinhart Koselleck, “Einleitung,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*. Bd. 1: A–D, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1972), XIII–XXVII, esp. XVI–XIX on “Sattelzeit.” Admittedly, my history of religious practice and on-the-ground political struggle is otherwise quite far removed from Koselleck’s brand of intellectual history.

<sup>4</sup> Martin, *Les chemins du sacré*, 242.

<sup>5</sup> I borrow the loosely translated expression “territorial bond” (“vinculación territorial”) from Francisco Javier Ramón Solans, *La Virgen del Pilar dice...: Usos políticos y nacionales de un culto mariano en la España contemporánea* (Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2014), 59.

the top of the agenda. Around Sankt Wendel and Tholey, Catholics presented regional patronage by saints Wendelin and Maurice as a guarantee for spatial order against what appeared increasingly like an intolerable border chaos. Similarly, pilgrims' extraordinary interest in the Marian apparitions of 1799 drew on the Virgin's long rise to a preeminent position in heavenly society, a rise that had begun in the Middle Ages and had accelerated within Baroque Catholicism. That said, the Baroque had usually given pride of place to miraculous Marian statues rather than apparitions, especially in the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> In this sense, the events of 1799 signaled that a new development was underway. More generally, pilgrims and pilgrimage promoters of the revolutionary era did not simply perpetuate the Baroque but elaborated upon it.

Through these elaborations, Catholics in the decades around 1800 were able to change the game in each of the five arenas of emerging modernity I mentioned above. Historians of modern Europe have relied too heavily on the idea of rupture when treating the mid-to-late-nineteenth-century heyday of Catholic mobilization as a new beginning, as a revival—the very notion of which implies prior death or at least languishing. These scholars either have ignored the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries altogether or have claimed that while changes did occur within Catholicism during that time, they did not make much of a difference in the long run.<sup>7</sup> Yet pilgrims made changes around 1800 that proved formative for the entire nineteenth century and even beyond. To be sure, these pilgrims still traveled to experience the sacred and receive special divine grace, as their predecessors had done for many centuries. Now, however, they also began to partake in transnational demonstrations of their faith, confront

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<sup>6</sup> On the remarkable paucity of Marian apparitions in eighteenth-century Europe (at least *before* the Revolution), see Bouflet and Boutry, *Un signe dans le ciel*, 59–60.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, Christopher Clark acknowledges such eighteenth-century phenomena as the rise of devotion to the Sacred Heart and the cult of the century's most famous pilgrim Benoît Labre but goes on to assert that "the impact of these trends upon the church as a whole remained limited." Clark, "The New Catholicism," here 15. For a more detailed critique of the historiography with extensive citations, see the Introduction.

Catholic inferiority complexes, protest state-sponsored anticlericalism, and recenter public worship in urban life. All these aspects would remain central to Catholic mobilization for a long time to come, whether we look at the special trains from France to Einsiedeln beginning in 1864, at Lourdes after 1858, at the apparitions of Marpingen in the 1870s, or at the great pilgrimage events of Trier in 1844 and 1891. What scholars should recognize more, therefore, is that pilgrims were already pioneering those facets of mobilization in the decades before, during, and after the French Revolution.

Moreover, I suggest that pilgrimage became such a crucial early medium of mobilization largely because it kept raising the twin issues of territory and boundaries in an era of intense rebordering across Europe. In addition to sacred space and patronage, the territoriality of holy places involved very down-to-earth economic and administrative questions. To whose parish should a shrine belong and who would therefore collect the offerings left behind by pilgrims?<sup>8</sup> In wrestling with these questions, Catholics practiced grassroots geopolitics even around smaller shrines that would admittedly never become sites of large-scale mobilization. In other cases, most massively during the apparition boom of 1799, pilgrim geopolitics simply meant switching rapidly from one site of Marian presence to the next, crossing departmental borders, and thereby staying a step ahead of hostile regional agents of the state. As pilgrims, Catholics also attached new meanings to the boundaries that divided territories, for example by helping to nationalize the Franco–Swiss border through their trips to Mariastein and Einsiedeln. In sum, pilgrims and pilgrimage promoters were bound to encounter the great rebordering at every turn, and the resulting dynamics proved transformative.

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<sup>8</sup> On religious “territoriality” and its constant spillover into supposedly secular areas of life, see Roger W. Stump, *The Geography of Religion: Faith, Place, and Space* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), esp. 223–5.

Ultimately, however, I hope that my analytical focus on the reshaping and crossing of territorial borders will enrich a more fundamental idea: pilgrims have encountered and influenced modernity through the dialectics of place and mobility. Since the revolutionary era, Europeans have perceived cultural order as perpetually up for grabs. Thus, “whatever political, social, ecclesial structures we aspire to have to be mobilized into existence,” as Charles Taylor puts it.<sup>9</sup> In other words, any attempt to either forge a new order or reestablish an old one would become a project to remold society. Sense of place—that great, ambivalent promise of order—had never been self-evident. But in a revolutionary and post-revolutionary world, as people felt their rootedness diminished and perceived order as destabilized for good, place-making became an increasingly arduous quest, a goal for which to mobilize.<sup>10</sup> Under these conditions, sense of place and mobility complemented and even implied each other. Hence, we may understand more easily just why pilgrimage has remained such a widespread, adaptive, and powerful practice in modern Europe and beyond whilst many other traditional patterns of religious life have disintegrated. After all, pilgrimage combines a heavy emphasis on the fullness, indeed the sacrality of special *places* with an equally strong insistence on the value of wandering, of boundary-crossing, of *mobility*.<sup>11</sup> While preceding the coming of modernity by many centuries,

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<sup>9</sup> Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 445.

<sup>10</sup> I draw on George L. Mosse, *The Culture of Western Europe: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 3rd ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1988), esp. 11–27 for my ideas about modernity’s juggling of control and transformation, or order and dynamic. Very instructive on the ambivalence of place: Tim Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Malden, Mass.: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), esp. 39–46 and 165–93. In geography, the crucial attempt to think simultaneously about sense of place and movement came from Massey, “Power-Geometry,” esp. 66–7.

<sup>11</sup> From this perspective, it is also easier to understand why theorists such as Danièle Hervieu-Léger, James Clifford, and Zygmunt Bauman have had recourse to ‘pilgrimage’ as a master trope for modern religiosity or even modern social life in general. See Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *La religion en mouvement: Le pèlerin et le converti* (Paris: Flammarion, 1999); Simon Coleman, “Pilgrimage as Trope for an Anthropology of Christianity,” *Current Anthropology* 55, Supplement 10 (2014): 281–91, esp. 283 (on Clifford and Bauman). Likewise, a theorist of science recently included a chapter on the pilgrim routes to Santiago de Compostela in a broad reckoning with the notions of place and truth: Thomas F. Gieryn, *Truth-Spots: How Places Make People Believe* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), 74–99.

pilgrimage therefore features a deep affinity with modern predicaments. This affinity may help us grasp why Catholic pilgrims have been able to affect modern politics from the get-go.

Even in my own times, although the potential for Catholic mobilization seems greatly reduced across western Europe, I quite literally walked into the themes of my research when going on a little pilgrimage of my own. On the early morning of April 22, 2019, I set out from Trier to visit the shrine of Our Lady of Girsterklaus, one of the places discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. After crossing the border between Germany and Luxembourg, just outside of Rosport, I came across a little monument erected in 1989 to celebrate the 150-year anniversary of Luxembourgian national independence (Image 4 below).<sup>12</sup> At Girsterklaus itself, a Luxembourgian flag was waving in front of the chapel. And when I came back to Girsterklaus in July, leafing furtively through the open book in which visitors record their thoughts or prayers, I noticed that somebody had composed a little eulogy for Jean, Grand Duke of Luxembourg, who had died on April 23. To me, as a German citizen, visiting Our Lady of Girsterklaus meant experiencing a specific, nationally tinged Marian climate, one that has earned the Grand Duchy the nickname of “*Marienland Luxemburg*.”<sup>13</sup>

Girsterklaus also remains a confessionally marked place, long after the breakthrough of modern ecumenicism around 1960. In fact, a second flag was flying above the little cemetery that surrounds the chapel, and its colors—yellow and white—were those of the Vatican. Inside the shrine, the sacred statue of Our Lady of Girsterklaus above the main altar (Image 5) attests to the Catholicity of the devotion encouraged in this place, and so do the representations of saints

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<sup>12</sup> All pictures taken by the author on April 22, 2019.

<sup>13</sup> Sonja Kmec, “‘Marienland Luxemburg’: L’historiographie du culte de Notre-Dame de Luxembourg entre aspirations universalistes et ancrage national,” *Hémecht. Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte = Revue d’histoire luxembourgeoise* 66, 3/4 (2014): 493–512.

such as Walburga and Joseph. Moreover, the perception of a new, threatening religious Other had seeped into the make-up of this place. On a pinboard near the entrance of the chapel, a magazine cut-out from almost three years prior presented a picture of the French priest Jacques Hamel who had been “assassinated on July 26, 2016 inside the church of Saint-Étienne-du-Rouvray by Islamist terrorists,” as the cover page of the magazine read.<sup>14</sup> This hint at present-day Catholic martyrdom provided something like a distant echo of earlier confessional ages.<sup>15</sup>

Girsterklaus is not an apparition site, yet it provides the attentive pilgrim with connections to some of modern Europe’s major places of Marian apparition, illustrating the logics of fluidity and proliferation that help make those places powerful. About a hundred feet from the chapel, Marian devotees will find a replica of the Lourdes grotto, one of thousands in the Catholic world today. This replica includes a small statue kneeling Bernadette in white headscarf and red robe, looking up toward Our Lady (Image 6). The sculpture of the Virgin was framed by the lush green of ivy, distinctly mimicking the moss and leaves that surround the famous statue in the Massabielle Grotto at Lourdes. Inside the Girsterklaus chapel, on the same notice board that proclaimed the death of Jacques Hamel, someone had attached a rosary with a place name carved into the wooden cross that dangled beneath the beads: “MEĐUGORJE.” A majority-Catholic village in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, Medjugorje is home to several men and women who have reported daily meetings with Mary since 1981. Having passed through the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia and much controversy around the authenticity of the apparitions, Medjugorje constitutes the most celebrated and most hotly politicized place of

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<sup>14</sup> “Le père Jacques Hamel a été assassiné le 26 juillet 2016 dans l’église de Saint-Étienne-du-Rouvray par des terroristes islamistes” (sub-title at the bottom of the cut-out, on what seemed to be a cover page).

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g., Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).



Marian presence to have emerged in the last fifty years.<sup>16</sup> Together, the Lourdes replica and the Medjugorje rosary reveal how Catholics have tied the medieval shrine of Girsterklaus into contemporary transnational networks of faith galvanized by apparitions.

Similarly, although Girsterklaus itself is a decidedly rural shrine, it greeted me in April 2019 with a reference to the assertive urban Catholicism of modern religious capitals. A banner showing Our Lady of Luxembourg, Consoler of the Afflicted, leaned against a pillar inside the Girsterklaus chapel (Image 7). This reminder of Mary as patroness of both the Grand Duchy and the City of Luxembourg fit the season. Only a few weeks later, in mid-May, Luxembourg City hosted its great annual celebration of Our Lady, the *Muttergottesoktav*, whose participants—including the grand-ducal family—perform an elaborate public confluence of urban, national, and Catholic identities.<sup>17</sup> Some twenty-five miles northeast of Luxembourg City, the banner showcased at the Girsterklaus chapel presented a faint but discernible reflection of this performance.

Finally, Girsterklaus remains a border shrine, although it can no longer serve as an enclaved refuge for a controversial priest as it did for Charles Bernard Masius around 1800. The Sauer River that today separates Luxembourg from Germany in this area passes only a quarter mile northeast of Girsterklaus. On my way back to Trier, I crossed a pedestrian bridge that connects the Luxembourgian village of Moersdorf on the west bank of the Sauer and the German community of Metzdorf on the east bank. A plate informs the curious passerby that a bridge has existed in this place since 1987, as both an element and a symbol of the unsurveilled, unproblematic border between two mutually friendly countries. The border thus still mattered

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<sup>16</sup> Claverie, *Les guerres de la Vierge*.

<sup>17</sup> Sonja Kmec, “Notre-Dame de Luxembourg et sa fête annuelle: L’Octave comme lieu de mémoire,” in *Notre-Dame de Luxembourg: Dévotion et patrimoine*, ed. Sébastien Pierre (Bastogne: Musée en Piconrue, 2016), 223–28.

and had a political function, though now as a privileged place of peaceful encounters within a united Europe rather than as a barrier separating nations.

Then again, crossing the Sauer suddenly became less easy one year later, in April 2020, when governments all over Europe and the world were scrambling to harden territorial boundaries as part of pandemic response plans. And even aside from COVID-19, borders continue to structure the experience of the twenty-first-century pilgrim across Christianity's oldest destination of pious travel—the Holy Land. Among the “pro-Israeli” majority of American pilgrims studied by anthropologist Hillary Kaell, some commented approvingly on Israeli walls and checkpoints, describing these security arrangements as a model for the work that they think the southern border of the United States should do. By contrast, one member of an American Catholic “pro-Palestinian” group indelicately called Bethlehem a “concentration camp” run by the state of Israel.<sup>18</sup> Jerusalem and Bethlehem thus reveal poignantly what Girsterklaus suggests subtly: the political history of Christian pilgrimage has not ended.

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<sup>18</sup> Hillary Kaell, *Walking Where Jesus Walked: American Christians and Holy Land Pilgrimage* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 24 (“concentration camp”), 26 (on the terms “pro-Israeli” and “pro-Palestinian”), 142 (on pilgrims constructing parallels to the U.S.–Mexican border).

Image 4: 150-Year Anniversary Marker of Luxembourgian Independence near Rosport



Image 5: The Statue of Our Lady of Girsterklaus





Image 6: Replica of the Lourdes Grotto at Girsterklaus





Image 7: Banner with Image of Our Lady of Luxembourg inside the Girsterklaus Chapel



## Appendix: Quantifying and Mapping Pilgrim Movement to Trier in September 1810

Historians' attempts to quantify the influx of pilgrims according to regions of origin have yielded a rather diocese-focused picture for the 1810 pilgrimage to the Holy Tunic. Elisabeth Wagner is the first to have used the most relevant source, an approximate head count of pilgrims conducted by the bishopric and differentiating pilgrim crowds according to where they were coming from. According to this count, a total of 227,217 people passed in front of the Tunic during the pilgrimage of 1810.<sup>1</sup> Of these, according to Wagner, about 160,000 (or 70%) came from within the Saar Department, amounting to some 75% of the entire Catholic population of that department.<sup>2</sup> More recently, while referencing Wagner, Anna Kallabis wrote that only 48,200 pilgrims came from outside the Saar, which would mean that 79% of participants in the pilgrimage came from within the department (and thus the diocese) and, as a corollary, that 84% of all Catholics in the Diocese of Trier participated. If these numbers were correct, we would have to acknowledge that Bishop Mannay succeeded admirably in publicizing the showing of the Holy Tunic to his diocesan subjects—and in keeping his appeal mostly limited to them.

My recount of the figures found in the registers shows, however, that the ecclesiastical authorities counted as many as 86,349 pilgrims coming from outside the Saar Department—whether individually, in informal groups, or in formal processions. Table 2 represents all entries

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<sup>1</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 211, ff. 81–6, “Registre sur les billets d’entrée à la Cathedrale.” More precisely, 227,017 actually got to see the tunic and 200 more arrived too late (on September 28): *ibid.*, f. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Wagner, “Revolution, Religiosität,” here 285–6.

in the register that captured these pilgrims and their places or regions of departure along with their days of arrival in Trier.<sup>3</sup>

Table 2: Numbers of Pilgrims Coming to Trier in 1810 from outside the Saar Department

Place of departure	Number of pilgrims	Day(s) of arrival
“étrangers” from the Forêts Department and the region of Metz (Moselle)	10,000	Sept. 16
Unspecified places outside the Saar Department (“étrangers”)	47,200	Sept. 19 thru 28
Canton of Diekirch (Forêts)	70	Sept. 21
Canton of Echternach (Forêts)	7000	Sept. 21 and 26
Canton of Bitburg (Forêts)	3600	Sept. 22
Canton of Dudeldorf (Forêts)	8000	Sept. 22 and 27
“Neunkirchen près Bonn” (probably Neukirchen near Rheinbach, Rhin-et-Moselle)	130	Sept. 23
Canton of Grevenmacher (Forêts)	3900	Sept. 23 and 24
Canton of Betzdorf (Forêts)	1000	Sept. 24
Canton of Remich (Forêts)	4000	Sept. 24 and 25

<sup>3</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 211, ff. 81–6. To ascertain my recount and the exactitude of my transcription from the register, I verified whether all the individual data points I had gathered—that is to say, the numbers of pilgrims registered in *each* procession or group—actually added up to the total of 227,217 calculated by the pilgrimage organizers themselves. The result was that I obtained the very similar total number of 227,017, which suggests that I transcribed individual numbers with quasi-complete correctness.



Ulmen (Rhin-et-Moselle)	160	Sept. 25
Adenau (Rhin-et-Moselle)	115	Sept. 25
Canton of Remagen (Rhin-et-Moselle)	190	Sept. 26 and 27
Worringen (Roër)	39	Sept. 26
Hemmersdorf (Moselle)	200	Sept. 26
Lützingen, Canton of Ahrweiler (Rhin-et-Moselle)	40	Sept. 26
Arlon and Messancy (Forêts)	700	Sept. 26
<i>Total</i>	<i>86,349</i>	

Moreover, a complementary source shows that the scheduled processions from within the Saar Department included many Catholics from border cantons of surrounding departments, as Mannay had foreseen. The pilgrimage regulations stipulated that each procession approaching the city gates should send an envoy who would receive an entry ticket for the entire group at the cathedral and would have to answer questions about the itinerary, size, and participants of the procession. The seventh and last of these questions was: “Are there any foreigners (*étrangers*) in the procession? How many? And from where?”<sup>4</sup> Fortunately, another register kept by the bishopric has preserved almost all of the envoys’ answers. They reveal an additional 3,200 pilgrims from outside the department, hidden as it were within the cantonal processions of the

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<sup>4</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 211, f. 110r: “Y a-t-il des étrangers à la procession ? Combien ? Et de quel endroit ?” On the relevant regulation, see *ibid.*, ff. 108-109, “Règlement pour l’exposition de la ste Robe,” esp. articles 4 through 8.

Saar.<sup>5</sup> Adding this number to the more than 86,300 from Table 2, we arrive at a total of over 89,500 ‘foreign’ pilgrims, or 39,4% of the official grand total of 227,217 pilgrims.

This more granular quantification would leave us with some 137,700 pilgrims from within the Saar Department, but this lower number is still misleadingly high in some respects. More specifically, we cannot simply divide it through the total number of Catholics in the department (213,495 according to Delamorre’s statistical yearbook for 1810) to obtain a more correct percentage of Catholics from the Saar participating in the pilgrimage (64,5%, hypothetically speaking).<sup>6</sup> This calculation fails because the cantonal breakdown of pilgrims strongly suggests that many thousands of people from Trier and its more immediate surroundings passed in front of the tunic more than once—and were counted more than once as well. On September 10 and 19, a total of 8,000 pilgrims from the Canton of Konz just south of Trier saw the Holy Tunic; many must have seen it twice, considering that a mere 4,608 Catholics lived in that canton according to Delamorre.<sup>7</sup> The same probably goes for many, if not most inhabitants of the Canton of Trier, which included the city and some of the villages on its outskirts.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., ff. 111–121. 3,200 is an approximate number, as some of the indications given by the envoys were quite vague, e.g., for the procession from the Canton of Manderscheid on September 19: “Des Forêts une centaine.”

<sup>6</sup> Delamorre, *Annuaire*, 260.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 262. The alternative hypothesis that a large number of local Protestants joined these processions can be discarded because the Canton of Konz was overwhelmingly inhabited by Catholics at the time. Moreover, where a (relatively small) number of Protestants did join Catholic pilgrims on their way to Trier, this fact seems to have been signaled by the procession envoys: “Des protestans de Klenig[?] et Veldenz” (Canton of Bernkastel, procession of September 25); “20 protestans de Hirstein” (Canton of St. Wendel, procession of September 20). See BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 211, ff. 81–6.

<sup>8</sup> For the Canton of Trier, the discrepancy is even larger: 32,500 pilgrimage participants counted by the bishopric but a Catholic population of only 13,018 according to Delamorre, *Annuaire*, 266 (and list of errata at the end of the book), i.e. a ratio of almost 2.5 to 1. It is, however, likely that Catholics from other cantons joined Trier’s parish processions on September 9, the first day of the showing. Every year on September 8, “a giant multitude of diocesan subjects” (*ingens multitudo Dioecesanorum*) came to Trier “for reasons of devotion” (*devotionis causa*) because the Nativity of the Virgin Mary was celebrated with great splendor in the city on that day, and that is what happened in 1810 as well, according to BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, ff. 123v–126r, report on the pilgrimage by a priest and professor named Johann Jakob Simon (quotes on 124r). Then again, pilgrims from outside of Trier who were present on September 9 may very well have added a second visit with their own cantonal processions later that month—a possibility that, in turn, feeds into my argument about individual pilgrims participating (and being counted) twice in the showing of the tunic. – As a point of comparison to Delamorre’s statistics, see the very similar numbers of

Thousands of pious Catholics from other nearby cantons, too, may very well have joined both of their cantonal processions and may therefore have been counted twice at the cathedral. Now, to calculate how many percent of Catholics from the Saar Department participated in the pilgrimage, we would be obligated to count each person only once. Instead of 137,700, a total of perhaps 125,000 participants from the Saar (58.5% of that department's Catholic population) appears more realistic from this angle. This correction also reduces the gap between the numbers of 'diocesan' and 'foreign' pilgrims to only about 35,000.<sup>9</sup>

Even this modified count may not, however, reflect the full extent to which the showing of the Holy Tunic attracted Catholics from other dioceses almost as powerfully as it did the officially invited inhabitants of the Diocese of Trier. I acknowledge that precise-sounding numbers such as 227,217 or 89,500 ought not to create an illusion of accuracy—but whatever inaccuracies they do contain probably amount to an *undercount* of 'foreign' pilgrims. For one thing, Mannay and his ecclesiastical collaborators in Trier had little interest in inflating the numbers—especially those of pilgrims from outside the Saar Department, given the looming specters of endangered public order and failure to gain official approval for the pilgrimage from Paris. As Mannay put it in a confidential letter he wrote a week after the end of the pilgrimage to his colleague Jauffret, the Bishop of Metz, who sojourned at the emperor's court at that moment: "Between us, the number of those who visited my church during this period [of the showing] is more than 220,000; but my wish is that it shall not be mentioned in Paris."<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Trier's

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Catholic inhabitants for the Cantons of Konz (4,636) and Trier (12,712) at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as calculated on the basis of the parish-by-parish head counts published in Eismann, *Umschreibung*, 39 and 52–53.

<sup>9</sup> Here, I make the assumption that 'foreigners' must have been much less likely to go to Trier more than once during the showing: they lived, on average, at a larger distance from the pilgrimage destination and they lacked the organized opportunity of two official procession days.

<sup>10</sup> ADM, 29 J 189, Mannay to Jauffret, Trier, October 3, 1810: "Entre nous, le nombre de ceux qui dans cet intervalle sont venus a mon Eglise, passe 220'000 hommes ; mais je desire qu'on n'en parle pas à Paris." For Jauffret's reply—dated Fontainebleau (where Napoleon had established his court not far from Paris), November 2, 1810—see BnF, NAF 28917, vol. 9, p. 49.

civil authorities conducted their own count of pilgrims at the city gates and arrived at a significantly higher grand total of 244,115.<sup>11</sup> This higher figure gains even greater salience if we consider that pilgrimage participants from inside the walled city of Trier were counted (perhaps more than once) at the cathedral and thus by the bishopric—but not at the gates.

In trying to account for this difference between the numbers registered at the cathedral and at the gates, we encounter another reason to think that the bishopric undercounted pilgrims from outside the Saar Department. As Vicar General Cordel noted in his diary, the last days of the showing saw the greatest influx of people hoping to see the Holy Tunic—to a point where some pilgrims did not even get a chance to tour the overcrowded cathedral and pass in front of the relic.<sup>12</sup> These unlucky pilgrims were counted at the city gates but probably not at the cathedral to which they could not get access. It also makes sense to assume that they came disproportionately from other departments and especially “from distant regions.”<sup>13</sup> After all, the registers kept by the bishopric show that the overwhelming majority of those ‘foreign’ pilgrims who did get counted arrived in Trier during the second half of the showing (see Table 2 above). Presumably, the news about the Holy Tunic had come relatively late to these pilgrims, who had not received an invitation from the Bishop of Trier. And perhaps, Catholics living in more distant places decided to go on the long and difficult trip to Trier only *after* they had started hearing

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<sup>11</sup> AN, F/7/8069, prefect Sainte-Suzanne to police minister Savary, Trier, September 29, 1810. Cordel and Simon also mention the number of 244,000 pilgrims: Lichter, “Die Rückkehr des Hl. Rockes,” here 9:168 (“an den Stadthoren wollte man 244 000 gezählt haben”); BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 210, f. 124v (“in tanta multitudine hominum qui ad venerandam s. Tunicam accesserunt – 227200, qui minor numerus supputando collectus est, aliis 244 millia et ultra”). I am more skeptical about the estimate of 300,000 pilgrims given by the local parish priest Viktor Dewora: Dewora, *Ehrendenkmal*, XXXIII (Embach’s introduction).

<sup>12</sup> Lichter, “Die Rückkehr des Hl. Rockes,” 9:168. For more evidence that the last days of the showing brought the greatest numbers of pilgrims into the city, see StA Tr, Tb 18/292, prefect Sainte-Suzanne to mayor Recking, Trier, September 26, 1810.

<sup>13</sup> Cordel on the days after September 27: “Mehrere hundert Menschen aus entfernten Gegenden stellten sich in den folgenden Tagen noch ein, um den hl. Rock zu sehen, der ihnen aber nicht mehr gezeigt wurde, wohl aber rührte man ihnen noch Sachen an” (Lichter, “Die Rückkehr des Hl. Rockes,” 9:170).

rumors that several pilgrims had experienced a miraculous healing in their encounters with the relic. I suspect that such rumors played an important role because both Cordel and Mannay mention them—and because police reports from Metz and Koblenz suggest that people in the Moselle and Rhin-et-Moselle Departments grew increasingly excited about these news of miracles in mid-to-late September.<sup>14</sup> To sum up, the bishopric likely failed to register many thousands of ‘foreign’ pilgrims during the last days of the showing. The majority of diocesan as opposed to uninvited pilgrims thus appears even slimmer than what the numbers registered by the bishopric would suggest.

For the Saar Department, the bishopric’s registers and statistics give us a more granular, canton-by-canton estimate of how many people participated in the officially scheduled processions. Table 3 below presents the ratio of pilgrimage participants to Catholic population and indicates whether the parishes of a given canton had already belonged to the Diocese of Trier before the great restructuring of ecclesiastical boundaries that the Concordat entailed in France in 1801/2. The table is sorted according to level of participation: the higher that level was for a given canton, the closer to the top of the table it will appear.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 9:169; ADM, 29 J 189, Mannay to Jauffret, Trier, October 3, 1810. AN, F/7/8069, folder entitled, “Sarre – Préfet – La vraie Robe de Jesus Christ à Trèves,” Vaublanc to Réal, Metz, September 25, 1810: Vaublanc writes that he just interviewed a woman who resides in Metz but is originally from Trier; among other things, she told him “que le bruit des miracles opérés par cette Tunique augmentait chaque jour le nombre des fidèles qui accouraient à Trèves de plus de 40 lieues.” AN, F/7/8068, dossier Rhin-et-Moselle, Fermath to Ministry of Police, Koblenz, October 23, 1810: “Des prétendus miracles opérés par la vertu de cette relique et répandus avec plus de facilité encore n’ont plus permis aux Maires de faire entendre à leurs administrés la voix de la raison.”

<sup>15</sup> The numbers of pilgrims presented in this table are based on BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 211, ff. 81–6. The neighboring cantons of Grumbach and Herrstein seem to have sent only one, common procession: they are not differentiated in the register and are consequently lumped together in this table as well. From the numbers indicated in that register, I have subtracted the numbers of foreign pilgrims (*étrangers*) as estimated by the processional envoys *ibid.*, ff. 111–21. I obtained the values in the column “Number of Catholics” by splitting the difference between the numbers found in Delamorre, *Annuaire*, 260–66 and in Eismann, *Umschreibung*, 30–56, which diverge significantly for more than a handful of cantons. On whether a given parish had belonged to the old Archdiocese of Trier, see Eismann, *Umschreibung*, 82–83.

Table 3: Pilgrimage Participation in 1810 by Canton (Saar Department)

<b>Canton</b>	<b>Number of Catholics</b>	<b>Number of Pilgrims</b>	<b>Number of Pilgrims as a Percentage of Number of Catholics</b>	<b>Belonged to Trier Diocese before 1802? Y(es), &gt;50%, &lt;50%, N(o)</b>	<b>Distance b/w most populous parish of canton and Trier (approximate, in km)</b>
Trier	12865	32500	252.62	Y	0
Konz	4622	8000	173.09	Y	15
Pfalzel	10428	10100	96.85	Y	5
Merzig	7699	6984	90.72	Y	40
Schweich	9212	7826	84.96	Y	12
Saarburg	13575	10583	77.96	Y	20
Wittlich	9820	7280	74.13	Y	35
Bernkastel	12408	8800	70.92	Y	45
St. Wendel	5428	3480	64.11	>50%	60
Kyllburg	5518	3450	62.52	Y	40
Büdllich	6752	4200	62.21	Y	30
Lebach	8430	4800	56.94	Y	50
Ottweiler	5186	2900	55.93	<50%	65
Hermeskeil	9105	4913	53.96	Y	25

Wadern	8385	4150	49.50	Y	40
Rhaunen	7089	3035	42.81	>50%	45
Manderscheid	5015	1971	39.31	>50%	35
Gerolstein	4632	1741	37.59	<50%	60
Birkenfeld	1629	590	36.23	Y	55
Baumholder	3623	980	27.05	>50%	65
Prüm	6965	1760	25.27	Y	65
Saarbrücken	1708	395	23.13	N	75
Daun	6859	1550	22.60	<50%	60
Schönberg	4018	810	20.16	N	75
Arnual	6393	1190	18.61	<50%	70
Blieskastel	12881	2000	15.53	N	90
Waldmohr	3131	410	13.09	N	80
Blankenheim	5185	350	6.75	N	95
Lissendorf	4311	250	5.80	<50%	80
Reifferscheid	3478	200	5.75	N	100
Meisenheim	1767	90	5.09	N	95
Grumbach and Herrstein	3289	150	4.56	N	65
Kusel	1792	19	1.06	N	75

The table shows that pilgrim participation was correlated with both proximity to the pilgrimage destination and previous attachment to the Old-Regime Archdiocese of Trier. To

untangle and weigh the relevant factors against each other would raise great difficulties, and I prefer to treat these numbers as the rough estimates that they truly represent, and not as statistical diamonds waiting to be cut and polished with the tools of regression analysis. Suffice it to say, then, that when Mannay announced the pilgrimage to the Holy Tunic, Catholics from the surrounding core of the former Archdiocese (and Upper Electorate) of Trier responded massively. Thereby, they built on regional traditions of pilgrimage and procession—most notably the *statio bannita* and the feast of Saint Peter—that had linked their villages and small towns to Trier Cathedral for centuries but had risked fizzling out after 1802.<sup>16</sup> By contrast, the bishop's call resonated quite feebly in the recently incorporated and more distant northern and southeastern parts of the new, French Diocese of Trier.

A similar picture emerges when we examine the regions that did not belong to the Saar Department but from where large numbers of pilgrims converged on Trier in September 1810: distance mattered, but so did prior attachment to Trier as a spiritual center. As Table 2 shows, tens of thousands came from the Forêts Department, especially from such cantons as Bitburg, Dudeldorf, Echternach, and Grevenmacher, which had constituted the easternmost parts of the Duchy of Luxembourg until 1795. In some sense, these areas logically belonged to the catchment basin of the pilgrimage in September 1810 because of their geographical proximity to the city of Trier. Yet Catholics from eastern and central Luxembourg had also cultivated strong pilgrimage links to Trier long before 1810. Belonging to the Old-Regime Archdiocese of Trier, many parishes from that region had gone on obligatory annual processions to the episcopal city—either

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. BA Tr, Abt. 40, Nr. 95 (visitation records of 1804/5). In this context, it is important to note that the distance was relatively short between Trier and the parishes for which the custom of annual pilgrimage to Trier was noted on that pastoral visit. The same point about proximity holds for the parishes that participated in the medieval and early modern *statio bannita*: cf. Heinz, “Die vom Erzbischof Egbert gestiftete Bannfeier,” here 79.



to St. Maximin's Abbey or to the cathedral—since the Middle Ages.<sup>17</sup> For the late eighteenth century, the available source material also attests to a certain flow of pilgrims from the Austrian Netherlands—to which the Duchy of Luxembourg belonged—to St. Matthias' Abbey.<sup>18</sup> Thus, many inhabitants of the Forêts could connect their pious trip in September 1810 to their longstanding familiarity with Trier as a pilgrimage destination.<sup>19</sup>

The same goes for the Rhin-et-Moselle communities that local mayors flagged in their police reports to Koblenz after the end of the pilgrimage. The pins on the map below represent the villages and towns from which Catholics had gone to Trier according to these reports, as well as a few places mentioned in the registers of the Bishopric of Trier. Moreover, I have highlighted the borders of the Rhin-et-Moselle Department in black.

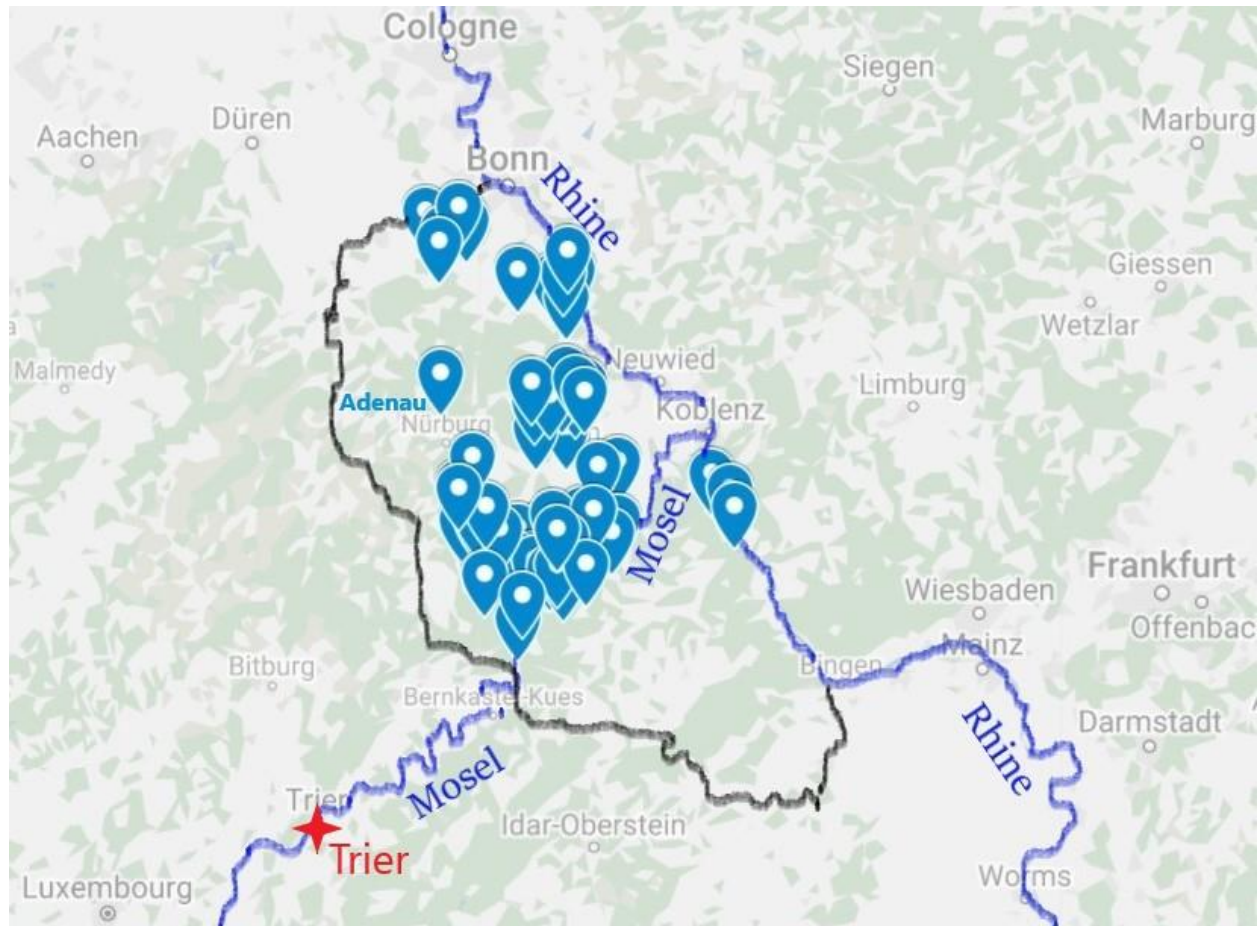
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<sup>17</sup> Cf. Kyll, *Pflichtprozessionen*, 67–80 and the map. Additional evidence of these pilgrimage traditions from the Canton of Dudeldorf (parishes of Seinsfeld, Laufeld, and Speicher) in ADM, 29 J 372, *enquête paroissiale* carried out in 1807. This is not to say that Catholics from western Luxembourg did not participate in the 1810 pilgrimage at all: see the entry Arlon/Messancy (two towns in present-day Belgium) in Table 2, and a Holy Tunic medal from 1810 found in Kehlen-Schoenberg just northwest of Luxembourg City (Weiller, “Médailles et breloques,” here 77).

<sup>18</sup> BA Tr, Abt. 63,2, Nr. 28, accounts of revenue from pilgrims' offerings at St. Matthias in 1782/3, entry for May 22, 1782: the admittedly modest sum of 18 *Reichstaler* from “verwechseltem spanischen Gelt, so von mehreren Jahren zusammen gespahret.” In this context, ‘Spanish money’ almost certainly means coins from the Austrian—and formerly Spanish—Netherlands. Even in the early twentieth century, the parts of the Prussian Rhine Province that had belonged to Luxembourg in the Old Regime were still sometimes called ‘Spanish’ areas by inhabitants of the Trier region: cf. Lager, “Mitteilungen,” here 11:84.

<sup>19</sup> A similar point can be made for pilgrims from Lorraine. Parts of northern Lorraine had belonged to the Archdiocese of Trier in the Old Regime, and almost the entire rest of the region (namely, the Dioceses of Metz, Toul, Verdun, Nancy, and Saint-Dié) had belonged to the church province of Trier. Cf. Seibrich, “Das Erzbistum Trier,” esp. 163–77. Moreover, in 1802, the General Vicariate of Trier mentioned among pilgrimage processions to Trier Cathedral “viele am St. Peterstage aus Lothringen und andern fremden Departementern”: LHA Ko, Best. 276, Nr. 594, p. 35, secretary and assessor Weber to Saar prefect Ormechville, Trier, 18 prairial an X.

Map 5: Pilgrimage Participation from the Rhin-et-Moselle Department in 1810



Map created by the author using Google My Maps. Boundaries of the Rhin-et-Moselle added on the basis of the map in Georg Mölich, Joachim Oepen, and Wolfgang Rosen, “Klosterkultur und Säkularisation im Rheinland: Einleitende Bemerkungen,” in *Klosterkultur und Säkularisation im Rheinland*, ed. Georg Mölich, Joachim Oepen, and Wolfgang Rosen (Essen: Klartext-Verlag, 2002), 11–27, here 27. Places of departure mentioned in AN, F/7/8068, dossier Rhin-et-Moselle, reports on *police du culte* for September 1810, and BA Tr, Abt. 91, Nr. 211, ff. 81–6 and 111–21.

The large void in the southeastern third of the department appears striking yet hardly surprising: these areas were inhabited by a Protestant majority and even before the Reformation, they had never fallen under the spiritual jurisdiction of the archbishops of Trier.<sup>20</sup> The main

<sup>20</sup> On the presence of a Protestant majority in this part (the Arrondissement of Simmern) of a department that was otherwise overwhelmingly Catholic, see Jürgen König, *Der Hunsrück in der französischen Zeit (1789/94–1814): Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der drei Kantone Simmern, Kirchberg, Kastellaun* (Mainz: Hunsrücker

cluster of places is located along the Mosel and along the slopes of the Eifel mountains to the northwest of that river. These communities had belonged to the Diocese and the Electorate of Trier before the revolutionary era, and they had relatively easy—though by no means short—itinéraires to Trier through the Mosel Valley. Again, therefore, distance and preexisting spiritual links to the pilgrimage city proved paramount.

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Geschichtsverein, 1995), 251–2; C. F. P. Masson, *Annuaire statistique du Département de Rhin-et-Moselle pour l'an 1808* (Coblence: Hériot, 1807), 320–25. Cf. also the map showing diocesan boundaries as of 1500 in Erwin Gatz, ed., *Atlas zur Kirche in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Heiliges Römisches Reich - deutschsprachige Länder* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2009), 136–7.

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