

Moving Towards the Sacred: German Catholic Pilgrimage Practices, 1832-1937

By

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“Every parting gives a foretaste of death, every reunion a hint of the resurrection.” - Arthur Schopenhauer

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“One never reaches home, but wherever friendly paths intersect the whole world looks like home for a time.” - Hermann Hesse, *Demian*

I dedicate this dissertation and the book that will follow to my mother and grandfather.

Abstract

This dissertation examines the enduring and diverse sacred worldview of German Catholics through a study of pilgrimages to Rhineland relics, including the Holy Coat of Jesus in Trier and Mary's tunic in Aachen, between 1832-1937. By drawing from previously unstudied correspondence in municipal, national, and cathedral archives in Aachen, Cologne, and Trier I contend that early modern forms of religious practice, like procession and pilgrimage, flourished well into the twentieth century. German Catholics relied on sacred tradition, including relic veneration, to anchor themselves in a rapidly changing society. At the same time, Catholic pilgrims drew on such aspects of modernity as improved medical diagnoses, journalism, and trains, to further their belief that God intervened in the world through terrestrial objects. Catholic practices persevered through industrialization, massive population migrations, urbanization, secularization, and total war.

Abbreviations

ABD	Aachen Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv
AEK	Archiv des Erzbistums Köln
BATr	Bistumsarchiv Trier
DAA	Domarchiv Aachen (PA – Propstarchiv)
GStA PK	Geheimnes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
LHA Ko	Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz
SAA	Stadtarchiv Aachen
SAT	Stadtarchiv Trier
ZBA	Zentralbibliothek Aachen

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Introduction

Sacralizing Profane Space, Creating Sacred Place

Proper Sacred Procedure

Physicians could not heal Frau Willmann.¹ She and her husband got pneumonia (*Lungenentzündung*) in February 1929. She came so close to death that the priest in Mutterstadt, Germany, administered the last rites as Willmann struggled with the sickness. Willmann survived, but following this episode, she continued to be weak. There was constant pain in her left leg, and she needed a cane to move around. Doctors tried to relieve her discomfort. They prescribed sand baths and diathermy treatments. Willmann traveled to healing centers in search of relief, to Bad Dürheim for four weeks in 1929, to Bad Reichenhall for six weeks in 1930, and to Ludwigshafen for five weeks in 1931. None of these treatments worked for Willmann and so her doctors decided that her condition was incurable (*unheilbar*).

Then in 1933, Willmann traveled with twenty other pilgrims from Mutterstadt to Trier to visit the Holy Coat of Jesus. Four years after her first bout with pneumonia, Willmann weighed only 80 pounds. The 180 kilometer journey was very painful. She traveled without permission from her doctors, and prayed to Mary for help and strength, “Dear Mother of God, help me.” By the time her pilgrim group arrived in Trier, Willmann was too weak to walk to their stationary church, *Jesuitenkirche*, where they would wait for their turn to go to the cathedral. Instead, her husband helped her to go directly to the cathedral to see the Holy Coat. The next morning, between 5 and 6 a.m. Willmann returned to the cathedral. Only sick pilgrims who obtained permission from church officials were allowed entry so early in the morning. Two priests sat to the right and left of the Coat to regulate access. Willmann touched the relic twice, dropped her

¹ The following is taken from *Für den Sonntag*, “Die Heilung einer Wallfahren: Ein Besuch bei der anlässlich der Berührung des Heiligen Rockes in Trier geheilten Frau Willmann aus Mutterstadt,” Samstag 5. August 1933, Seite 5. Nr. 170.

cane, and was relieved of her physical discomforts.² That same afternoon, on Sunday, she traveled back to Mutterstadt. News of her miraculous cure preceded her and a large crowd greeted her train. The conductor had difficulty escorting Willmann through the throng and off of the platform.

Frau Willmann was one of millions of European pilgrims who traveled to Trier and Aachen between 1832 and 1937. The growing popularity of these events raises important questions about the enduring nature of public religious practice and the Catholic worldview in modern Europe. How did pilgrimage participants and organizers respond to changes in German and European society after the French Revolution, including improving medical knowledge, and the historicizing of Christianity? Over this one-hundred-year period, Catholic priests, Protestant professors, and scientists questioned the authenticity of Rhineland relics. Even so, Catholic veneration of sacred objects continued through wars, occupation, revolution, and economic collapse. In this project, I address the intersection of pilgrim, cleric, religious tradition, and modernity.

In contrast to previous analyses of modern European pilgrimage, I implement a thick description of correspondence between pilgrims and pilgrimage organizers.³ This alternative lens, that of the Catholic participants and organizers, reveals the enduring and multifaceted ways

² I analyze the specifics of this encounter in “Chapter 2: Transcending the Body.”

³ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* (New York: Basic Books Inc, 1973), 17. See also Clifford Geertz, “‘The Pinch of Destiny’: Religion as Experience, Meaning, Identity, Power,” *Raritan* 18(3) (Winter 1999): 1-19. For recent work on the usefulness of Geertz in the study of religion see two articles: Kevin Schilbrack, “Religions, Models of, and Reality: Are we Through with Geertz?” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 73(2) (June 2005): 429-452. And Jason A. Springs, “What Cultural Theorists of Religion have to Learn from Wittgenstein: Or, How to Read Geertz as a Practice Theorist,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 76(4) (December 2008): 934-969. Schilbrack defends Geertz against critics Talal Asad, Nancy Frankenberry, and Hans Penner and asserts that their critiques do not undermine Geertz’s notion of models of reality or Geertz’s usefulness in the study of religion. Springs attempts to show how Wittgenstein’s practice theory is compatible with Geertzian concepts “thick description” and “religious practices.” For Springs, Geertz should be read as a practice theorist in order to move beyond the conflict between analyzing power relationships within religion and assigning meaning in the study of religiosity.

that pilgrims to Aachen and Trier understood divine presence.⁴ I ask how European Catholic pilgrims related to Rhineland relics, such as the loincloth of Jesus in Aachen. This project brings together European history and newly emerging concepts in religious theory and the history of Christianity. For example, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's argument that scholars should dissociate from theory in or to understand better the objects and world of the past.⁵ Gumbrecht proposes that historians adopt an "epiphany" methodology, focusing on how historical actors related to objects as if the scholar encountered the objects in their historical setting.⁶ In other words, this dissertation gives voice to historical actors who believed there were places on earth where God broke through, where they could access the divine via sacred terrestrial objects.

In this project, I also explore clerical responses to modernity. For example, I trace how and why clergy invited new secular authorities, such as doctors and professors, to confirm divine intervention in the world. In 1844, German clergy faced severe criticism from Protestant professors and fellow Catholic priests over alleged miracles and the authenticity of their relics. Following these public attacks, clerics used new forms of research such as historicism and archaeological dating to explain the legitimacy of their sacred objects. Initially reluctant, clergy began to agree with their harshest detractors and insisted on the medical verifiability of alleged

⁴ In this project I urge scholars to move beyond negative approaches to European religiosity (non-Marxist, non-economic, non-Weberian). Alongside the *Protestant Ethic*, Weber's 1919 address is most often cited. Max Weber, "Science as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, ed. and trans. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 129-156. Oded Heilbrunner notes that Hans U. Wehler, Jürgen Kocka, Heinrich A. Winkler, and Wolfgang Mommsen, who led the 1960s sociocritical movement, were all heavily influenced by Weber's understanding of the Kaiserreich. Heilbrunner, "From Ghetto to Ghetto," 454.

⁵ Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *The Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 124. This approach is especially pronounced in Chapter 3 where I study the meanings pilgrims assigned to the religious objects they purchased. By studying the beliefs of both clergy and laity, this dissertation also responds to Friedrich Wilhelm Graf's call for more scholarship in four areas: how religion changes, theology, the evolving function of the church, and the varied topography of belief. See Friedrich Wilhelm Graf, "Euro-Gott im starken Plural? Einige Fragestellungen für eine europäische Religionsgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für moderne europäische Geschichte* 3(2) (2005): 231-256.

⁶ See Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence*, esp. chapter "Ephiphany/Presentification/Deixis: Futures for the Humanities and Arts," 91-132.

miracles in the mid-nineteenth century. Priests and bishops co-opted the arguments of their critics – including biblical criticism, and scientific analysis – but failed to convince Catholic pilgrims of the Church’s reformed understanding of sacred objects and Christian history.

This dissertation explores the continuity of pilgrim belief in the divine presence of German sacred relics and the clerical turn away from pilgrims after 1844. Eighteen forty-four stands outside of the political turning points in modern Germany and indicates a separate chronology for German Catholic engagement with modernizing trends. For example, pilgrims did not always encounter bureaucracy and regulation when they reached the cathedrals in Aachen and Trier. Prior to 1844, pilgrims and Rhineland clergy generally held similar beliefs about the divine presence and sacred authority of relics. During the 1844 Trier pilgrimage, Bishop Wilhelm Arnoldi encouraged pilgrims to publish their miraculous healings in the *Luxemburger Zeitung*. In response to these very public claims about the power of relics, Rhineland clergy faced severe criticism from fellow clerics and Protestant professors. These detractors questioned both the historical authenticity the Trier Coat and the theological merits of pilgrimage. In response, Rhineland priests began to historicize their relics. They sought out new authoritative sources of secular authority to confirm the status of the Coat of Trier. For instance, they conducted fiber analyses on various parts of the garment in order to refute skeptics of its origins and authenticity. After 1844, clerics ensured that any miraculous claims occurred behind closed doors, early in the morning, or out of sight.

I argue that between 1832 and 1937 there was a persistence of divine presence for German and European pilgrims to Aachen and Trier. In seeking to recover the German Catholic transcendent worldview, this dissertation builds on recent historical scholarship that has examined spiritual practices in modern Europe. Two notable examples of this approach are the

works by Ruth Harris and Corrina Treitel.⁷ For Harris, interpreting Lourdes meant situating the story of Marian apparitions within the context of Third Republic scientific thought, divisions within the French Catholic community, and Pyrenees folklore. More recently, Corrina Treitel has traced the rise of the occult in Germany between from the 1870s to the 1940s. Treitel weaves the story of the occult in unified Germany and contemporary understandings of “modern.”⁸ Like these studies, this project examines the intersection of modernity and religious practice. I find divergence within Catholicism in how pilgrim participants and pilgrimage organizers explained and understood the role of relics.

Intersections: Popular vs. Priestly Presence

Eighteen forty-four was a turning point for the religious worldview of German Catholics. In that year, Trier officials faced two severe criticisms of pilgrimage practices. First, Johannes

⁷ Corinna Treitel, *A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Genesis of the German Modern* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). See also Staudenmaier’s survey of historical literature on the occult, Peter Staudenmaier, “Occultism, Race and Politics in German-speaking Europe, 1880-1940: A Survey of the Historical Literature,” *European History Quarterly* 39(47) (2009): 47-70. Staudenmaier takes issue with histories that present National Socialism as the telos of the occult and commends Treitel’s portrayal of the occult as attempting to overcome the science-religion dichotomy (54). Thomas Kselman recently discussed the “religious turn” in French historiography; notably the works of Suzanne Desan, Emmet Kennedy, Catherine Maire, Timothy Tackett, and Dale Van Kley. Kselman also contrasted the work of Ruth Harris and Jacques-Olivier Boudon. In Boudon’s work the “laity make only brief and relatively insignificant appearances, while the clergy remain at center stage.” (137) Conversely, Harris deals with her religious actors with sympathy, even as she is concerned with politics. This project expands Harris’ work by contrasting the public religious expressions of clergy and laity, which shifts focus away from politics and into the Catholic milieu. See Thomas Kselman, “Challenging Dechristianization: The Historiography of Religion in Modern France,” *Church History* 75(1) (March 2006): 130-139.

⁸ Both Treitel and Harris speak to Brad Gregory’s question, “What did [it] [apparitions and the occult] mean to the participants?” For Gregory’s call for new type of scholarship see Brad S. Gregory, “The Other Confessional History: On Secular Bias in the Study of Religion,” *History and Theory*, Theme Issue 45(4) (2006): 132-149. For Gregory implementing his methodology with Christian martyrs see Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). For another example on the experience of Crusaders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries see Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). Already in 1985 Roy Porter called on medical historians to try and write history from the perspective of the patient, not of the physician. Roy Porter, “The Patient’s View: Doing Medical History from Below,” *Theory and Society* 14(2) (March 1985): 175-198. Porter asked historians to “lower the historical gaze onto the sufferers.” 192. This question has guided anthropologists since the 1970s, see Roy Rappaport, “The Obvious Aspects of Ritual” in *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion* (Richmond, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1979): 173-221; Sherry B. Ortner, *Sherpas through their Rituals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

Ronge, a former Silesian priest, left the Roman Church. He argued that the Trier event was superstition and fanaticism at its worst. Disgusted with his co-religionists, Ronge established a new Christian sect, the German-Catholics. At the same time, clergy encountered severe criticism about the alleged “authenticity” of their relics. In response to these external pressures, clergy turned away from previous understandings of their sacred objects. While still revering these five relics, clergy sought new explanations and justifications for pilgrimage. This “turn outward” in the realm of religious practices forced clergy to grapple with changing medical practices and historicism.

After Ronge, Catholic clergy regulated what pilgrims could say about their pilgrimage experiences. Most notably, priests implemented checks on who could touch and visit relics in pursuit of physical healing. At the beginning of the nineteenth century clergy encouraged reports on miracles. For example, in 1844 Trier clergy publicized reports of cures in the *Luxemburger Zeitung*.⁹ By 1933, sick pilgrims who visited Trier needed elaborate proof from a physician that they were sick before they could visit the Holy Coat. The growing gap between lay expectations and clerical control reveals religious rifts that continued into the period of political Catholicism after 1848. Although German Catholics came together politically in the second half of the nineteenth century, they differed in their understandings of the role of relics in Catholicism. After 1844, clergy used new forms of research such as historicism and archaeological dating methods to explain the authenticity of their sacred objects. They also began to focus on the verifiability of alleged miracles. Laity, however, continued to understand the relics as a means to divine presence, physical healing, and earthly help.

⁹ See Wolfgang Schieder, “Church and Revolution: Aspects of the Social History of the Trier Pilgrimage of 1844” in *Conflict and Stability in Europe*, Richard Deveson (trans.), Clive Emsley (ed.) (London: The Open University Press, 1979): 65-95, 80.

To recreate these discourses I use a wide range of sources, including correspondence between Pilgrimage Committees and pilgrims, pamphlets written by clerics, laymen, and theologians, images of pilgrimage events, pilgrim songs, newspapers, and films of the 1930s relic exhibitions. The Pilgrimage Committees correspondence offers invaluable insight into clerical opinions. Aachen and Trier clergy, including the Cathedral canons, and secretary to the bishop, staffed the Pilgrimage Committees. Occasionally, local notables, such as politicians, professors or architects were also invited to help coordinate the pilgrimages.

In order to explore the interconnections of pilgrim, relic, and place, this project explores pilgrim movements and practices. Spatial metaphors infect every aspect of storytelling, especially tales of traveling.¹⁰ Aachen and Trier pilgrims turned space into place through the acts of crossing and dwelling on their way to view the relics. Here dwelling represents the reflections of pilgrims on their experiences and crossing refers to the movements involved in making a journey to Trier and Aachen. Crossing and dwelling encompass the act of standing before the relic. Dwelling points to the ways in which pilgrims remembered and related to relics with their bodies through touch. Thomas Tweed notes, crossing and dwelling “signal that religion is about finding a place and moving across space, and aquatic metaphors (confluences and flows) signal that religions are not reified substances.”¹¹ Pilgrims followed sacred vectors as they moved toward relics. This project traces the trajectories of people as they move toward five European relics in the German Rhineland. Like Frau Willmann, pilgrims, followed converging paths to view and venerate sacred objects.

¹⁰ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven Rendall (trans.) (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 115-116, “spatial practices concern everyday tactics.” Arjun Appadurai emphasizes the “flows,” or, movement of culture, “it has now become something of a truism that we are functioning in a world fundamentally characterized by objects in motion. These objects include ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and message.” Appadurai is quoted in Thomas Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006), 22.

¹¹ Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 59.

Pilgrims to Trier and Aachen stand against the standard secularization narratives because they co-opted changes in technology to advance their pilgrimage practices. Rhineland Catholics adapted various aspects of post-Industrial Revolution innovations into their journeys.¹² For instance, they made use of changes in transportation like trains, automobiles, and buses, to increase the number of participants at successive events. They also used mass-produced remembrances (*Andenken*), postcards, rosaries, and medals, to convey divine presence across geographic distances. With each successive pilgrimage more and more sick individuals made use

¹² On the secularization of Germany see especially Hugh McLeod (above), and the essays in *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1750-2000*, Hugh McLeod and Werner Ustorf (eds.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). More recently Charles Taylor's philosophical writings on religion and secularization have found resonance in the historiography. See Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). Taylor posits that the West has become increasingly secular since the early modern period. See also Taylor's earlier work on how scholars should approach religion: Charles Taylor, *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), esp. Chapter 8, "Comparison, History, Truth," 146-164. Here Taylor urges scholars to move past reading another culture (including religious practices) by deprivation, "they lack what we have." To overcome scholarly ethnocentrism, Taylor argues that authors need to articulate more clearly the limits of their understanding, 149. As Peter Gordon explains, secularization, for Taylor, means the "gradual breakdown of this integrated religious society and the rise of a new social imaginary in which human beings no longer conceive of themselves as necessarily embedded within a holistic network of institutions and belief." For Gordon's critique of Taylor's work see Peter E. Gordon, "The Place of the Sacred in the Absence of God: Charles Taylor's 'A Secular Age,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 69(4) (October 2008): 647-673, 660. Gordon summarizes his questions over Taylor's premises, "I am trying to suggest is that Taylor's richly-textured history of the background should also have awakened him to the (possibly distressing) thought that there are many modes of the sacred and many kinds of wonder, and that the Christian religion is merely one historical deposit of sacred experience amongst many." (672) Gordon is not alone in questioning just how "secular" Western Europe and the United States have become in the past half millennia, see James Miller, "What Secular Age?," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 21(1/4) (December 2008): 5-10. Miller, like Gordon, finds Taylor's conception of "religion" too narrow. Miller writes, "such pluralism does *not* entail a decline in religious belief and practice, as witness America today. On the contrary, we are in the midst of an ongoing contest, currently rather fierce, over the proper status of religious beliefs in public life, a contest that has intensified in recent decades as it unfolds now on a global scale." (10) Miller proposes that scholars call the current period a "religio-secular age" to accommodate the plurality of beliefs. Historians of Catholicism have indicated that secularization does not hold well with nineteenth-century German Catholicism. See Margaret L. Anderson, "The Limits of Secularization: On the Problem of the Catholic Revival in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *The Historical Journal* 38(3) (September 1995): 647-670. My intervention here is two-fold, showing specific ways that German Catholics continued to publicly practice their faith. And arguing that the Catholic worldview continued to inform how nineteenth and twentieth-century Rhinelanders understood their bodies and society, this perspective was not subsumed to nationalism or Nazism, for example. On political religions see Eric Voegelin, *The Political Religions*, Virginia Ann Schildhauer (trans.) (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2000); Philippe Burrin, "Political Religion: The Relevance of a Concept," *History and Memory* 9(1/2) (Fall 1997): 321-349; Emilio Gentile, "The Sacralisation of Politics: Definitions, Interpretations and Reflections on the Question of Secular Religion and Totalitarianism," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 1(1) (Summer 2000): 18-55; Gentile, *Politics as Religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); Michael Burleigh, *Sacred Causes: The Clash of Religion and Politics, from the Great War to the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007).

of improved transportation, and the 1933 Trier pilgrimage drew over 20,000 cure-seeking pilgrims.¹³ At the same time, the sacroscapes (sacred landscapes) of lay pilgrims illuminate the centuries-long continuity of pilgrimage practices in German history.¹⁴ Pilgrimage participants desired divine presence and sacred intervention from the Rhineland relics. Millions of Europeans lived in a world of transcendence in which God intervened in individual lives through sacred objects.

Distinguishing Travelers: European Pilgrims

Travel as a form of Christian devotion developed in the first centuries after Constantine legalized Christianity in 311. Christian pilgrimage emerged from two different traveling groups in the Roman world. First, monastic pilgrims, who lived out the asceticism of Christian homelessness.¹⁵ The second group, comprised of former Roman empresses, made circular trips and journeyed in lavish groups, establishing holy places along their routes.¹⁶ The most famous of these, St. Helena, built and organized monasteries and churches in Palestine. St. Helena donated

¹³ On secularization see also Christian Smith, "Introduction: Rethinking the Secularization of American Public Life," and "Secularizing American Higher Education: The Case of Early American Sociology," in *The Secular Revolution: Power, Interests, and Conflict in the Secularization of American Public Life*, Christian Smith (ed.) (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 1-159. Smith asks scholars to consider secularization in terms of a revolution. For Smith, scholars need to pay close attention to the actors (self-interested sociologists in his case) who helped bring about a secular turn. Secularizing was not an inevitable process. In his chapter on sociologists, Smith lays out how sociologists discredited religion by reducing it to social utility. Early students of sociology would have felt pressured not to be religious (read: savage) but without religion (read: civilized).

¹⁴ On the continuities of German history see Helmut Walser Smith, *The Continuities of German History: Nation, Religion, and Race across the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Celia Applegate, "Discussion – Metaphors of Continuity: The Promise and Perils of Taking the Long View," *German History* 27(3) (2009): 433-439. Like Smith's work, this dissertation is an attempt to "construct bridges across chronological chasms." (6) Though this project avoids the major pitfall of continuity arguments by ending in 1937: the violence of the Second World War and the Holocaust.

¹⁵ *Travel, Communication and Geography*, 126.

¹⁶ See Noel Lanski, "Empresses in the Holy Land: The Creation of a Christian Utopia in Late Antique Palestine," in *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 114-124. The Christian taboo on divorce conflicted with the Emperors' habit of abandoning their wives. Empresses who were out of favor with the emperor had good reason to travel away from the capitol, toward the boundaries of the Roman Empire.

her home to the bishop of Trier, who used it to build Trier's first cathedral. Trier tradition maintains that St. Helena brought back the Holy Coat of Jesus from her trip to Palestine. Both groups, the itinerant ascetic and the elites, were predominately comprised of female travelers. Early Christians thus took to the road for a variety of reasons; for penance, for healing, and out of piety.¹⁷ This multiplicity of motivations is shared by the pilgrims to Trier and Aachen, though all of the pilgrims journeyed through place in a circuit toward the sacred.

German pilgrims made both direct and indirect pilgrimage to Aachen and Trier. Most of the motion toward Rhineland relics involved physical movement. Pilgrims processed on foot, pedaled bikes, drove cars, and rode in trains. However, pilgrims also participated by writing letters, by praying, and through "mental pilgrimage."¹⁸ These faraway individuals were active, not just discursive, participants in the events.¹⁹ Emma Figulla, for instance, wrote to Trier pilgrimage officials in 1933 from Ratibor. She asked them to touch her golden ring to the Holy Coat. The ring had belonged to her deceased father, and since his death Emma had worn it. For the previous nine years Emma suffered from an unnamed bone, joint, and tendon disease. She was exhausted, and did not have the strength to personally attend the Trier event. Emma heard an inner voice reminding her of her father's ring and urging her to send it on to Trier. After a period of relative strength, she acted on this interior urge and sent on the ring. "God can heal me from a

¹⁷ The contributors to *Travel, Communication and Geography* explore both the emergence of early Christian travel and participant motivations. On early female Christian pilgrims, see Susanna Elm, "Perceptions of Jerusalem Pilgrimage as Reflected in Two Early Sources on Female Pilgrimage (3rd and 4th centuries A.D.)" *Studia patristica* 20 (1987): 219-223; Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter, *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Bitton-Ashkelony has recently argued that theologians in late antiquity were more supportive of regional forms of pilgrimage than one-way trips to Jerusalem. She finds that Christians established "sacred geographies" throughout Christendom. The traditions of Trier and Aachen are part of this regionalizing trend in pilgrimage. See Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005).

¹⁸ On mental pilgrimage, see Daniel K. Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris," *The Art Bulletin* 81(4) (December 1999): 598-622. Connolly studies thirteenth-century monks who made mental pilgrimages to Jerusalem via the maps of Matthew Paris.

¹⁹ Roy Rappaport considers sanctity to be a matter of discourse, "and not of the objects with which that discourse is concerned." See Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion*, 209.

distance,” wrote Emma, “as he healed the servant of the centurion Cornelius.”²⁰ She sent her father’s ring on faith, with stamps so that it could be returned. Emma could not attend the pilgrimage, but did not believe this lessened her participation in or her proximity to the divine. The ring acted as a substitute pilgrim for Emma. Her father’s ring could touch the Coat for her, make the circuitous journey, and bring divine presence back to her in Ratibor. Pilgrims to Trier and Aachen, like Emma, make place, they give it meaning, and explain what value their journey, the relics, and the visited cities hold.

I argue that pilgrimage is not tourism in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Historians have focused on pilgrim consumption and have neglected to make this important distinction about traveler mentalities.²¹ Etymologically and practically these terms indicate separate forms of travel. Correspondents to Trier and Aachen did not think of themselves as tourists. Pilgrimage/pilgrim is derived from the Latin *peregrinus*, which can mean stranger, foreigner, wanderer, traveler, exile, or newcomer.²² Isidore of Seville defined the *peregrinus* traveler as “a stranger in a strange land.”²³ For St. Augustine, the pilgrim was a “foreigner ...who want[s] to go home.”²⁴ Conversely, “tourist” is derived from the Latin *turnus*, “an individual who makes a circuitous journey – usually for pleasure – and returns to the starting

²⁰ BATr, Abt. 90 Nr. 173, 188-189, “Dem lb. Gott ist ja alles möglich, er kann mich auch aus der Ferne heilen, wie er den Knecht des Hauptmann Kornelius geheilt hat.” This story appears in Matthew 8:5-13. Unfortunately only Emma’s request is in the BATr and not the Pilgrimage Committee’s response. However, it is highly likely her ring was returned, see similar requests and responses in “The Sacred Economy” chapter.

²¹ One example: Suzanne K. Kaufman, “Selling Lourdes: Pilgrimage, Tourism, and the Mass-Marketing of the Sacred in C19 France,” in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (eds.) (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 63-81. See notes in “The Sacred Economy” for point on consumption at length.

²² Several scholars discuss the etymology of this term. Two examples: *Christian Tourism to the Holy Land: Pilgrimage during Security Crisis*, Noga Collins-Kreiner, Nurit Kliot, Yoel Mansfeld and Keren Sagi (eds.) (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 8; Valene L. Smith, “Introduction: The Quest in Guest,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 1-17, 1.

²³ Linda Ellis, Frank L. Kidner eds., *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 126.

²⁴ Ellis and Kidner eds., *Travel, Communication and Geography*, 111.

point.”²⁵ In both pamphlets and correspondence, participants thought of themselves as pilgrims making a purposeful trip to sacred objects.

By focusing on the actual practices of pilgrim participants, like Emma Figulla, this project reveals that pilgrimage continued to be a popular travel practice into the 1930s.²⁶ In this dissertation, pilgrimage denotes “motion in a circuit through place that intersects with the sacred.”²⁷ Pilgrimages to Aachen and Trier were international, rare, and converging events.²⁸ Both Aachen and Trier attracted large numbers of French, Dutch, and Luxembourgian visitors. Pilgrimage organizers and participants shared the goal of traveling to the relics, but there was no prescribed means of achieving this objective. Pilgrims came from different areas and traveled either with their parish or individually and only came together at the cathedral; this practice made the Trier and Aachen pilgrimages converging ceremonies. And although Aachen hosts a pilgrimage every seven years, the long interval between events makes each event a rare occasion.²⁹

The pilgrims to Aachen and Trier cross the boundary between modern and pre-modern forms of travel. Historians and scholars of tourism studies have absorbed Victor Turner’s thesis that pilgrimage is a premodern phenomenon. Victor Turner, unsatisfied with analyses of travel

²⁵ Smith, “Introduction: The Quest in Guest,” 1.

²⁶ The relationship of tourism and pilgrimage continues to fascinate scholars and journalists. See for example the recent article on the Compostela in the *New York Times*. Raphael Minder, “Lifting the Soul, and the Spanish Economy, Too,” *New York Times* (September 1, 2014).

²⁷ This is my own definition, I explain the various aspects including “circular motion” and “place” below.

²⁸ Robert H. Stoddard, “Defining and Classifying Pilgrimages,” in *Sacred Places, Sacred Spaces: The Geography of Pilgrimages*, Robert H. Stoddard and Alan Morinis (eds.) (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University, 1997): 41-60.

²⁹ This schema follows Robert H. Stoddard, who developed a three-fold definitional schematic of pilgrimages:

1. length of journey - regional, national, international
2. frequency of pilgrimage event - frequent, annual, rare
3. pilgrimage route - convergence, prescribed circular, prescribed processional

As Stoddard shows, not all theories of pilgrimage are bounded by the inclinations of the travelers. Historians have also focused on the pilgrimage site itself. See for example Raymond Jonas’s study of Sacré Cœur. Jonas defines pilgrimage as “voyage to a holy place.” Raymond Jonas, “Restoring a Sacred Center: Pilgrimage, Politics, and the Sacre Coeur,” *Historical Reflections* 20(1) (Winter 1994): 95-123, 101.

that completely excluded religious journeys, studied pilgrimages across time and religion, from pre-Christian Europe to Buddhism, from ancient Egypt to Malcolm X's 1964 hajj to Mecca.³⁰

For Turner, pilgrims moved toward the liminal, or the boundary between the transcendent and the immanent.³¹ The pilgrim, by moving toward the pilgrimage center, traveled to a border, moved past a threshold into a place and moment both "in and out of time," where they could directly experience "the sacred, invisible, or supernatural order."³²

Turner's liminal vs. liminoid, simple vs. complex distinctions rely too heavily on Weber and Calvin and cannot account for the recurrence of major Catholic pilgrimages in the Rhineland, next door to the industrial heartland of Germany, the Ruhr.³³ In other words, Turner's pilgrims encounter historically contingent liminal boundaries. In "primitive," "tribal," and "simpler" societies, those that developed before the Industrial Revolution, the liminal was most frequently found via a rite of passage.³⁴ Conversely, according to Turner, "complex" societies pushed the liminal into liminoid experiences, types of play, which occurred in leisure settings

³⁰ See Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974). Especially "Chapter 5: Pilgrimages as Social Processes," 166-228. The influence of Victor and Edith Turner continues, and is reflected in my methodology section below. See also Roy Rappaport, "The Obvious Aspects of Ritual" in *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion* (Richmond, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1979), 173-221, 197. For Rappaport, ritual helps to bind the community together. On travel having inherently religious aspects, see John B. Allcock, "Tourism As a Sacred Journey," *Loisir et Société* (1988): 33-48.

³¹ Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974). Turner cites Belgian ethnographer van Gennep as influencing his use of liminality, see 196.

³² Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors*, 197.

³³ Both Weber and Calvin are recurring citations for Turner. He relies on them, for example, to explain why industrial societies push the liminal into the liminoid, examples include: Turner, "The Center Out There," 215; Turner, "Liminal to Liminoid," 70; Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors*, 188. Recently Christian Smith has urged scholars to view the secularization of the American academy as a revolution. Smith examines early sociology textbooks to show how sociologists discredited religion by reducing it to social utility. See Christian Smith, "Introduction: Rethinking the Secularization of American Public Life," and "Secularizing American Higher Education: The Case of Early American Sociology," in *The Secular Revolution: Power, Interests, and Conflict in the Secularization of American Public Life*, Christian Smith (ed.) (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 1-159. See also Brad Gregory's argument that the Protestant Reformation led to secularization. For Gregory, the Reformation lost the sense that God was completely other after reformers combined Occam's razor with Scotus's notion of univocity. See Brad S. Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), esp. chp 1, 25-73.

³⁴ Victor Turner, "Liminal to Liminoid, In Play, Flow, and Ritual: An Essay in Comparative Symbolology," *Rice University Studies* 60(3) (Summer 1974): 53-94, 72.

like the cafe, bar, or social club.³⁵ Turner, despite providing scholars with new categories to understand religious journeys, pulled back and labeled liminal boundaries and *communitas* as essentially pre-modern phenomena.³⁶ Pilgrimage had no place in the modern world as a serious venture, but had contributed a “pilgrim ethic” (presumably to complement Weber’s Protestant “work ethic”) that developed a “communications net[work] that later made capitalism a viable national and international system.”³⁷ Turner thus asserts the importance of myth and transcendence for pilgrims, but concludes that this is not part of a “modern” worldview.³⁸

Pilgrims wanted to travel and, like tourists, hoped to obtain spiritual benefit from their undertakings. Pilgrims from the Rhineland continued to pursue the spiritual center(s) of Rhenish Catholicism, long after the French Revolution or Weber’s *Protestant Work Ethic*.³⁹

³⁵ Turner, “Liminal to Liminoid,” 86.

³⁶ For Turner, pilgrimage was not an individuated undertaking. Pilgrims also felt “*communitas*,” “true fellowship,” or a sense of shared purpose wherein social and cultural structural divisions were softened and the “fine articulation of their parts in a complex heterogenous unity can be the better appreciated.” Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors*, 208. “True fellowship,” 228. Turner also distinguished types of *communitas*, including, existential, normative, and ideological. See Victor Turner, “The Center Out There: Pilgrim’s Goal,” *History of Religions* 12(3) (February 1973): 191-230. *Communitas* was also part of the destination, because on a pilgrimage “solitude and society cease to be antithetical” as participants move toward a societal center of *communitas*. Turner, “The Center Out There,” 217-218. Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony has recently shown that the “*communitas*” element of pilgrimage is not timeless, see *Encountering the Sacred*, 10-13. Turner’s understanding of pilgrimage as a pre-modern voyage to the liminal, or pre-Protestant work ethic phenomenon adds new dichotomies to the study of travel motivations: pilgrim vs. tourist, liminal vs. liminoid, Protestant vs. Catholic, modern vs. premodern, capitalism vs. pre-capitalism.

³⁷ Turner, “The Center Out There,” 228. On the topic of Protestant theology and Weber’s work ethic, see Friedrich Wilhelm Graf, “The German Theological Sources and Protestant Church Politics,” in *Weber’s Protestant Work Ethic: Origins, Evidence, Contexts*, Hartmut Lehmann, Guenther Roth (eds.) (Washington, DC: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 27-49.

³⁸ In his analysis, Turner reified Eliade’s study of aboriginal sacred centers. Eliade conceptualized the sacred in terms of “hierophany,” which could be mediated by any object deemed sacred by a religious practitioner. Thus sacrality was constructed in the mind of a believer. See Randall Studstill, “Eliade, Phenomenology, and the Sacred,” *Religious Studies* 36(2) (June 2000): 177-194. Jonathan Smith has recently explored Eliade’s *Patterns in Comparative Religion* and argued that Eliade cannot account for human experience with his notions of “history” and “religion.” See Jonathan Z. Smith, “Acknowledgements: Morphology and History in Mircea Eliade’s ‘Patterns in Comparative Religion’ (1949-1999), Part 2: The Texture of the Work,” *History of Religions* 39(4) (May 2000): 332-351.

For Eliade, at the center, humans “‘cosmicize’ space and to communicate with the transhuman world of heaven.” Eliade quoted in: Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 2.

³⁹ Cohen, “A Phenomenology,” 189. The geographer Gisbert Rinschede has argued that travelers to Lourdes, France were touristic because of their interaction with the built environment. He argued that like tourist attractions, Lourdes structures were, “used mostly on a seasonal basis, ha[d] surplus facilities in the off season and it [was] accessible by various means of transportation.” Gisbert Rinschede, “The Pilgrimage Town of Lourdes,” *Journal of Cultural*

This study shows that pilgrims adapted their established sacred practices to meet the challenges of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Only recently have scholars begun to nuance the pilgrim vs. tourist discussion.⁴⁰ For example, Aliza Fleischer, in her study of pilgrims and tourists in the Holy Land argues, “Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land have evolved over the years into tourists.”⁴¹ Her study notes that spending patterns between self-identified tourists and

Geography 7(1) (1986): 21-34, 33. Structurally there was no notable difference between a site made popular for touristic or pilgrim purposes. Any differences between the Lourdes pilgrim and tourist resulted “primarily from the visitors’ goals and from the specific activities of the social groups in a given space.” Rinschede, “The Pilgrimage Town of Lourdes,” 33.

⁴⁰ Following Turner’s assertion that pilgrimage was a pre-modern phenomenon, the boundary between pilgrim and tourist has become even more obscure. In 1974, Cohen urged scholars to develop an analytical distinction between the “tourist” and other travelers. After offering six dimensions of the “tourist role,” Cohen defined a tourist as a “voluntary, temporary traveler, traveling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round-trip.” None of Cohen’s different categories work for pilgrims to Trier and Aachen in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. For instance, the experimental pilgrim is a person who does “not adhere any more to the spiritual centre of their own society, but engage[s] in a quest for an alternative in many different directions.” Erik Cohen, “Who is a Tourist?: A Conceptual Clarification,” *Sociological Review* 22(4) (1974): 527-555, 533. See Dann’s work on tourist motivations, also. Dann defines tourist motivation as, “A meaningful state of mind which adequately disposes an actor or group of actors to travel, and which is subsequently interpretable by others as a valid explanation for such a decision.” Graham M.S. Dann, “Tourist Motivation: An Appraisal,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 8(2) (1981): 187-219, 205. Cohen, unsatisfied with the superficial vs. authentic dichotomy in the Boorstin/MacCannell debate, further developed a continuum of traveler motivation in 1979. This schema ranged from “superficial” to “profound,” and progressed from “recreational” - “diversionary” - “experiential” - “experimental” - “existential.” Erik Cohen, “A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences,” *Sociology* 13 (1979): 179-201, 183. See also Donald L. Redfoot, “Touristic Authenticity, Touristic Angst, and Modern Reality,” *Qualitative Sociology* 7(4) (Winter 1984): 291-309. Redfoot proposes four orders of tourists: true tourist, angst-ridden tourist, anthropological tourist, and spiritual tourist. Hamilton-Smith proposes four kinds of tourism based on structural and existential dimensions. Elery Hamilton-Smith, “Four Kinds of Tourism?” *Annals of Tourism Research* 14 (1987): 332-344. Bryan Pfaffenberger has shown that in Sri Lanka pilgrim motivations can be just as diverse as tourist motivations and include frivolity and superficiality. See Bryan Pfaffenberger, “Serious Pilgrims and Frivolous Tourists: The Chimera of Tourism in the Pilgrimages of Sri Lanka,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 57-74, 61. See also Goldberg’s work on Haitian voodoo shows. Alan Goldberg, “Identity and Experience in Haitian Voodoo Shows,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 10 (1983): 479-495. For a liberal conception of “tourist” see Neil Leiper, “The Framework of Tourism: Towards a Definition of Tourism, Tourist, and the Tourist Industry,” *Annals of Tourism Research* (October-December 1979): 390-407. Leiper argues that tourism is a system consisting of five elements: tourists, generating regions, transit routes, destination regions, and a tourist industry. (404).

⁴¹ Aliza Fleischer, “The Tourist Behind the Pilgrim in the Holy Land,” *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 19 (2000): 311-326, 311. Fleischer bases this linkage on consumption practices as both groups tend to make purchases while in the Holy Land. Before Fleischer’s work, tourism studies scholars have shown that these two modes of travel are related, but have problematically labeled pilgrimage a touristic activity. An example, Jonathon Sumption described medieval pilgrimage as the tourism of its day. Summarized in Neil Leiper, “Tourist Attraction Systems,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 17 (1990): 367-384, 377. For example, Eric Cohen’s definition of tourist excludes Rhineland pilgrims, who might make multiple pilgrimages in their life, and whose journeys were usually not “relatively long.” But, more problematically, Cohen conceptualized “pilgrims” as “part-time tourists,” who participated in “a form of ‘religious tourism.’” Eric Cohen, “Tourism and Religion: A Comparative Perspective,” *Pacific Tourism Review* 2 (1998): 1-10. Yet, for Cohen, “religious tourism,” as it came to be used to describe travel to religious sites, was not useful because he wanted to maintain the distinction between “existential” and “experimental” tourists. He agreed with MacCannell and Turner that “modern pilgrims” were actually tourists

pilgrims differ, as pilgrims spend less on lodging, but more on memorabilia to commemorate their journey. This dissertation, especially in “The Sacred Economy,” expands Fleischer’s work by exploring the transcendent hope pilgrims placed in their *Andenken*, or purchased objects. In the context of Aachen and Trier, the circular elements of *tornus* apply to pilgrimage. However, the recreation derived from a touristic trip is separate from the transcendent travel motivations expressed by pilgrim correspondents in the Rhineland.⁴²

The assembled people in Trier and Aachen, the participants in processions, and the persons who sent letters to Church and city officials were pilgrims, not tourists⁴³ because as they

and should be studied as such. Cohen, “Who is a Tourist?,” 542.

⁴² Much of the source base for this dissertation comes from correspondence between pilgrims and the Pilgrimage Committees set up in Aachen and Trier.

⁴³ Pilgrims as tourists is common among tourist studies scholars, for example, Gisbert Rinschede argues that pilgrims are “religious tourists,” who are “strongly motivated for religious reason[s].” Gisbert Rinschede, “Forms of Religious Tourism,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 51-67, 51.

traveled they sacralized profane place.⁴⁴ Place is continually remade by people who travel.⁴⁵

Humans give space its profane or sacred meaning.⁴⁶ People transform space into place.⁴⁷ For

example, pilgrims from Koblenz to Trier sang hymns while riding a ship down the Mosel River.

⁴⁴ Sociologists, historians, and scholars of tourism studies continue to debate the boundaries of tourism and pilgrimage. Much of this discussion hinges on the perceived or self-assigned motivations of individual travelers. In 1961, Daniel Boorstin asserted that tourists actually wanted inauthentic, sheltered experiences. For Boorstin, the modern tourist “is isolated from the landscape he traverses.” Daniel Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (Magnolia, MA: Peter Smith, 1985, c1961), 94. See also Stephen J. Whitfield, “The Image: The Lost World of Daniel Boorstin,” *Reviews in American History* 19(2) (June 1991): 302-312, 305. Against Boorstin, Dean MacCannell argued that tourism “absorbs some of the social functions of religion in the modern world.” Dean MacCannell, “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings,” *American Journal of Sociology* 79 (3) (November 1973): 589-603, 589. MacCannell was arguing against Daniel Boorstin, who held that tourists actively sought inauthentic experiences. See Daniel Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (Magnolia, MA: Peter Smith, 1985, c1961). For MacCannell, tourists and pilgrims wanted the same thing, “authenticity.” MacCannell, “Staged Authenticity,” 593. “The motive behind a pilgrimage is similar to that behind a tour: both are quests for authentic experiences.” See also Esther Allen, “‘Money and little red books’: Romanticism, Tourism, and the Rise of the Guidebook,” *LIT* 7 (1996): 213-226. Allen posits that the traveler’s quest for “authenticity” might have been manufactured by guidebooks themselves because, for travelers, connecting to the genuine experience often meant going off of the scripted path provided in a little red Baedeker or Murray book. In the wake of MacCannell’s “staged authenticity” thesis, scholars have divided and subdivided the reasons why individuals and groups travel. Eric Cohen and Victor Turner are two of the most influential voices in this debate. Gisbert Rinschede has brought tourism and pilgrimage together in a continuum (pilgrims, tourists, and pilgrim-tourists), but does not offer a compelling differentiation between these three groups. For example, he writes that pilgrims to Fátima were primarily “pure pilgrims,” but this claim seems to be based on the fact that there is little to do around Fátima besides visiting the apparition site. See Gisbert Rinschede, “The Pilgrimage Center of Fatima/Portugal,” in *Pilgrimage in World Religions: Presented to Prof. Dr. Angelika Sievers on the Occasion of her 75th Birthday*, Surinder M. Bhardwaj and Gisbert Rinschede (eds.) (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1988), 65-98. For an example of the limitations of motive-based analysis, see Digance’s study of “mass tourists” and “New Age pilgrims” at the Uluru rock in western Australia. Justine Digance, “Pilgrimage at Contested Sites,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 30(1) (2003): 143-159.

⁴⁵ In other words, place is a “synthesis of social forces that roll across the landscape.” Robin A. Kearns and Alun E. Joseph, “Space in its Place: Developing the Link in Medical Geography,” *Social Science Medicine* 37(6) (1993): 711-717, 714. Historians have also used “landscape” as an analytical category, see Jason Tebbe, “Landscapes of Remembrance: Home and Memory in the Nineteenth-Century Bürgertum,” *Journal of Family History* 33(2) (April 2008): 195-215. Tebbe addresses ways in which the German Bürgertum turned their homes into sites of remembrance, for example, making a “Christmas room.”

⁴⁶ See Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), esp. “Two: Father Space,” 26-45. Here Smith points to Kant to explain that “Human beings are not placed, they bring place into being,” 28.

⁴⁷ Yi-Fu Tuan wrote, “When space feels thoroughly familiar to us, it has become place.” Yi-Fu Tuan quoted in Smith, *To Take Place*, 28. Pilgrims to the Rhineland follow Tuan’s idea of transforming space into place. The Yi-Fu Tuan place/space distinction contradicts the definitions set out by de Certeau. For the French theorist, space is “a practiced place,” and is “composed of intersections of mobile elements,” see de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 117. Place, for de Certeau, is stable, “an instantaneous configuration of positions” and is passive. People turn place into space, for example, a street “is transformed into a space by walkers,” de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 117. Space can become place by “the awakening of inert objects,” including people. Pilgrims were not unmoving beings before they set out to see relics. Geographers use “place” and “landscape” to discuss cultures. For Richard Schein, for instance, landscapes inform scholars about society and culture. See Richard H. Schein, “The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87(4) (December 1997): 660-680.

Non-pilgrims around them noted that even people not on the pilgrimage joined in the singing when they recognized the song. The ship was incorporated into the journey, the moving pilgrim community transformed the trip from Koblenz to Trier with their voices, this was turning space (the ship) into place (part of the spiritual preparation to see the Holy Coat in Trier). Pilgrimage practices like procession endured through the political upheavals of the nineteenth and twentieth century.

German Catholics Outside the Milieu

German Catholics united politically over the nineteenth century, but they diverged about the theological significance of public rituals. Interest in the political nature of Catholicism has led to important studies on the *Kulturkampf*, but this approach analyzes a narrow range of German Catholics, or focuses on Catholics as their opponents imagined them. Historians have tended to view European pilgrimages through the eyes of authorities, such as monarchs, clergy, authors, state officials.⁴⁸ Beginning in 1982 with Anderson and Barkin, historians have examined the relationship of German Liberalism and the Catholic population.⁴⁹ Both Michael Gross and

⁴⁸ For example, James Donnelly relied on Irish clerical newspapers and periodicals in his analysis of Marian apparitions in Knock. Donnelly also looks at pamphlets put out by the Custodians of Knock Shrine, a Holy Order. James S. Donnelly, "The Marian Shrine of Knock: The First Decade," *Ireland* 28 (1993): 55-99. And David Blackbourn, in a study of the Marian apparition at Marpingen, examined the political and economic consequences of that 1876 event. See David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994). Blackbourn uses a number of analytical approaches to understand the events of Marpingen, "I have tried to show the interlacing of the economic, the social, the political, the cultural. By the same token, and from the same conviction, I have tried to use a range of conceptual tools in writing about the apparitions. Power, class, status, gender-all have something to contribute to our understanding of Marpingen and its reverberations." (373) This approach helps situate the event in the national political and cultural context, but tends to leave out the perspective of the pilgrims. See also Oded Heilbrunner's article pointing out the fact that Catholics still inhabit the "marginal position of the historiography of nineteenth-century." Oded Heilbrunner, "From Ghetto to Ghetto: The Place of German Catholic Society in Recent Historiography," *The Journal of Modern History* 72 (June 2000): 453-495, 454. My dissertation responds to Heilbrunner's article by showing the continuity of German Catholicism and by not measuring Catholics against their Protestant neighbors. Benjamin Ziemann asserted in 2000 that the study of German Catholicism was headed toward social histories focused on the late nineteenth and twentieth century, see Benjamin Ziemann, "Der deutsche Katholizismus im späten 19. und im 20. Jahrhundert: Forschungstendenzen auf dem Weg zu sozialgeschichtlicher Fundierung und Erweiterung," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 40 (2000): 402-422.

⁴⁹ Margaret Lavinia Anderson and Kenneth Barkin, "The Myth of the Puttkamer Purge and the Reality of the

Róisín Healy have highlighted the anti-Catholic aspects of the German liberal worldview. For Healy and Gross, anti-Catholic feeling and policies originated in the Protestant and Liberal imagination; Liberals were anxious about the place of the Catholic population in the newly-united Germany. In Healy's work these concerns stretched back to the Protestant Reformation, and took on new political forms over the question of German unification.⁵⁰ For Gross, the Liberal imagination held Catholics as inherently conservative; they were also to blame for the failed 1848 Revolution.⁵¹ Gross and Healy reconstruct part of the German-Catholic world, but they build with the tools of political-anti-Catholic sentiment.⁵² This political focus, while important for understanding the rise of the Catholic *Zentrum* political party and the origins of the *Kulturkampf*, leaves aside Catholic behavior in relation to the divine, and fails to ask how Catholics situated themselves in the world.⁵³

Kulturkampf: Some Reflections on the Historiography of Imperial Germany," *The Journal of Modern History* 54(4) (December 1982): 647-686. Healy and Gross are only two examples of recent work on Catholicism. See also: Margaret L Anderson, "Interdenominationalism, Clericalism, Pluralism: The Zentrumsstreit and the Dilemma of Catholicism in Wilhelmine Germany," *Central European History* 21 (1988): 350-378; Helmut Walser Smith, *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany 1800-1914* (New York: Berg, 2001); Margaret Dalton, *Catholicism, Popular Culture, and the Arts in Germany: 1880-1933* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); Richard Schaefer, "Program for a New Wissenschaft: Devotional Activism and Catholic Modernity in the Nineteenth Century," *Modern Intellectual History* 4(3) (2007): 433-462; Derek Hastings, *Catholicism and the Roots of Nazism: Religious Identity and National Socialism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁵⁰ Róisín Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc., 2003).

⁵¹ Michael B. Gross, "The Strange Case of the Nun in the Dungeon, or German Liberalism as a Convent Atrocity Story," *German Studies Review* 23(1) (February 2000): 69-84, 70, 79.

⁵² See also Anthony Steinhoff's review, "Michael B. Gross, *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany*; Róisín Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany*," *The Journal of Modern History* 78(3) (September 2006): 756-758. Steinhoff commends both works for bringing attention to nineteenth-century anti-Catholicism. Oliver Zimmer has studied annual Catholic processions to show that antagonism between Catholics and Liberals was not a foregone conclusion. See Oliver Zimmer, "Beneath the 'Culture War': Corpus Christi Processions and Mutual Accommodation in the Second German Empire," *The Journal of Modern History* 82 (June 2010): 288-334. For Zimmer, Liberals did not dislike Catholicism as such, but the disunity their religious practices revealed in the Kaiserreich. In his monograph, Zimmer further showed that Catholics were more likely to be loyal to their local identity, rather than to the new German nation. Oliver Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life: German Communities in the Age of the Nation-State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁵³ Joshua Hagen, like Zimmer, has analyzed parades, but in the context of National Socialist Munich. He argues that "parades emerged as a popular means to perform national identity and affix this identity in public space." This dissertation reveals that such pageantry also helped develop religious identities, and that all participants did not take away the same understandings of events like relic processions. For Hagen see Joshua Hagen, "Parades, Public Space, and Propaganda: The Nazi Culture Parades in Munich," *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*

In searching for the origins of major political events like 1848 and the *Kulturkampf*, historians have inadvertently obscured the continuities of popular Catholic practices. Wolfgang Schieder begins his treatment of the 1844 pilgrimage under the heading “The Pilgrimage as Social Movement,” and follows this up with “The Pilgrimage as a Church Demonstration.”⁵⁴ Both Schieder and Jonathan Sperber present 1844 Trier as a turning point in Rhenish Catholicism because the event was “strictly and bureaucratically organized from the top down.”⁵⁵ Sperber draws on Wolfgang Schieder to emphasize that 1844 meant that pilgrims no longer staggered along the roadside “as individuals or in small groups under questionable lay supervision” but were now led by priests “in strictest order and discipline.”⁵⁶

Where Sperber and Schieder have identified clerical manipulation of the laity, I find widespread theological agreement between pilgrimage organizers and lay pilgrims until 1844. Sperber and Schieder set up 1844 as an artificial turning point in German-Catholic pilgrimage practices.⁵⁷ For example, Catholic clergy coordinated Rhineland pilgrimages before 1844. Historians Klaus Tenfelde and Elaine Glovka Spencer have demonstrated that Rhenish Catholic

90(4) (2008): 349-367, 350.

⁵⁴ Wolfgang Schieder, *Religion und Revolution: Die Trierer Wallfahrt von 1844* (Vierow bei Greifswald: SH-Verlag, 1996), 11, 28. The title of the book, “Religion and Revolution,” points to the main argument: 1844 as a chance for clergy to minimize growing revolutionary sentiment among the laity.

⁵⁵ Jonathan Sperber, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), 70.

⁵⁶ Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 70.

⁵⁷ Schieder is guided by political questions, “What political strategy of the church’s underlay the whole pilgrimage movement?” Schieder, “Church and Revolution,” 65. Another important example of the recent work on German Catholicism, Margaret Dalton, *Catholicism, Popular Culture, and the Arts in Germany: 1880-1933* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005). See also Anderson’s call for an inter-confessional history of modern Germany, Margaret L. Anderson, “Interdenominationalism, Clericalism, Pluralism: The Zentrumsstreit and the Dilemma of Catholicism in Wilhelmine Germany,” *Central European History* 21 (1988): 350-378. For another example of scholars focus on political nature of Catholicism see Ellen Lovell Evans, *The German Center Party, 1870-1933: A Study in Political Catholicism* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981). Michael Gross has recently called on scholars to expand the chronology of the *Kulturkampf* to 1848-1879, which he also sees as a period of ideological anti-Catholicism. Gross finds in German liberalism a psychological disposition that was anti-Catholic; liberals viewed Catholicism as unmanly, feminine. Michael Gross, *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 23, 298. For Gross, the nineteenth century was not only a period of Catholic revival, but also one of anti-Catholicism. My project thus complements Gross’ by laying out moments of popular participation.

organizations had been coordinated from the early nineteenth century, so an arranged pilgrimage should not come as a surprise.⁵⁸ Schieder's argument also informs a second issue, continuing to overlook actual practitioners in favor of examining clergy and pilgrimage organizers. Too much focus on coordinators makes participants passive receptacles of clerical instruction.⁵⁹ These analyses do not consider the pilgrims and their lived experiences. Clergy turned away from laity in 1844 in order to make pilgrimage reasonable to their critics, not because they strove to politically control their flock.⁶⁰

"Moving Toward the Sacred," reveals the ways in which German Catholics adapted to the post-1844 period by exploring two distinct discourses concerning the sacred nature of Rhineland relics. My study unearths a history of pilgrimage convergence, divine presence, and

⁵⁸ Tenfelde focused on the festival culture and associations of Central European miners. See especially "Mining Festivals in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Contemporary History* 13(2) (April 1978): 377-412, 398-400. Spencer finds that in the first half of the nineteenth century bourgeois festivals and celebrations became highly regimented. See Elaine Glovka Spencer, "Regimenting Revelry: Rhenish Carnival in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Central European History* 28(4) (1995): 457-481, 462.

⁵⁹ Sperber writes that 1844 was a chance to "divert the minds of the impoverished inhabitants of the region from their worldly troubles to divine palliatives." Sperber, *Popular Catholicism*, 71. Christopher Clark, following Sperber, cites 1844 as a moment of enhanced clerical authority over Catholic laity. Christopher Clark, "The New Catholicism of the European Culture Wars," in *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (eds.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 15-16. Clark is also interested in the political and institutional aspects of Catholicism, which bring together the papers in this volume. Clark here also notes that the clergy were more economically homogenous following state regulation after Napoleon.

⁶⁰ In both the survey literature and in specific studies of Rhineland pilgrimage, the most popular argument is that these mass events constitute a protest against the French, Prussian, German, National Socialist regimes. That is true, to a limited extent, but cannot account for the correspondence I analyze throughout this dissertation. For examples of the pilgrimage as protest argument see David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994); Klaus-Michael Mallmann, "'Maria hilf, vernichte unsere Feinde': Die Marienerscheinung von Marpingen 1876," in *Richtig Daheim Waren Wir Nie: Entdeckungsreisen ins Saarrevier 1815-1955*, Klaus-Michael Mallmann, Gerhard Paul, Ralph Schock, Reinhard Klimmt (eds.) (Berlin/Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz, 1987); Hans Leo Baumanns sees the 1937 pilgrimage as Catholic opposition to the Third Reich, Hans Leo Baumanns, "'Die Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt 1937' Ein sozialgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur katholischen Volksopposition im III. Reich" (Dissertation, Aachen: Rheinisch-Westfälischen Technischen Hochschule, 1968); Josef Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrten zwischen Franzosenzeit und Nationalsozialismus* (By Author: Aachen, 2010). Lambertz calls the 1937 pilgrimage a "Mute Protest" (Der 'Stumme Protest' 1937), 98. This argument, like the work of Schieder and Sperber, problematically reads the events to come into the past. In reality, the church worked closely with Nazi officials to plan the event. And in 1933 Trier, Franz von Papen went to the pilgrimage from Rome, having concluded the *Reichskonkordat* with the Vatican.

inter-Catholic divergence. Therefore, this study sets aside the political focus of previous studies in order to examine how pilgrims and clergymen understood the sacred world.⁶¹ A political lens cannot view pilgrim understandings of the divine or how Catholics situated themselves in Modern Europe.⁶² Scholars have used newspapers and political speeches to explain only one element of the public expression of German Catholicism. These sources reveal important aspects of the European Catholic nineteenth-century experience, but do not bring historians closer to an understanding of the nineteenth-century Catholic worldview.⁶³

The German Catholic “milieu” contained multiple, at times competing, understandings of the relationship of relics and the transcendent. This dissertation reveals how clergy and laity diverged in response to the internal and external religious trials of 1844. Between 1832 and 1937 pilgrims looked to tradition to heal their bodies; they prayed over relics for protection during war

⁶¹ In German historiography, Catholic scholarship is often tied to the question of whether or not German Catholics were part of the middle class (*Bürgertum*) or not. Thomas Mergel, and Eric Yonke, have both worked to place Catholics firmly in the *Bürgertum*. Mergel critiques historians for reading their understanding of a Catholic milieu in the *Kulturkampf* further back into nineteenth-century *Bürgertum*. Indeed, Mergel sees the *Kulturkampf* as crucial and argues that through the *Kulturkampf* Catholics were drawn slowly out of the *Bürgertum*. See Thomas Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession: Katholisches Bürgertum im Rheinland 1794-1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); Thomas Mergel, “Ultramontanism, Liberalism, Moderation: Political Mentalities and the Political Behavior of the German Catholic Bürgertum, 1848-1914,” *Central European History* 29(2) (1996): 151-174; Eric Yonke, “The Problem of the Middle Class in German Catholic History: The Nineteenth-Century Rhineland Revisited,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 88(2) (April 2002): 263-280. Yonke and Mergel criticized earlier scholarship that viewed the Bürgertum as an economic group and smoothed over confessional distinctions. See *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German middle class from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century*, David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans (eds.) (New York: Routledge, 1991); Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell eds., *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1988). For the distinction between Bielefeld and Frankfurt approaches see Jonathan Sperber, “Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft: Studies of the German (Upper) Middle Class and its Sociocultural World,” *The Journal of Modern History* 69(2) (June 1997): 271-297, pp. 273-281. And for a critique of Bielefeld’s use of Weber, see Margaret L. Anderson, “Voter, Junker, Landrat, Priest: The Old Authorities and the New Franchise in Imperial Germany,” *American Historical Review* 5 (December 1993): 1448-1474.

⁶² There are a number of works about the religious worldviews of early-modern Europeans. But historians of Modern Europe have been hesitant to use early-modern methodology on the post-French Revolution period. See Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Steven E. Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent: Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); William A. Christian Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

⁶³ My proposed methodology echoes cautions about sacred world views put forth by A.H.S. Fletcher in 1958. See A.H.S. Fletcher, “Lourdes, 1858 to 1957,” *The Central African Journal of Medicine* 4(10) (1958): 446-450.

and moments of uncertainty. They counted on the Coat of Trier and the four Aachen relics for answers. However, clergy were not always in agreement with the laity as to the proper place of Rhineland relics in the Catholic cosmogony. In this project I show the varied clerical quests for demonstrable evidence that the Rhineland relics were genuine. In the mid-nineteenth century, Catholic clergy looked back to Charlemagne and Constantine in order to ground pilgrimage in the earliest days of German Christianity.⁶⁴ Following public condemnations of alleged Trier cures after the 1844 festival, clergy sought to rein in what pilgrims said about their travel experiences, the four Aachen relics in the Marian Shrine, and the Holy Coat of Trier.

The Relics and the Cities

Both Trier and Aachen are in western Germany, near the French border. In 1815, Prussia assumed control of both cities after Napoleon was driven from Europe. Between 1832 and 1937 Trier held three pilgrimages to the Holy Coat of Jesus, in 1844, 1891, and 1933. Aachen displayed its four relics at seven-year intervals, and hosted 15 events over this 105-year period.⁶⁵ (The 1916 pilgrimage was not held due to World War I, and the 1923 pilgrimage was cancelled due to continued French occupation of the region after the War). With each successive pilgrimage, Trier attracted more pilgrims: their numbers peaked in 1933, with over two million in attendance. Aachen was more consistent in turnout, but its two biggest pilgrimages occurred in 1881 and 1925.⁶⁶

Pilgrims went to Aachen to visit several different relics, but believed the most important of these were the four objects stored in the Marian Shrine. The first major relic, the “Garment of

⁶⁴ Here I am following Shaw’s suggestion that modernity and religion need not be the poles from which historians analyze religious world views. See David Gary Shaw, “Modernity between Us and Them: The Place of Religion Within History,” *History and Theory* 45(4) (December 2006): 1-9.

⁶⁵ See table in next chapter for breakdown of attendance at each pilgrimage.

⁶⁶ See chart in Chapter 1 for list of Aachen pilgrimage dates and estimated attendance.

the Blessed Mother,” comprised of white linen, has the form of a tunic or dress when unfolded. The second, “The Swaddling Clothes of Jesus,” made of camel or goat wool, appeared before pilgrims unstained and dark brown. “The Loincloth of Jesus,” the third Marian Shrine relic, woven from coarse linen, resembles a trapezoid when unfolded. The final major Aachen relic is the “Decapitation Cloth of John the Baptist.” The decapitation cloth, or beheading garment, resembles a long rectangle bordered on all four sides with fine damask and the main of the cloth is linen. In 2000, pilgrims to Aachen learned that the cloth could have been a tablecloth or a burial cloth. Their *Pilgrim Guide* also taught them that “decapitation” was a misnomer, because the Church originally honored this garment as the burial cloth of John the Baptist.⁶⁷ In the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, pilgrims and clergy did not always make this distinction. Clergy rarely unfolded the last three of the Marian Shrine relics described above. Pilgrims encountered these three as folded rectangles, bound by colored silk. During the Aachen pilgrimage, bishops hung the relics either in or outside the cathedral for crowds to view.

The chronological parameters for this study of how pilgrims and clergy understood relics are 1832 and 1937. For clergy and theologians, the 1830s were a turbulent decade. In 1835, the Catholic Church stopped officially opposing the Copernican system.⁶⁸ Friedrich Schleiermacher died one year earlier, in 1834, and German theologians were still making sense of his attempt to reconcile theology and the Enlightenment.⁶⁹ The final pilgrimage here analyzed is the 1937

⁶⁷ *Pilgerheft: Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt 9. bis 18. Juni 2000* (Aachen: Domkapitel Aachen, 2000), 33, “Das Enthauptungstuch Johannes des Täufers ist ein längsrechteckiges, an allen vier Seiten umsäumtes, weißes Tuch aus feinsten Leinendamast. Das Leinengewebe von 282,2 Zentimetern Länge und 131,5 Zentimetern Breite, das gefaltet aufbewahrt und gezeigt wird, ist in der Mitte durch Reliquienentnahme völlig zerschnitten. Mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit handelt es sich um ein später als Grabschutuch benutztes Tafeltuch, dessen zahlreiche Verfärbungen durch Blut und Verwesungssstoffe zu Stande kamen. Die Bezeichnung Enthauptungstuch ist missverständlich, da die Aachener Reliquie tatsächlich als Grabschutuch des enthaupteten Johannes verehrt wird.”

⁶⁸ Rivka Feldhay, “Religion,” in *The Cambridge History of Science, vol. 3, Early Modern Science*, Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 727-755, 746. Works by Copernicus and Galileo were left off the 1835 Index of Forbidden Books that year.

⁶⁹ Richard G. Olson, “Auguste Comte and Positivism” and “The Rise of Materialisms and the Reshaping of

Aachen event. The project ends in 1937 for two reasons. First, this date delimits the continuity of pilgrim belief through the nineteenth century and into the Third Reich because the next major Rhineland pilgrimage occurred after the Nazi regime collapsed. Second, World War II marks a rupture for Aachen and Trier pilgrimages. Trier never drew as many pilgrims as in 1933, for example, and at least 800,000 pilgrims traveled to Aachen in 1937. Trier did not hold another pilgrimage until 1959, fourteen years after the end of the Second World War. This study ends when the pilgrimages are at their peak. The postwar pilgrimage story is a narrative of new forms of clerical adjustment, including increasing Christian ecumenicism and inter-faith dialogue.

In Trier, pilgrims visited the Holy Coat of Jesus.⁷⁰ The Holy Coat is a dull, reddish brown. Jesus would have worn the Coat externally, held around his waist by a belt.⁷¹ According to Trier Catholics, the Coat appears twice in the Gospels. In Matthew 9:20-22, a woman suffering from hemorrhage touched the Coat of Jesus as he passed by and she was healed. In John 19 Roman soldiers decided not to cut up the Coat, but to cast lots to determine which of them could keep the garment. Both of these moments are significant to pilgrims because they show that the relic was not divided and that it could physically heal the sick. Trier pilgrims encountered the Coat only in the cathedral.⁷² They walked past the altar and up the ambulatory, where the relic was exhibited. Depending on the year, pilgrims could either touch the relic

Religion and Politics,” in *Science and Scientism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 62-84, 122-163.

⁷⁰ Depending on the source, authors use Trier, Trèves, or Treves to refer to this city on the Moselle River. In the interest of uniformity, I have rendered any alternate spelling or use of Treves as Trier in this dissertation.

⁷¹ The German for the relic of Trier is: *Der Heilige Rock*. Most English translations on the topic use the term “robe,” “coat,” “shirt,” or “tunic,” this thesis will use Coat because it best captures the nature of the garment. The terms shirt and tunic imply that this item of clothing could be worn alone and do not capture the length of the Coat. Both robe and coat describe the fact that the garment was worn externally and likely held around the waist with a belt. I favor Coat over robe because the King James Version, American King James Version, American Standard Version, and Bible in Basic English translations all render the item in John 19:23 as a “coat” whereas only the New Living Translation uses “robe.”

⁷² There are many pilgrimages in the Rhineland, including the important pilgrim centers in Kevelaer, Mönchengladbach, and Cornelimünster. I assert that the Trier and Aachen events are illustrative of these other pilgrimage traditions.

themselves, or have a devotional item (*Andenken*) pressed against the fabric of the relic by a cleric.⁷³

This dissertation is comprised of six chapters. The first chapter, “Rending Religiosity,” explores the origins of clerical wariness vis-à-vis miracle claims and sets up the chronology for the project. In 1844, Johannes Ronge, a suspended Catholic priest from Silesia, abandoned Roman Catholicism to establish his own church, the German-Catholics.⁷⁴ In pamphlets and newspaper articles Ronge explained that he quit Catholicism because of the superstitions in Trier. These unfounded beliefs included claims of bodily healing in the presence of the Holy Coat. Ronge touched off a vigorous pamphlet debate across Germany about the place of Catholicism in society, about conceptions of miracle, about God. The Ronge incident influenced clerical rhetoric concerning relics in two major ways. First, as explored in Chapter Five, clergy regulated who could touch the relics. The clergy also required evidence from physicians and priests of preexisting conditions. Even then, pilgrimage authorities were hesitant to declare the healing power of relics. In 1891, Trier Bishop Michael Felix Korum forbade publications on miracles during that pilgrimage for three years so that his office could investigate claims of healing. Ronge’s schism ultimately collapsed, but after 1844, clergy also changed how they talked about the origins of relics.

The following three chapters, two through four, focus on the beliefs and practices of the laity. “Chapter Two: What They Practiced” examines three aspects of the pilgrimage experience: processions, songs, and prayers. These activities reveal two forms of religious devotion:

⁷³ I explain this point more fully in chapter 3, but it is worth noting here that half of this dissertation looks at how pilgrims incorporated relics into their lives, how pilgrims interrelate with sacred objects.

⁷⁴ The hyphenated, German-Catholic indicates Ronge’s new church in this chapter, as opposed to German Catholics, Germans who followed Roman Catholicism. In German, Ronge’s group was *Deutschkatholiken*, but rendering this as German Catholics is too clunky.

spontaneous and scripted. Clergy taught pilgrims how to behave and how to be devout. At the same time, participants made these practices their own. This chapter also argues that Catholics used processions to sacralize profane space. At the closing ceremonies of pilgrimages, Aachen officials paraded the four main relics around the *Altstadt* (old city). They took the sacred center to the people, who lined the procession route by the thousands. By recovering the outlooks, beliefs, and divine inclinations of pilgrims to Trier, this chapter urges scholars to nuance the feminization of religion thesis in the nineteenth century.⁷⁵ Men were integral participants in Trier and Aachen, they guarded the relics; marched with their clubs and societies; visited relics for physical cures; volunteered to help coordinate the events; and engaged in pamphlet debates in defense of pilgrimage practices. It is true that women were more likely to fill pews on Sundays, but men remained heavily involved in the public aspects of Catholic religiosity.

Chapter Three shifts away from external practices in order to examine pilgrim bodies. Scholars have struggled to make sense of European Catholic miracle claims in the modern period and have offered highly varied explanations.⁷⁶ “Transcending the Body” shows that between

⁷⁵ On the feminization thesis, see Hugh McLeod, “Weibliche Frömmigkeit – männliche Unglaube?: Religion und Kirche im bürgerlichen 19. Jahrhundert” in *Bürgerinnen und Bürger. Geschlechtsverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert, zwölf Beiträge*, Ute Frevert (ed.) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988): 134-156; Derek K. Hastings, “Fears of a Feminized Church: Catholicism, Clerical Celibacy, and the Crisis of Masculinity in Wilhelmine Germany,” *European History Quarterly* 28(34) (2008): 34-65. For an account of the anxiety caused by this phenomenon see Anthony J. Steinhoff, “A Feminized Church? The Campaign for Women’s Suffrage in Alsace-Lorraine’s Protestant Churches, 1907-1914,” *Central European History* 38(2) (2005): 218-249. Steinhoff begins his article with “On Sundays, most members of a church’s chapel’s congregation were women. Women received communion more assiduously than their male counterparts,” (218). This argument is not limited to German Catholicism, on the feminization of German Judaism see Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). On French Catholicism see Caroline Ford, *Divided Houses: Religion and Gender in Modern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005). This historiography is in line with Charles Taylor’s “secularity 2,” or declining church attendance.

⁷⁶ Andrea Dahlberg, for instance, argued that theological differences between Protestants and Catholics concerning the body accounted for why British Catholics visited Lourdes in the 1980s. For Catholics, “kinship relations are simultaneously human and divine.” In her anthropological approach, Dahlberg found that sick pilgrims held British pilgrimage groups together, because the “concept of the sick pilgrim as being closer to the sacred and hence more valuable.” Andrea Dahlberg, “The body as a principle of holism: Three pilgrimages to Lourdes” in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow (eds.) (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000): 30-50, 48. In the historiography, Ruth Harris has been most sympathetic toward cure-seekers. Aachen and Trier are unique from Lourdes because neither town had a permanent bureau to investigate miracle

1832 and 1937 the number of sick pilgrims traveling to Aachen and Trier with the hope of attaining a miracle steadily increased and peaked in the 1930s. By exploring the range of ailments these pilgrims endured and the demographics of cure seekers, Chapter Three reveals the liminal expectations of participants. This speaks to a key argument of this project: the persistence of divine presence for pilgrims to Aachen and Trier. That is, their divine-oriented worldview informed their understanding of the universe. Sick pilgrims had to travel to the relics and for many the painful journey was an act of atonement, an essential element of the miracle experience.

But not all who wanted to travel to Aachen and Trier had the leisure, strength, and money necessary for a trip. These would-be pilgrims wrote to pilgrimage officials with the hope that they could still gain access to the divine presence of the Rhineland relics, even without traveling. Their requests constitute a central source base for “Chapter Four: The Sacred Economy.” These petitioners sought items that had directly touched a relic. They called these items *Andenken*, or remembrances. Letter-writers asked for *Andenken* for a wide range of purposes, including, converting a loved one; physical healing; job security. In response to the expanding *Andenken*-based sacred economy, Church officials tried to control what items pilgrims could purchase. They also pressured city officials to regulate vendor stands, in an attempt to monitor where pilgrims could acquire *Andenken*. This chapter explores the people involved with the sacred economy to argue that *Andenken* were a key component of the German Catholic system of meaning.⁷⁷ Through *Andenken*, mental, or “indirect” pilgrims accessed Rhineland sacred centers.

claims. I also analyze miracle claims in the context of the body, what Catholics believed could happen to them if they drew close enough to the divine in the relics; whereas Harris considers cure-seekers in terms of the “self.”

⁷⁷ Rudy Koshar has noted that tourism was both a product and a critique of the market. The “Sacred Economy” responded to changes in the German market: industrialization, mass produced objects, etc. but letter-writers did not care about the form of the object, but about whether or not it had touched a relic. See Rudy Koshar, “‘What Ought to be Seen’: Tourists’ Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 33(3) (July 1998): 323-340. See also Rudy Koshar ed., *Histories of Leisure: Leisure, Consumption, and*

The fact that they were only indirectly participating did not matter to the correspondents, who found in the *Andenken* an authentic, direct interaction with the divine.

Clergy could, however, control who touched relics with their hands and who spent individual time with the five sacred objects. Between 1832 and 1937 sick pilgrims found access to the relic more difficult to attain. After 1844, clergy put checks on the cult of miracles. These included requiring two notes, one from a priest, and one from a physician. These statements had to confirm that the pilgrim was sick and had not recently been treated by contemporary medicine. The notes had to show that if the pilgrim got better it was a miraculous recovery. By the 1933 Trier pilgrimage, the sick had to fill out elaborate questionnaires that inquired into family medical histories. Chapter Five: “Clerical Crossroads,” argues that the clerical restrictions placed on relic access revealed an emerging gap between popular, lay beliefs and the clergy. In nineteenth-century German Catholicism there was a centralization of the divine. After 1844, clergy insisted that the laity not publicly speak about potential cures until “experts” had verified pilgrim claims. Clergy were wary of being mocked and to avoid scandal they simultaneously restricted what pilgrims could say about their own bodies and expanded their acceptable sources of truth to include non-Catholic medical specialists.

The second shift in clerical rhetoric after 1844 concerned the historical origins of Rhineland relics. Clergy moved away from purely biblical explanations of how biblical objects came to be in the Rhineland.⁷⁸ For church officials, authenticity could no longer be backed by popular evidence like Matthew 9:20-21, “And a woman who had been suffering from a

Culture (New York: Berg, 2002). Koshar notes “there is precious little scholarship that shows how the work of leisure is often dependent on artifacts and objects to bear on it.” (19) This chapter links a form of travel, pilgrimage, and its artifacts, the *Andenken*.

⁷⁸ Here I take issue with Rebecca Ayako Bennette’s claim that “Catholics became defensive, turned inward, and separated themselves from the rest of German society.” See Rebecca Ayako Bennette, “Threatened Protestants: Confessional Conflict in the Rhine Province and Westphalia during the Nineteenth Century,” *German History* 26(2) (2008): 168-19, 169. In the case of Rhineland clerics, this seems to not be the case.

hemorrhage for twelve years, came up behind Him and touched the fringe of His outer garment; for she was saying to herself, ‘If I only touch His garment, I will get well.’”⁷⁹ Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, clergy used extra-biblical evidence to explain the authenticity of relics. Clergy added new proofs to their pamphlets and homilies; archaeological evidence, and elaborate fiber analyses, for example. Chapter Six: “Historical Authenticity as Presence” shows how clerical rhetoric about relics moved from these objects being literal garments from the lives of Jesus, John the Baptist, and Mary, to being symbols of Catholic unity. This shift, away from the divine presence of the relics, and toward their origins in *Urgeschichte* (prehistory) is the final aspect of the third dissertation argument. Clergy moved away from laity in the realm of religiosity even as the Catholic milieu drew closer together politically.⁸⁰

Ultimately, this project is driven by three objectives: 1) to generate a history of one facet of Catholic religious experience from the perspective of the participants, in this case the pilgrims to Aachen and Trier; 2) to argue that German Catholic laity, between 1832 and 1937 sought out divine presence, that is, transcendent connections via Rhineland relics; and 3) to argue that even as German Catholics were increasingly politically united over the nineteenth century, important rifts between clerical and lay religious expectations persisted after 1844. In other words, I seek to show the texture of the Catholic “milieu” in the context of pilgrimage practices. The following chapter addresses the third point, Johannes Ronge, a suspended priest from Laurahütte launched a bitter attack against the Trier Coat and Bishop Arnoldi in 1844 that led to a schism within German Catholicism. Ronge’s dissenting opinions and his criticisms that threatened to rend the

⁷⁹ Bible Gateway, NASB, (Accessed 15 April 2014).

⁸⁰ On the politicization of public life in the Rhineland see James Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Brophy argues that in the Rhineland, a modern political public and public sphere emerged not only via bourgeois associational life and elite reading practices, but also through the dynamic communal life and changing reading patterns of the popular classes.

fabric of pilgrimage practices are the subject of the following chapter.

Chapter 1
Rending Religiosity: Johannes Ronge and the 1840s Trier Controversy

Introduction

On Easter Sunday, March 31, 2013, newly elected Pope Francis I greeted Catholics with a video message as part of a media exhibition of the Shroud of Turin. For the first time since 1973 the Shroud appeared on television. This visual presentation, on Italy-based Rai TV, coincided with the launch of a new smart phone app that offered unprecedented digital images of the garment. In his address, Pope Francis was cautious, calling the cloth an “icon” that “speaks to our heart.” The pontiff skillfully avoided the label “relic.” The Vatican has never acknowledged the Turin Shroud as authentic, in part because scientific testing shows the burial cloth to be only 700-800 years old, too young to have served as Jesus’ covering 2000 years ago.¹

This trepidation about the authenticity of the shroud, however, is not simply a result of high definition cameras and scientific testing. Much the same could be seen during the exhibition of the Holy Coat of Trier 150 years prior. In 1844, German Catholics faced severe criticism from Johannes Ronge, a suspended priest, for hosting a pilgrimage. Ronge’s critiques set off a public Church debate - about pilgrimage, relics, and Catholic tradition - that continued to resonate through the nineteenth century. Thus, in 1891, Ludwig Henning, a critic of Trier, triumphantly announced that 600,000 people left the Catholic Church in 1844 because of the sham display of the Coat of Jesus. “One would think that 1844 would have been the last pilgrimage,” he noted, but no, already in 1887 Bishop Korum made known his intention once more to show the Trier relic. Now, Henning went on, the Enlightenment of the nineteenth century was endangered. Reason would have to take cover during the upcoming six-week-long display of the Trier Holy Coat. Henning believed there was no option in 1891 but to republish Ronge’s letter and open old wounds. For Henning, Ronge had previously laid bare several of the problems of the Trier

¹ See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-21984018> (Accessed 1 April 2013).

pilgrimage, including the inauthenticity of the Coat. Henning hoped that he, as a freethinking individual, could further illuminate Ronge's criticisms of the historical origins of the Coat. The Ronge controversy in Trier was a microcosm of European Christendom, Henning believed. The Christian churches were coming to an end and Catholicism had staked its final survival on a confrontation with the sciences.²

For many Catholic clerics, if they could make Ronge not-Catholic, or "Protestant," they could simultaneously preserve the practice of pilgrimage and relics as a legitimate means of reaching the divine. However, if Ronge succeeded and convinced Catholics to turn away from the Trier Coat he removed a Catholic connection to God. Thus, for clergy, this public struggle had large consequences for the future of Catholicism. Ronge's attack on the Trier Coat led to an increased defensiveness on the part of Rhineland clergy. Church officials redressed the potential for relics to heal bodies by reining in public declarations of miraculous transformations (see "Transcending the Body.") At the same time, clerics responded by presenting their relics as genuine artifacts of the first century, or, at the very least by suggesting such Church treasures were potentially genuine. Although clerics strongly refuted Ronge on Scriptural and theological grounds, they also internalized Ronge's critiques.³ After 1844, clergy worked to present pilgrimage as reasonable and avoided opening themselves up to potential future attacks.

Catholic clergy and Ronge supporters struggled to establish the parameters of "Protestant" and "Catholic."⁴ The Ronge debate points to the fluidity of labels, and the strong

² Ludwig Henning, *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier im Jahre 1844 und 1891 mit einem Anhang: Offener Brief Johannes Ronge's an den Tetzels des 19. Jahrhunderts, Bischof Arnoldi von Trier, vom 1. October 1844* (Berlin: Verlag von W. Rubenow, 1891), 19, "Die Kirche sieht und fühlt, daß es mit ihrem Reich allmählich zu Ende geht, indem ihr ein unbezwingbarer Gegner in den Wissenschaften erwachsen ist."

³ This second point is the topic of chapter six, "Historical Authenticity as Presence," but is important to keep in mind during the current chapter.

⁴ By illuminating the opaqueness of the Protestant/Catholic distinction during this moment of heated religious debate in the nineteenth century, this section cautions historians about the usefulness of "confession" as a demarcation of a particular theological milieu. The debates surrounding the term "confessionalization" are expansive and cannot be

reaction against violating the norms of an ideal group. For example, Catholic bishops were horrified and outraged over the fact that Ronge signed his open letter as “a Catholic priest.” Johannes Ronge had a long history of conflict with his Catholic superiors.⁵ As a seminarian he was reprimanded for improper dress and “unsuitably long hair.”⁶ And nearly two years before his confrontation with Arnoldi, on 30 January 1843, Ronge was suspended from the priesthood because of an article he published that criticized the Pope’s interference with selecting the bishop of Breslau.⁷ Ronge and his detractors struggled for divine presence; the stakes were the legitimate means of accessing the sacred and eternal salvation. Ronge’s success meant the disestablishment of *Andenken* (see Chapter Four) and the removal of physical transformation, physical crossings into the divine. Catholic clerics fought to uphold their *divine presence* - God in the world, the Trier Coat.⁸ During the Ronge debate clergy presented the Coat as a literal, authentic garment of Christ. Later in the nineteenth century, clerics became much more cautious symbolic in their rhetoric about Rhineland relics.

dealt with here, however, for an introduction to confessionalization see the H-German discussion, which can be found online at: http://www.h-net.org/~german/discuss/Confessionalization/Confess_index.htm. This includes a defense by Marc Forster of the confessionalization paradigm. Forster defines confessionalization as, “policies aimed at creating religious unity, a disciplined clergy, a financially solvent church, and a pious and obedient population.” See Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3. Recently, German historians have debated whether or not this term is useful for the modern period, for examples see Olaf Blaschke’s article collection: Olaf Blaschke (ed.) *Konfessionen im Konflikt: Deutschland zwischen 1800 und 1970: ein zweites konfessionelles Zeitalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2002). In this collection Martin Friedrich doubts the utility of “confessionalization” in part because Blaschke treats too many different groups as a “confession”, most notably atheists. For Blaschke’s affirmation that there was a “second confessional age” between 1817 and 1960 see: Olaf Blaschke, “Das 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Zweites Konfessionelles Zeitalter?” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 1 (Jan-Mar., 2000): 38-75.

⁵ For Ronge’s interpretation of what he was attempting to accomplish, see his defense in Johannes Ronge, *The Holy Coat of Treves and the New German Catholic Church* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845). What follows is drawn from the article itself (also appears in the previously cited work).

⁶ Ronge, *Holy Coat of Treves*, 86.

⁷ Steinruck, “Die Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt von 1844,” 309.

⁸ This chapter in some ways perpetuates the problem of the labels “Protestant” and “Catholic.” One of the main challenges here is that many pamphlets are anonymously written, and not all of the anonymous authors explicitly claim membership to a Protestant or Catholic community. However, for the most part I use the terms when they are self-appointed titles. When referring to “Catholic clergy,” I mean the consensus among the pamphlets claiming authorship by a Catholic deacon, priest, or pastor.

Ronge did garner some thousands of followers in his rebellion against Rome.⁹ News of the Ronge controversy spread swiftly and pamphlets on the topic sold quickly. The *Lyser und Ronge* tract, for example, sold 300 copies within a few weeks.¹⁰ The Leipziger Reclam-Verlag sold 50,000 copies of Ronge's anti-pilgrimage letter in just 14 days.¹¹ Historian Wolfgang Frühwald maintains that the pamphlets were oriented toward an educated audience (*gebildetes Publikum*). On first glance this appears to be the case because of the authors' theological orientation and emphasis on Church fathers and philosophers. However, this perspective ignores the fact that the laity were often exposed to anti-Ronge arguments and that Ronge's German-Catholic movement attracted 70-80,000 followers in 230 communities at its peak in 1847.¹² Several pamphlets against Ronge's positions were actually priests' published homilies.¹³ Furthermore, Church publications, including weekly bulletins and diocesan newsletters, also addressed the Ronge controversy and instructed German Catholics on how to respond to criticism of Catholicism from Ronge sympathizers. Thus, in the 1840s, and in some cases even into the end of the nineteenth century, German laity were taught about Ronge and invariably drew their own conclusions. However, such lay dispositions are not readily available for analysis and were not as prominent in the public sphere (or the archives) as the pamphlet debates between Trier supporters and critics. The authors of several anonymous pamphlets styled themselves as

⁹ Annette Kuhn, "Deutschkatholiken," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981), 559-566, 561.

¹⁰ Wolfgang Frühwald, "Die Wallfahrt nach Trier: Zur historischen Einordnung einer Streitschrift von Joseph Görres," in *Verführung zur Geschichte. Festschrift zum 500. Jahrestag der Eröffnung einer Universität in Trier 1473-1973*, Georg Droege, Wolfgang Frühwald, Ferdinand Pauly (eds.) (Trier: NCO-Verlag, 1973): 366-382, 367 ff. 3. "Das im Titel genannte 'Sendschreiben an Johannes Ronge in Laurahütte. Von einem katholische Laien' wurde innerhalb weniger Wochen in einer Auflage von 300 Exemplaren verkauft, obwohl es sich, wie die Mehrzahl der Flugschriften "nur" an das "gebildete Publikum" richtete. Vgl. die Verlagsanzeigen im Anhang der Schrift "Lyser und Ronge".

¹¹ Josef Steinruck, "Die Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt von 1844 und Die Entstehung des Deutschkatholizismus," in *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi*, Erich Aretz, Michael Embach, Martin Persch, Franz Ronig (eds.) (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995), 307-322, 311.

¹² Steinruck, "Die Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt von 1844," 312-313. See also Kuhn, "Deutschkatholiken," 561.

¹³ Eines katholischen Laien, *Lyser und Ronge und der Rationalismus in seinem Verhältnisse zu den neuesten Religionsfragen* (Würzburg: Verlag von Voigt & Mocker, 1845).

non-members of the clergy, as “a Catholic,” “a Catholic layman,” or “a pilgrim from Koblenz.”¹⁴

Yet, these perspectives were the minority and, while often anonymous, they tend to show a remarkable grasp of church history and the writings theologians such as Aquinas, Polycarp, or Origen. This expertise suggests at the least scholarly training or clerical influence.

The exchange between Ronge and German clergy about the origins and credibility of the Trier Coat also appeared in popular literature. In December 1844, Leipzig-based satirical *Charivari* mocked the Trier relic by depicting it as a plain jacket hung up over Trier. Accompanying this image the editors included a poem by S. Zed in which three competing coats claimed to be the true garment of Jesus. The first coat posed a question to the other two: am I the correct Coat because I was present for the first miracle of Jesus at the feast of Canaan? No, asserts the second, the true garment, itself, has been approved as authentic by the Papacy. The final Coat noted that it was present for Jesus’ ascension on the Mount of Olives and sarcastically stated that Jesus left it behind to do miracles on the earth. At the end of the poem God looks down and laughs at the eccentricities of humanity. God wonders why Catholics chose the Trier relic and not some other garment, like the Cologne coat.¹⁵ Jacob Marx’s notes on 1844 homilies are one more example of the public nature of the Ronge incident.¹⁶ Pilgrims to Trier were warned about “liberalism” and “unbelieving hearts.” One priest blasted the “new Enlightenment, new Bildung ... new Humanity” of the nineteenth century. Priests taught that Ronge was a

¹⁴ See Eines katholischen Laien, *Lyser und Ronge und der Rationalismus in seinem Verhältnisse zu den neuesten Religionsfragen* (Würzburg: Verlag von Voigt & Mocker, 1845).; Anon, *Luther und Ronge, oder Aufklärungen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert zum Verständniss des 19. Zugleich als Widerlegung der Schmähchrift* (Neuß: Verlag von Jacob Hüsgen, 1845).; Mathias Schubach, *Der heilige Rock in Trier und kein anderer, oder die kritischen Schneider in Bonn, d.i. Ungelehrte Widerlegung d. gelehrten Buches: Der hl. Rock zu Trier und die 20 anderen hl. ungenähten Rocke von J. Gildemeister u.H.v. Sybel. Von eine Koblenzer Pilger* (Koblenz: Blum, 1844).

¹⁵ Eduard Maria Oettinger, (ed.) “Die streitende Röcke Gedicht mit erklärenden und sehr belehrenden, vom Verfasser gezeichneten Holzschnitten. Nebst einem historisch-kritischen Anhang von S. Zed” *Charivari* 116 (16. December 1844): 1841-1845, 1845. I address the criticism that there were multiple coats and this pluralism negated Trier in a separate chapter on authenticity.

¹⁶ Marx used his summations to help him write his 1844 pamphlet (see below).

spokesman of such “unbound” and shortsighted philosophies that threatened Catholic beliefs and institutions.¹⁷

The Marx and *Charivari* writings indicate that the laity had multiple means of accessing the debate about the origins and tradition of the Trier relic. Thus, this chapter indirectly illuminates the nineteenth-century pilgrim’s worldview. The sheer number and variety of pamphlets suggests Catholics were often exposed to the opinions of both Ronge and his detractors. Furthermore, pamphlet authors often fixed on the laity. Mauritius Moritz blasted Ronge’s “hateful fantasy” that the pilgrims to Trier were ignorant.¹⁸ Moritz also reasserted that Catholics are taught to view the Coat as a *symbol* of Jesus. Another pamphlet author explicitly stated that he wrote his tract because so many faithful Catholics were exposed to Ronge’s ideas.¹⁹

Johannes Ronge’s confrontation with Catholic religiosity shook the upper echelons of German Catholicism and inspired a virulent pamphlet war throughout German-speaking Europe. On one side stood Ronge and his supporters. They contended that the worship of relics was paganism, an anti-Biblical practice that betrayed the rotten foundations of the Roman curia and revealed the Catholic Church’s greed. Opposite them, Bishop Arnoldi, Catholic theologians, and priests depicted Ronge as a betrayer of his faith, a divider of not only Catholicism but of German society, an uninformed, bitter man who was not intelligent enough to graduate from Catholic seminary. The chronology for this analysis spans roughly six years, from Johannes Ronge’s initial criticism of the Trier pilgrimage in the *Sächsische Vaterlandsblätter* on 1 October 1844

¹⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 69-70, #22-23.

¹⁸ Mauritius Moritz, *Offenes Schreiben an Herrn Johannes Ronge in Laurahütte, den in Trier aufgestellten heiligen Rock betreffend*. (Köln: E. Welter, 1844), 6-7.

¹⁹ J. Vecqueray, *Der Aufruf des Herrn Joh. Ronge und Würdigung desselben. Ein Sendschreiben für Jedermann. Von dem Verf. Mein Weg zu Gott!* (Koblenz: J. Heinrich Müller, 1844), 5.

through the end of 1850, by which time Ronge had lost momentum in his drive to establish a new, specifically German, form of Catholicism.

In “Rending Religiosity,” I set 1844 as a chronological break for how German clergy presented and defended pilgrimage practices. This is also the first of three clerically-centered chapters.²⁰ These three chapters advance two overarching arguments of the dissertation. First, that the chasm between popular belief and clerical expectations persisted and widened through the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century. Although clerics in the Rhineland were alarmed that Ronge, supposedly one of their own, was trying to lure Catholics away from the church, their reaction was overblown, and not proportionate to the minimal threat Ronge’s German-Catholics represented.²¹ The gap between popular priorities and clerical concentrations also suggests that pilgrimage, due to its irregular occurrence, occupied a unique place in German Catholic life, separate from lay organizations and sodalities. Clergy viewed clubs as counterproductive, as promoting alcoholism and lax religious behavior. In response, priests set up sodalities dedicated to the Virgin in which immoral members could be expelled.²² In other words, between 1815 and 1871 clergy worked to direct Catholic associational life and were largely successful. However, laity did not so readily follow clerical conceptions of relics after 1844. Second, Catholic hierarchy strove to present themselves as legitimate members of the German “nation.” In the present chapter, this clerical affirmation is reflected in the defensive

²⁰ This dissertation, and this chapter, are in part a response to Graf’s call for more research on the varied topography of belief within European religion. See Friedrich Wilhelm Graf, “Euro-Gott im starken Plural? Einige Fragestellungen für eine europäische Religionsgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift für moderne europäische Geschichte* 3(2) (2005): 231-256, esp. 248-250.

²¹ The hyphenated, German-Catholic indicates Ronge’s new church in this chapter, as opposed to German Catholics, Germans who followed Roman Catholicism. In German, Ronge’s group was titled either “deutsch=Katholiken” or “Deutschkatholiken,” but rendering this as German Catholics is too clunky.

²² Sperber, in a study of Catholic associations in the Rhineland pointed out how clerics moved into leadership positions in Catholic associational life, a process that began in the *Vormärz* and continued through unification. Jonathan Sperber, “The Transformation of Catholic Associations in the Northern Rhineland and Westphalia 1830-1870,” *Journal of Social History* 15(2) (Winter 1981): 253-263, 256.

responses to Ronge's assertion that pilgrimage worked to divide modern German society. This priestly assertion is also visible in the Catholic Church's appeals to German Protestants for assistance in refuting Ronge's heresies.

Following Ronge's attacks, Rhineland clerics wanted Catholicism to seem compatible with "Germanness," and desired to avoid attracting negative attention. Historians have worked to find a place for Catholicism in German society since Anderson and Barkin's call for a new analysis of the nineteenth century.²³ Following up on their critique, Jonathan Sperber noted that within German history scholars were still tempted to show favoritism toward their own personal confession or to treat Protestantism and Catholicism separately.²⁴ More recently, Kevin Cramer has brought Protestants and Catholics together in his study of the legacy of the Thirty Years War among German historians in the nineteenth century. Cramer argued that scholars took confessional lines when looking at the conflict; both sides hoped to make their sacrifice the most legitimate because such justifications were tied into the Protestant hope for a *Kleindeutsch* state solution and the Catholic desire to incorporate Austria into a *Grossdeutschland*.²⁵ Recently,

²³ Margaret Lavinia Anderson and Kenneth Barkin, "The Myth of the Puttkamer Purge and the Reality of the Kulturkampf: Some Reflections on the Historiography of Imperial Germany," *The Journal of Modern History* 54(4) (December 1982): 647-686. Anderson and Barkin criticize historians for neglecting Catholics and Catholic institutions because they did "not fit easily into their premodern versus modern dichotomy, nor into the bourgeois versus proletarian categories that are the Marxisant variant of the same theme." (677).

²⁴ Jonathan Sperber, "Kirchengeschichte or the Social and Cultural History of Religion?" *Neue Politische Literatur*, Jg. 43 (1998): 13-35, esp. 27-29.

²⁵ Kevin Cramer, *The Thirty Years' War and German Memory in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). For an extension of the analysis of the Catholic historian milieu see Oded Heilbrunner, "The Place of Catholic Historians and Catholic Historiography in Nazi Germany," *The Historical Association and Blackwell Publishing Ltd.* (2003): 280-292. Heilbrunner finds that Catholic historians were excited about the National Socialists because it seemed to reverse the Protestant hegemony since 1871. The NSDAP calls for a return to the Holy Roman Empire and the old Reich appealed to Catholic historians. These historians attempted to legitimize the regime by saying the medieval church was a bridge between the Reich and Catholicism. On the process of "becoming historical" within the Prussian academy see John Edward Toewes, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Oliver Zimmer has examined the relationship of Catholicism to liberalism and found the assumption that liberalism is a predominantly Protestant identity marker problematic.²⁶

Unlike these previous analyses, this chapter explores German Catholicism, and inter-Christian tensions before the *Kulturkampf* and Unification. Also, I focus specifically on clerics in the 1840s, who in 1844-45 addressed themselves to fellow Catholics and theological critics. Thus priests used Scripture and the Church fathers to show that they were loyal potential citizens; clergy imagined a Catholic civics. “Rending Religiosity” also complements previous studies of the nineteenth century by offering a glimpse into the religious situation of the early decades of the period.²⁷ As early as the 1840s, Catholic clergy in the Rhineland were anxious about their place in society. They feared that a new radical reformer, like Ronge, could upset their position and lead to an unraveling of the Peace of Westphalia, or incite anti-Catholic sentiment. They also worried that Ronge was a new type of threat, that he took reform even beyond Protestantism and threatened to plunge Central Europe into relativism. In other words, in this chapter clergy struggle to bring together established Catholic practices, such as pilgrimage and physical healing through relics, and German society.

Ronge’s Life

²⁶ Oliver Zimmer, “Beneath the ‘Culture War’: Corpus Christi Processions and Mutual Accommodation in the Second German Empire.” *The Journal of Modern History* 82 (June 2010): 288-334. Zimmer suggests that even though there is plenty of confessional antagonism between Catholics and Protestants there was ground for “mutual accommodation” between these groups at the end of the nineteenth century. He also challenges the association of Protestants to liberalism and reminds historians that there were plenty of energetic Catholic liberals. Michael Gross previously argued that there was an inherently anti-Catholic sentiment among German liberals after 1848. See Michael B. Gross, “The Strange Case of the Nun in the Dungeon, or German Liberalism as a Convent Atrocity Story,” *German Studies Review* 23(1) (February 2000): 69-84.

²⁷ For a Marxist interpretation of Ronge and his movement see, Günter Kolbe, “Demokratische Opposition in religiösem Gewande. Zur Geschichte der deutschkatholischen Bewegung in Sachsen am Vorabend der Revolution von 1848/49,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 20 (1972): 1102-1112.

The opening shots in the Holy Coat of Trier pamphlet skirmish came from Ronge's published criticisms on 1 October 1844 in the *Sächsische Vaterlandsblätter*. In his article, Ronge attacked the bishop of Trier, Wilhelm Arnoldi, and the practice of pilgrimage.²⁸ The Ronge writings came as a surprise to Catholics primarily because the critique originated from a self-professed Catholic priest, from one of their own who lashed out at Catholic religious practices with seminarian-style arguments. The suspended priest spoke out in order to give voice to the "millions" who, like him, were disgusted by what they heard was happening in Trier.²⁹ Ronge, for his part, was succinct in his descriptions of what he found most repelling about the "unworthy pageant" of Trier.³⁰ The spectacle of the 1844 pilgrimage was too much fanaticism and superstition, "the busy commerce of the city, and even the harvest labours of the field were silent-everything like this world's occupations and concerns were all alike neglected, to give pomp and emphasis to the sad spectacle of men's faith deceived and led astray by a piece of an old garment."³¹ Ronge presented two broad critiques of pilgrimage: first, that it was heresy and superstition; second, that it was a scam to enrich the local German Catholic authorities.

Two months after his excommunication from the Roman Catholic Church, Ronge developed his own twenty-two point creed, announced after German-Catholic meetings on 11 and 16 February 1845. Ronge's credal declaration affirmed his criticisms of Arnoldi and

²⁸ Ronge's writing first appeared as a newspaper article: *Sächsische Vaterlands-Blättern*, 4. Jhrg., Nr. 164, 1. October 1844. The article was reprinted in the *Frankfurter Journal*, Nr. 300. Ronge supporters also reprinted the pamphlet to spread Ronge's message, see, for example, Robert Blum, *Johannes Ronge's offenes Sendschreiben an den Bischof Arnoldi zu Trier. Ferner: Der Kampf zwischen Licht u. Finsterniß*. (Offenbach am Main: Ph. Wagner, 1845).; Ludwig Henning, *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier im Jahre 1844 und 1891 mit einem Anhang: Offener Brief Johannes Ronge's an den Tetzels des 19. Jahrhunderts, Bischof Arnoldi von Trier, vom 1. October 1844* (Berlin: Verlag von W. Rubenow, 1891), 21-24. The article is also available in the Trier church archives, see BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, Folie 1.

²⁹ Ronge, *Urtheil*, 6.

³⁰ Johannes Ronge, *Schreiben des katholischen Pfarrers Johannes Ronge an den Bischof Arnoldi von Trier, den Heiligen Rock betreffend* (Braunschweig: F.M. Meinecke, 1844), 4, "unwürdigen Schauspiele".

³¹ Ronge, *Holy Coat of Treves*, 14.

Catholicism. Ronge signaled his complete departure from the Church in the first article, “We declare ourselves free from the Roman Bishop and all of his subjoinders.”³² Further tenets of the German-Catholic faith included the right to knowledge and free thought; Scripture as the foundation of Christian belief; the denial of spiritual authorities’ right to interfere with research into and interpretation of Scripture. For obvious reasons, Ronge wanted to avoid a hierarchical structure with the power to excommunicate. German-Catholics maintained that there were only two sacraments: baptism (they affirmed infant baptism), and the Lord’s Supper. German-Catholics received communion in both kinds (bread and wine) and regarded this act as symbolic. They rejected transsubstantiation and the need for confession as part of the Last Supper sacrament. Ronge and his followers also banned mediators between humanity and God (besides Jesus), fasting, and feast days. The only holidays were to be those of the nation, and the only laws came from the state as well. The congregation selected the pastor in this community, although the services barely deviated from the Catholic Mass. Finally, new members could join by simply reciting the new creed in front of the congregation. Many of Ronge’s reforms echo those of sixteenth-century reformers, most notably his affirmation of only two sacraments. Treumund, a Protestant supporter of Ronge’s break with Rome, concluded his account of the early history of German-Catholics by wondering if Protestantism had just won another group of fellow believers. He found a kindred spirit in Ronge.³³

By December 1844, the official Church paper for the southern Rhine and Hessen informed Catholics that Ronge was no longer a Catholic priest and that he had already been

³² Treumund, *Die Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 31, “Wir sagen uns los vom römischen Bischof und seinem ganzen Anhang.”

³³ Treumund, *Die Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 38, “der wir von ganzem Herzen das schnellste und dauerndste gedeihen wünschen, nehmen möge, wir, d.h. wir Lutheraner und Reformirte, mit einem Worte, wir Protestanten haben an ihnen jetzt Geistesverwandte, wer weiß ob in der Zukunft nicht vielleicht gar Brüder gewonnen.”

suspended in Silesia in 1843, “all Catholic priests, as previously his cohort and fellow students, chaplains, disowned him, and had no more community with him.”³⁴ Ronge refused to recant his criticisms of his clerical superiors and was excommunicated in December 1844.³⁵ His former superiors, the Silesian clerics were most offended by the fact that Ronge dared to name them his colleagues and signed his anti-Trier letter as “a Catholic priest.”³⁶ Ronge, the bulletin ensured the faithful, was now barely a Christian, only retaining the irrevocable baptism into the faith that a Christian convert to Islam or Judaism would also never lose. Ronge was on an equal footing with those who renounced Christianity in favor of a separate monotheistic faith.³⁷

Ronge’s assault on the Trier hierarchy led to momentary fame and a speaking tour in 1845. He received warm welcomes in Frankfurt a.M., Weimar, and Königsberg, but Ronge encountered problems beginning in Oberschwaben, where farmers blamed him for their weak potato crop. Afterwards, a crowd attempted to hurl Ronge into the river in Koblenz. And in his home town, Bischofswalde in Neisse, Ronge was shouted down and locals pelted him with a hail of stones in June 1845. During this encounter Ronge’s brother was bloodied and a local policeman suffered wounds to his head.³⁸ From there Ronge’s situation continued to deteriorate.

³⁴ H. Himioben ed., *Katholische Sonntagsblätter zur Belehrung und Erbauung. Zu Vereine mit der Geistlichkeit der Diöcesen Fulda, Limburg, Mainz und Speier* 41 (22. Dec. 1844), 413. “Wo er sich seitdem auch aufgehalten haben mag, so viel ist gewiß, daß er nicht hat wagen dürfen, geistliche Funktionen zu verrichten, und daß alle katholischen Geistlichen, wie früher schon seine Alters- und Studiengenossen, die Kapläne, sich von ihm losgesagt und keinerlei Gemeinschaft mehr mit ihm gehabt haben.”

³⁵ F. Treumund (d.i. Eduard Sparfeld), *Die Geschichte des heiligen Rockes zu Trier. Ronge und Czersky, Wort und That, Gegenwort und Zukunft* (Leipzig: Pönicke und Sohn, 1845). Treumund reports the contents of the declaration, 31-35. For more on New Catholics and their relationship to Roman Catholics see: Helmut Walser Smith, (ed.) *Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in Germany, 1800–1914* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

³⁶ *Katholische Sonntagsblätter zur Belehrung*, “Aber der Umstand, daß Ronge sich einen katholischen Prieseter nennt, seinen Artikel aus der Mitte des katholischen Oberschlesiens datirt, daß andere Zeitungen ihn gar für einen katholischen Pfarrer ausgeben, der mit seinen Ansichten gewiß Anklang finden würde, und endlich, daß derselbe am Schlusse seinen Aufruf an seine Amtsgenossen (katholische Seelsorger?) richtet, dieß zwingt uns im Interesse der Wahrheit und um uns vor Schande zu schützen, Folgendes mitzutheilen.”

³⁷ *Katholische Sonntagsblätter zur Belehrung*, “und er (Ronge) bleibt nur in so weit ein Priester, wie ein Christ den unverteilbaren Charakter der Taufe behält, wenn er auch vom Christenthum abfällt und zum Judenthum oder Muhammedanismus übertritt.”

³⁸ Gustav Eschirn, *Johannes Ronges Brief an Bischof Arnoldi von Trier: Mit einer Einleitung und Nachwort* (Frankfurt a.M.: Neuer Frankfurter Verlag, 1908), 16, “war Ronge bei seiner Abfahrt nach Bischofswalde von einer

In August, while he was staying in Tarnowitz in Oberschlesien, during the night the church bells summoned the locals to his hotel. The crowd hurled rocks at the building and called “Ronge out!” (*Ronge raus!*). Although police and local officials eventually gained control of the mob, Ronge still had to sneak out of the town at five in the morning.

Ronge continued to work on establishing the German Christians as a movement after 1845. However, his calls for men of Europe and America to wake up, throw off papal tyranny and Roman hierarchy, and establish a new Kingdom of Christ on the earth went largely unanswered in the Rhineland. During the Restoration, after 1848, Ronge had to flee to England, where he stayed for 12 years, until 1861. Upon his return to the continent Ronge found a changed German-Catholic community. In 1859 the German-Catholics united with Protestant dissenters in the *Bunde Freier Religiöser Gemeinden Deutschlands*. Ronge did continue to work within this new setting, but in a secondary capacity, as a speaker and as an assistant who helped coordinate kindergartens. By 1863 Ronge was back in Germany and tried to reinvigorate his movement by supporting Garibaldi and war with the Vatican.³⁹ The Ober-Procurator of the Rhineland conceded that the Prussian regime could punish Ronge for breaking censorship laws but that they should not make Ronge a martyr and it was best to continue ignoring him.⁴⁰ That same year, the Königliche Landrath dismissed Ronge as “nearly forgotten” in a letter to the Königlichen Regierung in Trier.⁴¹

brüllenden Menge verfolgt und mit einem Steinhagel begleitet worden, der seinen Bruder Franz Ronge an der Hand verwundete, während der Postillon aus mehreren Kopfwunden blutete.”

³⁹ See Ronge’s pro Garibaldi pamphlet, Johannes Ronge, *Brief von Johannes Ronge an Garibaldi, Frankfurt a.M. den 10 Januar 1863* (Saarbrücken: A. Hofer, 1863). This pamphlet is also available in LHA Ko, Bestand 442, Nr. 10439.

⁴⁰ LHA Ko (Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz), Bestand 442, Nr. 10439, Saarbrücken den 21 Februar 1863, daß es sein Wunsch ist, die Aufmerksamkeit der Behörden auf sich zu ziehen und mit diesen in Conflict zu gerathen um sich dann als ein Verfolgter und Märtyrer gewinnen zukönnen und neue Bedeutung zu gewinnen.

⁴¹ LHA Ko, Bestand 442, Nr. 10439, “Ottweiler, 24. Februar 1863.”

Ronge left an ambiguous legacy for German-Catholics. He died suddenly while traveling in Austria-Hungary, in Döbling near Vienna, with his wife and son on 25 October 1887.⁴² Reflecting on his life, the *Deutsch Protest[ant]. Blatt* remembered Ronge as an overly ambitious man whose charisma was insufficient for the task he set himself: founding a new form of Christianity, “His will and desire was certainly greater than his skill,” they concluded, “[u]pon consideration of his life path and his work one gets the impression that he was restless, tormented by a task that was too high and too great [for him].”⁴³ Ronge had outlived his movement.

Ronge’s anti-Trier Writings:

In 1844-1845, Ronge was keen to reveal the unchristian and superstitious nature of Arnoldi’s event. Ronge made this point via three separate observations. First, the event was fanatical, because the center of the cult was so obviously forged. Arnoldi, as bishop, must have known that in the gospels the Roman soldiers responsible for Jesus’ execution divided his clothes at the foot of the cross and drew lots to decide who take home Jesus’ Coat. Arnoldi promoted the worship of a spurious piece of cloth that could not possibly have changed hands from Roman soldier to Christian sympathizer in the first century CE. Second, the bishop ignored the gospel prohibition against worshipping images or relics. By calling for the pilgrimage Arnoldi set Christendom back - he was reverting to European paganism. Third, Arnoldi willfully bastardized Jesus’ central teaching, “Do you not know? - as Bishop you must know that the founder of the

⁴² Eschirn, *Johannes Ronges Brief an Bischof Arnoldi*, 29.

⁴³ Eschirn, *Johannes Ronges Brief an Bischof Arnoldi*, 29, “Sein Wollen und Streben war jedenfalls größer als sein Können, man hat bei Betrachtung seines Lebensganges und seiner Arbeiten den Eindruck, daß er sich unruhig an einer Aufgabe quälte, die für ihn zu hoch und groß war.”

Christian religion did not leave his disciples and followers his Coat, but his spirit.”⁴⁴ Jesus’ legacy was not tangible, but spiritual.

Much like his anti-Christian argument, Ronge’s point that the event was a scam or con appeared in several different forms. Arnoldi, he asserted, was getting personally rich from the 500,000 pilgrims, most of whom came from “lower classes, already in great poverty, depressed, ignorant, stupid and superstitious and partially degenerate.”⁴⁵ Rather than focusing on their all-too-real material problems these pilgrims wasted resources to enrich the Catholic hierarchy.⁴⁶ Worse, the pilgrims lost days of work and got sick from the trip when they should have been centered on their livelihoods.⁴⁷ Ronge asked, “is it not unforgivable that as Bishop you accept gold from our hungry and poor people?”⁴⁸ Not only was Arnoldi worsening the living conditions of the impoverished and superstitious Rhinelanders but he also covered the “German name” in shame by promoting relics.⁴⁹ Ronge clarified that Germans had been immune to this particular

⁴⁴ Johannes Ronge, *Urtheil eines katholischen Priesters über den “heiligen Rock” zu Trier* (Wesel: Joh. Bagel, 1844), 4, “Denn wissen Sie nicht - als Bischof müssen Sie es wissen -, daß der Stifter der christlichen Religion seinen Jüngern und Nachfolgern nicht seinen Rock, sondern seinen Geist hinterließ?”

⁴⁵ Ronge, *Schreiben*, 4, “Die meisten dieser Tausende sind aus den niederen Volksklassen, ohnehin in großer Armuth, gedrückt, unwissend, stumpf, abergläubisch und zum Theil entartet.” Wolfgang Schieder echoes this negative portrayal of the participants, see my critique in Introduction. See also Schieder, “Church and Revolution,” 72, “the educated and prosperous middle class was almost entirely absent: that is to say, academics, civil servants and members of the Rhenish bourgeoisie.” It is the case that the lower class was over represented, but as Schieder acknowledges, this has to do with the economic downturn in the Rhineland before 1844 and the regional nature of the 1844 event. Individual costs of the pilgrimage and how much the Trier Church made from the pilgrimage are difficult to gauge. Maria Fröhlich’s experience, for example, likely paid more than a single Reichstaler (30 Silbergroschen) for her trip from Neuwied to Trier, a journey of about 150 kilometers. For perspective, a day laborer in 1844 likely took home no more than 70 Reichstaler a year. This cost suggests that a trip to Trier was an investment for some pilgrims. However, many pilgrims walked and avoided the costs of a boat trip down the Mosel or Rhine River. Richard Laufner estimates that each pilgrim donated about 10 Silbergroschen in Trier, and that this allowed the Church to make repairs to east chancel and Domkreuzgang after the pilgrimage. See Anna Maria Fröhlich, “Die Wallfahrt der Maria Fröhlich aus Neuwied zum Hl. Rock in Trier im Jahre 1844,” in Eduard Lichter (ed.) *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* (Trier: Verein Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch e.V., 1978): 86-104.; Richard Laufner, “Logistische und Organisatorische, Finanzielle und Wirtschaftliche Aspekte bei den Hl.-Rock-Wallfahrten 1512 bis 1959”, in *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier*, Erich Aretz, ed., 457-481.

⁴⁶ Ronge, *Urtheil*, 6.

⁴⁷ Ronge, *Urtheil*, 4.

⁴⁸ Ronge, *Urtheil*, 6, “Oder ist es nicht unverzeihlich, daß Sie als Bischof Gold von der hungernden Armuth unseres Volkes annehmen?”

⁴⁹ Ronge, *Schreiben*, 7.

form of religiosity prior to the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century era crusades, which polluted Germany's "religious atmosphere" and helped to place the German people in bondage to the Church hierarchy.

Johannes Ronge tried to disprove alleged miracles, which for him epitomized Roman Catholic superstition and stupidity. For example, Ronge dismissed the claims that Countess Johanna Droste zu Vischering was cured after visiting the Trier Coat.⁵⁰ Vischering, as the first healed, and cured in a very public and dramatic fashion, attracted Ronge's skepticism.⁵¹ He called the Vischering account a "simple story" and "a rather better than average specimen of the popish miracles of the continent."⁵² Ronge included a medical explanation for what happened to the Countess. She had not stretched the diseased limb for many years, and when she saw the Coat she became ecstatic. In her fit she stretched and bent the limb, which relaxed the muscles and provided temporary relief.⁵³ Although he had no corroborating evidence, Ronge assured his readers that the Countess had since relapsed and was, "we believe, now using the crutches, which had been too hastily hung up in the Cathedral as a thank-offering for her marvelous restoration."⁵⁴

Ronge signed off with an appeal in the name of the German people to resist Catholic authorities on the grounds that the Coat was not authentic, a forgery. The Catholic history of the Coat illuminated the "effects which superstition and idolatrous adoration of relics have worked

⁵⁰ See the introduction to Chapter 3 for a narrative of the Countess and the Coat.

⁵¹ In a separate chapter (see "Transcending the Body") I consider physical cures and pilgrim bodies.

⁵² Johannes Ronge, *The Holy Coat of Treves and the New German Catholic Church* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845), 19.

⁵³ Ronge, *Holy Coat of Treves*, 18.

⁵⁴ Ronge, *Holy Coat of Treves*, 18-19. Charles Anthon supported Ronge's position. He described the presence of the crutches in the Cathedral as "an evidence-a dubious one, certainly-to the reality of the miracle!" See Charles Edward Anthon, *A Pilgrimage to Treves, through the Valley of the Meuse and the forest of Ardennes, in the year 1844* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845), 111.

among us.”⁵⁵ The history of the tangible Coat blinded Catholics to the true essence of Christ, his mystical presence among the faithful.⁵⁶ Ronge rejected the validity of the Coat and found Christ in a new Christian community, outside the confines of a Catholic relic. Thus, Ronge maintained that the Coat was a product of human hands, unintended for worship, inauthentic, illegitimate, and tyrannical.

The Catholic Response

Catholic priests viewed Ronge as part of a larger attack on Trier pilgrimage and Catholic practices. Against Ronge, Jacob Marx maintained that Vischering was conclusive evidence of the veracity of the Coat of Trier and the Biblical foundation of his faith. Marx was a professor at the Trier Catholic seminary. He helped Arnoldi coordinate the pilgrimage and worked closely with the bishop.⁵⁷ Marx concluded his account with a quote from Luke 8:48: “Woman, thy faith hath saved thee!” After reporting the miracle of his parishioner Susanna Beth, Father Berig of Cochem concluded that it was imperative that Trier release its report confirming miracles in order to stop Ronge and his polemic against the church. Furthermore, Berig believed that the report affirming the healing power of the Coat would be a deathblow to the opponents of the Trier pilgrimage.⁵⁸

Austrian officials worried about Ronge’s message and its potential to harm the empire. In November 1844, Carl Ernst Jarcke (1801-1852), Metternich’s press secretary in Vienna, wrote to

⁵⁵ Ronge, *Holy Coat of Treves*, 27.

⁵⁶ Ronge, *Holy Coat of Treves*, 29.

⁵⁷ Regarding Marx’s relationship to Bishop Arnoldi see: Jonathan Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals: The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848-1849* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 125. Sperber describes Marx as “the bishop’s [Arnoldi’s] right-hand man in political quesitons.”

⁵⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 227, 115.

Trier officials and asked for a copy of Marx's history of the Coat.⁵⁹ Jarcke contended that Ronge's words existed in two separate spheres: spiritual and temporal. The spiritual consequences were minor, the Church only needed to look at the pilgrimage itself and reaffirm the meaning of relics to the laity. The potential temporal fallout was more ominous. He believed the Prussian government had to be equal and protect Catholics from defamation.⁶⁰ In the flurry of responses to Ronge, Jarcke's two categories: temporal and spiritual, are invaluable. Pamphleteers normally touched on both of Jarcke's groupings, on Ronge's eternal consequences, his use of Scripture and misrepresentation of Church tradition, and on Ronge's alleged misinterpretations of historical documents. This section first considers the spiritual accusations leveled against Ronge and then the "temporal" assaults on Ronge's use of reason and history. These counter-arguments illuminate clerical self-understandings in the mid-nineteenth century.

By refuting Ronge, Catholic pamphleteers explicated their own views of the Gospel and of the place of relics within Christianity. Catholic sympathizers responded to Ronge with a flurry of tracts and counter-arguments, but they were divided about how to best proceed.⁶¹ Clergy and pamphleteers were uncertain whether to attack Ronge's biography or his arguments. Professor Doctor Schmitz wrote Bishop Arnoldi from Regensburg to caution that "the unfortunate Johannes Ronge and his shame should not be particularly mentioned, for this misery is already been too often named."⁶² Indeed the pilgrimage, a great show of Church unity, should be enough

⁵⁹ See also Grogan for a brief description of Jarcke's entanglement with tracts against Prussian censorship laws, Geraldine F. Grogan, *The Noblest Agitator: Daniel O'Connell and the German Catholic Movement 1830-1850* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1991), 67-69.

⁶⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 235, 160-162.

⁶¹ Below I present an overview of arguments anti-Ronge pamphleteers leveled against the excommunicated priest. On Joseph von Eichendorff's (1788-1857) opposition to Ronge see Michael Embach, "Die Trierer Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt von 1844 im Spiegel ihrer Literarischen Rezeption," in *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi*, Erich Aretz, Michael Embach, Martin Persch, Franz Ronig (eds.) (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995), 834-836.

⁶² BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 232, 27-31, 30, "Des unglücklichen Johannes Ronge und seiner Schmach dürfte nicht namentlich Erwähnung geschehen; denn schon ist dieses Elend zu oft genannt worden."

to convince Catholic pilgrims that Ronge's writings were baseless. Schmitz lamented the fact that other commentators, especially Mauritius Moritz, implemented more personal attacks on Ronge. He viewed Moritz's approach as "shameful and untimely, but in any case well-meant."⁶³ Catholics had to address Ronge, but they could do this by pointing to the massive attendance and order of 1844. Schmitz believed that there was no need for Moritz's narrative about Ronge's personal life and failure as a priest.

Catholic pamphleteers ultimately concentrated their criticism on Ronge's sweeping statements about the New Testament and early Church history. Joseph Ritter, a *Domkapitular* (canon), directed his pamphlet to a "non-academic" audience and made it his goal to answer one question, "Is the cult of relics reasonable as a Christian?"⁶⁴ The practice of honoring relics was meritorious for Ritter, as a Catholic cleric, and he turned to the *Acts of the Apostles* to defend this position. In Acts 3 Peter healed a lame beggar by telling him to walk and by helping him stand up. Later, in Acts 5:12 the author writes, "The apostles performed many signs and wonders among the people."⁶⁵ For Ritter, these verses established the possibility of miracles emanating from saints. Christians should honor items left behind by saints. Franz Heide, also Catholic, grounded his understanding of relics in Acts 19:11-12, "God did extraordinary miracles through Paul, so that even handkerchiefs and aprons that had touched him were taken to the sick, and their illnesses were cured and the evil spirits left them."⁶⁶ Heide noted that such miracles,

⁶³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 232, 27-31, 30, "die Widerlegung des jungen Priesters Maritus Moritz in Aschaffenburg erscheint mir schmach, und unzeitig, doch jedenfalls wohlgemeint".

⁶⁴ Joseph Ignaz Ritter, *Ueber die Verehrung der Reliquien und bes. des hl. Rockes in Trier. Eine Vorlesung, veranlasst durch ein Schreiben des Herrn Johannes Ronge* (Breslau: Georg Philipp Aderholz, 1845), 5, "richtiger vernünftig, oder nicht."

⁶⁵ Bible Gateway, NIV, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Acts%205&version=NIV> (Accessed 6 August 2014).

⁶⁶ Franz Heide, *Der Rock des Herrn zu Trier und Johannes Ronge, oder über die Reliquienverehrung der katholischen Kirche. Predigt gehalten in der Stadtpfarrkirche zu Ratibor am 1. Advent-Sonntage als wenige Tagevorher der Ronge'sche Brief an den Bischof von Trier verbreitet worden* (Gleiwitz und Kreutzberg: S. Landsberger'sche Buchhandlung, 1845), 20.

through the garments of the saints and prophets, happened to orient people toward God and show God's authority.⁶⁷ For Mauritius Moritz, Acts 21 was the key passage, wherein Paul makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁶⁸ All of these Catholic authors worked to counter Ronge by rooting their religious practices in the Biblical account of the early church. Ronge planned to throw out tradition so the Catholic authorities countered the suspended priest on his own scriptural terms.

Catholic authors stressed that pilgrims were properly trained in the New Testament and that this Biblical instruction cut off Ronge's criticisms. One author assured the public that if there was any guilt during the pilgrimage it belonged to the press for repeating Ronge's misrepresentations.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the pilgrims knew that they could worship God anywhere and that they did not have to travel to Trier to access the divine. Moritz turned to 2 Corinthians 11:13-15 to explain why Ronge had to be excommunicated, "For such people are false apostles, deceitful workers, masquerading as apostles of Christ. And no wonder, for Satan himself masquerades as an angel of light. It is not surprising, then, if his servants also masquerade as servants of righteousness. Their end will be what their actions deserve."⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Heide, *Der Rock des Herrn*, 20. See also Johann Peter Neumann, *Sendschreiben eines katholischen Priesters an Johannes Ronge. Zugleich eine seelsorgliche Belehrung für das katholische Volk* (Mainz: Schott & Thielmann, 1844), 11.; J. Vecqueray, *Der Aufruf des Herrn Joh. Ronge und Würdigung desselben. Ein Sendschreiben für Jedermann. Von dem Verf. Mein Weg zu Gott!* (Koblenz: J. Heinrich Müller, 1844), 24.; Joseph Hillebrand, *Neue Aergernisse, oder der sogenannte katholische Priester Johannes Ronge und sein Schmähartikel gegen den heiligen Rock des Erlösers in Trier, beleuchtet und zurechtgewiesen* (Münster: Verlag der Theissing'schen Buchhandlung, 1845), 10. This was an important argument and other authors beyond those above also pointed to Acts 19 to defend their anti-Ronge standpoint.

⁶⁸ Mauritius Moritz, *Die Verehrung heiliger Reliquien und Bilder und das Wallfahrten nach der Lehre der katholischen Kirche* (Aschaffenburg: Theodor Pergay, 1845), 44.

⁶⁹ He went on to cite Psalm 4, 97, Romans 1:22-23, 7 and 1 Corinthians 3, 4, 8:4 to show that pilgrims did not worship the Coat as a deity. See Anon, *Der heilige Rock zu Trier und der katholische Priester Johannes Ronge. Ein freimüthiges Wort an die Christen deutscher Nation*. (Mainz: Joseph Hallenza, 1844), 10-16.

⁷⁰ Moritz, *Offene Antwort*, 6. Bible Gateway, NIV, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=2%20Corinthians%2011&version=NIV> (Accessed 10 April 2013).

For Catholic pamphleteers, the fact that Jesus himself established and affirmed the medium of relics in the Gospels was even more important than the *Acts of the Apostles*, and Paul's letters. For example, anti-Ronge writers often cited Matthew 9:18-26:

“While he was saying this, a synagogue leader came and knelt before him and said, ‘My daughter has just died. But come and put your hand on her, and she will live.’ Jesus got up and went with him, and so did his disciples. Just then a woman who had been subject to bleeding for twelve years came up behind him and touched the edge of his cloak. She said to herself, ‘If I only touch his cloak, I will be healed.’ Jesus turned and saw her. ‘Take heart, daughter,’ he said, ‘your faith has healed you.’ And the woman was healed at that moment.”

Catholic commentators pointed to this story as an argument-ending proof that the Coat had miraculous authority.⁷¹ Jesus, who here allowed a woman to demonstrate her faith and receive physical restoration via his garment, condoned belief in his Coat. This story also revealed that the Coat was an important symbol of the life of Jesus. Like the 1844 pilgrims to Trier, this woman only had access to the hem of the Coat, but that was symbolically close enough to Jesus to change her life.

Jesus promised that he would always be present with his followers, pamphleteers noted. Moritz, for example, pointed to Matthew 28:19-20, “Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age.”⁷² For Moritz, Jesus' promise to always accompany his followers foreshadowed the Coat, a tangible reminder that Jesus had lived in the world. Moritz also cited John 21:17, wherein Jesus commanded Peter to feed his sheep. As Peter was the first Pontiff,

⁷¹ Three examples: Wilhelm Volk (dei. Ludwig Clarus), *Die Berliner Gewerbeausstellung und die Ausstellung des heiligen Rockes in Trier mit besonderer Bezugnahme auf den Rongeschen Brief. Ein Brief aus Berlin von einem Protestanten*. (Münster: Friedr. Regensberg, 1845), 22; Anon, *Der heilige Rock zu Trier und der katholische Priester Johannes Ronge*, 14; Moritz, *Offene Antwort*, 8. This episode also appears in Mark 5:25-35 and sometimes this version was cited, see Heide, *Rock des Herrn zu Trier*, 20.

⁷² Bible Gateway, NIV, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew%2028&version=NIV> (Accessed 10 April 2013).

Catholic traditions were indirectly approved by Jesus. At the end of his gospel discussion Moritz cautioned that religion was much more than the mind, more than knowing facts or Scripture.⁷³ At times the anti-Ronge authors noted the limitations of solely relying on Scripture. Ritter, for example, told Ronge that he did not know for sure what happened to Jesus' garment after he was executed. But it was entirely possible that John the Apostle or Mary somehow got it back from the Roman soldiers.⁷⁴

If the Gospels did not clarify what happened to the Coat after Jesus' execution, they did approve of pilgrimage. Jesus called pilgrims to leave their homes. Neumann stressed the promise of Mark 10:29-30 that those who follow Jesus and leave "home or brothers or sisters or mother or father or children or fields for me and the gospel will fail to receive a hundred times as much in this present age: homes, brothers, sisters, mothers, children and fields—along with persecutions—and in the age to come eternal life."⁷⁵ Not only did Jesus call on his followers to be in motion, to go out from homes and family, but he promised that doing so brought divine blessing. For Neumann, this was crucial evidence that pilgrimage was part of the divine plan. Jesus also approved of financial sacrifice. Neumann pointed to John 12, where Martha anointed Jesus' feet with expensive perfume, a great monetary forfeiture. In this scene Ronge is likened to Judas who decries the cost of the perfume, or, for Ronge, the cost of traveling to Trier. Neumann used these passages to defend pilgrims giving donations within the cathedral; economic sacrifice was equal to the physical toil of walking to Trier.⁷⁶

⁷³ Moritz, *Offene Antwort*, 12.

⁷⁴ Ritter, *Ueber die Verehrung*, 20.

⁷⁵ Neumann, *Sendschreiben eines*, 5. Bible Gateway, NIV, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Mark%2010&version=NIV> (Accessed 10 April 2013).

⁷⁶ Neumann, *Sendschreiben eines*, 14.

Ronge's attacks on pilgrimage practices like donating money, commentators maintained, demonstrated that Catholicism was diligently pursuing proper worship. Moritz concluded his treatise defending pilgrimage with John 15:20 and Matthew 5:11: "15:20 Remember what I told you: 'A servant is not greater than his master.' [b] If they persecuted me, they will persecute you also. If they obeyed my teaching, they will obey yours also." and, "5:11 'Blessed are you when people insult you, persecute you and falsely say all kinds of evil against you because of me.'"⁷⁷ Ronge was more than the fulfillment of persecution prophecy, though. Vecqueray closed with 1 John 4:1 and accused Ronge of being a false prophet sent by Satan to confuse the faithful.⁷⁸ For Franz Heide, who cited Revelation 13:5-6 Ronge was the "beast" that "opened its mouth to blaspheme God, and to slander his name and his dwelling place and those who live in heaven."⁷⁹ Ronge damned himself when he criticized divinely-ordained pilgrimages.

Ronge, much like his depiction of Scripture, offered an incomplete appraisal of early church history. Pamphleteers took aim at Ronge's argument that for the first three hundred years of Christianity there were no images or relics in Christian practice. Authors pointed to several Church fathers or early Christian figures, including Polycarp, Joseph of Arimathea, Irenaeus, Hieronymus, Tertullian, St. Augustine, St. Stephen, Origen, Vigilantius, Ignatius, and Chrysostomos. Anti-Ronge pamphleteers privileged Polycarp's biography in their writings. Polycarp was bishop of Smyrna and executed for refusing to offer sacrifices to honor Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius in the 160s.⁸⁰ After he was burned at the stake (or stabbed, or killed by

⁷⁷ Moritz, *Offene Antwort*, 29. Bible Gateway, NIV, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=John%2015&version=NIV>, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew%205&version=NIV> (Accessed 10 April 2013).

⁷⁸ Vecqueray, *Aufruf des Herrn Joh.*, 32.

⁷⁹ Franz Heide, *Der Rock des Herrn zu Trier*, 4. Bible Gateway, NIV, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Revelation%2013&version=NIV> (Accessed 10 April 2013).

⁸⁰ This story is retold in several pamphlets, four examples: J.H. Reinerding, *Glaubensbekenntniß von Johannes Ronge* (Münster: Theissing'schen Buchhandlung: 1844), 31-32.; Hillebrand, *Neue Aergernisse*, 14-16.; Alban Stolz,

wild animals, depending on the pamphlet) for disobedience, his bones were brought back to Smyrna and buried. Immediately after this, Christians from the area began to make pilgrimages to his bodily remains. Why, Reinerding asked Ronge, would Christians carry his bones back to Smyrna when there was perfectly good dirt in Rome? Because venerating saints' dead bodies was already an established tradition before the third century. Stolz wrote that on Polycarp's death anniversary the Christians of Smyrna made a procession to honor his body and sacrifice. Like these second century Christians, the pilgrims of Trier continued to venerate God via relics.⁸¹ Coupled with the Polycarp argument, pamphleteers repeatedly stressed that it was not Polycarp's remains as such that early Christians venerated, but the divine *presence* that gave Polycarp the courage to face execution for his belief in Jesus and Christian monotheism.

Pilgrims naturally visited Polycarp's body in order to recall his martyrdom. Everyone - Protestant, Catholic, or even Ronge - participated in relic adoration of some kind. Catholic pamphleteers offered two broad categories of this practice they believed vindicated the prominent role of the Coat in Trier. First, Heide pointed to the example of a dying mother and her child. Even after the mom died, the child, knowing there was no life in her, kissed her dead hand anyway. Along the same lines, the child instinctively holds onto a physical remembrance of his/her mother, such as a picture or image, or one of the mother's possessions. For the child, this item could quickly become the his/her most prized treasure.⁸² Humans intuitively kept objects in order to remember the departed.

Der neue Kometstern mit seinem Schweif oder Johannes Ronge und seine Briefträger (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1845), 4.; Franksmann, *Beleuchtung des Ronge'schen Schreibens*, 19-21.

⁸¹ The annual procession argument is also made here: Anon, *Die Wallfahrt nach Trier. Eine Stimme aus Nassau*. (Siegen und Wiesbaden: Friedrich'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1844), 6.

⁸² Heide, *Rock des Herrn*, 11, "hochschätzen". For another example see: Anon, *Die Wallfahrt nach Trier. Eine Stimme*, 5.

Authors extended this “intuition” argument beyond immediate family members to make their next major point: everyone, including Protestants and Ronge, participated in venerating notable dead individuals. Thus, Franksmann defended the Coat by citing the auction prices of Martin Luther’s personal items in the eighteenth century. If Protestants venerated Luther’s Bible, pocket watch, marriage bed, or catheter, then they could not fault Catholics for honoring Jesus’ garment.⁸³ Hillebrand stressed that Catholics had no problems with Protestants having images of Luther or honoring their founder.⁸⁴ Wilhelm Volk noted how even Protestants made pilgrimages to the Wartburg while singing and that they treasured books that Luther once owned.⁸⁵ Geron complained that Luther and Calvin’s followers would have even honored their underwear.⁸⁶ Another author likened the practice to naming a street “Martin Lutherstraße” and asked for understanding.⁸⁷ Non-Catholics did not just honor Luther’s underwear, but Rousseau’s nightcap and Voltaire’s underpants as well.⁸⁸ Again, pamphlet writers maintained, this linking of memory to physical items should have been common sense to Ronge.

If Ronge-sympathizers remained unconvinced that relics were an instinctive part of human remembrance it ultimately did not matter to Catholic commentators because the Council of Trent upheld sacred objects as legitimate. Trent affirmed relics as a means of honoring God, separate from pagan practices.⁸⁹ One anonymous author listed Trent among his opening responses to Ronge. Trent declared that martyrs’ bodies and items were worthy of honor because

⁸³ Franksmann, *Beleuchtung*, 47-48, “Ist es aber dem Geiste des Protestantismus nicht zuwider, die Reliquien von Luther zu verehren, so möge man uns Katholiken doch auch erlauben, wenigstens die Reliquien von unserm göttlichen herrn und Erlöser zu verehren, und uns nicht mit dem Kathe der Schmähung deßhalb überschütten. Wir halten Christum für heiliger und verehrungswürdiger, als Sie -Protestanten! - Ihnen Luther halten dürfen.”

⁸⁴ Hillebrand, *Neue Aergernisse*, 17.

⁸⁵ Volk, *Die Berliner*, 20-21.

⁸⁶ Geron, *Sternschnuppe*, 3.

⁸⁷ Anon, *Johannes Ronge mit Gründen widerlegt*, 40.

⁸⁸ Anon, *heilige Rock zu Trier*, 13.

⁸⁹ Franksmann, *Beleuchtung*, 22.

they acted as divine vessels. God filled martyrs and saints with grace and allowed physical items to remain in the world to strengthen the faithful.⁹⁰ The Council of Trent also stated that it was not the objects themselves that had merit, but God acting through the relics.⁹¹ For Reinerding, the fact that Trent affirmed relics and images made Ronge all the more absurd. How could Ronge think he was wiser than over 100 priests in the final Trent meetings, or smarter than all the then-living bishops, priests, and 180 million laity?⁹² Although Reinerding carefully laid out a defense of relics, he accused Ronge of inciting confessional strife because everyone knew of iconoclasm and how images and relics had created a fundamental rift between Catholic and Protestant Christianity during the Reformation.⁹³

As news of Ronge's anti-pilgrimage article spread through Rhenish parishes, Catholic clergy sought out official government and Church responses. Catholic clerics unsuccessfully petitioned the Prussian government to censor Ronge and the *Sächsische Vaterlandsblätter*. They warned both Trier and Berlin that temporal intervention was necessary if the regime wanted to maintain religious peace. As early as October 1844, Catholic priests wrote to Trier to learn what was being done about Ronge. Dean Schneider, supported by ten other priests, from Ehrang, urged the Trier Domkapitel to turn to the Prussian King for assistance. Schneider feared that the Ronge letter, which he warned was spreading to more newspapers in the Rhineland, including the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung* and *Elberfelder Zeitung*, threatened the dearly-bought peace

⁹⁰ Anon, *heilige Rock zu Trier*, 7, "Die heiligen Lieber der h. Märtyrer und Anderer, die bei Christo leben, die lebendige Glieder Christi und Tempel des heiligen Geistes waren und einst von ihm zum ewigen Leben auferweckt und verherrlicht werden, sollen den Gläubigen verehrungswürdig sein. Wer aber lehrt, den Reliquien der Heiligen dürfe keine Ehrfurcht und Verehrung erwiesen werden, oder diese und andere hl. Denkmale würden ohne Nutzen verehrt, und das Besuchen ihrer Gedächtniskirchen, um Hülfe zu erlangen, sei vergeblich, ist von der Kirchengemeinschaft ausgeschlossen."

⁹¹ Anon, *Herr Johannes Ronge mit Gründen*, 24. See also Lyser, *Sendschreiben an Johannes*, 9.; Ritter, *Ueber die Verehrung*, 12.

⁹² J.H. Reinerding, *Glaubensbekenntniß von Johannes Ronge* (Münster: Theissing'schen Buchhandlung, 1844), 21-23.

⁹³ Reinerding, *Glaubensbekenntniß*, 21.

between Christian confessions.⁹⁴ The Catholic faith, and leaders like Arnoldi, deserved state-sponsored protection from “most sickening attackers” like Ronge.⁹⁵ Similar to Ehrang, the priests in Berncastel were outraged about the treatment of Catholics in the press and urged the Trier Domkapitel to either secure protection from the king or to petition competent state authorities to defend their faith. They complained, “our holy Catholic Church is ill-treated by the daily press, how her sanctuaries were put into the mud, the Church’s ancient dogma and venerable ceremonies are attacked and disfigured.”⁹⁶ Sixteen priests in Prüm signed another protest letter in November 1844. Prüm’s clergy urged immediate action and asked what would be gained from tolerating the Ronge letter, “With deep anxiety we ask what will result from such commotion? The desired German unity? the offered brotherly love without distinction of confession? No!”⁹⁷ The king and the Bundestag had to act to uphold the laws of toleration, to stop the fires of hate before it was too late. The deans and priests in St. Goar urged Trier to appeal to the king on the basis of equal treatment. Trier only required the monarchy to treat Catholics with the same respect given to Protestants. If a Protestant cleric had lashed out in the press the article would have been suppressed? Why should the situation be different for Catholics? The Prussian law guaranteed the position of German Catholics and an unbiased application of the censorship laws.

⁹⁴ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 237, 2, “der Theuer erkauften Frieden zwischen der verschiedenen christlicher Religionsbekennern”.

⁹⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 237, 2, “kränkendste verletzer”.

⁹⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 237, 4-5, “Mit tiefer Indignation haben wir besonders gewahrt, wie unsern h. Katholische Kirche von der Tagespresse mißhandelt wird, wie ihre Heiligthümer in der Koth herabgezogen, ihre uralten dogmen und ehrwürdiger Ceremonien angefeindet und entstellt werden”.

⁹⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 237, 6-7, “Mit langer besorgniß fragen wir und: wozu wird ein solches Treiben führen? Zur gewünschen Einheit Deutschlands? Niemand Zur, von dem Herrn gebotenen Bruderliebe ohne Unterschied der Confession? Nein!”

In short, St. Goar desired redress and the rights “granted to the Protestant Confession every day.”⁹⁸

Priests were surprised that in the 1840s the Catholic confession was treated so poorly in the public sphere. Lentz, in Neumagen, recounted how the Trier mayor refused to allow an article against Jews to be published in the *Trierischen Zeitung*, and asked why “this excessive proliferation of such malicious attacks against the church, its institutions, its customs, and even their most sublime servants in public” was tolerated by the civil authorities.⁹⁹ In Hermeskeil, the clergy listed goals and grievances about the Ronge situation, including a respectful request that the law be equally applied to all religious groups. They further affirmed that Arnoldi was hardly outside the law because civil authorities had approved the pilgrimage before it began. These priests concluded by asserting their belief in a free press, with the caveat that all sides (presumably Ronge and the Church) must receive a fair hearing.¹⁰⁰ The Daun priests wrote a song for the Protestant king, in order to persuade him to defend the Catholic Church and existing laws:

Es möge Versorge getroffen werden,
daß weder in Preußen, noch in
der übrigen Bundesstaaten die
Rechte der katholischen Kirche
ungestraft gekränkt, daß vielmehr
die deshalb bestehenden
Gesetze gehandhabt werden mögten. (sic.)

There will be confident provision
neither in Prussia, nor in the
rest of the federal states
Rights of the Catholic Church

⁹⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 237, 10, “Vielleicht möchte dies eine erwünschte Veranlassung sein, eine unparteiischen Handhabung der Censurgesetze und gleichfreie Bewegung der Katholischen Presse zu erwirken, wir sie offenbar der politischen Tendenzblättern der protestantischen Confession jeder Tag gewährt wird”.

⁹⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 237, 11, “Nicht wenig erstaunt muß der Katholik fragen: “Woher doch diese mässigen Verbreitung solcher gehässigen Anfälle gegen die Kirche, ihre Institutionen, ihre Gebräuche und selbst ihre erhabendsten Diener in öffentliche Blättern.”

¹⁰⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 237, 18-19.

offended with impunity, but that
the already existing
laws you would like to have gone.¹⁰¹

The Daun clergy were most upset that the papers did not offer positive views of Catholicism, only the negative articles. They worried that enemies of Catholicism could strike without consequence, leaving a skewed view of the Church for the newspaper readership.

In their letter from Wittlich, five priests asked the state to free the Church from the hindrance of the censor so they could respond to Ronge, especially since the government chose not to stop Ronge's public attack on the religious status quo.¹⁰² The Trier Domkapitular received similar letters from clerics in Kelberg, Mayen, Engers, Bisdorf, Meisenheim, Cochem, Merzig, Saarlouis, Bitburg, and Creuznach. Historian Alf Lüdtke has shown that the anxiety these priests expressed had merit. Beginning in 1789, Prussian officials grouped Catholic priests with "apprentices, journeymen and day labourers, servants and maidservants, beggars and vagrants...mobile Jewish salesmen." For Prussian officials, all of these groups were worthy of observation and "permanent distrust."¹⁰³ Catholic priests contended that they were not a threat and believed they were entitled to state assistance in reining in Ronge because the former priest was a menace to Prussian peace. Priests spread news of Ronge's infamy in order to warn fellow clerics. In at least one instance a Catholic priest circulated Ronge's image and basic message. He sent these materials to a colleague in Osnabrück.¹⁰⁴ For Ronge's part, he thought that the various biblical and political criticisms leveled against him were baseless and dodged the key issues of sacrilege and idolatry.

¹⁰¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 237, 34.

¹⁰² BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 237, 24-25.

¹⁰³ Alf Lüdtke, "The Role of State Violence in the Period of Transition to Industrial Capitalism: The Example of Prussia from 1815 to 1848," *Social History* 4(4) (May 1979): 175-221, 188-189.

¹⁰⁴ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 158-60.

Ronge Responds to Pamphleteers in early 1845

Ronge responded to his Catholic critics, again in the *Sächsische Vaterlandsblätter*, in January 1845.¹⁰⁵ Ronge here attempted to define the German-Catholic movement by negation: his new confession was, at its core, *not* Catholicism. He scoffed at the various names given him by Catholic pamphleteers, especially “Judas,” “demagogue,” and “false prophet.” The Catholic hierarchy and the Jesuits made the Pharisees seem like harmless children, “the chief priests and the priestcraft of the Jews devoured only the Jewish nation, but you have the unfortunate fate of many nations of Europe on your hands.”¹⁰⁶ For Ronge, Catholicism was darkness, fog, servitude, and deceit. In turn, he brought light, sunshine, freedom, and truth to the German people.

Ronge did not develop new spiritual metaphors and arguments for his defense; he continued to emphasize his original arguments. Maintaining his Gospel focus, Ronge now likened Arnoldi to a money changer in the ancient Jerusalem temple. He was surprised that the Catholics were unfamiliar with Matthew 21:12-13, “Jesus entered the temple courts and drove out all who were buying and selling there. He overturned the tables of the money changers and the benches of those selling doves. ‘It is written,’ he said to them, ‘My house will be called a house of prayer,’ but you are making it ‘a den of robbers.’”¹⁰⁷ For Ronge, no matter how much emphasis Catholics placed on the good of the pilgrimage, they simply could not overcome the

¹⁰⁵ His article, “Zur Geschichte der Anfänge einer deutsch-kathol. Kirche: Ein Wort an die Römlinge Deutschlands und nur an diese, zum Neujahr 1845” was reprinted and distributed: *Allgemeine Kirchen Zeitung*, No. 19 (2. Februar 1845). See also BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 235, 164-168.

¹⁰⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 235, 164-168, “die Hohenpriester und das Pfaffenthum der Juden fraß bloß die jüdische Nation, ihr aber habt die unglückseligen Geschieke vieler Völker von Europa auf euch.”

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew+21&version=NIV>, Bible Gateway, NIV (Accessed 2 April 2013).

fact that Arnoldi took money from impoverished pilgrims.¹⁰⁸ Arnoldi, like the Temple accountants, turned religion into a financial transaction and thereby gutted its spiritual core.

Ronge reaffirmed his belief that the devotion around the Coat was simple idolatry. He rejected explanations about the symbolism of the Coat as “drivel” from “some [who] have sought to refute me!” Despite all the wit of the canons and church doctors, “[even with] their cunning and their rhetoric ... they cannot reverse common sense.”¹⁰⁹ Dr. Ritter, whom Ronge directly targeted on several occasions, could not deny the fact that one of the pilgrim songs, sung for all the world to hear, included the lyrics “Holy Coat pray for us.”¹¹⁰ Despite clever arguments about the symbolism of the Trier relic, for Ronge, this devotion was unchristian, an untenable belief for the German Christian movement. There would be a divine reckoning for the Catholic clergy. Ronge declared himself “a very simple man, without wealth, without power, a man who has no other home than the hearts of his friends and the greater part of the people that you abuse.”¹¹¹ The excommunicated priest was now prepared to die for the cause of the imminent “priestly revolution” that would sweep away the Roman sympathizers.

Ronge presented no detailed revolutionary program; instead he offered Catholics a series of stark choices, “Roman or German, servant or free, hypocrisy or truth, hierarchy or Christianity.”¹¹² To help readers decide properly, Ronge sought to reveal the “truth” about pilgrimage and Catholic history. He firmly believed his evidence would lead Germans to

¹⁰⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 235, 164-168, “daß ein Bischof so viel Geld von der armen leichtgläubigen Menge hingenommen hat? Wie?”

¹⁰⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 235, 164-168, “läßt sich nun und nimmer rechtfertigen, und kämen alle Doctoren und Domherrn der Welt zusammen und wendeten all ihren Witz, ihre List und ihre Redekunst an, die sie etwa besitzen, sie können den gesunden Menschenverstand nicht umkehren.”

¹¹⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 235, 164-168, “Heiliger Rock, bitte für uns.”

¹¹¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 235, 164-168, “Ein ganz einfacher Mensch, ohne Reichthum, ohne Macht, ein Mensch, der keine andere Heimath hat, als die Herzen seiner Freunde und des größten Theils der Völker, die ihr mißhaldelt.”

¹¹² BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 235, 164-168, “Die Stunde war jetzt gekommen, die Bahn war euch gebrochen, ihr konntet euch entscheiden, römisch oder deutsch, Knechte oder Freie, Heuchelei oder Wahrheit, Hierarchie oder Christenthum waren die Losungsworte.”

abandon the Catholic Church. Ronge held Catholicism accountable for the Thirty Years War, Poland's descent into bloody debris, and the butchering of Spain and France in recent memory; presumably Ronge meant the Napoleonic Wars.¹¹³ Ronge accused the Catholic hierarchy of collusion with the state in enforcing censorship of the press and imprisoning those who spoke out against religious abuses. This was a remarkable accusation as the Trier clergy pressured Prussian authorities to censor and imprison Ronge without success. The Church hierarchy's criminal offenses continued to be vague, but Ronge repeated his 1844 accusation that pilgrimage was debauchery. Pamphleteers spoke of peaceful processions, but that was only to cover up the loss of virtue among the laity. Ronge could not articulate a positive definition of what his movement meant this inability cost the German-Christians momentum. Two years after the pamphlet conflict began, on 2 January 1846, Bishop Arnoldi reported that there were only two small communities in his bishopric that still had German-Catholics: Saarbrücken and Kreuznach.¹¹⁴ By 1850, as one historian has stated, the German-Catholics lost their historical meaning.¹¹⁵

German-Catholics and Their Supporters

Ronge was not alone in his 1844 critiques, Adolf Glaßbrenner composed an anti-pilgrimage play that was set in Trier. Glaßbrenner sought to liberate the people from superstition, get them interested in democracy and emancipation. He, like Ronge, denounced the Catholic Church, miracles, and the money brought in during pilgrimage.¹¹⁶ Robert Blum believed German

¹¹³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 235, 164-168, "Durch wessen Schuld floß vorzugsweise das deutsche Blut unter dem 4. Heinrich und in dem Kriege, der 30 Jahre Deutschland verwüstete? Durch wen besonders sank Polen in blutige Trümmer, wurde Frankreich, Spanien in neuester Zeit zerfleischt?"

¹¹⁴ Steinruck, "Die Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt von 1844," 315.

¹¹⁵ Annette Kuhn, "Deutschkatholiken," in *Theologische Realenzyklopadie* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981), 559-566, 559.

¹¹⁶ See Wilhelm Grosse, "Adolf Glaßbrenner 'Herrn Buffey's Wallfahrt nach dem heiligen Rocke' ein politisches Genrebild des Deutschen Vormärz", *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 1 (1981): 48-68.

Christendom was in a “fight between light and darkness.”¹¹⁷ In this conflict Ronge served as the resplendent guide. Blum, the editor of *Sächsische Vaterlandsblätter*, further supported Ronge’s theological positions and his critiques by reprinting Ronge’s article as a stand-alone pamphlet.¹¹⁸

Johann Czerski (1813-1893), like Ronge, broke with the Roman Catholic Church in 1844 and also came from eastern Prussia.¹¹⁹ He received his first clerical appointment in 1842 to the cathedral in Posen. Czerski was very busy in 1844. In March, the Posen hierarchy transferred him to Schneidemühl in eastern Prussia. Two months later, in May, Czerski was suspended from the priesthood for living with a woman.¹²⁰ In August, Czerski declared that he was no longer a part of the Roman Catholic Church. On 19 October 1844, in Schneidemühl Czerski began a new form of Catholicism, called the *Christlich-Apostolisch-Katholische-Gemeinde* (Christian-Apostolic-Catholic-Community). Czerski refused to recant his new teachings, including his rejection of clerical celibacy, and was subsequently excommunicated from the Catholic Church.¹²¹ Officially outside the Church, Czerski got married and re-baptized as a member of the *Christlich-Apostolisch-Katholische-Gemeinde* in December 1844.¹²² Czerski initially supported Ronge and most of Ronge’s proposed reforms of the Catholic Church. The two met in January

¹¹⁷ Robert Blum was the editor of *Sächsische Vaterlandsblätter*, see Wolfgang Schieder, “Church and Revolution: Aspects of the Social History of the Trier Pilgrimage of 1844” in *Conflict and Stability in Europe*, Richard Deveson (trans.), Clive Emsley (ed.) (London: The Open University Press, 1979): 65-95, 72.

¹¹⁸ Robert Blum, *Johannes Ronge’s offenes Sendschreiben an den Bischof Arnoldi zu Trier. Ferner: Der Kampf zwischen Licht u. Finsterniß*. (Offenbach am Main: Ph. Wagner, 1845).

¹¹⁹ See Laurentius Sonst for a critical evaluation of Czerski and his teachings: Laurentius Sonst, *Der Priester-Apostat Johann Czerski und die apostolische Duodezkirche zu Schneidemühl vor dem Richterstuhle der heiligen Schrift, der kirchlichen Geschichts-Ueberlieferung und des gesunden Menschenverstandes; zugleich eine Vertheidigung und Rechtfertigung der katholischen Kirche* (Regensburg: Georg Joseph Manz, 1845). In some of the pamphlets Czerski appears as Czersky, for the sake of uniformity I use the “Czerski” spelling. Another priest, Peter Alois Licht (1781-1847), also left the Catholic Church to join the German-Catholics. He also engaged in the pamphlet debate, but was not as prolific as the Ronge-Czerski connection. See Michael Embach, “Die Trierer Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt von 1844 im Spiegel ihrer Literarischen Rezeption,” in *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier*, Aretz (ed.), 799-833, 809.

¹²⁰ Steinruck, “Die Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt von 1844,” 312.

¹²¹ Treumund, *Die Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 16, “weil man immer noch Rücknahme seiner Irrlehren, wie man sie nannte, von ihm erwartete.”

¹²² Treumund, *Die Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 27.

1845. However, after Ronge declared the Breslau Confession in Leipzig in 1845 (see above for its tenets), Czerski broke with the German-Catholics. Like Ronge, after the German-Catholics lost momentum in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, he faded into obscurity.

Czerski espoused his own creed, which he published in Schneidemühl on 19 October 1844.¹²³ Czerski, like Ronge, affirmed the existence of one God and that Jesus was His son, denounced the hierarchical control of the Catholic Church by papacy, established a mass in German, denied the existence of Purgatory, and administered the Lord's Supper with both bread and wine. Czerski ultimately broke with Ronge because the Laurahütte reformer went too far. Czerski contested Ronge's confession on two points: the number of sacraments, and the role of Jesus. For Czerski, there were still seven sacraments, as laid out within Catholicism including baptism, confirmation, Lord's Supper, confession, priestly Ordination (though he makes no mention of other Holy Orders), marriage, and the last rites.¹²⁴ Unlike Ronge, Czerski stressed Jesus' authority within the Church over that of the Holy Spirit in his eleventh statement of faith, "We firmly acknowledge that Christ alone is the head of His Church and His Vicar on earth [is] the Holy Spirit."¹²⁵

Despite these important theological differences, both pro- and anti-Ronge pamphlets flattened Ronge and Czerski's peculiarities in order to create a single reform movement. One anonymous author included a section "Ronge, Czerski, and Company."¹²⁶ Here the author described both ex-priests as blind, stubborn and possessing "an almost limitless ignorance."¹²⁷

¹²³ Treumund, *Die Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 27.

¹²⁴ Treumund, *Die Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 28-29.

¹²⁵ Treumund, *Die Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 30, "Wir bekennen fest, daß Christus allein das Oberhaupt seiner Kirche und sein Stellvertreter auf Erden der Heilige Geist ist." There are twelve total declarations of faith in the Schneidemühl confession.

¹²⁶ Anon, *Luther und Ronge, oder Aufklärungen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert zum Verständniss des 19. Zugleich als Widerlegung der Schmähchrift* (Neuß: Verlag von Jacob Hüsgen, 1845), 81.

¹²⁷ Anon, *Luther und Ronge*, 81, "eine fast grenzlose Unwissenheit an den Tag legen; diese noble Eigenschaft begleitete fast ohne Ausnahme entweder als bloße Kenntnißlosigkeit oder als Blindheit, Verstocktheit u.s.w."

Geron also joined the two, and cited the *Frankfurter Journal* to criticize their “minor personal skills.”¹²⁸ Johann Leonard Pfaff addressed his anti-reform poem to both Czerski and Ronge and blamed both for fomenting anti-Catholic hatred and poor theological knowledge.¹²⁹ This linkage was not limited to the critics. Gustav Eschirn, for instance, saw Czerski as dependent on Ronge, only following through with his reforms after Ronge established the German-Catholic community in Breslau.¹³⁰ Catholic clergy invariably heard about this Ronge follower in the newspaper or in the pamphlet debate. The fact that Ronge was not completely alone in his criticisms helps illuminate some of the adamant calls for governmental action and the pleas issued to Protestants to stand against this new religious threat.

Confusing Confessions: Protestants and Ronge

Clerics were careful not to associate Ronge with Protestantism in their correspondence. Meisenheim clergy noted that part of the problem Catholics were having was that Protestants were buying Ronge’s pamphlet “by the thousands.” But again, church officials offered this statement only to demonstrate the need for swift state-sponsored action.¹³¹ Commentators and participants in the Ronge episode mobilized terms like “Protestant” and “Protestantism” to their own ends, but failed to give these labels much texture. Instead, “Protestant” stood in for evidence, or as the punch line of an argument: Ronge is an enemy because his ideas reflect *Protestant* theology; or Ronge was a *secret Protestant*, planted to hurt the Catholic Church by attacking relics. In November 1844, Father Kirchhoff wrote Professor Marx in Trier and asked if

¹²⁸ Geron, *Sternschnuppe*, 16.

¹²⁹ Johann Leonard Pfaff, *Den neuen deutsch-katholischen Gemeinden und ihren Führern Czerski und Ronge* (Mainz: Schott & Thielmann, 1845).

¹³⁰ Gustav Eschirn, *Johannes Ronges Brief an Bischof Arnoldi von Trier: Mit einer Einleitung und Nachwort* (Frankfurt a.M.: Neuer Frankfurter Verlag, 1908) 24.G

¹³¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 237, 36, “Wenn die Protestanten in tausend fälligen Abdrücken”.

he was familiar with the “author of ... leprosy,” Johannes Ronge. Kirchhoff hoped Marx would present a well-reasoned response to Ronge because the suspended priest had embittered Kirchhoff’s parish. The Hügsburg pastor also confided that he suspected Ronge was a Protestant plant because he could not be a “good son” of Catholicism.¹³² Kirchhoff imagined that “Protestants” bought Ronge’s pamphlet and his popularity was rooted in Protestant support and the Reformation.

Pamphlet authors presented five different, often competing, arguments about Ronge and Protestantism. Although “Protestantism” often appears as an undifferentiated religion – with no interest in distinguishing Lutheranism or Calvinism – by the end of the section it should be clear that Catholics projected their insecurities about internal division onto the Ronge debate. During the Ronge episode there was absolutely no consensus among the confessions about how to deal with Ronge. Protestant authors, more accurately those pamphlets claiming a Protestant author, both supported and opposed Ronge. The same can be said about their comments regarding at least one other Catholic renegade and Ronge ally, Johann Czerski. Ronge’s attack went beyond a criticism of Catholic pilgrimage. It struck at Catholic and Protestant state-sponsored sclergy and socio-religious structures. Catholics warned that Ronge threatened both Christian confessions with religious anarchy.

Protestants, both real and imagined, were divided on how to best respond to the Silesian ex-priest. Ronge expected that Trier participants would have to present a certificate of creed to gain access to the Holy Coat. He was surprised to learn that the pilgrimage was a bi-confessional

¹³² BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 231, 52. Professor Jacob Marx did follow the Ronge events closely, in part because he tried to gather all the 1844-related newspaper articles for analysis, see BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, “Literatur über den hl. Rock Ausstellung 1844 Notizen des Prof. Marx, Manheimer Zeitung usw.” esp. 1-2, 48-49. Kirchhoff was not alone in looking for an official response, Father Moritz thanked Bishop Arnoldi for clarifying his position vis-a-vis Ronge, BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 232, 5.

affair. Protestants had “the fullest opportunity of seeing what was to be seen.”¹³³ Ronge, wary of the Church, assumed that Protestants would be kept away from the relic because they were drawn by curiosity, not piety. Several Protestants wrote in support of Arnoldi. In December 1844, for example, the *Katholische Sonntagsblätter* published an anonymous letter titled, “Judgment of a highly respectable Protestant about Johannes Ronge.”¹³⁴ The “Protestant” author contended that Ronge was a sign of the times, a part of the weakening position of religion in German society, “Well, we live in the 19th century where everything that is good and holy is to be eradicated” and “the Communists wanted to establish a thieving proletariat, so we should not be surprised if robbery, also in our 19th century, is something glorious to be praised.”¹³⁵ In essence, Ronge was only doing what was expected of him as an upright citizen (*Biedermann*), “to cry out for light and Enlightenment, raging against the clergy and nobility” and attacking the “dumbing down of the mind and conscience.”¹³⁶ Thus the author would not denounce Ronge outright even though “he is undeniably a fanatic, a revolutionary demon.”¹³⁷ Ronge, like other Biedermeier men, was suffering from a mental disease. A difficult-to-heal passion of the mind had overtaken him.¹³⁸ The author further conceded that he could not offer any theological

¹³³ Ronge, *Holy Coat of Treves*, 12.

¹³⁴ *Katholische Sonntagsblätter zur Belehrung und Erbauung. Zu Vereine mit der Geistlichkeit der Diöcesen Fulda, Limburg, Mainz und Speier* herausgegeben von H. Himioben. Nr. 41 (22. Dec. 1844), 416-417. Of course, whether or not this letter was actually penned by a Protestant is impossible to determine.

¹³⁵ *Katholische Sonntagsblätter zur Belehrung*, 417, “wir leben ja im 19ten Jahrhunderte worin alles Gute und Heilige ausgerottet werden soll”, “Wollte ja doch Einer der Communisten ein stehlendes Proletariat gründen; und so wird’s uns nicht wundern, wenn auch Raub in unserem 19ten Jahrhundert als etwas Ruhmvolles wird ausposaunt werden.”

¹³⁶ *Katholische Sonntagsblätter zur Belehrung*, 417, “eines ächten deutschen Biedermannes, so schreit er nach Licht und Aufklärung, tobt gegen die Pfaffen und den Adel, gegen die Verdummung und Geistes- und Gewissenstyrannie und der Held des Tages, der Freimüthige ist in seiner bunten Jacke zum Spaß und zur belustigung aller Dunkelmannsfeinde fix und fertig.”

¹³⁷ *Katholische Sonntagsblätter zur Belehrung*, 417, “aber er ist unleugbar ein fanatischer, revolutionärer Ungeist.”

¹³⁸ The Biedermeier period in German-speaking Europe occurred between the fall of Napoleon (1815) and the 1848 Revolutions. On Biedermeier and Biedermann see Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 27-40. See Nipperdey’s discussion of Biedermeier literature and portraits: Thomas Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800-1866* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. Originally 1983), 495-519. See also Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 4. On women in the Biedermeier

insights into pilgrimage and relics; that was not his task. Instead, as a devoted Protestant, he could only point out that Ronge was “surely not in his heart Catholic” and “unworthy of the title ‘priest’.”¹³⁹ Ronge was a warning to Christians, a new threat to religion that stood outside of the Protestant Reformation and Protestant tradition. The anonymous author was highly concerned that if Ronge gained a following he would set off a cascading descent into relativism.

Another self-identified Protestant, Dr. Wilhelm Böhmer, echoed the *Katholische Sonntagsblätter* sentiments in his 1845 tract. Böhmer systematically evaluated many of Ronge’s boldest claims in order to assess their veracity. Böhmer stated that he was trying to be objective, to find a balance between the pro- and anti-Ronge extremes reflected in the pamphlet discussion since October 1844.¹⁴⁰ In the work, Böhmer followed a pattern. He restated one of Ronge’s positions and then pronounced judgment. For example, he noted that Ronge criticized Bishop Arnoldi for showing a piece of cloth for worship, Böhmer found this position “correct” because Arnoldi would not guarantee its authenticity. More often than not, however, Böhmer ruled against Ronge, most notably regarding Ronge’s statements about the beginnings of Christendom. Böhmer also rejected Ronge’s statement that venerating images and relics is forbidden in the gospel.¹⁴¹ He sarcastically dismissed Ronge’s appeal to early church tradition and Ronge’s position that there were no images or relics in the early churches. Naturally not, noted Böhmer,

period see Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation* (New York: Berg, 1983), 63-69.

¹³⁹ *Katholische Sonntagsblätter zur Belehrung*, 417, “Nur muß ich im Namen besonnener und ernster Protestanten das Bekenntniß aussprechen, daß jener Herr Ronge, der doch gewiß im Herzen kein Katholik, und des Namens eines Priesters unwürdig ist, auch für einen Protestanten zu schlecht ist.”

¹⁴⁰ Dr. Wilh. Böhmer, *Der heilige Rock in Trier und der katholische Priester Herr Johannes Ronge. Eine unbefangene Beurtheilung*. (Breslau: Verlage von J. Urban Kern, 1845), 4. Böhmer contends he is most interested in the truth, “Weder das eine, noch das andere Aeüßerste dürfte die ganze Wahrheit in sich schließen.”

¹⁴¹ Böhmer, *Der heilige Rock in Trier*, 9, “Wiefern jedoch diese Verehrung in der Achtung der Bilder und Reliquien besteht, wird sie nirgends von dem Evangelio verboten.”

“but of course, because they were not in possession of real churches.”¹⁴² Finally, Böhmer took Ronge to task for drawing false parallels between Roman-era paganism and the veneration of the Trier Coat. Böhmer discarded Ronge’s analysis of the Church fathers because they had in mind not the Trier Coat, but actual worship of idols in mind, when they wrote their treatises.¹⁴³ The major point here is that Böhmer, as a Protestant, did not find Ronge’s appeal to history or Ronge’s Scripture analysis convincing.

As mentioned previously, in broad terms, pamphleteers characterized Ronge’s relationship to Protestantism in five different forms. First, Hilarius Geron, “a Roman Catholic man from the Pfalz,” argued that Ronge used Protestantism to protest Catholic practices without understanding Protestant thinkers.¹⁴⁴ If Ronge read Protestant thinkers, he would know that even Protestants maintained aspects of Catholic organization. Melancthon supported church discipline and Luther, in 1546, even affirmed the usefulness of confession.¹⁴⁵ Geron promised that he could give more quotes from Hume, Leibnitz, Senkenberg, and Herder that confirmed the Protestant belief in a church hierarchy.¹⁴⁶ Geron’s use of Protestant thinkers to make his argument was popular and Catholic newspapers used his line of reasoning to undermine Ronge’s statements about venerating relics. The *Luxemburger Zeitung*, for example, quoted Lavater, “Nothing is more natural – however unnaturally it may also be abused – than the love of relics of

¹⁴² Böhmer, *Der heilige Rock in Trier*, 9-10, “Doch dieß ist höchst natürlich, weil sie überhaupt nicht im Besitze eigentlicher Kirchen gewesen sind.” On the topic of early Christendom Böhmer tended to echo the major Catholic critiques against the suspended priest.

¹⁴³ Böhmer, *Der heilige Rock in Trier*, 11, “Ist dagegen die von Arnoldi für den trier’schen Rock in Anspruch genommene Verehrung keine Anbetung, besteht sie in der darauf gegründeten Achtung des Gewandes, daß es dem Betrachtenden Christum als gegenstand frommer Verherrlichung in’s Gedächtniß zurückruft: so ist keine Befugniß vorhanden, den Spott, welchen Kirchenväter über die heiden wegen ihrer (götzenhaften Verehrung von Bildnissen und Reliquien ausgegossen haben, als Grund gegen die Verehrung des Rockes geltend zu machen.”

¹⁴⁴ Geron, *Sternschnuppe*, 1.

¹⁴⁵ Geron, *Sternschnuppe*, 9, “Daß die Buße sammt der Gealt der Absolution oder Löseschlüssel ein Sacrament sey, bekennen wir gern”.

¹⁴⁶ Geron, *Sternschnuppe*, 7, “wie selbst die gelehrtesten Protestanten über die Nothwendigkeit eines kirchlichen Oberhauptes einverstanden gewesen.”

good and pious people”¹⁴⁷ The editor also looked to Feßler and Döderlein as defenders of relics because they approved of “worship in spirit and truth”.¹⁴⁸ Finally, Mauritius Moritz cited Lessing, Leibnitz, and Menzel as defenders of the Catholic Mass as “religious art.”¹⁴⁹ These authors maintained that Ronge should not look to Protestants or declare himself the “Luther of the nineteenth century” because Protestantism is not synonymous with a carte blanche condemnation of Catholic practices.

The second broad argument was that Ronge not only failed to understand Protestants, but that Protestants found Ronge’s theology or “clerical revolution” unappealing. Moritz contended that Ronge often mimicked Protestant arguments, such as attacking Latin as the language of the Mass, and questioning the authority of the Pope in Rome.¹⁵⁰ Ronge’s parroting did not attract Protestants because Ronge went too far and threatened to undermine Christian morality. He here ignored the fact that thousands of Protestants bought Ronge’s pamphlets. Moritz also included in his pamphlet a section titled “Apology for the Confession [Catholicism] Composed of Protestant Writers.” Much of this section parallels the first broad argument, that Ronge failed to understand Protestant theology. However, Moritz took this position further. Protestants would not want to live in Ronge’s “German nation” because there would not be sufficient clerical authority. Ronge wanted to destroy the priests, to “purify the religion, and to reconcile the high and low, the

¹⁴⁷ *Offenes Schreiben an Herrn Johannes Ronge in Laurahütte, “den in Trier ausgestellte heiligen Rock betreffend.”* Verlag der „Luxemburger Zeitung“ (14 November 1844), “Nichts natürlicher - wie unnatürlich es auch gemäßbraucht worden seyn mag - als die Liebe zu Reliquien von guten und frommen Menschen.” Schieder argues that the *Luxemburger Zeitung* was one of Arnoldi’s principal propaganda organs during the conflict. As Schieder explains, the Prussian government denied a request to move the newspaper to Trier. This argument makes sense, given that many of the miracle reports first appeared in the *Luxemburger Zeitung*. See Schieder, “Church and Revolution,” 80.

¹⁴⁸ *Offenes Schreiben an Herrn Johannes Ronge*, “Doch vielleicht wünschts der Herr Hauslehrer bei dem evangelischen Geistlichen zu Laurahütte lieber protestantische Stimmen zu hören. Vernehmen Sie also die Urtheile selbst unterrichteter und nicht in confessionnellen Vorurtheilen befangener Katholiken über die Bilder- und Reliquien verehrung der katholischen Kirche.”

¹⁴⁹ Mauritius Moritz, *Die Verehrung heiliger Reliquien und Bilder und das Wallfahrten nach der Lehre der katholischen Kirche* (Aschaffenburg: Theodor Pergay, 1845), 58.

¹⁵⁰ Moritz, *Offene Antwort*, 21, 9.

educated and illiterate, rich and poor part of mankind.”¹⁵¹ Still, Moritz was careful not to go too far with this Protestant-Catholic solidarity reasoning. He concluded his pamphlet by declaring, “We say before the entire world openly and freely that we are nothing but Priests of the Roman Catholic Church. God will not leave his church, will not overturn the rock on which he himself built [the Church].”¹⁵²

Joseph Hillebrand, Vicarius in Dortmund, extended the thrust of Moritz’s argument in 1845 by calling on Protestants to join Catholic clergy in repudiating Ronge. In this third argument, Ronge blurs the boundaries of the Protestant-Catholic taxonomy and therefore challenged the religious order of Central Europe. Hillebrand declared that Catholics had no problem at all with Protestants honoring Luther’s ashes or images of the reformer, just as Protestants now left Catholics alone regarding their honoring of holy martyrs and relics. To preserve the peace Protestants and Catholics needed to stand together, “Catholics and Protestants must together fight the enemy of Christian enthusiasm represented by Johannes Ronge.”¹⁵³ Ultimately, for Hillebrand, Ronge was a menace beyond Christian confessional perspectives, a man who misrepresented Christendom in the past and present, an author given to counterfactual rants. Hillebrand demanded a preemptory strike from his readers, “German brothers! Catholics and Protestants! Let us not conjure up hostility, hatred and bitterness for the furies of fanaticism! ... It’s supposed to be our first duty to tolerate each other, [do not allow] lies, slander, coarse ridicule to widen the crack [between Confessions] making the union almost impossible.”¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Moritz, *Offene Antwort*, 28.

¹⁵² Moritz, *Offene Antwort*, 29. “Sagen wir vor aller Welt es offen und frei, daß wir nichts Anders sind und nichts Anders seyn wollen, als Priester der römisch-katholischen Kirche. Der Herr wird seine Kirche nicht verlassen, es wird nicht umstürzen der Fels, auf den Er selbst sie gebaut.”

¹⁵³ Hillebrand, *Neue Aergernisse*, 17, “In dem Joh. Ronge aber müssen Katholiken und Protestanten gemeinschaftlich den Feind christlicher Begeisterung bekämpfen.”

¹⁵⁴ Hillebrand, *Neue Aergernisse*, 29, “Deutsche Mitbrüder! Katholiken und Protestanten! Lasset uns die Feindschaft, Haß und Erbitterung nicht heraufbeschwören. For mit den Furien des Fanatismus! Wenn Deutschland auch geheilt ist und große kirchliche Gegensätze auf seinen Boden hat, so soll es doch unsere erste Pflicht sein, uns

Without bi-confessional cooperation Germany risked losing everything to a “revolution against the church,” the very foundation of society threatened to crumble if Protestants and Catholics took Ronge’s bait and resumed open hostilities.¹⁵⁵ Böhmer agreed with Hillebrand that Ronge was a cross-confessional problem. For Böhmer, Ronge conjured up enthusiasm, and cheap confessional division. Confessional baiting, such as the bickering about the Church fathers, profited no one, not the state, and certainly not Protestants or Catholics.¹⁵⁶ Catholic pamphleteers appealed to Protestants because they feared Protestants would take advantage of the Ronge “moment” and join his attack on Catholic practices.

Not all pamphleteers agreed with Böhmer and Hillebrand, though. In an anonymous, and pro-Ronge pamphlet, the author exclaimed that Ronge’s “words echo loudly in the hearts of all Protestant, and the overwhelming majority of Catholic Christendom.”¹⁵⁷ This author took denunciation by the Catholic press as a badge of honor, as evidence that he was doing something right when newspapers attacked his “Protestant views.”¹⁵⁸ From this perspective Ronge remained a priest and a proto-martyr, a man who followed the Bible and would receive a heavenly blessing for his sacrifice.

For C.F.B. Franksmann, Ronge was a Protestant who worked to undermine Catholicism. This fourth perspective took Ronge at his word, that he was a new, nineteenth-century Luther.

For example, Franksmann declared that Ronge was “in Protestant armies - with Protestant

gegenseitig zu dulden, damit Lüge, Verläumdung, grober Spott den Riß nicht noch größer, die Vereinigung fast unmöglich machen.”

¹⁵⁵ Hillebrand, *Neue Aergernisse*, 29.

¹⁵⁶ Böhmer, *Der heilige Rock in Trier*, 20, “Ich kann jede Anrede von dem Gesichtspunkte aus nicht billigen, daß sie in ihrer Heftigkeit geeignet ist, die Gemüther mancher Mitbürger Ronge’s, zumal Katholiken und Protestanten zu denselben gehören, in eine leidenschaftliche Aufregung, die weder für den Staat noch für die Kirche ersprießlich ist, zu versetzen.”

¹⁵⁷ Anon, *Ueber den heiligen Rock zu Trier*. (Aus der Berl. Vossischen Zeitung, 1844), 2, “sein Wort ein donnerndes Echo fand in den Herzen der ganzen protestantischen und des überwiegenden Theils der katholischen Christenheit.”

¹⁵⁸ Anon, *Ueber den heiligen Rock*, 4, “uns noch einmal bei allen “guten katholiken” wegen unserer protestantischen Ansichten denunzieren sollte.”

weapons in Protestant uniform” and cautioned his readers that they must consider Ronge “an authentic Protestant believer.”¹⁵⁹ Whereas Hillebrand dismissed Ronge’s self-appointed titles, including his claim to be in Luther’s line, “he calls himself Catholic priest and Luther...he scoffs with the scoffers;” the author of *Lyser und Ronge* placed Ronge in the long history of Protestant opposition to Catholic teachings.¹⁶⁰ For this pamphleteer, “the so-called German-Catholics, - which began in Schneidemühl are no longer Catholic, because they reject the essential dogmas of the church, and give unmistakable homage to Protestantism in their main features.”¹⁶¹ Ronge was anti-Catholic, a cranky child, who did nothing but quote Protestant arguments against Catholic practices.¹⁶² Ronge’s words were the “mother’s milk” (*Muttermilch*) of Protestant theology. Ronge was a standard bearer for Protestantism. He worked with them to combat the Jesuits and the sacraments. Ronge parroted Voltaire and Luther, but was even more dangerous because of his claim to want a “clean Catholicism.” “What,” asked the author, “does Ronge mean by ‘clean Catholicism’ that is different from Protestantism? Is this not what Luther wanted?”¹⁶³ The author, “a Catholic layman,” saw Ronge as part of a long trend toward unbelief and atheism.¹⁶⁴ The logical conclusion of Ronge’s criticisms was a war of all against all, a world without God, and a divided Germany.¹⁶⁵ Even worse, Ronge jeopardized everyone’s soul because the

¹⁵⁹ C.F.B. Franksmann, *Beleuchtung des Ronge’schen Schreibens an den Hochwürdigsten Herrn Bischof Arnoldi zu Trier, nebst einigen Bemerkungen über Zeitungscribenten, Dankadressen und die Nachschrift des Herr Dr. Harms über den heil. Rock - in seiner Reformationspredigt* (Kiel: In Commission bei Chr. Bünsow, 1845), 6, “in den protestantischen Schlachtreihen - mit protestantischen Waffen - in protestantischen Uniform”, “ächt protestantischen Glaubensbruder”.

¹⁶⁰ Hillebrand, *Neue Aergernisse*, 3.

¹⁶¹ Eines katholischen Laien, *Lyser und Ronge und der Rationalismus in seinem Verhältnisse zu den neuesten Religionsfragen* (Würzburg: Verlag von Voigt & Mocker, 1845), 5, “die sogenannte deutsch=katholische, - die in Schneidemühl aufzutauchen begonnen hat, ist keine katholische mehr, da sie die wesentlichsten Dogmen dieser Kirche verwirft, und in ihren Hauptzügen unverkennbar dem Protestantismus huldigt.”

¹⁶² Eines katholischen Laien, *Lyser und Ronge*, 6, “dann ließe sich dies unmäßige, man möchte sagen, kindische Freude begreifen; da er aber nichts sagt, als was sich bei jedem Protestanten”.

¹⁶³ Eines katholischen Laien, *Lyser und Ronge*, 12, “Wir fragen Ronge, was er unter dem reinen Katholicismus anders versteht, als den Protestantismus, indem ja auch Luther nichts anderes gewollt?”

¹⁶⁴ Eines katholischen Laien, *Lyser und Ronge*, 14, 19.

¹⁶⁵ Eines katholischen Laien, *Lyser und Ronge*, 20-22.

consequence of following him was eternity in Hell.¹⁶⁶ Ronge would break religion and throw out morality, and this would undermine the Christian foundation of society. Without this moral compass self-interest would lead to anarchy. Christ, cautioned the layman, left no room for halfway decisions, Catholics were either with Christ or against Him. In this view Ronge was a Protestant, a radical Protestant, who took the Reformation to its ultimate conclusion – Godless atheism and moral anarchy. There could be no quarter for the German-Catholics who unfairly polluted the “Catholic” title by undermining the Church’s sacraments and traditions.

Many pamphlets reminded their readers that Catholicism survived Luther and could easily weather Ronge’s mimicked arguments. Johann Peter Lyser sarcastically noted that Ronge faced a monumental task in his fight for “light and truth” considering how many people were “stupid” enough to be “fooled” by the clergy and go to Trier.¹⁶⁷ Lyser associated Ronge with a broader Enlightenment attack on nineteenth-century Catholicism. In his dichotomy of religion vs. Enlightenment Catholicism, he had just landed a stinging blow in the form of a well-coordinated and successful pilgrimage.¹⁶⁸ Ronge deposed himself as a Catholic priest. He broke his own staff when he tried to rally the German nation via Luther and Huss.¹⁶⁹ Lyser likened Ronge to a passing storm, an ephemeral blip on the radar of German theology. His being temporary did not mean he was safe, and Lyser reminded readers that “[Ronge’s] light is the wisp of reason, which toppled a great and mighty nation into blood and tears half a century

¹⁶⁶ Eines katholischen Laien, *Lyser und Ronge*, 23, “Auf diesem Wege sucht und gewinnt die Hölle, der wir den Atheismus unbedenklich als Synonym zugesellen”.

¹⁶⁷ Johann Peter Lyser, *Sendschreiben an Johannes Ronge in Laurahütte* (Würzburg: Voigt u. Mocker, 1844), 3-5.

¹⁶⁸ Lyser, *Sendschreiben an Johannes Ronge*, 5, “so muß die Zahl der Dummköpfe und der stumpfen Geister überall noch erschrecklich groß sein und die Aufklärung, die Negation aller Offenbarung und Ueberlieferung hat noch ein gut Stück Arbeit, bis die diesen Millionen verwahrsloster Köpfe den alten Spuck von Religion, Gott und Unsterblichkeit aus dem Gehirne treibt.”

¹⁶⁹ Lyser, *Sendschreiben an Johannes Ronge*, 11, “als katholischer Priester haben Sie sich selbst den Stab gebrochen, wenn Sie die deutsche Nation auffordern”.

ago!”¹⁷⁰ Other authors warned that Ronge could lead to a new Thirty Years War, but for Lyser the danger was much more recent, the religious indifference and anticlericalism that led to the French Revolution. Ronge claimed that millions were like him, bitter and tired of clerical control. Perhaps Ronge had found a million followers, Lyser conceded, but they were not Catholics.¹⁷¹ True Catholics stood together in a shared spirit of communal religion; here the example of communal pilgrimage is all but stated. Only false Catholics could follow Ronge’s individualism and shun Trier.

Pamphleteers created the fifth link between Ronge and Protestantism when they sought to dissuade Protestants from following Ronge. In an anonymous pamphlet, “for Catholics and Protestants” one author asked his readers to closely examine what Ronge actually wrote.¹⁷² The author granted that Ronge was entitled to his opinion. Yet, because the ex-priest claimed to speak “in the name of millions of every station” he represented a threat to all of Christianity.¹⁷³ Although many of the author’s arguments were directed toward a Catholic audience (see above for examples), he maintained that Ronge was a heretic because he elevated the Holy Spirit above the Father and Son and thereby rejected the balance of the Trinity.¹⁷⁴ He cautioned Protestants about the articles coming from Silesia. Ronge sought to manipulate prominent Protestant beliefs to his favor, for example, with statements like “Jesus left us his spirit, not his Coat” and “the Coat went to Jesus’ executioners.”¹⁷⁵ Protestants should see beyond Ronge’s pithy statements and realize the actual threat he posed to German Christian civilization.

¹⁷⁰ Lyser, *Sendschreiben an Johannes Ronge*, 13, “Ihr Licht ist das Irrlicht der Vernunft, das vor einem halben Jahrhundert ein großes und mächtiges Volk in Blut und Thränen gestürzt!”

¹⁷¹ Lyser, *Sendschreiben an Johannes Ronge*, 12.

¹⁷² Anon, *Herr Johannes Ronge mit Gründen widerlegt, für Katholiken und Protestanten. Aus den Mainzer “katholischen Sonntagsblättern” besonders abgedruckt* (Mainz: Schott und Thielmann, 1844), 3-4.

¹⁷³ Anon, *Herr Johannes Ronge*, 13.

¹⁷⁴ Anon, *Herr Johannes Ronge*, 16.

¹⁷⁵ Anon, *Herr Johannes Ronge*, 60.

As Ronge's message spread outside of Germany, including to France and the Low Countries, Rhineland clerics felt trapped, gripped with a sense of urgency to find understanding with Protestant Christians and the Prussian regime. "Ronge as threat" was the most prominent of the five broad associations made between the excommunicated Silesian priest and Protestantism. Catholic leaders worried about their political situation and about the possibility of open violence, of an anticlerical outbreak along the lines of Thomas Münzer and the sixteenth-century Peasant's War.¹⁷⁶ The pro-Ronge rhetoric did nothing to calm their concerns. Treumund upheld Ronge and Czerski as two men who "broke the dam" and unleashed "the unstoppable flow of truth" into the world.¹⁷⁷ Protestants had to understand that Ronge was not actually Catholic and they needed to realize that Ronge's message went beyond Protestantism and brought Germany to the brink of nihilism and ruin. In their open letters to Germany, Catholics did not assert their faith as the only true form of Christianity; instead they appealed for calm. They asked for mutual respect and repeatedly emphasized the religious peace that had dominated Europe since the Thirty Years War. Ronge questioned the Peace of Westphalia and the confessional balance of Central Europe. Catholics and Protestants had to work together to stop his message.

Conclusion

As Bishop Franz Rudolf prepared for the 1933 pilgrimage and sent out invitations to German bishops, his office typed up reports about foreign and diocesan participation in the 1844

¹⁷⁶ This concern appears in several pamphlets, including, Anon, *Der heilige Rock zu Trier*, 22.; Anon, *Herr Johannes Ronge, der falsche*, 11.; Anon, *Luther und Ronge*, 90. For secondary literature see: James M. Stayer, *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).; Steven E. Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent: Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

¹⁷⁷ Treumund, *Die Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 19, "Einmal den damm durchbrochen fluthete sie fort, die unaufhaltsame Strömung der Wahrheit und wird ihren Gang um die Welt machen, nicht eher ruhen, bis sie befruchtend alle Länder überschwemmte. Gleichen Schrittes gingen sie muthig vorwärts Hand in Hand, verkörpertes Wort, verkörperte That!"

and 1891 pilgrimages. The Breslau report included an October 1844 article, by the Weihbischof and Domkapitular, that condemned the Ronge scandal.¹⁷⁸ In the report, Ronge appeared proud, hardened, and blasphemous. The Breslau clerics hoped that with the close of the display the critics and Ronge supporters would be silent. The Weihbischof and Domkapitular believed that the German Reich, like the Holy Coat, would not be divided. This statement drew the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*'s attention. The editors thought it particularly daring of the Catholics to draw parallels between a relic and the nation, and called the Breslau report "a sign of the times in which everyone can make a commentary."¹⁷⁹ The paper further noted that Catholic attempts to censor Ronge's letter had failed. In fact, Cultural Minister Eichhorn informed a cathedral canon in Münster that Prussia could not protect Catholics from every criticism.¹⁸⁰ Ronge's opinions could be found in the *Sächsische Vaterlandsblätter* or were available at bookstores in pamphlet form. Although his writings were still widely available, Ronge's message faded, only remembered by 1933 clergy as an anecdote, part of Breslau's 1844 participation.

Although clergy downplayed Ronge in 1933, his legacy continued to affect Rhineland religious practices. Post-Ronge, clergy and laity turned away from one another and dwelt on divine presence separately. Laity continued to understand and write about the relics in Aachen and Trier as vessels of divine presence (see Chapters 2-4), as sites where the eternal and temporal came together. Clergy, wary of facing further criticism, turned away from lay understandings of sacred presence in order to present relics as plausible historical and Christian

¹⁷⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 101, 146-147.

¹⁷⁹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 101, 147, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* is on the same page as the conclusion to the Breslau article and dated 15. November. Presumably this report came from the same year, I am assuming it is 1844. "Dieses Schreiben ist gewiß ein merkwürdiges Actenstück, auch ein Zeichen der Zeit, zu dem sich jeder den Commentar machen kann. Die Verbindung des untheilbaren deutschen Reichs mit dem ungetheilten heiligen Rock ist mindestens etwas gewagt." These two articles also appear in BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 141, 57-58.

¹⁸⁰ Steinruck, "Die Heilig-Rock-Wallfahrt von 1844," 320.

artifacts. Clergy worked to make Catholicism part of wider German society by curtailing the mystery of pilgrimage miracle claims and by historicizing sacred objects.

After 1844, Catholic clergy were reluctant to rely only on biblical proofs and the Church fathers as standalone evidence that pilgrimage and relics were inherently Christian. In chapters five and six, I examine how Trier and Aachen church officials co-opted scientific experimentation to corroborate relic authenticity. Clergy increasingly turned to fiber analysis and historical records to explain their appreciation of the Trier Coat and four Aachen Marian Shrine relics. Similarly, clergy focused on Constantine, in the case of Trier, and Charlemagne in Aachen, as founders of their cities and discoverers of their true relics. In other words, they found sources of authenticity outside the rhetoric they used to counter Ronge's arguments. This ancient lineage, for the clergy, meant that German Catholics were not only full members of the German community, but an integral part of its ancient roots. Laity, however, had their own understandings pilgrimage and relic authority. While 1844 served as a turning point for clerical presentations of relics, pilgrims continued to attend events in Trier and Aachen with the hope of encountering divine presence in the four Aachen relics and the Holy Coat. Pilgrim expectations and practices form the foundation of the next three chapters.

Chapter 2

What They Practiced: Pilgrims, Songs, and Processions

Introduction

Pilgrims are still drawn to the sacred centers of western Europe. In 2012, 545,000 individuals traveled to Trier to view the Holy Coat of Jesus.¹ In 2013, at least 30,000 sick individuals made pilgrimage to Lourdes.² In July of that year two tragedies further highlighted the fact that Europeans continue to participate in pilgrimages. In Spain, a train wreck on 24 July 2013 killed 79 people near Santiago de Compostela as the city prepared to celebrate the feast of St. James.³ The accident led the officials in Compostela to call off the festival in order to honor and mourn the deceased passengers with a funerary Mass. Also in July, in southern Italy, near Avellino, a bus carrying pilgrims back from Telese Terme went off of a bridge. The pilgrims had just visited the birthplace of Padre Pio, a popular Italian saint. Thirty-nine people died in this accident, 36 of them instantly.⁴ Europeans continue to take to the road and to the rails to visit traditional locations of Catholic piety. Participants marked sacred place on these journeys. Pilgrim practices defined the boundaries of the sacred.

Between 1832 and 1937 clergy taught travelers to Trier and Aachen how to become pilgrims. In 1933, pilgrims from Bonneweg, Hollerich were issued a first-person flyer titled “What Every Pilgrim Must Know.” This short pamphlet instructed pilgrims on how to behave during the journey: “During the trip I stay with [the] group as much as possible, I participate in the joint Rosary or sing a religious song with fellow pilgrims.”⁵ Not only were the Bonneweg

¹ *Trierer Volksfreund*, “Kostbarer Blick in die Seele,” (19 September 2012).

² *The Pilgrim's Journal*, “11 February - Feast of Our Lady of Lourdes” 10 (January/February 2013).

³ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-23507348> (Accessed 30 July 2013) and <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-23449336> (Accessed 30 July 2013) and <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-23486048> (Accessed 30 July 2013).

⁴ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-23486086> (Accessed 30 July 2013).

⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 125, 83, “Während der Fahrt bin ich möglichst gesammelt, beteilige mich am gemeinsamen Rosenkranzgebet oder singe mit den Mitpilgern ein frommes Lied.”

pilgrims urged to stay together, but they were told what to silently pray as they walked past the Coat. “In the Cathedral I see at the end of the middle aisle the Holy Coat. With great devotion I draw closer to the Holy garment and pray silently in my heart, ‘Oh Jesus, let out your blood and your pain, it is not wasted on me, a poor sinner!’”⁶ These 1933 pilgrims were instructed to think viscerally about the execution of Jesus, the divine sacrifice made for them. The Coat linked them to that event because Jesus wore it during his life, ministry, and right up until the final moments before he was nailed to the cross. In 1933, song and prayer helped to keep order in the crowded city. Schmitt, a teacher who helped with the event, outlined the standard pilgrim experience, which included, “religious preparation during normal congestion in the Jesuit Church ... under song and prayer the procession moved toward the cathedral”.⁷ Pilgrims made themselves heard, their prayers and songs regulated their movements through the city and fostered a sense of commonality. Prayer helped to keep the pilgrims focused on the purpose of their journey, to honor Christ, Mary, John the Baptist via their garments. The first section of this chapter analyzes these pilgrim praises and petitions, both silent and vocalized, both taught and spontaneous forms.

In addition to the audible practices of prayer and song, Catholics made sacred place by marching. In the Rhineland, this practice was not limited to the pilgrimage years. Indeed, Catholics in Aachen held at least one major procession every year, the *Frohnleichnams-Prozession*, or Corpus Christi Procession. During this event, over forty local associations and organizations marched behind the Eucharist.⁸ In addition, the city held processions on momentous occasions, such as the Rosary Sunday procession on 12 September 1915. This event

⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 125, 83, “Im Dom erblicke ich gleich im Mittelgang das hl. Kleid. Mit grösster Andacht nahe ich mich dem hl. Gewande und bete still im Herzen: ‘O Jesu, lass dein Blut und deine Pein, an mir armen Sünder nicht verloren sein!’”

⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 94.

⁸ See DAA, PA 59, “Ordnung der Frohnleichnams-Prozession” documents.

was to both celebrate the *Gnadenbild der Mutter Gottes* (Grace Statue of Mary) and to pray for protection during the First World War.⁹ On Rosary Sunday, Aachen Catholic participants prayed specifically for the wounded, for honorable victory, for a favorable peace in Germany. In other words, German Catholics often made processions outside of their churches and cathedrals.

Like Corpus Christi processions, the pilgrimage cortège began and ended at the cathedral. Also, like Corpus Christi, the closing processions at Aachen festivals meant bringing sacred objects into profane space. Oliver Zimmer has already made this point in his study of Corpus Christi processions in Ulm, Ludwigshafen, and Augsburg.¹⁰ Corpus Christi processions, for Zimmer, were often about liberal versus Catholic claims on public space, for example, whether or not to disrupt public transportation to accommodate large processions. Like Zimmer's three cities, Aachen and Trier had to gain permission for their events. For instance, in Aachen, pilgrimage organizers had to get the approval of both local and district police to host the event and to carry out the public closing ceremony. Similarly, in 1891 Trier, Bishop Korum requested state approval for increased train activity to carry pilgrims from across Germany to the Holy Coat. However, Catholic processions were about much more than the use of public space. These were at times contested practices. A procession visibly delineated insiders and outsiders and turned public, shared spaces into sacred places, even if only temporarily.

Through an analysis of three aspects of pilgrimage - prayer, song, and procession - this chapter reconstructs the pilgrim and clerical sacrosapes. Pilgrims were active in constructing the pilgrimage experience and did not always follow clerical instructions. Pilgrim engagement defined the spatial boundaries of Catholic practices. For instance, pilgrims had to cooperate with

⁹ DAA, PA 59, "Aachen, den 10 September 1915."

¹⁰ Oliver Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life: German Communities in the Age of the Nation-State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), see "Chapter 7: Corpus Christi."

clerically-led songs while on processions. This chapter follows pilgrim practices from interior (silent prayers) to exterior (public processions) to show the varied meanings of pilgrimage and how spaces became sacred places. This will in turn reveal the continuities of Catholic public practices between 1832 and 1937. This chapter is concerned with the form of pilgrim behavior. What did pilgrims do? How did they get to Trier and Aachen? and, upon arrival, what did they sing, pray, expect? In essence, this is a limited conception of pilgrim participants because the forthcoming analysis relies heavily on published material and clerical sources. Whenever possible, however, pilgrims speak for themselves. Or, in the case of the first section, pilgrims sing for themselves. This chapter also provides the necessary background on a number of participants and forms of worship that reappear in later chapters.

Pilgrimage, Praises, and Petitions: Talking with God

Prayer was so pervasive that it was not often mentioned separately in letters. Rather, this activity was built into procession practices, often accompanied by singing and other devotional practices. For instance, Aachen pilgrims received an indulgence in February 1853 from Pius IX for attending that year's pilgrimage; this was still in place in 1860. To receive the indulgence pilgrims needed only to travel to the Cathedral and perform prayer with devotion.¹¹ During pilgrimage, participants enacted devotion externally; devotion signaled a verb that encompassed acts of oratory. As one student recalled in 1933, "It was in the afternoon, around 5:30PM, that we went singing and praying into the Cathedral."¹² Prayer helped to set the tone for the pilgrim journey. There were two main types of prayers for the pilgrimage. Clergy wrote the first group of prayers. These were often prayed out loud during the display of relics and subsequently

¹¹ DAA, PA 58, "Aachen, 21 Mai 1860."

¹² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 102, 24.

published for pilgrim meditation. The second type of prayer appeared in pilgrim booklets, on the back of *Andenken*, and in pilgrim newspapers. Through prayer, pilgrims encountered a broad range of meditative themes as they made their way to Trier and Aachen. The prayer topics in this section also overlap with several key topics of later chapters, including: the cult of miracle (see “Transcending the Body”), Johannes Ronge (see “Rending Religiosity”), *Andenken* (remembrance) culture (see “The Sacred Economy”) and clerical vs. laity notions of the divine (see “Clerical Crossroads”).

Prayer was a central part of major ceremonies. In Aachen, prayer was scheduled into the pilgrimage protocols. For example, in 1874, “These processions go, alternating with prayers and songs, by the great so-called Wolfsthür into the Cathedral.”¹³ In 1906, when the clergy opened up Charlemagne’s reliquary for analysis, the process began with a prayer.¹⁴ And when St. Charlemagne’s bones were once more laid to rest, the clergy began the closing ceremony in prayer.¹⁵ In 1933, Pilgrims had prescribed songs and prayers in hand before departing for Trier. The Pilgrimage Committee worked hard to make sure priests registered their groups ahead of time and ordered the proper number of *Pilgerbücher* (pilgrim books) and *Pilgerabzeichen* (pilgrim badges, to pin to clothes) for their procession.¹⁶ All pilgrims were called on to pray. The sick, for instance, were not passive when they were presented with the loincloth of Jesus in Aachen, but were expected to pray the Rosary while awaiting the touch of the cloth.¹⁷

Prayer was a life and death practice for Rhenish Catholics during World War I. On 3 August 1914, Aachen clerics opened up the Marian Shrine to pray to Charlemagne, Mary, John

¹³ DAA, PA 59, “Publicandum, Aachen den 9 April 1874.”

¹⁴ *Echo der Gegenwart*, 1906, No. 162, “Die Eröffnung des Karlsschreins im Aachener Münster.”

¹⁵ *Echo der Gegenwart*, 19 November 1906, No. 268, “Die Wiedereinschließung der Gewebestoffe des Karlsschreins.”

¹⁶ See especially this circular: “Merkblatt für die Wallfahrt zum hl. Rock in Trier (Beilage zum Kirchlichen Anzeiger für die Erzdiözese Köln)” in BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 125.

¹⁷ DAA, PA 58, “Ordnung bei der Krankenberührung mit dem h. Lendentuche.”

the Baptist, and Jesus for protection and guidance during the First World War.¹⁸ At 8 a.m. on 11 May 1915, Aachen clergy again opened up the reliquary to pray closer to the divine center. They hoped that God would protect them during the unsettled period of World War I. After confirming that the relics were intact and had not been disturbed since the last consultation of them, the mayor, city council members, the provost, and other clergy offered their prayer over the relics. Their petition radiated out from the Cathedral, “May God, through the powerful intercession of our holy patron saint, the Patroness, the Blessed Virgin Mother of God Mary, St. John the Baptist, and St. Emperor Charlemagne protect our Church (*Münster*) and our city Aachen, our beloved Emperor and King Wilhelm II and the whole German Fatherland, and in the future graciously protect them and preserve them from harm.”¹⁹ The Aachen officials and clergy huddled around the Marian Shrine believed that the relics could invoke divine protective presence. God would hear their prayer, offered so close to his son’s swaddling clothes, and would preserve their sons and their city from the well-known horrors of the First World War.

Clerics offered prayers, in lieu of funds, for individuals who asked for financial assistance from the profits of the pilgrimage. To Frau Hubert Serve, in Jünkerath, Domkapitular Fuchs explained that the diocese was liberal in prayer, but short on monetary resources.

“On behalf of His Episcopal Grace I am writing to you in response to your letter dated 30 July. It is unfortunately not possible to fulfill your request. You are in error if you believe that money is abundantly flowing currently in Trier. We, leaders of the pilgrimage, are happy when we can cover the large expenses of the pilgrimage. There has also been such a torrent of petitions that the fulfillment of these requests cannot even be imagined.”

¹⁸ DAA, PA 57, “Aachen 3 August 1914.”

¹⁹ DAA, PA 57, “Aachen, den 11. Mai 1915 abends 8 Uhr,” “Möge Gott durch die mächtigen Fürbitten unserer hl. Patronin, der allerseligsten Jungfrau und Mutter Gottes Maria, des hl. Johannes des Täufers und des hl. Kaisers Karl unser Münster und unsere Stadt Aachen, unseren geliebten Kaiser und König Wilhelm II und das Ganze deutsche Vaterland auch in Zukunft gnädig beschützen und vor Unheil bewahren.”

Many Catholics looked to the Trier event for financial assistance in their moments of trouble, but had to be content with divine petitions, “His Episcopal Grace will gladly remember you and your deceased father in prayer.”²⁰

For some clergy, prayer healed not just individual, financial woes but also societal ills. In 1933, Trier officials publicly clarified that prayer was unifying. Father Ekkelhard, a Franciscan father from Paderborn called on Trier officials to make the Coat a symbol of German unity, “during the Exhibition the Coat could be held in an irenic, solemn sermon with subsequent devotion about the reunification of Germany. Especially considering that the Coat is a symbol of unity, it must be so good to talk about the unity of faith and to mainly pray the same.”²¹ Ekkelhard went on to call for the Catholic people to rise up in a “prayer crusade” (*Gebetskreuzzug*) to this effect. In response, Domkapitular Fuchs, avowed that any political rallies were not connected to the Coat because Trier officials organized devotionals themselves.²² Furthermore, as a Franciscan Father, Ekkelhard should have refrained from any such political activity.²³ As the Holy Coat was not a civic symbol, Fuchs instructed that devotions directed toward the Coat should be channeled to the Heavenly, not the Earthly city.

In the 1930s, clerics focused on the power of prayer and their petitions often contained allusions to storms, tempests, and combat. Weihbischof Sträter closed out the 1937 Aachen

²⁰ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 102, 120, “im Auftrage Sr. Bischöflichen Gnaden teile ich Ihnen auf Ihr gefl. Schreiben vom 30. Juli mit, dass es leider nicht möglich ist, Ihren Wunsch zu erfüllen. Sie befinden sich in einem Irrtum, wenn Sie glauben, dass in Trier z.Zt. das Geld reichlich fliesse, Wir sind seitens der Wallfahrtsleitung froh, wenn die sehr grossen Unkosten der Wallfahrt gedeckt werden.

Es ist zudem eine solche Flut von Bittgesuchen gekommen, dass an die Erfüllung dieser vielen Bitten überhaupt nicht gedacht werden kann.

S. Bischöflichen Gnaden werden gerne Ihrer und Ihres verstorbenen Vaters im Gebete gedenken.”

²¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 48, “ermöglichen liesse in Form einer ganz irenisch gehaltenen Predigt mit anschliessender feierlicher Andacht um die Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands im Glauben. Gerade angesichts des Heiligen Kleides, des Symboles der Einheit, muss es sich doch so gut über die Einheit im Glauben sprechen und vor allem um dieselbe beten lassen.”

²² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 49, “dass Kundgebungen irgendwelcher Art mit ihr nicht verbunden sind.”

²³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 49, “Wir bitten Sie deshalb, von einer solchen absehen zu wollen.”

pilgrimage by praying, “let a storm of prayer roar up to the sky for our every need, for our families, for our beloved country, for our Holy Church!”²⁴ For Bishop Bornewasser, pilgrim prayer set loose a storm of grace from heaven, “This is a singing and praying day and night, this is a cyclone from the heart. I thank God that I am able to tap into this current of grace.”²⁵ In 1937, Provost Sträter viewed the pilgrimage as an opportunity to bombard heaven, “[the Aachen pilgrimage is] a valuable opportunity to send to heaven a tempest of prayers for Church, for Volk, for Fatherland from hundreds of thousands of people.”²⁶ Bishop Bornewasser’s 1933 prayer was that the pilgrims be both protected and take the journey as a foretaste of eternity. “Oh Christ, you Divine King of the nations, bless all who make the pilgrimage to the Holy Coat under the sign of the cross. The Trier journey was to be a guide to their entire life path, may it also guarantee a happy journey into eternity.”²⁷ The pilgrimage did not end in Trier, but continued until the pilgrim died.

For pilgrims, there was a tension between prayer and sacred place. In the 1937, “Homily Sketch for the 1937 Aachen Pilgrimage,” officials described the pilgrimage as “primarily a matter of prayer.”²⁸ The author of the “Homily Sketch” affirmed God’s omnipotence, but also taught pilgrims that there were places in the world where God was more present, “there are

²⁴ *Sonntagsblatt f.d. kath. Familien*, München, 22.8.1937, “Deutschland,” “Laßt Gebetsstürme emporbrausen zum Himmel für all unsere Anliegen, für uns, für unsere Familien, für unser heißgeliebtes Vaterland, für unsere heilige Kirche!” “Sturm” has many resonances in wider German culture and history. For example, Goethe and the “Sturm und Drang” Romantic movement of the late eighteenth century. On this movement see Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck*, 389-395. In the 1930s the Nazis adopted the term, for instance, the Sturmabteilung, or SA, the Nazi Party paramilitary unit.

²⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 148, 132, “Das ist ein Singen und Beten Tag und Nacht, dass es einem tief aus Herz geht. Ich danke Gott, dass ich diesen Gnadenstrom erschliessen durfte.”

²⁶ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.30, “5.6.1937”, “der Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt heute eine wertvolle Gelegenheit sein, einen Gebetssturm von Hunderttausenden zum Himmel für Kirche, Volk und Vaterland zu senden.”

²⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 111, 180, “Christus, Du Göttlicher König der Völker, segne alle, die unter dem zeichen des Kreuzes zu deinem heiligen Kleide pilgern. Die Trierer Fahrt sei Vorbild ihres ganzen Lebensweges, sie sei auch Bürgschaft einer glücklichen Fahrt in die Ewigkeit.”

²⁸ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.32, “Predigtskizze zur Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt 1937.”

venerable and sacred sites where the prayer fervency is stronger, the grace greater”.²⁹ The sheer number of participants lent legitimacy to pilgrim petitions. The mass participation led to increased prayer efficacy, “Rarely in life [do] you get such a deep religious feeling as when thousands make common cause, in full confession of their faith.” The unity of pilgrim prayer created a “prayer tower” that “must penetrate the sky.”³⁰ Catholic theology taught that one could talk to God anywhere. But pilgrim pamphlets and prayers stressed that being physically near a garment that God’s son had worn meant that a prayer carried more weight, or that it had to travel a shorter distance to reach the divine. As pilgrims traveled to Trier their prayers were physically nearer to the divine.

Pilgrims prayed both on their way to Aachen and Trier, while in the cities, and on their way home. “The devotional prayers in the Cathedral Square were a wonderful heart-preparation for the visit to the Holy Coat,” wrote Father Saffrath from Aachen.³¹ Saffrath went on to ask that they continue to remember him and the Roman Church in their prayers during the exhibition. In 1937, those parishes and communities that organized a special train to get to and from Aachen designed leaflets that explained the train time table, included a map of the Old City, and, in some instances, procession organizers inserted prayers for the journey. On these rail journeys, pilgrims prayed for the pope; their bishops and priests; their parents; their youth and children; the German *Volk*; the Catholic *Volk*; the unity of faith; Catholics in Mexico, Russia, and Spain suffering for their faith; all stray believers; all sick, afflicted, or harried; the departed; and for favorable

²⁹ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.32, “Predigtskizze zur Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt 1937,” “Aber es gibt ehrwürdige und heilige Stätten, wo die Gebetsglut stärker, die Gnaden größer und das gemeinsame Gebet vieler Tausender erhebender ist.”

³⁰ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.32, “Predigtskizze zur Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt 1937,” “sie entfachen gleichsam einen Gebetsturm, der zum Himmel dringen muß.”

³¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 126, 47, “Die erbaulichen Gebete auf dem Domplatz waren eine wunderbare Herzensvorbereitung auf der Besuch des hl. Gewandes.”

weather.³² In short, pilgrims prayed on all aspects of their lives: their climate, their family, their spiritual leadership, and the body of believers - those healthy and sick, near and far, believing and unbelieving, dead and alive.

Prayer reaffirmed German Catholic identity. In 1925, the prayer offered after the Aachen relics had been put away, noted that, “we thank you for the great unmerited grace that we are Catholic.”³³ And, in this prayer, God was present for Catholics. The divine had healed sick pilgrims, and had listened to the cries of the afflicted, “We prayed, and you, from Heaven, heard our entreaties.”³⁴ Foreign pilgrims could pray in their native language, but not necessarily out loud in German public spaces. Thus the Trier Domkapitular let the Montigny-les-Metz parish pray in French. Even though the Pilgrimage Committee produced a French edition of the 1933 *Pilgerbüch*, Chaplain Leroy still asked if his group of 600 pilgrims could pray together in French. The response was cryptic. Yes, the group was allowed to pray in French in their Station Church, St. Maximin, presumably during Mass. However, whether or not the French pilgrims could parade about the town praying in French remained an unanswered question. Presumably not, based on the denial of permission to the Unio Cleri procession’s request to sing in French. Trier officials wanted to keep the public event and Trier sacred place German (see below).³⁵

Pilgrims were moved by prayers. In 1844, Jacob Marx noted that the afternoon devotionals in Trier churches were particularly exhilarating and well-attended. “The sermon stirred up the hearts and then the prayer began. From the pulpit a litany was prayed, a Lord’s Prayer, prayers for the whole church, for the spiritual leader, and then concluded with a blessing.

³² DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.8., “Gebetsmeinungen für die Hin- und Rückfahrt.” See also: Domkapitel 4.1.1.30, “Merkblatt, Nr. 80 (Reichsbahn Nr. 137) für den Sonderzug aus Hörter”.

³³ DAA, PA 66, “Gebet am Tag der Einziehung der Tücher.”

³⁴ DAA, PA 66, “Wir haben gebetet, und du hast vom Himmel unser Flehen erhört.”

³⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 125, 291-92.

... What a throng of people attended the sermon and prayer!”³⁶ During these devotionals, pilgrims did not have to come up with their own petitions and praises to God on the spot. Pilgrims could purchase pre-written prayers; or, more likely, were directed toward appropriate prayers by procession leaders.³⁷

Prayer was part of the sacred economy wherein pilgrims purchased remembrances and devotional items (*Andenken*) during their pilgrimages. These *Andenken* often featured short reflections and prayers for recitation. In 1844, Jacob Marx observed at least 160 stands throughout Trier, which sold devotional objects and prayer booklets.³⁸ In 1925, when *Kühlen Kunst* proposed an *Andenken* prayer booklet to Vicar Brüll in Aachen, they wanted help choosing the best prayers and images. In 1925, the Aachen Xaverius press marketed their Pilgrim Guidebook as having “prayer exercises for all parts of pilgrimage, including a sick prayer.”³⁹ *Andenken* were often accompanied by short prayers. In 1937, one *Andenken* featured silk used to wrap the swaddling clothes of Jesus and included the prayer, “Jesus! Du bist mein “Du”! Du bist aber auch mein “Ich” und unser “Wir”!” (Jesus! You are my “you”! But you are also my “I” and our “we”!).⁴⁰ There was high demand for prewritten prayers, and this fact is reflected in lists of items for sale to those who made the pilgrimage journey.

Though pilgrims purchased *Andenken* that contained suggested praises and petitions, the act of communicating with God was not to be interrupted for commerce. One anonymous pilgrim

³⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 20, Marx was quickly taking notes in the church and his spelling is not always perfect: “Waren die Herzen durch die Predigt angeregt gemerkt, gerührt, so begann die Andacht. Eine passende Litanie wand gebetet (von der Kanzel), einige Vater unser, Gebete für das Wohl der Kirche, für das Oberhaupt, und dann mit den sakrament-Segen geschlossen. Zu befrage wand auch der Segen gegeb und dann ein Predigtlied gesungen.

Welche, ein Bedräng des Volkes zu den Predigt und der Andacht!”

³⁷ DAA, PA 66, “B. Kühlen Kunst und Verlagsanstalt M. Gladbach.”

³⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 29.

³⁹ DAA, PA 68, “Pilgerbuch zur Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt!” “Dann folgen Gebetsübungen für alle Teile der Heiligtumsfahrt, auch ein Krankengebet.”

⁴⁰ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.31.

wrote in to Trier to alert them to a problem during the processions. While a pilgrim group from the Koblenz Catholic Women's League prepared to enter the Cathedral they were disturbed by a young man. The interruption was particularly despicable as the women had their heads bowed in prayer and song. Their meditative pose did not deter the youth; he walked up to each of them and pressed a piece of paper into their hands. The paper was an advertisement for wine and included a list of available vintages and their prices. While the perturbed pilgrim understood times were hard in 1933, and conceded that Trier citizens had a right to try and earn some extra money during the pilgrimage, she/he also found interrupting prayer to be inexcusable.⁴¹ Here praying signified an engagement with the Coat and the sacred. Prayer transported a pilgrim into sacred time and out of economic or commercial time. Praying meant turning the public space into sacred place, the offending flyer-dispenser violated this system and upset the demarcation between pilgrimage and secular.

Prayer was, for many potential pilgrims, an alternative means of participating in Rhenish religious festivals. In 1860, the Bishop of Speyer could not make it to Aachen but promised to send his laity and to join his prayers with the "pious prayers of the many thousands" of attendants.⁴² In 1895, the Bishop of Fulda, promised to attend if he could and prayed that the Aachen festival would lead unbelievers to the Church.⁴³ Bishops continued to offer their prayers in place of their bodily attendance, with the Bishops of Osnabrück and Münster, in 1902, declining but promising to entreat the Lord on behalf of the event.⁴⁴ In 1933, one seventy-year-old female pilgrim feared being crushed to death trying to gain entrance into the Cathedral. She went to *Josefskirche* to pray the Rosary instead. Walburga, of Ingoldstadt, sent the Trier

⁴¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 148, 89.

⁴² DAA, PA 58, "30 Juni 1860, Bishop of Speyer."

⁴³ DAA, PA 61, "Fulda, den 22 Juni 1895."

⁴⁴ DAA, PA 62, "28 Mai 1902, Bischof von Osnabrück", "31 Mai 1902 Bischof von Münster."

Pilgrimage Committee 5 RM in 1891 so that they would pray for her at Mass. Her circumstances, including caring for seven children, prevented her from personally attending.⁴⁵ Instead of physically drawing close to the relic, these two would-be pilgrims made indirect pilgrimages to the Trier Coat.⁴⁶

Prayer not only allowed dignitaries to participate from a distance, but could also facilitate physical healing. Charlotte recalled that it was when her niece, the Countess Droste-Vischering, prayed in front of the Trier Coat in 1844 that her health problems disappeared.⁴⁷ And this prayerful aspect of the Droste-Vischering story continued to be important into 1909, when nuns from San Francisco asked for confirmation of their understanding of what happened to the Countess. Accordingly, “Before she stopped, and always supported by her crutches remained there for some time, standing quite still and nearly motionless, hiding her face in her hands and performing a silent prayer. Suddenly she dropped her crutches.”⁴⁸ In 1933, Cologne Vicar General Dr. David approved prayer cards for sick pilgrims. These index-card sized objects included a prayer to Jesus, to Mary, and a prayer of St. Teresia of the *Kinde Jesu* Order. St. Teresia was sure that “Jesus wants to attract far more through suffering and testing, than by working and preaching the soul itself.”⁴⁹ Jesus tested the sick, but not without purpose, such trials were to bring glory to God and attract the unbelieving. On the back, pilgrims were urged to unite with Mary in her suffering at the foot of Jesus’ cross.⁵⁰ Prayers fostered unity and a prayer

⁴⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 249a., 75.

⁴⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 199-70, 32.

⁴⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 228, 3.

⁴⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 250, 5.

⁴⁹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 637, “Jesus will weit mehr durch Leiden und Prüfungen, als durch Arbeiten und Predigten die Seelen an sich ziehen.”

⁵⁰ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 640.

community. Prayer cards were portable and helped link pilgrims back to the sacred centers of Aachen and Trier.⁵¹

Prayer at the sacred center transcended geographic boundaries. In the case of Peter, son of a vineyard owner and a parishioner of Pastor Steffens, prayer overcame the obstinacy of a haricot bean he had inadvertently lodged in his ear.⁵² Peter had been living with the bean for some time. Occasionally it would work its way to the edge of his ear canal, but when he tried to remove it, he wound up pushing it farther back. On 19 August 1844, though, his mother was in Trier before the Holy Coat and prayed for her son. At that hour, noon, the bean fell out, “the bean was covered in earwax and surrounded by a solid crust that formed around it - the hard shell of the bean was in decay.”⁵³ Pastor Steffens was proud to report to the Trier officials that the prayer had cured Peter of his painful condition and that he could now hear “like every other person, very well.”⁵⁴

Peter’s mother was not alone, pilgrims saw the Rhineland relics as sites of prayer, places to gain a better understanding of the divine and to have her petitions closely examined by the Father and Jesus. Maria Fröhlich, an 1844 pilgrim, recorded her own prayers throughout her diary, including a prayer to get ready for seeing the Coat:

“Open up, O Lord, my mouth, to praise your holy name, and purify my heart of all perverse and impure thoughts, facilitate my understanding, light a zeal in me, that I may

⁵¹ On “mental pilgrimage” see the work of Dom Jean LeClercq. Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catherine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982). See also Daniel K. Connolly, “Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris,” *The Art Bulletin* 81,4 (December 1999): 598-622. Connolly considers pilgrimages of the mind to Jerusalem by thirteenth-century monks. On “throwing prayers” as a way of blessing, see Corr’s study of religious practices in the Andes: Rachel Corr, “To Throw the Blessing: Poetics, Prayer, and Performance in the Andes,” *The Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 9(2) (2004): 382-408.

⁵² BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 231, 57-58.

⁵³ BATr, Abt. 92, Nr. 231, 57, “aus dem rechten Ohr heraus fiel. Mit Ohrenschmalz war die Bohne umgeben, des eine feste Kruste um sie bildete - die Schale der Bohne in harter Verwesung.”

⁵⁴ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 58, “wie jeder andern Mensch, ganz gut”.

worthily, attentively, devoutly, and fully bring my prayer, that it will be examined in the sight of your divine majesty, through Christ our Lord, Amen.”⁵⁵

Maria Gertrud, an Ursuline abbess wrote her own litany to honor the Coat in 1933. For Mother Gertrud, the Coat was an opportunity to simultaneously affirm her orthodoxy and praise the individual sacrifice of Christ for sinners. “Jesus, begotten Son of God, you have tightened the robe of our morality.” Jesus wore not just the Coat, and the “robe of morality,” in Gertrud’s prayer, but also the garb of humility; the Coat that healed; the atoning cloth doused in blood; the transfigured, white Coat of Tabor; the Coat of immortality; the garb of our mortality; of divine humility; and the robe of glory.⁵⁶

These prayers offer a glimpse into Catholic beliefs about pilgrimage and the significance of Rhineland relics. Mother Gertrud, after receiving praise from the Pilgrimage Committee, wrote and submitted five additional prayers related to the 1933 Coat. The Coat, as it existed in 1933, represented the humanity of Christ, “you wear the clothing of your land and of your people.”⁵⁷ Jesus, as human, was present and could help pilgrims and petitioners, “lend us the grace,” and “grant us the sentiments of the faithful servant who does not want to be better dressed than his master.”⁵⁸ The act of getting dressed featured prominently in Mother Gertrud’s

⁵⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230a., 24, “Eröffne, O Herr! meinen Mund, zu beißen deinen heiligen Namen, und reinige mein Herz von allen eiteln, verkehrten und fremden Gedanken: erleichte meinen Verstand, zünde an einen Eifer in mir, damit ich würdiglich, aufmerksam und andächtig mein Gebet vollbringe, und vor dem Angesicht deiner Göttlichen Majestät erhört werde, durch Christum unsern Herrn, A.”

⁵⁶ BATr, Abt. 90 Nr. 128, 69, “Jesu, eingeborener Sohn Gottes, Du hast das Gewand unserer Sterblichkeit angezogen,

Jesu, neuer Adam (oder fleisch gewordenes Wort) Du hast das Gewand der Demut und Busse getragen.

Jesu, himmlischer Arzt, von Deinem Gewand ging ein Kraft aus, die alle heilte, die es berührten.

Jesu, unser Erlöser, Dein Gewand wurde in Deiner Todesangst mit Blutschweiss benetzt.

Jesu, Heiland der Welt. Du trugst Dein blutiges Gewand auf dem Kreuzwege.

Jesu, Sühnopfer für unsere Sünden, über Dein Gewand warfen die Soldaten das Los.

Jesu, bei Deiner Verklärung auf dem Tabor wurden Deine Kleider weiss wie Schnee

Jesu bei Deiner Auferstehung mit dem Gewande der Unsterblichkeit geschmückt.

Jesu, ewiger König, Du trägst das Gewand der Herrlichkeit erbarme Dich unser.”

⁵⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 95, “Du trugst das Kleid Deines Landes und Deines Volkes”.

⁵⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 96, “Verleihe uns die Gnade”. BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 96, “Gewähre uns die Gesinnung des getreuen Knechtes der nicht besser gekleidet sein will als sein Herr.”

prayers, “You have taken all of our sickness upon yourself and you carry all of our pain.”⁵⁹

Catholics had a duty to honor the Coat linked to Jesus’ triumphant entry into Jerusalem, “The people spread their clothes on the path. They cut down branches from the trees and strewed them at his feet.”⁶⁰ Jesus suffered in the Coat, his sacrifice was for the eternal salvation and glory of the Church, Catholics had to remember the place of the Coat in Jesus’ ministry. “O Jesus, Redeemer of the World, in your death angst, your garment soaked with bloody sweat; it was your divine blood [the Coat] drank on the path to the cross.”⁶¹ Pilgrims found, in the blood, a cleansing, a purification, “and have washed their robes white in the blood of the Lamb.”⁶² Mother Gertrud wrote several other prayers and songs for the pilgrimage. The Trier Pilgrimage Committee thanked her for the contribution and the cathedral clergy that they hoped to use them for a publication and that the Cathedral Choir Director (*Domkapellmeisters*) was circulating her devotionals widely.⁶³

The body, including blood and physical suffering, was often the focus of prayers in the 1930s. Bishop Hilfreich, of Limburg, compared a trip his friend made to Palestine with his pilgrimage to Trier. On the Mount of Olives and at Golgatha, one could only kneel and pray, because of the spiritual significance of the place. Similarly, pilgrims to Trier were in proximity to a site of divine suffering, the Coat transported them there, linked them to the past, “before the Cross itself, this Coat was the last sacrifice of the Savior, as he was robbed of his clothes.”⁶⁴ The

⁵⁹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 97, “Du hast alle unsere Krankheiten auf Dich genommen und all unsere Schmerzen getragen.”

⁶⁰ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 97, “Das Volk breitete seine Kleider auf den Weg. Sie hieben Zweige von den Bäumen und streuten sie ihm zu Füßen.”

⁶¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 98, “O Jesus, Erlöser der Welt, in Deiner Todesangst benetzte Blutschweiss Dein Gewand; es wurde mit Deinem göttlichen Blute getränkt auf dem Kreuzwege.”

⁶² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 99, “und haben ihre Kleider weiss gewaschen im Blute des Lammes.”

⁶³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 94, “Ihre Übertragung der Festhymne hatte ja inzwischen durch die Vertonung des Herrn Domkapellmeisters weiteste Verbreitung gefunden.” See also, “Andacht zu Ehren des heiligen Rockes” in BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 95.

⁶⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 101, 62-63.

Bishop of Ermland prayed that, “the blood of Christ would come to all good people, that all people, through the blood of the Redeemer will find great healing and great grace.”⁶⁵ Blood redeemed, but pilgrims communed with their redeemer through prayer.

Pilgrimage was an act of atonement for many and this attribute is reflected in various prayers and actions of pilgrim groups. In 1933, directly across from the cathedral, on *Windstrasse*, sat a Prussian-era prison, the *Königlich-Preußisches Gefängnis*. Cäcilie, a pilgrimage volunteer, recalled that late one night the prisoners were allowed to participate in the pilgrimage, and got to visit the Holy Coat. The prisoners had to first make confession. The following morning, at 4:00 AM, they processed across *Windstrasse* and into the cathedral. The prisoners wore “bourgeois Sunday clothes” in order to appear respectable should pilgrims chance to see the odd parade. They were escorted by three priests and carried a flag and a cross before them. Cäcilie also noted for their prayers, “Under devotional prayers they made the short walk from the prison gate to the cathedral entrance across *Windstrasse*. They were covered in prayers as they went up to the choir [where the choir sat in the cathedral] and prayed as they went up the stairs to the Holy Coat.”⁶⁶ The first prisoner to pass the Coat made a deep bow, and those who followed did the same. Afterwards the prisoners had a thanksgiving Mass back in the prison. Anyone was a pilgrim if they followed the proper protocol. In this case, looking respectable, praying, and showing reverence toward the Coat were the most important aspects of pilgrimage for Cäcilia. Prayer, combined with bowing, indicated humility and a desire for forgiveness.

⁶⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 101, 67, “Vor diesem hl. Rocke wollen wir beten, dass das Erlöserblut des Herrn allen Menschen zu gut komme, dass alle Menschen durch das Blut des Erlösers das grosse Heil und die grosse Gnade finden.”

⁶⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 199-70, “Unter andächtigen beten wurde der kurze Weg vom Tor des Gefängnisses bis zum Domeingang in der Windstrasse zurückgelegt, betend zogen diese Pilger ins hohe Chor, betend die Treppe zum hl. Rock hinauf.”

Yet participants and observers differed over the significance and merit of praying in the proximity of holy relics. Clerics emphasized the power of divine petition and pilgrims sought redemption, healing, recovery through prayer. However, for pilgrimage critics, prayers offered up near the Holy Coat were no more efficacious than those prayed elsewhere. And prayers directed to the Trier Coat constituted sacrilege and idolatry. Johannes Ronge, wrote, “If the Trier pilgrims shout: ‘Holy Coat, Pray for us!’ so it is and it remains idolatry.”⁶⁷ For Ronge, there was nothing special about being in Trier, the divine was evenly dispersed, concentrated in no particular location. Contrary to Ronge’s position, in 1891, Johannes Joseph, bishop of Luxemburg, announced his support for Korum’s pilgrimage call. In the Luxemburg diocesan newspaper, pilgrims were instructed about the pilgrimage and how to make themselves ready for the journey. For example, if Luxemburg pilgrims wanted spiritual benefit they were taught, “To attain this indulgence, it is sufficient that you have received before the commencement of the pilgrimage the holy sacraments in any church, and then in the Trier Cathedral you pray vocally, about five Lord’s Prayers.”⁶⁸ Rhenish Catholics rejected Ronge’s teachings by going to Trier and Aachen to pray and by asking their clergy to pray for them during the pageants. Prayer, though, was not the only audible practice of pilgrims. They also sang loudly as they traveled to Aachen and Trier. By doing so, the sojourners transformed profane terrestrial locations into sacred place.

⁶⁷ *Allgemeine Kirchen Zeitung*, No. 19, Johannes Ronge, “Zur Geschichte der Anfänge einer deutsch-kathol. Kirche: Ein Wort an die Römlinge Deutschlands und nur an diese, zum Neujahr 1845” (2. Februar 1845). See Also: BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 231, 164, “Wenn die Trier’schen Wallfahrer rufen: ‘Heiliger Rock, bitte für uns’; so ist und bleibt dieß ein Götzendienst.”

⁶⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 231a., 26, “Zur Gewinnung dieses Ablasses genügt es jedoch, daß man vor dem Antritt der Wallfahrt die hh. Sakramente in einer beliebigen Kirche empfangt und dann im Dome zu Trier selbst die mündlichen Gebete (etwa fünf Vaterunser) verrichte.”

Those Who Sing, Pray Twice: The Songs they Sang⁶⁹

Between 1832 and 1937 singing set pilgrim participants apart from the rest of the community and established sacred place. In September 1844, as pilgrims from Züschen made their way home, they encountered harassment and obstruction from their neighbors. Züschen is a small municipality only about 40 kilometers from Trier. As the circa 400 participants returned to the town the evening of 9 September 1844 they were singing and praying as part of their procession. When they came down the street with the Protestant church they found their way blocked by large stones that had been deliberately placed to obstruct the road.⁷⁰ Observers disagreed over what transpired following their encounter with the road block. Some witnesses heard Protestants screaming at the pilgrims, calling out to them as though they were horses, or saying that their worship was devilish. Others only heard children yelling that the Catholic priest was crazy. Some witnesses did not think that stones blocked the path at all, or that they had been moved right after the procession, or that there were only two rocks stacked on top of one another.⁷¹ Jakob Klos, a thirty-six-year-old Catholic seminarian heard Arend Sattler mock and threaten participants from his front door as he walked past.⁷² Louisa Weber, a Protestant, twenty-nine-years-old, recalled hitting her foot on a stone that was in the middle of the road and having great pain afterwards.⁷³ And Johann Georg Dupre, a Catholic, heard a mocking voice ask why the Catholics were stumbling if they had an inner light better than lanterns.⁷⁴ Ultimately, the stones and comments

⁶⁹ Thanks to Katie Jarvis for reminding me of this quote from St. Augustine during a writing session on 2 August 2013.

⁷⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 352. On confessional conflict in the Rhineland see Rebecca Ayako Bennette, "Threatened Protestants: Confessional Conflict in the Rhine Province and Westphalia during the Nineteenth Century," *German History* 26(2) (2008): 168-194.

⁷¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 356-358.

⁷² BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 360.

⁷³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 361.

⁷⁴ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 362.

caused no lasting harm for the procession - nobody was severely injured.⁷⁵ When state and regional officials considered the evidence they were not certain whether any crime had been committed. They were also not sure if the reports that Protestants splashed Catholics with water were true. In the end, authorities in Berlin and in Koblenz did not think there was sufficient evidence to pursue the Züscher controversy. Officials attributed the episode to fanatical confessional bickering.⁷⁶ Importantly, though, the alleged harassment was a response to Catholic singing and praying, a protest against having to hear pilgrimage in action. The Züscher inhabitants did not want Catholics claiming shared space via their verbal religious practices. The transient procession and ephemeral songs were a claim on neutral space; these practices could turn the road into a Catholic place. Pilgrimage did not necessarily mean tense relations between Protestants and Catholics, though. Steffens, in Enkerich, felt the orderliness of the 1844 processions left a favorable impression on Protestants. “The processions are well received in Protestant localities, [it] is twice as nice, and makes me happy that this has happened.”⁷⁷

Pilgrims created, learned, and sang a wide variety of songs and melodies concerning the relics in Aachen and Trier. They sang at Mass before departing, while walking, or riding to their destination, and importantly, in the public squares and in the cathedrals of Aachen and Trier. Some songs never went out of style, but persisted as essential aspects of the Aachen and Trier events. These included the *Te Deum* at the closing ceremonies and “Großer Gott, wir loben dich” (*Great God, We Praise You*) at the opening events. Other songs related to the relics rose and fell in popularity. For example, in the official Trier hymnbook, the number of songs directly related to the Trier relic peaked in 1846, with five songs and declined over the next 130 years:

⁷⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 364-66.

⁷⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 363-67.

⁷⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 231, 24, “daß die Processionen in Protestantischen Ortshaften gut aufgenommen werden; was doppelt schön ist, und mir freuen und, daß dieses geschehen”.

Table 1: Songs in Trier Hymnbook (Diözesangesangbuch)⁷⁸**Year: Number of Songs:**

1846	5
1871	3
1892	3
1955	1
1975	0

Two of the 1844 songs were included in the diocesan hymnal all the way up until the 1955 edition. Afterwards they were removed in favor of a new song for the 1955 pilgrimage.⁷⁹ The songs listed in Appendix 1 and analyzed below represent only a small part of the songs sung by pilgrims during their journeys to and from Rhenish cities.

Pilgrims used these songs to sacralize space on all forms of transportation, including ships. In 1844, a Frenchman traveling along the Mosel River wrote about a group of twenty pilgrims on his ship. These pilgrims prayed the rosary and other prayers before singing “holy songs.” Other individuals in the boat joined in when they recognized the tunes.⁸⁰ Jakob Marx viewed singing aboard pilgrim ships as an important bonding experience. He noted how groups from Koblenz tended to sing Vespers during the trip and even as they disembarked.⁸¹ And this is a recurring theme, in another 1844 article, the *Rhein und Moselzeitung* described Koblenz pilgrims leaving work early to board four ships to Trier, they sang “Herr Großer Gott! Dir danken wir!” during the journey.⁸² Pilgrims used singing and prayer to sacralize the space

⁷⁸ See Andreas Heinz, “Die Lieder vom Heiligen Rock im Trierer Diözesangesangbuch und ihr Verkündigungsgehalt,” in *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi*, Erich Aretz, Michael Embach, Martin Persch, Franz Ronig (eds.) (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995), 525-545. See Appendix 4 for a list of the Trier Diözesangesangbuch songs.

⁷⁹ These local, Holy Coat songs disappeared completely in 1975 with the introduction of the national Catholic hymnal. Heinz, “Die Lieder vom Heiligen Rock,” 526.

⁸⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, “bald sangen sie heilig[e] Lieder. Einer aus ihrer, ein angesehene Bürger, sich des Gebet oder dem Gesang an, und die übrigen nahmen ab.”

⁸¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 6.

⁸² BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 12.

between home and holy site, these practices prepared pilgrims for a liminal encounter with relics. The 1933 “*Reiselieder*” or “Travel Songs” reflect the important aspect of movement and being oriented toward the divine. In pilgrimage songs, pilgrims were exposed to powerful messages that highlighted different aspects of the lived pilgrimage. Songs focused on the actual journey and are rife with travel terms: sojourn, hurry, draw near, to walk, paths, and return.

On foot, these pilgrims were often noted for the volume of their singing. Jakob Marx recalled a parish group that sang the Te Deum so loudly that bystanders could not help fixate on the group, “no eye remained dry.”⁸³ Another group from Cologne arrived to Trier by foot and singing in 1844.⁸⁴ A priest reported to Marx that his pilgrim group had sung while walking through the night, the priest thought that singing in nature was an important and emotional aspect of pilgrimage.⁸⁵ For many pilgrims, singing was enjoyable. Maria Fröhlich, whose Neuwied parish traveled to Trier in Sept 1844, kept a diary of her pilgrimage and recorded songs her group sang along the way; “it was an amusing trip. We sang and prayed.”⁸⁶ In 1844, Domdechant Sauer gave sixteen members of the Bachelor-Sodality permission to loudly pray and sing over the relic while they helped guard the Coat overnight.⁸⁷ Hubert Peters, in August 1933, requested permission from the Pilgrimage Committee to print his own song about the Trier Coat, set to the tone of “Singt dem König Freudenpsalmen.” His request was denied and, unfortunately, his lyrics were not included with his request.⁸⁸ For Catholics, the relics required prayer and admiration because of their divine nature.

⁸³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 15.

⁸⁴ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 44.

⁸⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 50.

⁸⁶ BATr, Abt 91, Nr. 230a., 18, “Es war eine recht vergnügte Fahrt. Wir sangen und beteten und waren Munter gegen Abend”.

⁸⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 214, 7.

⁸⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 112, 128.

Catholics viewed loudness favorably, volume lent legitimacy to one's petition and was a sign of joy at both being present with fellow pilgrims, and at viewing relics related to the divine. The pitch of prayer, projected and uncontrolled, was also an important symptom of impending miracle. In 1844, Katharina Petsch explained to Trier officials that before her body was healed she "tried to pray aloud" without success.⁸⁹ After touching the Trier Coat Petsch was able to exclaim a prayer of thanks, "Ach, my Savior!"⁹⁰ In the 1853 Aachen pilgrimage program, point nine explained that, "pilgrims, during the filling [literally, 'with the tightening'] of the church, will alternatively pray and sing loudly."⁹¹ That same year, in the clerical outline for the opening of the Marian Shrine, Aachen officials called for "loud praying and singing" as they laid out the relics and exhibited them for the first time.⁹²

Published pilgrim songs reflected changing clerical rhetoric about Rhineland relics, from literal biblical objects to symbols of Catholic unity. In one 1839 song, Aachen pilgrims sing of relics that came from a far away land, that John the Baptist wore one of them at his beheading, and that Charlemagne collected for his beloved capitol and its inhabitants. Similarly, in 1844, Trier pilgrims were called to rush to the city to view the ancient relic worthy of adoration. Jesus wore the Coat, giving it a sacred aura that was able to heal the bleeding woman in Mark 5. Because the Coat was present with Jesus on the Mount of Olives, at the transfiguration, and during his trial, it contained a divine agency. The Coat healed in the Gospel when the faithful simply touched the hem and it retained the power to intercede in the lives of pilgrims. In this song, the pilgrim should anticipate life-altering transformation during the journey, "Think, what

⁸⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220, 33, "laut zu beten."

⁹⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220, 34, Petsch had trouble recalling exactly what she exclaimed, but it was either "Ach mein Gott" or "Ach mein Heiland." For more on the traits of healings, see later chapter, "Transcending the Body."

⁹¹ DAA, PA 58, "Programm für die Heiligthumsfahrt zu Aachen im Jahre 1853," "Von den Pilgern wird bei dem Anziehen durch die Kirche abwechselnd und laut gebetet oder gesungen."

⁹² DAA, PA 58, "Entwurf des Programms für die Heiligthumsfahrt pro 1853," "laut gebetet und gesungen."

was, what even today / He has done for our Salvation. / Rejoice, pious! Tremble, sinner! Begin a new life.”

In the mid-nineteenth-century, pilgrims increasingly sang about the relics as symbols, rather than historical artifacts. In pilgrimage liturgy, pilgrims experienced a transition from a literal-historical understandings of relic origins and authority to viewing the relics as reminders of Christian themes. In the 1867 song, “Welcome Song for Holy Loincloth” pilgrims continued to sing about the story of the relics. In this case, about the loincloth of Jesus soaking up his blood during the Passion. But the loincloth also reminded pilgrims that the sacrificial death of Jesus was the birth of divine compassion, of their Salvation. In Trier, 1891, Jesus was the focal point. That is to say it was not so much the Coat acting in history now, but the divine man behind the garment, “Think on Him [Jesus] and his deeds, / He who took our guilt on himself, / Bleeding and died for the world’s salvation.” The focus on the individuals who wore the relics continued in 1895 Aachen, “Oh that I could embrace you / Just as the swaddling clothes, / As close as they are to you.” And in the 1930s, drawing toward the Trier Coat meant crossing to the divine, “God! we confidently draw near to you, ... / you in the Garment of glory.” Pilgrimage sanctifies, the practice brought the participant closer to eternal salvation: “lead us to salvation”, “salvation of Christendom”, “we confess without trepidation.” This shift was gradual and the songs never actually denied the possibility of authenticity. Rather, pilgrim songs emphasized different interpretations of the importance of the relics. This transition is the subject of a later chapter, “Historical Authenticity as Presence.”

Following the *Kulturkampf*, pilgrims belted out themes of triumph, of consolation, and mocked the enemies of the Church. Pilgrims aggressively created sacred place by marking insiders and enemies in their songs. The Cathedral doors now stood open, and the pilgrimage

opponents were overcome. God was present, and thus endorsed pilgrimage as religious practice, “Oh he feels, that God is present, / And through God is help and grace.” Pilgrims were called to the Aachen cathedral, to lament their sins, to praise, to repent, to sing. Songs reinforced Catholic identity against outside challengers. Critics of pilgrimage came in for heavy mocking in 1881:

“Whether the enemy with idiotic brains
Names it [the Coat] baubles and deceit
Whether the unbeliever jeers and disclaims,
Truly the simplemindedness is yours.
Such as burns and drools for evil”

This theme of triumph continued into the twentieth century. In 1933, pilgrims on procession to Trier sang, “The world also likes to quarrel, to mock us always again anew, / We stand at all times, true to our Bishop.” In another travel song, “let the world call us foolish, / for them all that is holy lies.” Pilgrims walked the road of virtue, they possessed the true Christendom, they pleased God, Mary, and Jesus by hastening along the pilgrim path, and fundamentally, they had the opportunity to remake their lives: “Rejoice, pious! Tremble, sinner! / Begin a new life.” This is most clear when the lyrics distinguish “the world” from “us”: “The world also likes to quarrel, to mock us,” and “we defend ourselves against Hell in a blind, wild rage.” And, like the prayers above, these songs reinforced a *German* Catholic identity. Fuchs explained in a letter to Dr. Hennequin in Metz that he hoped there were no hard feelings when he denied a Unio Cleri request to sing a French song during their procession. Fuchs assured Hennequin that he respected the procession, but it was not possible to permit such a display in the Cathedral.⁹³

⁹³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 102, 106, “Einer der Herren aus der Unio Cleri fragte mich, ob es gestattet sei, noch ein französisches Lied zu singen. Das musste ich leider mit Rücksicht auf den besonderen Charakter dieser Prozession verneinen. ich hoffe, dass diese abschlägige Antwort nicht falsch verstanden worden ist.”

Clerics were keenly aware of the importance of song as part of pilgrim experience. In a circular to the pilgrim group leaders who were ordering special trains to Trier, the 1933 Trier Pilgrimage Committee explained the importance of the *Pilgerbücher* for participants,

“the pilgrim book is an indispensable means for achieving uniform praying and singing and thus to deepen the spiritual pilgrimage in the individual and the community of believers. To prevent any abuse by a repeated use, the pilgrim book is endorsed by a date stamp on entering the Cathedral Square.”⁹⁴

Pilgrims could not gain access to the Trier relic without holding a copy of approved prayers and songs to honor the Coat.

Singing sacralized space and created a pilgrim community between 1832 and 1937. At the same time, song themes and emphases were sensitive to their historical context. For example, songs stressed triumph after the *Kulturkampf*, and relics as symbols after the 1844 Johannes Ronge controversies. For Jakob Marx, singing taught God’s love and pilgrims came together to experience a sense of community via shared activities like song and prayer.⁹⁵ In this sense song overcame any latent differences among participants, “everyone felt comfortable with one another.”⁹⁶ Pilgrims sang and prayed to honor God, Jesus, Mary, John the Baptist, for unity, for their own hardships. Not all felt comforted, though. At times pilgrims, through their songs, aggressively identified insiders vs. enemies by creating Catholic sacred place. Pilgrim voices grew louder and louder between 1832 and 1937 as the number of attendees at each event continued to increase.

⁹⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 144, 59, “das Pilgerbüchlein ein unentbehrliches Mittel zur Erzielung einheitlichen Betens und Singens und damit zur seelischen Vertiefung der einzelnen Pilger in der und durch die Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen ist. Um jeglichem Mißbrauch durch eine mehrmalige Benutzung vorzubeugen, wird das Pilgerbüchlein beim Eintreten in den Domfreihof durch einen Tagesstempel entwertet.”

⁹⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 61.

⁹⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 61.

Getting There: Pilgrims and Processions

Walking was an essential aspect of the Rhineland pilgrim experience.⁹⁷ In 1846 Aachen, officials assumed that people would walk because it was summer and the weather was favorable.⁹⁸ In 1902 a group walked from Niederlandenbeck to Aachen, roughly 190 kilometers.⁹⁹ Most pilgrims arrived in Trier and Aachen as part of planned processions. Newspapers and officials often had to estimate how many people attended on given days. This imprecision has resulted in several years without reliable pilgrim totals. For instance, several Aachen city estimates were completed by taking a count of individuals who came through the city gates. The peak Aachen pilgrimage occurred in 1881, in the wake of the *Kulturkampf* about one million pilgrims attended the event. The slump during the 1930 pilgrimage can be explained by the economic crisis that struck the United States and Germany; the resultant unemployment and uncertainty made travel difficult for potential pilgrims. Below are estimates for the number of participants for each relic pageant.

Table 2: Trier Pilgrimage Attendance

1844 ... 563,000¹⁰⁰
 1891 ... 1,013,000
 1933 ... 2,031,000¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Walking is also an integral part of the history of European pilgrimage, see Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. See also: William A. Christian Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 84.

⁹⁸ DAA, PA 58, Aachen den 14 April 1846.

⁹⁹ DAA, PA 62, Joseph Bonneritz. In the correspondence Bonneritz spells the city as Niederlantenbach.

¹⁰⁰ The estimates for 1844 vary. Johannes Ronge, a contemporary, (see Chapter Five) guessed there were about 500,000. Wolfgang Schieder, an historian, estimated the total participants to be around 450,000 because he thinks pilgrims were likely counted multiple times. See Wolfgang Schieder, "Church and Revolution: Aspects of the Social History of the Trier Pilgrimage of 1844" in *Conflict and Stability in Europe*, Richard Deveson (trans.), Clive Emsley (ed.) (London: The Open University Press, 1979): 65-95, 66.

¹⁰¹ Estimates usually run around 500,000 for 1844, 1 million for 1891 and 2 million for 1933. These more precise figures are taken from BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 346. An alternative figure of 2,190,121, with a daily average of 44,700 appears in the Statistical analyses in BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 609. Again, these figures are contested, for example, in 1891 the figure of 996,400 (with 672,000 coming from the Trier diocese) appears in BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 343. This count attributes the over one million figure to people seeing the Coat multiple times because they stayed over night in Trier. But most accounts in the 1890s set the total at over one million.

Table 3: Aachen Pilgrimage Attendance

Year:	Dates:	Attendance (Figures / Descriptions):
1832	9-24 July	15 July, 50-60,000 ¹⁰² , daily about 25,000 ¹⁰³
1839	10-24 July	“not so many people in city since the French Revolution army” ¹⁰⁴
1846	10-31 July	500,000 ¹⁰⁵ attended with Cologne Bishop von Geissel
1853	9-24 July	800,000 ¹⁰⁶ total, 36,000 at closing ceremony ¹⁰⁷
1860	9-24 July	16 July, 65-70,000 ¹⁰⁸ - 15 July, 65,000 ¹⁰⁹ - 22 July, 52,000 ¹¹⁰
1867	9-24 July	119,000 by train ¹¹¹ - 60-65,000 each Sunday ¹¹²
1874	10-24 July	700,000 total ¹¹³ - 100,000 on busy days ¹¹⁴ , both Sundays 150,000 ¹¹⁵
1881	9-24 July	1,000,000 total ¹¹⁶ - 17 July, 90,000+ ¹¹⁷ , three Sundays ca. 156,000 ¹¹⁸
1888	9-24 July	800,000 total ¹¹⁹ - 15 July, 80-100,000 ¹²⁰ , 24 July, 50-60,000 ¹²¹
1895	9-24 July	421,925 total ¹²² - 306,000 by train alone ¹²³
1902	10-24 July	553,486 ¹²⁴ total
1909	9-28 July	774,483 ¹²⁵ total

¹⁰² *Aachener Zeitung*, “Inland,” Montag, 16 Juli 1832.

¹⁰³ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt zwischen Franzosenzeit und Nationalsozialismus* (Aachen, 2010), 10.

¹⁰⁴ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 12.

¹⁰⁵ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 22.

¹⁰⁶ *Fliegende Taube*, “Deutschland,” 29 July 1852, No. 31, “daß die ganze 14 tägige Feier, trotzdem sich wohl an 800,000 Menschen zur Verehrung der hl. Reliquien eingefunden haben.”

¹⁰⁷ *Aachener Zeitung*, “Aachen, 25. Juli,” Dienstag, 26 Juli 1853.

¹⁰⁸ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 34.

¹⁰⁹ *Fliegende Taube*, “Aachen,” 10 August 1860.

¹¹⁰ *Fliegende Taube*, 20 Juli 1860.

¹¹¹ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 37.

¹¹² *Aachener Sonntagsblatt*, “Umschau,” Sonntag, 21 Juli 1867, No. 29. *Aachener Zeitung* records 68,000 people coming on 12 July, see “Lokal-Nachrichten. Aachen,” Sonntag, 14 Juli 1867. 68,000 was equivalent to the population of Aachen in 1867, according to the article. And on 19 July, there were no fewer than 60,712 people, perhaps as many as 100,000. See *Aachener Zeitung*, “Lokal Nachrichten. Aachen, 20 Juli.”

¹¹³ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 46.

¹¹⁴ *Echo der Gegenwart*, “Lokal-Nachrichten.” Sonntag, 19 Juli 1874, Bl. 3.

¹¹⁵ *Sonntagsblatt der Germania*, “Zur Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt.” 14 Juli 1895, No. 28.

¹¹⁶ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 50.

¹¹⁷ *Aachener Zeitung*, “Lokales. Aachen, 18. Juli 1881.” *Echo der Gegenwart* estimated that there were over 100,000 on 17 July. See “Aachen, 18. Juli.” *Erstes Blatt*. Dienstag, 19 Juli 1881.

¹¹⁸ *Sonntagsblatt der Germania*, “Zur Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt.” 14 Juli 1895, No. 28.

¹¹⁹ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 57.

¹²⁰ *Echo der Gegenwart*, “Heiligtumsfahrt 1888. Aachen, 16. Juli.” *Erstes Blatt*. Dienstag, 17. Juli 1888.

¹²¹ *Politisches Tageblatt*, “Lokal-Nachrichten. Aachen, 25. Juli.” *Erstes Ausgabe*. Donnerstag, 26. Juli 1888.

¹²² Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 65.

¹²³ *Echo der Gegenwart*, “Heiligtumsfahrt 1895. + Aachen, 25. Juli.” Freitag, 26 Juli 1895, *Erstes Blatt*.

¹²⁴ *Politisches Tageblatt*, “Aus Aachen und Umgebung,” 25 Juli 1937. Of these, the newspaper estimated that 225,942 individuals made the pilgrimage on foot. See also *Fliegende Taube*, “Aachen,” Aabel-Mittwoch, 30 Juli 1902, Nr. 61. Lambertz has the total at: 567,966, which he takes from the Polizeiberichte.

¹²⁵ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 78. The 1909 and 1895 figures come from: *Echo der Gegenwart*, Samstag, 16 Oktober 1909, Bl. 5. This 1909 figure could have been as lower according to *Echo der Gegenwart*. See also correspondence with the Polizeiverwaltung, DAA, PA 66, “Aachen, 5 Februar 1925.” The 1925 *Fliegende Taube* estimated 1909 participation to be nearly 2 million, 1,750,000. See *Fliegende Taube*, “Kirchliches: Die Schlußfeierlichkeiten der Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt.” Samstag, 1. August 1925.

1916 World War I No Pilgrimage
1923 French Occupation No Pilgrimage

1925 10-26 July ca. 775,000¹²⁶ - 1,000,000 total
 1930 10-27 July ca. 400,000¹²⁷ total - 331,761 by train alone¹²⁸
 1937 10-25 July 800,000 total¹²⁹ - 120,000 attended final procession, 20,000 marched
 in final procession¹³⁰

In 1933, roughly two million pilgrims visited Trier. Trier's city slaughterhouse kept track of how many animals the city butchered between 1 July and 10 September 1933. The slaughterhouse estimated that 359,865 more kilograms, or 4,769 more animals, were consumed in Trier between 1 July-10 September 1933 than in 1932.¹³¹

Rail connectivity made the participation of over two million 1933 pilgrims possible. On 1 September 1841 Cologne was connected to the Prussian train network, and in 1843 was connected to the Belgian network.¹³² By 1860 Aachen linked into the Prussian rail network. In 1860, Father Andreas, from Düsseldorf, led the Marian Sodality procession to Aachen. This group took the train from Düsseldorf to Kohlscheid and walked the remaining 8 kilometers. By using multiple forms of transport Düsseldorf pilgrims avoided the 90 kilometer walk from Düsseldorf to Kohlscheid while still going by foot before and after viewing the relics.¹³³

Different train companies offered reduced prices based on group size. The *Königliche Eisenbahn Direktion* required 1881 Aachen groups to have at least 30 participants and to travel

¹²⁶ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 87. See *Fliegende Taube*, "Kirchliches: Die Schlußfeierlichkeiten der Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt." Samstag, 1. August 1925. "Am letzten Tage der Heiligtumsfahrt war der Verkehr wieder besonders lebhaft. Der Gesamtbesuch der Heiligtumsfahrt ist amtlich noch nicht endgültig festgestellt, doch dürfte er die Ziffer von 1909 1,750,000, mindestens erreicht, wenn nicht überschritten haben."

¹²⁷ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 94.

¹²⁸ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 97.

¹²⁹ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 103. Here Lennartz discusses other figures offered from other sources, including 500,000 and 450,000. However, 800,000 is most often used and that is why it is here cited.

¹³⁰ B. Selung, ed. *Heiligtumsfahrt Aachen 1937* (M.-Gladbach: B. Kühlen Kunst, 1937), 86-88.

¹³¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 461-462.

¹³² Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 13.

¹³³ DAA, PA 58, Düsseldorf 3. Juni 1860.

both to and from Aachen for their 50% price reduction.¹³⁴ These special fares led to increasing numbers of pilgrim participants. In 1902, one newspaper stated, “in a century no Heiligtumsfahrt has drawn more pilgrims as in this year.”¹³⁵ Trains made participation affordable and more accessible, but Germans still had to choose to get on the trains and to buy discounted tickets.

Pilgrims also purchased pilgrimage packages with predetermined itineraries through private Catholic traveling companies. Whether on train or ship, pilgrim itineraries emphasized the worshipful element of the pilgrimage. For example, 1933 Cologne pilgrims had access to a private *Schiffswallfahrt* (ship pilgrimage). Participants in this *Schiffswallfahrt* went to Trier by boat from Tuesday 22 August through Thursday, 24 August 1933. They held Mass both below and on deck, complete with music and songs. Their first night they stopped in Bornhofen and held an evensong service. On the second day, the Cologne pilgrims again boarded their ship at 6:45 AM. They held Mass on board before they arrived in Koblenz. From Koblenz they took a Special Train for pilgrims to Trier. While in the city they not only venerated the Coat of Jesus, but also the legs of St. Matthew in the St. Matthew Basilica in Trier. Afterwards, they headed back to Koblenz and took a ship back to Bornhofen for an evening candle procession. On Thursday, they held Mass in the Bornhofen Grace Church and boarded their ship back to Cologne. The price was 19.75 RM and included the train and ship fare, music, the Trier pilgrim badge (*Pilgerabzeichen / Trierer Domabzeichen*), printed prayers and other paraphernalia, including official pilgrimage postcards.¹³⁶ Children under 14 only had to pay half price. Pilgrims

¹³⁴ DAA, PA 61, Köln den 15 Juni 1881.

¹³⁵ *Aachener Zeitung*, “Zur Heiligtumsfahrt,” Montag, 16 Juli 1860, “Es darf mit Recht behauptet werden, daß seit einem Jahrhundert bei keiner Heiligtumsfahrt so viele Pilger nach Aachen gekommen sind, als in diesem Jahre.”

¹³⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 650.

also had the option of buying a Rhine panorama that was colorful, showed the river, and had “elegant text.”¹³⁷

Between 1832 and 1937 most pilgrims traveled in processions with their parish. In 1844, entire communities took to the road to visit the Holy Coat. As he approached Trier, Charles Edward Anthon described how the large processions were “composed of the inhabitants of a single town or village, but their numbers were sometimes very great, often amounting to five or six thousand, and the distance from which they came such as to make some trial of their constancy.”¹³⁸ These large processions contained men, women, rich, and poor. Anthon noted how children dressed in white carried a crucifix or cross at the head of the procession. Pilgrims also carried a banner of either regional or Catholic significance was carried in front of the columns.¹³⁹ The rest of the procession group followed, ideally in ascending age order, with the most elderly towards the end of the column. Priests marched next alongside the winding procession train. When necessary, clergy divided especially large groups into multiple files.

Processions were opportunities to publicly affirm and renew faith for both participator and spectator. Franz Zander, Vice President of the Aachen Catholic Workers Association, asked that his group be allowed to visit the relic in 1902.¹⁴⁰ He explained that the Workers Association had participated in 1895 and wanted to continue that tradition. Furthermore, for Zander, workers needed to be part of the *Heiligtumsfahrt* because they were at risk. “We hope [you are] the more likely to grant our request as indeed the working class is especially at risk for the dangers of faith and immoral heresies.”¹⁴¹ Zander thought that his 1200-1500 workers needed “strength and

¹³⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 651.

¹³⁸ Charles Edward Anthon, *A Pilgrimage to Treves, through the Valley of the Meuse and the forest of Ardennes, in the year 1844* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845), 98.

¹³⁹ Anthon, *A Pilgrimage to Treves*, 98-99.

¹⁴⁰ DAA, PA 62, “Aachen, den 10 April 1902.”

¹⁴¹ DAA, PA 62, “Aachen, den 10 April 1902.” “Wir hoffen um so eher auf Gewährung unserer Bitte als ja ganz besonders der Arbeiterstand den Gefahren der glaubens und sittenlosen Irrlehren und der Aufsetzung gegen jede von

encouragement.”¹⁴² Through participation, by marching together to view the four Aachen treasures, Catholic workers, “from mature men to youth,” would remember their faith and draw “new courage and strength” from the procession. Thus the processions were not just for the spectator, but moving toward the relics, as a group, could return Catholics to their “neglected” and “holy religion” that was under threat from worldly powers. There was a dialogue between those in the procession, publicly affirming the Catholic part of their identity, and those who observed. This exchange proclaimed the public practice of Catholicism and created Catholic sacred place.

For all of the time spent traveling, pilgrims’ time in front of the relics was brief. In 1860, Provost Dr. Grossman and the Pilgrimage Committee notified pilgrim groups, before their arrival, that their time before the four relics was going to be short,

“These processions [after leaving their station churches] alternately praying and singing through the great so-called Wolf-door [of the cathedral], [walk] up on the right side of the choir, then slowly, but without lingering, pass in front of the shrines, then [walk] down on the left side [of the choir] and through the so-called Kramer-door out of the church.”¹⁴³

Pilgrims were not allowed to dwell in front of the relics, but had to constantly move through the cathedral. Participants were also discouraged from dwelling in front of the Aachen shrines. For the majority of travelers, viewing the relics was a tiny fraction of their total travel time.

Pilgrims encountered the relics within the sacred space of the cathedral. In a typical Aachen pilgrimage Aachen clergy showed the relics from the outdoor gallery during the morning. Afterwards, they took the relics inside and displayed them. Various groups and

Gott gestellte Obrigkeit, wie solche in unserer Zeit allüberall sich breit macht, ausgesetzt ist und darum auch ganz besonders der Stärkung und Aufmunterung bedarf.”

¹⁴² DAA, PA 62, “Aachen, den 15 April 1902.”

¹⁴³ DAA, PA 58, “Publicandum bezüglich der Heilighumsfahrt, welche vom 9. bis 24. Juli 1860 im Münster zu Aachen stattfinden wird.”

regional towns had their own days to make special processions to see the relics. These processional orders were published in the local papers and posted to towns. The assigned groups had first access to the Wolfs-door (*Wolfstür*) at 1 p.m. when the relics went on display inside the church. In 1874, each day of the pilgrimage, aside from the last day on 24 July, had several groups assigned to march. Thus, for example, on 23 July the Sisters of Holy Francis, the Franciscan Orders, and the deanships of Siegburg, Uckerath, Blankenheim, and Steinfeld had access to the relics.¹⁴⁴ All four of these cities are in the Rhineland, and the farthest trip was 300 kilometers for the pilgrims from Steinfeld.

The Pilgrimage Committees struggled to accommodate procession leaders' requests and to maintain an efficient time table of arrivals and departures. In 1909, J.W. Fischer planned to lead a processional group from Cologne to Aachen. He informed Canon Bellesheim that he anticipated the group would arrive around 8 a.m. His procession, Fischer continued, would report to the Station Church St. Michael where he anticipated that they would sound the bells to announce their arrival. Fischer foresaw no difficulty in going to see the relics after his group prayed in St. Michael's Church.¹⁴⁵ In his response to Fischer's postcard, Bellesheim informed the Cologne cleric that none of his forecast itinerary was possible. For instance, the Cathedral would be closed on the desired morning because at 9 a.m. the sick were admitted into the church to touch the relics. Bells were also not allowed to sound at random in the city. Bellesheim explained that there was already a daily routine in place, approved by the police, and the Cologne group would have to conform to that schedule. Apparently wary that Fischer might not get the message,

¹⁴⁴ DAA, PA 59, "Reihenfolge der Processionen nach den Einzelnen Tagen."

¹⁴⁵ DAA, PA 65, "Köln den 8 Juli 1909."

Bellesheim also wrote that he would ask the priest at St. Michael's Church to pass on the same information when they arrived.¹⁴⁶

To help regulate the flow of pilgrims to the cathedrals, both Aachen and Trier developed "Station Churches" (*Stationskirche*) in the 1840s. Pilgrim groups were assigned a local parish church and assembled inside before processing to the main cathedral. In 1846 Aachen, groups had to first report to their stationary church and wait for permission to head to the cathedral. After they viewed the relics, pilgrims returned to their designated church.¹⁴⁷ From there they either went home or to their local lodgings. In 1891 Trier, the Trier Pilgrimage Committee designated pilgrims not in a procession as "Single Pilgrims" (*Einzelpilger*). These *Einzelpilger* assembled at the Jesuit Church and were allowed to make processions throughout the day to the cathedral to view the Holy Coat. Thus, even if these pilgrims made it into the city without a clerical guide, they had to wait for a priest to take them from the Jesuit Church to the relic. To ease crowding, *Einzelpilger* arriving by train were sent to the Jesuit Church via North Alley.¹⁴⁸

Einzelpilger used automobiles and buses to travel to the 1933 Trier event. Clergy did not anticipate the massive number of *Einzelpilger* who arrived by car.¹⁴⁹ These individual pilgrims are direct evidence for the growth of automobile travel in Germany from the pre-World War I period to the Weimar Republic.¹⁵⁰ The chart below reveals the steady increase in the number of unregistered pilgrims (*Jesuitenkirche*) through the 1933 pilgrimage. The chart also indicates that the peak days of pilgrimage were Saturday and Sunday.

¹⁴⁶ DAA, PA 65, "Aachen 9 Juli 1909."

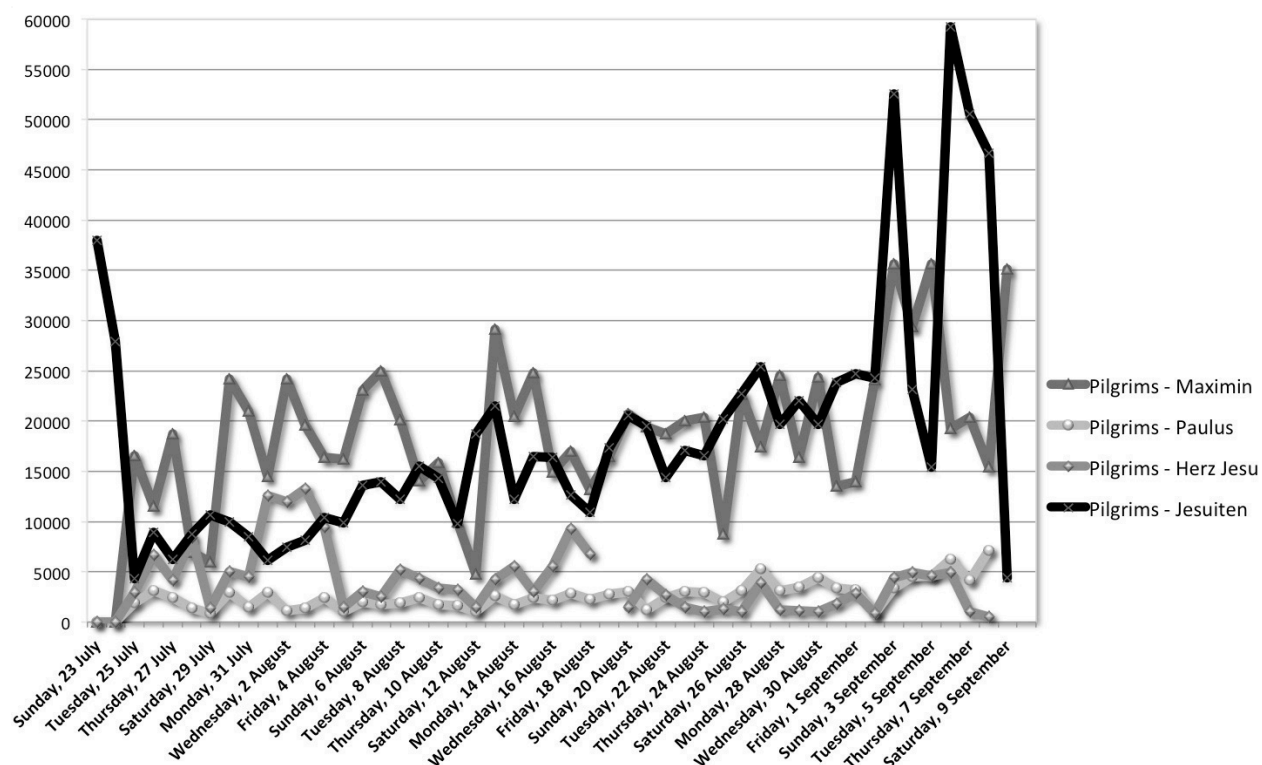
¹⁴⁷ DAA, PA 58, "Erzbischofliches Gen Vik d.d. 8 Juni 1846," 41.

¹⁴⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 117, 48.

¹⁴⁹ See Gisbert Rinschede, "Forms of Religious Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 51-67. Rinschede notes that the car and bus became the most important modes of transport for religious travel in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.

¹⁵⁰ See Rudy Koshar, "On the History of the Automobile in Everyday Life," *Contemporary European History* 10(1) (March 2001): 143-154.

Table 4: Number of Pilgrims by Station Church in 1933¹⁵¹



In her diary of the 1933 event, Căcilie complained about the large number of *Einzelpilger* in the city. For Căcilie, the logistical difficulties arose from the *Einzelpilger*, “whose number was not previously assessed.”¹⁵² She opened her home to visiting pilgrims during the 1933 event. Two of her guests, from Freiburg, arrived as *Einzelpilger*. She urged them to try and make the 5 a.m. Jesuit Church procession. They dressed warmly and took food with them when they left in the morning. When the two women returned later that day, they informed Căcilie that the church was a life-threatening situation due to overcrowding from the thousands of unscheduled *Einzelpilger* arriving each day. They did not believe it was safe for children or the elderly.¹⁵³

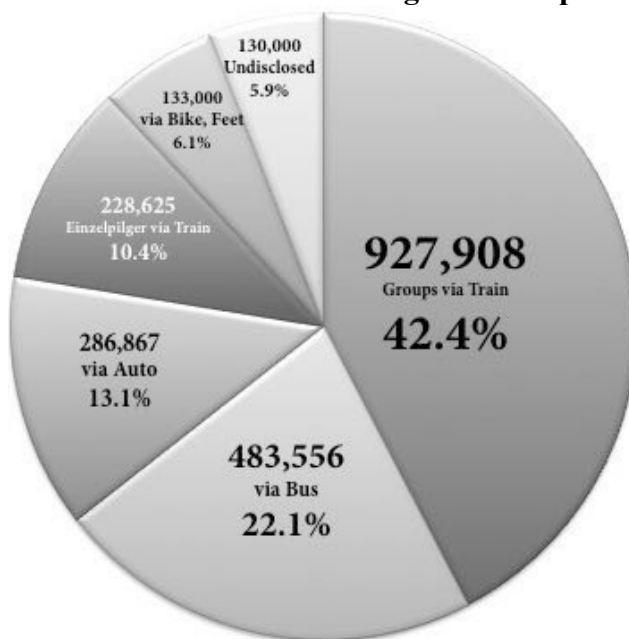
¹⁵¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 489. This is a reproduction of a hand drawn line graph that appears at BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 615. But, as indicated above, the data for both charts comes from page 489, a large sheet that details the number of pilgrims and processions each day of the 1933 event.

¹⁵² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 199-70, 30, “Darauf sagte ich ihm, die Schwierigkeiten entstanden hauptsächlich durch die Einzelpilger, deren Anzahl vorher überhaupt nicht abzuschätzen sei.”

¹⁵³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 199-70, 32, “Mit Bestürzung hörte ich, dass es lebensgefährliche Situationen gegeben habe, und dass man alten Leuten und Kindern nur abraten könne, sich dem Auszug setzen. Durch diesen Bericht wurde ich erinnert an Sonntag, den 30. Juli.”

Clergy preferred that pilgrims attend pilgrimage as part of a procession. Cardinal Schulte, in Cologne, had priests read out a statement to this effect on the Feast of the Ascension, a holy day of obligation. The Cologne Cardinal instructed Catholics, “The Trier Pilgrimage Committee desires that pilgrims only visit Trier in closed, priestly-led processions, but not in small tourist groups.”¹⁵⁴ As in pilgrimages past, parishes received train discounts if they went via the Trier Pilgrimage Committee and Cologne diocese. The cardinal established an office, led by General Secretary Schroeder, to coordinate special trains (*Sonderzüge*) from Cologne to Trier. These *Sonderzüge* included reduced prices from the National Railways (*Reichseisenbahn*).¹⁵⁵

Table 5: 1933 Modes of Pilgrim Transport



The Trier Pilgrimage Committee kept detailed records of how pilgrims were arriving in Trier and split up participants based on mode of transport (see pie chart above).¹⁵⁶ This system

¹⁵⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 101, 87, “Es wird von der Trierer Wallfahrtsleitung dringend gewünscht, daß die Wallfahrer sich nur in geschlossenen, von Geistlichen geführten Prozessionen, nicht aber in kleineren Reisegesellschaften nach Trier begeben.”

¹⁵⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 101, 87, “und unter Leitung von Generalsekretär Schroeder steht. Alle auf die Wallfahrt bezüglichen Anfragen ersuchen wir an dieses Büro zu richten.”

¹⁵⁶ BATr Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 618. The *Einzelpilger* arrived via the national trains, Reichs Bahn Direktion.

makes it difficult to get at a definitive counting of the *Einzelpilger*. However, based on the correspondence individuals and small groups that came by cars and about half of bus pilgrims did not register before arrival. Taken together (completely ignoring the possibility that individuals visited the Coat multiple times and leaving off pilgrims that arrived by bike or on foot) there were about 757,270+ *Einzelpilger*, or, 35+% of total estimated pilgrims. This unanticipated and enormous grouping helps explain the breakdown in the Pilgrimage Committee's procession schedule. Furthermore, throughout the event procession leaders and the Committee were unaware of just how many pilgrims showed up unannounced. Nik. Mohr, a Book Binder who helped coordinate pilgrims from St. Paulus, estimated that about 1/4 of pilgrims in 1933 were *Einzelpilger*, or roughly 500,000. Mohr noted that this type of pilgrim arrived in Trier primarily by bus and automobile.¹⁵⁷ He underestimated by a quarter of a million *Einzelpilger*.

Trier officials repeatedly asked groups to register, which is partially why the number of *Einzelpilger* came as a shock. After a group wrote in to Trier they received a response that asked for further information: when they would arrive and depart, how many cars they would have, the number of pilgrims in their group, whether or not a priest led their group, and, if possible, from which street they would approach the cathedral.¹⁵⁸ In return, the Pilgrimage Committee sent pilgrim groups instructions that included their Station Church, the time of their procession into the Cathedral, and their scheduled time of departure.¹⁵⁹ The Pilgrimage Committee soon learned that this system was not effective because it relied on pilgrim groups writing in to announce their arrival. The Trier Pilgrimage Committee looked to local clergy to help minimize the number of

¹⁵⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 110, 138, "über eine halbe Million Menschen trafen als Einzelpilger mit Auto oder Omnibus in Trier ein."

¹⁵⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 212.

¹⁵⁹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 214.

Einzeilpilger by discouraging individual travelers. Cathedral Vicar Fuchs, for example, asked that Frl. Lucie Ruffert, from Eckersdorf, contact Father Drzyzga, in Schomberg/Oberschlesien because he was coordinating a pilgrimage group to Trier from 15-20 August.¹⁶⁰ Despite these efforts, 1933 had the largest turnout of individual pilgrims and unregistered small groups of pilgrims.

Local volunteers complained bitterly about these unexpected guests, who threatened to turn pilgrimage into amusement and disrupt sacred place. The St. Maximin staff noted that there were several “shifty” or “sly” (*schlaue*) pilgrims who avoided the *Einzeilpilger* wait at the Jesuit Church by joining processions out of St. Maximin.¹⁶¹ Teacher Schmitt proposed that the Pilgrimage Committee introduce differently colored Pilgrim Passports for the next pilgrimage. *Einzeilpilger* would then be prevented from viewing the relic with other groups and could more easily be assembled.¹⁶² Father Windhausen, from Perl, only 48 km from Trier, complained of “wild pilgrims” and waiting in line for a long time. Windhausen had a bad interaction with three youths from Mainz. These students had joined into his pilgrimage without permission. Windhausen tried to get the SA (*Sturmabteilung*) security guards to remove them, but it was an SA man who had put the interlopers in his procession in the first place. Father Windhausen’s complaints only meant that the youths got to go into the cathedral before his procession, “victorious and deliberate.” Why, he asked, did the Pilgrimage Committee do nothing against these “savage pilgrims”? “This is no pilgrimage” the priest explained. True, there were massive numbers attending the event, but he doubted they were gaining much spiritual benefit from their

¹⁶⁰ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 124, “15. Juli 1933, Fräulein Lucie Ruffert.”

¹⁶¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 26 (page 10 of their report).

¹⁶² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 96, “Man könnte auch erwägen, Pilgerbüchlein mit verschiedenfarbigen Dekkeln herstellen zu lassen, die Einzeilpilger bekämen ihre Büchlein nur an der Sammelstelle für Einzeilpilger, von jeder Farbe werden für die einzelnen Prozessionen nur eine bestimmte Anzahl verkauft”.

participation.¹⁶³ Fuchs responded to Windhausen and thanked him for his observation. He confessed that the Pilgrimage Committee had overlooked this possibility from the outset. Though he hoped that Windhausen had seen the press announcements that declared pilgrims arriving by bus and car were now being issued special tickets. Of course, Fuchs conceded, it would not be possible to stop all confusion during the pilgrimage.¹⁶⁴

The massive number of *Einzelpilger* set off hours of delays for pilgrims with appointed times to visit the Holy Coat. Deputy Leader (*Stellvertr. Leiters*) Georg Rudolf, for example, noted how tickets were supposed to help regulate the flow of pilgrims into the cathedral. They were to soothe the minds of pilgrims who stood in line, “You do not wait in vain. No one can press forward” or skip in line because of the ticket.¹⁶⁵ But this system often broke down, especially during busy weekends. Frl. Magda Müller, a volunteer, described the last few weeks as a blur of unending pilgrims, “And so it goes, day after day and without a break and without ceasing. More and more people come, the evenings are getting later and sometimes you want to give up hope when the crowds have no end.”¹⁶⁶ Anton Loch, a teacher, wrote to officials that “With large crowds of pilgrims it happened very often that the procession had to stop and wait for hours in front of the barrier. Then the leader (*dienstleiter*) had a lot of trouble to prevail so that his procession was allowed through the barrier and into the cathedral square.”¹⁶⁷ Father Nicolay from Thörnich wrote to Trier officials to complain that processions that arrived after his group were allowed into the cathedral before him. He did not understand why pilgrims who had

¹⁶³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 54, “Ich merkte bald, daß es sich um wilde Pilger handeln müsse” and “Warum greift die Wallfahrtsleitung nicht mit aller Schärfe gegen die wilden Pilger ein. Das ist doch keine Wallfahrt.”

¹⁶⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 55.

¹⁶⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 110, 110.

¹⁶⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 110, 128, “Und so geht es Tag für Tag ohne Pause und ohne Unterlaß. Immer mehr Menschen kommen, immer später werden die Abende und manchmal möchte man verzagen, wenn der Andrang halt gar kein Ende nimmt.”

¹⁶⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 110, 113.

arrived with no procession were also allowed to gain access to the Coat. Nicolay was supposed to meet with a group of young people from his parish who had driven to Trier. However, the young parishioners decided they did not want to wait in line and managed to go through the cathedral and return home before Nicolay got into the church.¹⁶⁸ Father Gerhartz from Densborn (Eifel) agreed. The risk of waiting for hours, he explained, should be on the pilgrims who arrived unannounced in their cars, not on scheduled processions.¹⁶⁹ The mass of people was so intense that the police and the SA had to help regulate processions entering the Cathedral Square.

Jesuit Church procession leaders had no choice but to send large processions, containing 4-5,000 people, to the cathedral even though they knew that they would have to wait outside for hours before they got to the church entrance.¹⁷⁰ Georg Rudolf noted that “our beautiful procession plan” rarely worked for those coming from the Jesuit Church.¹⁷¹ Ideally, the *Einzelpilger* were to be released at set times, like 1 p.m., and allowed to go to the cathedral. However, when they arrived at the plaza before the church, there were usually processions already waiting in line to view the relic. This meant that the *Einzelpilger* procession leader had to offer an “energetic performance” so that the scheduled procession could join the queue to enter the cathedral. Furthermore, the *Einzelpilger* were considered an “annoying side effect.” Their appearance at the Cathedral Square often set off “great restlessness” on the part of other groups whose members had already waited a long time. Johann Jansen traveled to Trier from Cologne on 28 August 1933. He wrote to Pilgrimage officials to explain his disappointment in the trip. Jansen made his way to Trier via Koblenz and arrived in the morning. He secured a ticket to be

¹⁶⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 26. For another instance of this type of complaint see, Beuer’s letter at BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 54.

¹⁶⁹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 29, “müssen Einzelpilger und nicht angemeldete Autos warten, denn solche müssen von vorne herein mit diesem Risiko rechnen.”

¹⁷⁰ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 103.

¹⁷¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 105, “unseren schönen Prozessionsplan.”

part of the 4 p.m. *Einzelpilger* procession from the Jesuit Church to the cathedral. At the Cathedral plaza, however, he grumbled that “we stood only 1. 2. 3. hours and were by then not even on the Cathedral square.” At 7:45 p.m. the last train connection from Trier to Cologne departed. Jansen had to leave the city without even seeing the relic. To add insult to injury he ran into people he knew at the Trier train station. They had arrived later than he had and were able to gain access to the cathedral.¹⁷² Jansen was upset that he had lost the time and money and not been able to venerate the relic, “Is this fair treatment?”¹⁷³ Another pilgrim, who only signed “One for many” (*Eine für viele*) noted that they had to stand in the street for 4-5 hours and got badly sunburned.¹⁷⁴

The Jesuit Church staff, under the subheading, “Here an honest word!,” informed the Trier Pilgrimage Committee of their many difficulties during the pilgrimage. They had too few priests, too few seminarians, too few leaders, and too few prayer and song leaders.¹⁷⁵ There was also not enough space on busy days, even when Jesuit Church coordinators took over the adjacent two school yards for mustering processions.¹⁷⁶ In short, the Jesuit Church Office believed that if they just had more help, and more space, especially on peak days like Sundays, a lot of the logistical problems could have been alleviated. Still another *Einzelpilger* coordinator complained that the Pilgrimage Committee should not have shut out individual pilgrims between 1 p.m. and 5 p.m. Doing so had created a lot of the chaos on Sundays, and they would have been better served by reserving this time for the unregistered pilgrims.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 87-88.

¹⁷³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 87, “Ich frage nur: Ist der WL dieser Zustand bekannt? Ist das gerechte Behandlung?”

¹⁷⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 90.

¹⁷⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 92.

¹⁷⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 96.

¹⁷⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 101.

Thus in 1933 Trier, the sheer number of participants threatened pilgrims' ability to create sacred place. For Jesuit Church coordinators, the large number of pilgrims placed in each procession meant that the religious spirit of the event was lost. People shoved one another, and those at the back of the Jesuit Church processions could neither hear nor follow along with the prayers and songs emanating from the front of the procession.¹⁷⁸ Georg Rudolf worried that the spiritual focus of the pilgrimage was lost in the crowds. The Jesuit Church procession leaders had to shuffle pilgrims around to try and keep order. Then, at the outdoor services the priest's words "echoed in the great square" and went "unheard in the wind."¹⁷⁹ Wilh. Pfoh echoed these concerns, "when one gathered the *Einzelpilger*, those who arrived in Trier with the train or car, in particular Station Churches [so that they could] hear a homily and prayers in their native language the religious goal of the pilgrimage would be better fulfilled."¹⁸⁰ In 1933 Trier, the primary tension was between individual pilgrims and groups, efficiency and piety.

The Pilgrimage Committee tried to respond to the outraged letters from both priests and pilgrims. For example, on Sunday, 20 August, they posted a large pronouncement for *Einzelpilger*. In the flyer, the Pilgrimage Committee stated its aim of issuing tickets to regulate the number of *Einzelpilger* moving toward the Holy Coat throughout the day.

Table 6: Jesuit Church Procession Ticket Numbers

Procession time:	Total Tickets:	Ticket Numbers:
05:00 AM	1,000	1-1000
05:20 AM	1,000	1000-2000
05:40 AM	1,500	2000-3500

¹⁷⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 92-93.

¹⁷⁹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 108, "Denn die Worte des Priesters verhallten auf dem grossen Platze von den meisten ungehört im Winde."

¹⁸⁰ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 154, "Empfehlenswert wäre es gewesen, was mit Rücksicht auf eine spätere Ausstellung des hl. Rockes hier bemerkt sei, wenn man die ausländischen, mit dem Zuge oder Auto nach Trier gekommenen Einzelpilger in einer besonderen Stationskirche gesammelt und eine Predigt und Andacht in ihrer Muttersprache gehalten hätte. Der religiöse Zweck der Wallfahrt wäre so besser erfüllt worden."

06:40 AM	.....	1,500	.....	3500-5000
07:40 AM	.....	1,500	.....	5000-6500
09:40 AM	.....	3,000	.....	6500-9500
12:00 PM	.....	1,500	.....	9500-10,0000 / A1-A1000
01:00 PM	.....	1,500	.....	A1000-A2500
05:00 PM	.....	1,500	.....	A2500-A4000
07:30 PM	.....	1,500	.....	A4000-A5500
09:30 PM	.....	500	.....	A5500-A6000

However, setting aside certain times and tickets was not enough. The mass of pilgrims already on the Cathedral Square made the *Einzelpilger* procession leader's job very difficult.

Observers were divided over whether or not the popularity of the pilgrimage threatened Catholic sacred practices. Herr Quins noted the piety of these visitors, "a great deal of the *Einzelpilger* took care to prepare themselves by receiving the sacraments before visiting the Holy Coat. One can well say that the church and the altar rail [*Kommunionbank* (sic.)] in the early morning hours were never empty."¹⁸¹ Quins also noted that individual pilgrims were discriminated against when they tried to get into the Cathedral, some of them had to wait over a day for access. This situation was especially absurd, for Quins, because *Einzelpilger* had a more expensive trip to make than those pilgrims who could ride on the discounted trains (*Sonderzügen*). Georg Rudolf was surprised at the resiliency of the Trier pilgrims, "most of the pilgrims came with the right attitude, not as spectators, but as pilgrims." Rudolf explained that as pilgrims they were able to handle the hardships they experienced.¹⁸² In other words, Rudolf did not think physical suffering from walking and standing hours on end hindered pilgrims from experiencing the spiritual elements of their journey. During the opening and closing ceremonies

¹⁸¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 98, "ein sehr großer Teil der Einzelpilger außerordentlich darauf bedacht war, vor der Wallfahrt zum Hl. Rock sich durch den Empfang der hl. Sakramente vorzubereiten. Man kann wohl sagen, daß die Kirche und auch die Kommunionbank (sic.) in den frühen Morgenstunden nie leer war."

¹⁸² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 110, 111-112. There is a large literature on the distinction between tourism and pilgrimage, see introduction to this dissertation, but also, Antoni Jackowski, Valene L. Smith, "Polish Pilgrim-Tourists," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 92-106.

clergy and laity came together to march through Aachen and Trier. By carrying relics through their cities, Catholics transported divine presence out of the Cathedral into the public.

Processions and Ceremonies: Packing and Unpacking Relics

Opening and closing ceremonies brought together a range of Rhineland Catholics in a public celebration of religiosity and sacred place. Aachen church officials organized the first major city-wide and publicly advertised procession to commemorate the opening of the pilgrimage in 1874.¹⁸³ The 1874 Opening Day Parade included 16 groups which were divided based on flag and ribbon, including the Aachen Reading Association, and the Sacraments Brotherhood.¹⁸⁴ The 1888 pilgrimage opened on July 9th at 7 p.m. with a massive procession. The Opening Day Large Pageant (*Eröffnungstage Großer Festzug*) consisted of thirty-two separate participant groupings. These troops were drawn from several different clubs, including the Gesellschaft Constantia, Quirinusverein, Piusverein, and local choirs. The pageant continued the tradition of incorporating varied professions such as bakers, hair stylists, carpenters, and butchers. These participants marched through the Aachen streets four abreast, with the exception of singers, who processed through the city eight across.¹⁸⁵

The Aachen opening processions grew larger and larger over time. Fifty-seven separate groups went on procession in 1895. Like 1888, though, the number of categories does not capture the full number of associations, as there were twelve different groups under the Burtscheid Associations. Groups continued to march based on church and association: Brewer, Welder, and Barrel-Maker Journeyman Bund.¹⁸⁶ In 1902, at least 63 different categories marched

¹⁸³ DAA, PA 59, "Circular für die Mitglieder des Arbeiter-Vereins zum h. Paulus für Aachen und Burtscheid."

¹⁸⁴ *Echo der Gegenwart*, Mittwoch, 8. Juli, *Erstes Blatt*, "Programm für den Festzug, welcher am Donnerstag den 9. Juli zur Vorfeier der Heilighumsfahrt stattfinden soll."

¹⁸⁵ DAA, PA 61, "Heilighumsfahrt zu Aachen im Jahre 1888. Am Eröffnungstage, den 9. Juli, Abends 7 Uhr."

¹⁸⁶ DAA, PA 61, "Heilighumsfahrt zu Aachen / im Jahre 1895 / Am Eröffnungstage, den 9. Juli, Abends 7 ½ Uhr."

through Aachen, including the “ox and pig butchers, bakers, painters and house painters.”¹⁸⁷ In 1909, there were 42 different groups, but these groups now had a specifically Catholic nature to them: St. Mary Church Choir, Charlemagne Shooting Guild, the Youth Congregation of St. John, Artisans Association of St. Joseph, The Mens’ Congregation, etc. In other words, at the 1909 Opening Day Procession the associations, clubs and guilds that processed through the city of Aachen were largely the same as those of the nineteenth century processions, but now took on names that identified them as Catholic. For example, in 1909, unlike in 1888, professional associations either self identified as Catholic: Catholic Workers and Artisans Association Aachen I, Catholic Teachers Association, or with a particular saint, Workers Association St. Joseph.¹⁸⁸ This shift toward Catholic labels indicates the growing importance of Catholic associational life after the *Kulturkampf*.¹⁸⁹

Aachen Prelate Dr. Bellesheim worked closely with Police President Hamm to coordinate the 1909 event. For example, Hamm had to approve the route for the closing procession. The final route went from the Cathedral, down Annastraße, Löhergraben, Jakobstraße, Markt, Großkölnstraße, Comphausbadstraße, Peterstraße, Friedrich Wilhelmplatz, Kapuzinergraben, Kleinmarschierstraße, Schmiedstraße and Fischmarkt before returning to the Aachen cathedral.¹⁹⁰ It is possible to follow this 1909 route on the 1965 map of the Aachen old city below. This path route was used again in 1937, with slight variation.¹⁹¹ During the 1937 closing

¹⁸⁷ DAA, PA 62, “Am Eröffnungstage den 9. Juli, Abends 7 ¾ Uhr: Grosser Festzug der nachgenannten Vereine Achens und Burtscheids,” “Ochsen- und Schweinemetzger, Bäcker, Maler und Anstreicher.”

¹⁸⁸ DAA, PA 65, “Heilighumsfahrt zu Aachen im Jahre 1909 / Am Eröffnungstage, den 9. Juli, Abends 7 ½ Uhr.”

¹⁸⁹ See James Brophy for the origins of Rhenish Catholic associations in the first half of the nineteenth century, James Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁹⁰ DAA, PA 65, “J No. 6835.” “Münsterkirche aus über Annastraße, Löhergraben, Jakobstraße, Markt, Großkölnstraße, Comphausbadstraße, Peterstraße, Friedrich Wilhelmplatz, Kapuzinergraben, Kleinmarschierstraße, Schmiedstraße und Fischmarkt zieht und von dort zur Münsterkirche.”

¹⁹¹ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.4, “Heiligtumsfahrt 1937, Kommando der Schutzpolizei.” The route they followed was almost unchanged from previous pilgrimages, “Vom Münster, Domhof, Fischmarkt, Annastrasse, Löhergraben,

procession, the crowds were so large that the police had to muster at major intersections to ensure order, including the corners of Annastraße/Löhergraben and Löhergraben/Jesuitenstraße.¹⁹² The final 1937 count, according to *Bistumsblatt Passau*, was approximately 20,000 men, 1 cardinal, and 4 bishops at the closing ceremony. This massive procession drew around 120,000 onlookers.¹⁹³

Aachen and Trier closing ceremonies attracted a wide range of participants and observers. Prior to each event, Aachen Pilgrimage Committee received requests from individuals for tickets to the closing event. In 1874, Pilgrimage Committee member Dr. Schlünkes responded to ticket requests from the Regierungs Präsident, local lawyers, the Charlemagne Association, principals of schools, local clergy, the postal director, the district court president, the commercial court president, and the president of the Chamber of Commerce, among others.¹⁹⁴ Like individuals, large groups had to request tickets if they wanted to attend the opening ceremony, closing ceremony, or participate in the reliquary processions. In 1902, Cathedral Canon Bellesheim informed club and association leaders that they would receive tickets that allowed them to participate in the closing ceremony.¹⁹⁵ The 1933 Trier Pilgrimage Committee invited local priests, professors, the post master, the Reichsbank director in Trier, the mayor, who offered seven spots to the NSDAP city council faction, the school principal of Kaiser Wilhelm Gymnasium, director of the Provincial Museum Trier, the District Leader

Jakobstrasse, Markt, Groß-Kölnstrasse, Comphausbadstrasse, Petersstr., Friedrich-Wilhelm-Platz, Kapuzinergraben, Kleinmarschierstr., Jesuitenstr., Annastr., Fischmarkt, und zurück zum Münster.” “die große Reliquienprozession in der ein Kardinal, 4. Bischöfe und 20 000 Männer mitgingen. 120 000 Gläubige umsäumten mitbetend und =singend die Prozessionsstraßen. Die Gesamtpilgerzahl während der Heiligtumsfahrt wird amtlich mit rund 800 000 Pilgern ausgegeben.”

¹⁹² DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.4, “Heiligtumsfahrt 1937, Kommando der Schutzpolizei” “Prozessions Ordnung.”

¹⁹³ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.11, *Bistumsblatt, Passau*, “Eines der größten deutschen Kirchenfeste: Gewaltiger Abschluß der Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt, 8.8.1937.

¹⁹⁴ For this correspondence, see DAA, PA 59.

¹⁹⁵ DAA, PA 62, “5 Juli 1902” “Mocken, 5/7 1902.”

(*Kreisleiter*) of the Trier Nazi party, local physicians, the director of the provincial institution for the deaf, Ortsgruppe Director of the Trier-Mitte Nazi Party, the City Police Director, abbots of local monasteries, etc.¹⁹⁶ These guests lent their prestige to the pilgrimage ceremonies and

Between 1832 and 1937 Church officials carefully mapped out the processional order.¹⁹⁷ Men led processions and were the majority of the participants. Processions highlighted the diversity of the German Catholic clergy in attendance: clerical leaders included abbots, prioresses, parish priests, and bishops from across Western Europe. In the processional hierarchy only relics preceded clerical leaders. Relics rested literally on priests's shoulders, including objects from Biblical times, reverently carried in elaborate reliquaries, illuminated with torch light and anointed with incense as they made their way through the city and back to the cathedral.

In processions, Rhineland Catholics created place by carrying divine presence through the city. In Image 7, above, local clergy support three relics on their shoulders: 1) the Charlemagne bust (*Karlsbüste*) containing part of his skull, the Leo bust (*Leosbüste*) and the Charlemagne Shrine (*Karlsschrein*) containing Charlemagne's leg bones. This group of relics was dubbed the "Charlemagne Group" in 1937.¹⁹⁸ Interspersed between relic groupings, different organizations and choirs sang and prayed as they wound their way through Aachen's old city. In 1888, the Male Congregations accompanied the Charlemagne Shrine, which contained the few remaining bones of the Emperor. Any bishops present, in full vestments, accompanied the other main Cathedral reliquary, the Marian Shrine, which housed the four Aachen relics between pilgrimages. Each bishop carried smaller relics and were flanked by two chaplains as they

¹⁹⁶ See BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 295-365.

¹⁹⁷ See Appendix 7 for the ordering of the 1867 Aachen closing ceremony procession, for example.

¹⁹⁸ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.4, "Anmeldungen Reliq. Proz."

walked.¹⁹⁹ Clergy carried several other small relics, including the Philip II chapel, the Karls IV chapel, and several other unspecified relics.²⁰⁰ These smaller relics likely included the items featured in the Aachen press along side the primary Cathedral treasures, such as the Lothar cross; one of Charlemagne's talismans: a medallion of two crystal spheres containing hair of the Virgin Mary; and an heirloom (*Erbstück*) of Pepin, which he may have received from Pope Zacharias or Stefan.²⁰¹ The closing procession in 1933 honored the various committees that made the event possible, including the art, sick, press, Mass, and finance committees.²⁰² Following these groups marched the honor guard of several churches, the cathedral choir, Mass assistants of the station churches. Catholics also honored civic authorities during the 1888 closing ceremony: the police, paramedics, firemen; but left out the Catholic Holy Orders, and only included one choir. The 1933 Trier procession focused on volunteers, civic authorities, and clergy, but not Catholic associations.

In 1844 Trier, at the closing ceremony Bishop Arnoldi led a procession through the streets. During this parade, the participants sang out “Herr, Großer Gott!!” Like processions in Aachen, this event followed a circular pattern, beginning and ending at the cathedral. After exiting the church, the Bishop led pilgrims along Fleischstraße, Brückenstraße, Jüdemerstraße (the street between Brückenstraße and Stressemanstraße, by the green K11 on the map below), across the Viehmarkt, onto Neustraße, Brodstraße [sic.], continued onto Grabenstraße, Palaststraße, and returning to the cathedral.²⁰³ The 1844 Trier closing ceremony lasted 2 hours

¹⁹⁹ DAA, PA 61, “Heiligthumsfahrt. Zur Schlußfeier am 24 Juli 1888.”

²⁰⁰ DAA, PA 61, “Heiligthumsfahrt. Zur Schlußfeier am 24 Juli 1888,” “a. Stiftsvikare, soviel nöthig durch andere Geistliche vermehrt, in Dalmaticen und Reliquien tragend.”

²⁰¹ *Aachener Pius-Blatt, Festnummer: Das Anlaß der Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt 1909*, No. 28 (1909): 222, “Kaiserin Josefine und die Aachener Heiligtümer.” This issue of the Pius-Blatt is undated, but is likely from July 1909. A librarian wrote on the newspaper that it was No. 28.

²⁰² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 367.

²⁰³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 214, 90.

and was preceded by a candle procession. Like Aachen, this 1840s procession consisted of religious organizations: Bachelor Sodality, and occupations: 43 fire workers, 7 shoe makers, 19 butchers, and Trier sailors.²⁰⁴ Individual members of associations, like the Sailors Union (*Schiffer Gewerkschaft*) purchased their own candles at the cathedral for the event.²⁰⁵

During closing ceremonies, clergy and laity were physically oriented toward the Aachen and Trier relics. Both cities had formalized practices for honoring these objects before sealing them away at the close of a pilgrimage period. In 1933, Bishop Franz Rudolf Bornewasser praised and knelt before the Coat. He treated the Coat like the Eucharist. Bornewasser blessed the Holy Coat and blessed it with incense.²⁰⁶ The bishop began the closing ritual with a Pontifical Mass and gave a homily. The assembled then sang the *Te Deum* and a song to honor the Holy Coat. Bishop Bornewasser applied the incense with predetermined choreography. First the bishop bent himself in the direction of the relic, the assembled pilgrims remained kneeling. After briefly kneeling himself, Bornewasser crossed the relic with a reliquary containing a piece of Jesus' cross. He then kissed the censer and knelt with the Coat to his right. When he stood, the bishop began an elaborate interaction with the Coat. "Give up censer. Kiss: first censer, then Hand. Genuflect before and after [waving] incense over the Coat. Take the censer. Kiss: first hand, then censer. Descend from altar."²⁰⁷ During the second song the Bishop consecrated the Coat with incense and covered up the Coat. Finally, the pilgrims present followed the Bishop in singing the first two verses of "Grosser Gott wir loben Dich."²⁰⁸ (see Appendix 1). These detailed 1933 descriptions offer insight into the practices of 1844 and 1891 pilgrims. The 1933

²⁰⁴ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 1.

²⁰⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 4.

²⁰⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 290.

²⁰⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 290, "Oben Rauchfass abgeben. Küsse: erst Rauchfass, dann Hand. genuflexio vor und nach dem Inzens des Hl. Rockes. Rauchfass abnehmen. Küsse: erst Hand, dann Rauchfass. Zum Altar herunter. Aufstieg und Abstieg Treppe auf Ep. Seite."

²⁰⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 285.

Pilgrimage Committee had elaborate directions for the Credo, another round of incense, for reading the Gospel, and for what to do following the homily.

The Aachen closing ceremonies followed tradition between 1832 and 1937. For example, in 1860 Aachen, following the 8 a.m. Mass on Tuesday 24 July, pilgrims had one last opportunity to look upon the relics. At 5 p.m. the cathedral doors were closed and the cathedral bells sounded to summon the musicians and singers. By 5:30 p.m. the mayor, city officials, municipal authorities, and invited clergy gathered in the cathedral. They sat in the choir, with the four Aachen relics spread on the table. The leaders faced outwards toward the main Cathedral door, the Wolfs-door. Together, these men began to sing Psalm Cantate 95, “Sing to the Lord a new song, sing to the Lord all the earth.”²⁰⁹ Meanwhile, guards opened up the doors and allowed pilgrims to fill the church. Cathedral officials stepped forward to the altar, accompanied by two acolytes and two assistants. As the song continued these clerics blessed the relics with incense and stood aside for the sermon. Following the homily, the officials and those assembled sang Psalm 148 Laudate Dominum, “O praise the Lord from the Heavens,” accompanied by the organ.²¹⁰ After singing, clergy lifted up the relics for all assembled to see. They then put the relics back onto the altar on the dais and wrapped each relic in new silk for storage for the next seven years. Priests then carried the relics to the sacristy to be resealed. They were flanked by city officials holding candles. While the relics were wrapped and stored, the assembled crowd sang alternatively the “Salve Regina,” accompanied by the orchestra, and the “Laudate Dominum,” accompanied by the organ. Finally, with the relics stored, the officials and assembled sang out the “Te Deum,” “We praise thee O God.” At this point fireworks (*Böller*)

²⁰⁹ DAA, PA 58, “Programm b. für den Schlußtag der Heiligthumsfahrt, Dienstag, den 24. Juli 1860.” See also DAA, PA 58, “Programm für den Schlußtag der Heiligthumsfahrt, Sonntag den 24 Juli 1853.”

²¹⁰ DAA, PA 58, “Programm b. für den Schlußtag der Heiligthumsfahrt, Dienstag, den 24. Juli 1860.”

went off and the church bells of Aachen sounded the official closing ceremony of the pilgrimage. Officials gathered around the altar to sign the “Closing Protocol” verifying that the relics had been stowed and re-sealed. Official signatures verifying the integrity of the relics were common for Aachen. In 1874, the mayor and city officials helped to pack away the relics by verifying that they had not been tampered with and by affixing a seal to the relic silk.²¹¹ The organ continued to play as the faithful left the cathedral and returned to their homes, “in silence and devotion” (*in aller Stille und Andacht*).²¹² They had sanctified the city for another seven years.

Conclusion

Through elaborate processions at the beginning and end of pilgrimages clergy, Catholic politicians, and Catholic laity carried relics through their cities. The opening and closing ceremonies in Aachen and Trier were thick rituals, each action planned and laden with meaning.²¹³ And the various groups of participants had their precise role laid out for them. The above description of incense came from directions for the deacons, but sub-deacons, the presbyter, and honorary deacons (*Ehrendiakone*), all had their actions and movements on the

²¹¹ DAA, PA 59, “Programm für den Tag der Eröffnung der Heilighumsfahrt, Donnerstag, den 9. Juli 1874.” “Die Bürgermeister und Stadtverordneten begleiten zu zwei und zwei jedes der vier Heilighümer mit Fackeln bis zu dem vor dem Hochaltar stehenden Auslegetisch, wo die Bursen geöffnet, die Siegel als unverletzt anerkannt und die heiligen Gegenstände herausgenommen werden.”

²¹² DAA, PA 58, “Programm b. für den Schlußtag der Heilighumsfahrt, Dienstag, den 24. Juli 1860.”

²¹³ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* (New York: Basic Books Inc, 1973), 17. See also Clifford Geertz, “‘The Pinch of Destiny’: Religion as Experience, Meaning, Identity, Power,” *Raritan* 18(3) (Winter 1999): 1-19. For recent work on the usefulness of Geertz in the study of religion see two articles: Kevin Schilbrack, “Religions, Models of, and Reality: Are we Through with Geertz?” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 73(2) (June 2005): 429-452. And: Jason A. Springs, “What Cultural Theorists of Religion have to Learn from Wittgenstein: Or, How to Read Geertz as a Practice Theorist,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 76(4) (December 2008): 934-969. Schilbrack defends Geertz against critics Talal Asad, Nancy Frankenberry, and Hans Penner and asserts that their critiques do not undermine Geertz’s notion of models of reality or Geertz’s usefulness in the study of religion. Springs attempts to show how Wittgenstein’s practice theory is compatible with Geertzian concepts “thick description” and “religious practices.” For Springs, Geertz should be read as a practice theorist in order to move beyond the conflict between analyzing power relationships within religion and assigning meaning in the study of religiosity.

altar and dais.²¹⁴ Actions held meanings for pilgrimage facilitators. These events dedicated the town and the cathedral to Jesus, Mary, and the saints. Closing ceremony processions disseminated divine presence in the public arena.

These pilgrimages contain continuities of religious practice but they were not events out of time. Clergy looked out on throngs of German Catholics and described their collective petitions as a storm or as a tempest offered up to the heavens. The number of participants in Trier consistently increased between 1832 and 1937, but Aachen, because they hosted an event every seven years was more susceptible to European events. Thus, there was no Aachen pilgrimage during the First World War, nor during the subsequent French occupation of the Rhineland. Aachen saw a slump in participants during the Great Depression. Rhineland clergy had to balance the perpetuation of tradition with shifting political regimes. After the NSDAP came to power in 1933, Cathedral Canon Fuchs found compromise with the National Socialist regime. Fuchs ultimately allowed the SA to manage pilgrimage security, but limited party arm bands at the closing ceremony and denied the Hitler Youth the right to march in their uniforms.

For the pilgrims between 1832-1937, prayer was about communicating with the divine in a moment of exception, during a rare relic display. Prayer sanctified one for the journey and provided both an oral and a metaphysical means of connecting to God during and after the sacrifice of pilgrimage. Rhineland Catholics used praying, singing, and marching to transform landscapes into sacrosapes and spaces into sacred places. Through prayer pilgrims prepared themselves for their encounter with divine presence in Aachen and Trier. Participants prayed for healing, forgiveness, and strength. With song, Catholics created sacred places wherever they traveled. Catholics sang while on ships, trains, and on the road. The next chapter examines how

²¹⁴ Subdiakons: BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 291. Presbyter: BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 292. Ehrendiakone: BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 293.

sick pilgrims united bodily with Rhineland relics, it explores how they understood divine presence and the possibility of miracle. These ill individuals sought out sacred places in order to restore their physical health.

Chapter 3 Transcending the Body

Introduction and Methodology

Over the course of several weeks seventeen-year-old Countess Johanna Droste zu Vischering, from Münster, lost the ability to walk. She first felt an ache and then a numbness in her right leg. In the spring of 1842, Vischering noticed that the pain had spread to both of her legs and they began to curve and warp. Before August she required two crutches to move around. Vischering sought relief at the baths in Kreuznach. She also consulted her local doctors and the physicians at the spas. Finding no lasting cure, she decided to visit the Coat of Trier in 1844. To prepare herself for the journey she took communion and met with her priest. On 31 August 1844 she received permission from Bishop Arnoldi to touch the Holy Coat of Jesus; her grandmother then helped her into the cathedral. After touching the relic, Vischering prayed for several minutes in front of the Coat.¹ Suddenly the Countess covered her face with her hands and began crying. She shouted out, set aside her crutches, and her grandmother helped her get to her feet. The pilgrims around her were shocked and moved to tears.² After further prayer Vischering walked out of the cathedral unaided for the first time in three years. She left her crutches behind as a thank offering to Jesus for her physical restoration. Vischering returned to the cathedral the next day to further thank God for the miracle and as a testimony that she was fully cured.³

¹ Anon, *Der heilige Rock und seine Wunderkraft. Oder ausführliche Berichte über die während der Ausstellung des heiligen Rockes geschehenen wunderbaren heilungen nebst einer kurzen Geschichte des heil. Kleinodes und einem vollständigen Gebet- und Erbauungsbuche worin die bei Verehrung der heiligen Reliquie gebräuchlichen Morgen-, Abend-, Meß-, Beicht-, und Communion-Andachten enthalten sind* (Borken: Emil Carl Brunn, 1844).

² Anon, *Bericht über die wunderbaren Heilungen, welche sich, zur Zeit der öffentlichen Anstellung des August bis 6 October 1844* (Luxemburg: Expedition der Luxemburger Zeitung, 1844), 8: “ein so lautes Weinen aus, daß alle Anwesenden auf das Heftigste erschüttert wurden und sich der Thränen nicht erwehren konnten.”

³ Anon, *Bericht über die wunderbaren Heilungen*, 8. See also: Jakob Marx, *History of the Robe of Jesus Christ: Preserved in the Cathedral of Trèves* (New York: Saxton & Miles, 1845).

Vischering's story became the center of a fierce pamphlet debate about whether or not she was truly healed. Vischering supporters claimed that the Catholic Church now had irrefutable evidence that God acted through relics to show favor to the faithful. Detractors, both Protestants and liberals, were outraged that in an age of Enlightenment the Church would continue to peddle superstition. For opponents it was obvious that this the incident had been staged. Vischering was only hysterical and the emotional outburst before the Coat brought a moment of temporary clarity. They would not be surprised if she reverted to crutches.

The historiography of nineteenth century German Catholicism reflects the dichotomies of the pamphlet debate. Historians have looked past cure-seekers and recreated a division between Catholic versus Liberal.⁴ With an eye to the impending *Kulturkampf*, mid-nineteenth-century pilgrimages have become a political staging ground in which the Catholics and Liberals began to stockpile armaments for the inevitable confrontation in the 1870s and 80s.⁵ I argue the heavy focus on political confrontation has resulted in a gross oversight, the neglect of a detailed analysis of miracle and cure as a form of religiosity. Put another way, historians have been too willing to side with Vischering detractors and explain miracle as being “best understood as the product of neither supernatural intercession nor deliberate deception, but of the power of suggestion, or the cathartic effect produced by faith and heightened expectation of a cure at a time of unusual emotional excitement.”⁶ By analyzing Rhineland miracles, I explicate why cures

⁴ Gross for one: Michael B. Gross. “The Strange Case of the Nun in the Dungeon, or German Liberalism as a Convent Atrocity Story,” *German Studies Review* 23(1) (February 2000): 69-84. See also, Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 159, “Catholic poor, supported by priests and Catholic newspapers, against the state authorities, supported by doctors and the liberal press.”

⁵ Wolfgang Schieder, “Church and Revolution: Aspects of the Social History of the Trier Pilgrimage of 1844,” in *Conflict and Stability in Europe*, Clive Emsley (ed.) (London: The Open University, 1979).

⁶ Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 161. See also: Thomas A. Kselman, *Miracles & Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1983). Kselman argues that alienation may have caused the sicknesses that plagued those seeking cure (59).

were a central component of the pilgrim experience and further illuminate what cure-seekers endured and encountered when they arrived in Trier and Aachen.

David Blackbourn, in his study of pilgrimage to Marpingen, inquired into the political and personal implications of an alleged miracle. In this schema the historian asks “What is gained by claiming a cure?” or “How can we account for mentality of an individual claiming physical change?” Such questions lead to problematic answers, some of them psycho-historical: “Many of the nervous symptoms displayed by the ‘cured’ women and girls of Marpingen and Mettenbuch can also be plausibly seen as a response to the reality or prospect of relentless toil and hardship, as a form of flight into illness.”⁷ This line of argument also ends in oversimplifications about the participants: “[the] majority of cases where inferences about occupation are possible suggest that the families of miners, peasants, or small traders were involved.”⁸ A close study of pilgrims to Aachen and Trier challenges the notion that those seeking cures were overwhelmingly women and elderly. Unlike Marpingen, there is much better data for analysis about those seeking a cure in Aachen and Trier and it leads to different conclusions than, “suggesting that illness could be, in part, a resort of the weak, a means of coping with anxiety or sloughing off intolerable responsibilities.”⁹ This assumption goes too far, for, as Thomas Tweed has shown, there are limits to what scholars can claim about mentalities in religious experience, “Theorists do not have access to those ‘states’ or ‘experiences.’ They have only the narratives, artifacts, and practices of religious men and women.”¹⁰

⁷ Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 163.

⁸ Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 151.

⁹ Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 163.

¹⁰ Thomas Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 17.

This chapter examines the demographics of cure-seekers, the diseases that plagued them, and their experiences as they visited relics. Pilgrims described moving out of time and losing control of their bodies when they encountered the divine threshold in Trier and Aachen. Between 1832 and 1937 the number of requests to visit Rhineland relics for medicinal purposes continued to grow. Pilgrims hoped to find divine presence that would penetrate and modify their bodies. Following Egginton, in his analysis of theatricality, this Rhineland miracle presence is best thought of as a “pocket of presence” in the modern period.¹¹ However, for the Catholic pilgrims seeking cure, this was not merely a “remnant” of “medieval experience” but a powerful worldview that persisted into the twentieth century. Pilgrims believed that the divine would break into the world at will and defy the rational, natural order.

Anthropologists have treated popular religion from the vantage of the participant since the 1970s.¹² Similarly, medievalist historians of popular religion have, since the 1980s, worked to meet their practitioners on their own terms. For example, in his analysis of apparitions, William Christian sought “to learn from them how people experienced both the world they knew and the world they had to imagine.”¹³ Modern German historians have been less responsive than their French historian colleagues to these approaches, as the discussion of Harris and Blackburn in the last chapter exemplified. This disparity is surprising given the calls from German

¹¹ William Egginton, *How the World Became a Stage: Presence, Theatricality, and the Question of Modernity* (Albany: State University of New York, 2003), 7.

¹² For example: Ira P. Lowenthal, “Ritual Performance and Religious Experience: A Service for the Gods in Southern Haiti,” *Journal of Anthropological Research* 34(3) (Autumn 1978): 392-414. Lowenthal worked to develop, “A perspective which confronts the act of worship on its own terms, as a coherent and meaningful event in the religious lives of the faithful, leads to a reformulation of some traditional anthropological questions concerning the culture-history, function, and psychological significance of Haitian voodoo.” (392)

¹³ William A. Christian Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 9.

Reformation historian Brad Gregory for an approach to religion that does not use secular theory as its foundation.¹⁴

This chapter explores how cure-seekers understood their religious practices. Again, what matters in this approach is not whether or not a miracle actually happened - Ruth Harris has previously observed that there are “limitations of historical understanding.”¹⁵ In dealing with miracles in modern Germany I attempt to tease out the significance of miracle both those who were granted healing and those who sought it. A useful way of thinking about this is, again, in terms of pursuing a divine *presence*, not in a material sense, as discussed in the previous *Andenken* chapter, but in a corporeal, or bodily intendment.

Anthropologists have developed a range of analytic tools for looking at the miraculous religious experience. Jon Mitchell, for example, criticizes his colleagues for relying on semiotic¹⁶ and practical forms of knowledge without developing an adequate theory for the emotional component of cognition. Thus, for Mitchell, “religious belief is particularly convincing as an explanation for unusual experiences because it not only provides a doctrinal context within which attribution can be made, but also creates experiences which are explained *a priori*.”¹⁷ Mitchell sought to understand religious practices by joining and observing the Catholic community in Malta. His immersion led to a moment of faintness while cleaning the glass that protects a statue of Jesus known for its healing power. By inserting himself into the narrative

¹⁴ See: Brad Gregory, “The Other Confessional History: On Secular Bias in the Study of Religion,” *History and Theory*, Theme Issue 45 (December 2006), 132-149. See also Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory, *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 25.

¹⁵ Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (New York: Penguin, 1999), 345.

¹⁶ For an example of recent sociolinguistic analysis of religion see Joel Robbins, “God is Nothing but Talk: Modernity, Language, and Prayer in a Papua New Guinea Society,” *American Anthropologist* 103(4) (Dec. 2001): 901-912. Robbins finds that the Urapmin had an inherent mistrust of the spoken word and thus had to find their own local version of modernity when adopting Christianity, a religion based on talk (second-hand reports).

¹⁷ Jon P. Mitchell, “A Moment with Christ: The Importance of Feelings in the Analysis of Belief,” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 3(1) (March 1997): 79-94, 81.

Mitchell necessarily fails to take serious the beliefs of the Maltese. He explained that his faintness was a product of his desire to negate his consciousness because “fainting is one of the most efficient ways of denying one’s consciousness.” Thus Mitchell’s fear of being confined next to the bloody statue of Jesus led him to “create(d) a threat by projecting magical powers onto the statue.”¹⁸ While on the one hand offering a unique interpretive lens through which to view a relic, Mitchell, on the other hand, writes off such belief as merely learned behavior: “Through learning the appropriate modes of behavior, I began to adopt an appropriate mode of cognition.”¹⁹

More recent anthropology has also sought to explain religious experience in terms of learned behavior. In his analysis of Pentecostal prayer Robin Shoaps has argued that participants learn to “pray earnestly” by mastering *entextualization* whereby they develop the skill of making texts, prayers and songs personal through call and response, replication etc.²⁰ Even more recently Tanya Luhrmann, in a study of Vineyard Evangelicals in the U.S., has put forward the notion of *absorption* or “something like talent and training are involved in the emergence of certain kinds of religious experiences.”²¹ In other words, Luhrmann argues “people who enjoy being absorbed in internal imaginative worlds are more likely to respond to the trained practice of certain kinds of prayer and more likely to have unusual spiritual experiences of the divine.”²²

The Trier and Aachen Catholics who experienced healing in this chapter are no longer available to complete psychological evaluations about their propensity to absorption and cannot

¹⁸ Mitchell, “A Moment with Christ,” 83.

¹⁹ Mitchell, “A Moment with Christ,” 84.

²⁰ Robin A. Shoaps, “‘Pray Earnestly’: The Textual Construction of Personal Involvement in Pentecostal Prayer and Song,” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 12(1) (2002): 34-71.

²¹ Tanya M. Luhrmann, Howard Nusbaum, Ronald Thisted, “The Absorption Hypothesis: Learning to Hear God in Evangelical Christianity,” *American Anthropologist* 112(1) (2010): 66-78, 66.

²² Luhrmann, “The Absorption Hypothesis,” 66.

be evaluated on their openness to trance, hypnosis, or dissociation.²³ Also problematic for this study, anthropologists stress repeated exposure as a mechanism for acquiring knowledge about appropriate behavior. There were only three Trier pilgrimages between 1832 and 1937 and Aachen only hosted an event every seven years. The irregularity of the events suggests there was not enough continuity over time to develop the skill of healing or to learn a “cure script.” What they did leave behind is more accurately described in terms of Victor Turner’s *rite of passage*. Turner’s rite of passage applies to Rhineland cure-seekers. They were first *separated* during the journey as a sub-set of pilgrims seeking cure and as a group looking for a physical encounter with the relic.²⁴ The sick pilgrim then went through *transition*, described by the participant as the sensation of hot and cold, weeping, collapsing, fainting. Finally, they were *incorporated* back into their community as healed: men able to return to work or to go back into the field to harvest, or women now capable of resuming their daily tasks, for example. Both the Turner and Luhrmann approaches contain elements of what pilgrims described. For example, after Vischering’s cure in 1844, healing in Trier began to follow similar reports of weeping and fainting; and certainly leaving crutches behind was an important aspect of the cult of cure after Vischering dramatically cast her crutches aside.²⁵ Yet there are two important elements of miracle accounts missing from these approaches: the movement itself and the centrality of divine presence in the relics of Aachen and Coat of Trier.

Cure-seekers moved toward the limen. Liminality, as Victor Turner explained refers to a threshold between the temporal and eternal; “a place and moment ‘in and out of time,’” in which

²³ See Luhrmann, “The Absorption Hypothesis,” 74-75.

²⁴ This application of rite of passage to the nineteenth century requires rejecting Turner’s thesis that the liminal rite of passage is more prevalent in so-called “primitive” or “pre-literate” societies. See Victor Turner, “Comments and Conclusions,” in *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, Barbara Babcock (ed.) (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978): 276-296.

²⁵ There are many examples of this in the correspondence, see BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220, 98-100 (#10. Magdalena Steff).

the actor “hopes to have there direct experience of the sacred, invisible, or supernatural order, either in the material aspect of miraculous healing or in the immaterial aspect of inward transformation of spirit or personality.”²⁶ Seeking a cure expressed a desire to be in this liminal state, to experience both the temporal and eternal. At the same time, petitioning for a miracle was not only about being in the divine presence, it was about moving across, hoping for a transformation - either physical or spiritual. Here crossing indicates the desire to physically move beyond this liminal state,²⁷ to overcome the boundaries of the body with the divine.²⁸

Rhineland Catholics inhabited a world permeated by sacred centers. By applying anthropological methods to cure-seekers between 1832-1937, this chapter shows the enduring belief in divine presence. Pilgrim understandings of the body, sickness, health, and God converged in the Coat of Trier and the four Aachen relics. In Aachen and Trier, individuals suffering from physical and spiritual ailments expected to find relief. Before turning to pilgrim encounters with sacred relics, it is first necessary to establish the demographics of those seeking physical and spiritual restoration.

The Cured and Cure-Seeking

The consensus among scholars is that the individuals who went on pilgrimage and sought a cure in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries tended to be lower-class women and children. For example, Robert Orsi, in his analysis of letters sent to the shrine of Blessed Margeret of Castello in the 1980s, noted that “evidence in the letters suggests that the correspondents are

²⁶ Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 197.

²⁷ On crossing see: Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 157, “I want to suggest that the trope of crossing has even wider application in the study of religion, even with narratives, rituals, codes, and artifacts that are less obviously about movement”

²⁸ Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 157, For Tweed the body is “the actual Here that surveys other spaces, both close and distant; it is the actual Now from which humans narrate the past and imagine the future.”

mainly lower class” and “most correspondents are women.”²⁹ In the case of Germany the most detailed analysis of this religious practice, by David Blackbourn, examined 45 cases in which the person claimed to be cured. As Blackbourn explains, his 1880s sample size accounted for roughly 10% of those claiming healing in Marpingen. He drew the cases from both miracle reports from the *Trierische Zeitung* and the from the archives. He selected claims in which he knew the name and sex of the cure claimant, in 28 cases he knew the age, and in all but four he knew from which town the pilgrims originated.³⁰ Ruth Harris drew her examples from 127 cured who were present at the 1897 procession of cured, of these only 10 were men.³¹ The principal problem with both Blackbourn and Harris’ analyses is that they are focused on those claiming to be healed. Although men are less likely to publicly claim a miracle, they are much more willing to visit a shrine or relic for physical restoration than has been previously realized.

In the early nineteenth century, female Catholics claimed to be healed much more frequently than men. Within the 1844 debates there is great disparity over who was actually cured of illness. For example, one anonymous pamphlet, cited the *Luxemburger Zeitung* articles to compile this list of eleven cured:³²

Table 7: 1844 Miraculous Healings

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Illness</u>	<u>Gender</u>
unnamed child		Limburg	Blind	
Appolonia Porn	9	Olkenbach	rickets	F
Daughter of Johann Schell	12	Gutenthal	contraction of left leg	F
Regina Morscheidt	14	Kürenz	hoarse voice	F
Countess Johanna von Droste-Vischering	19	Münster	contraction of left leg	F

²⁹ Robert A. Orsi, “The Cult of the Saints and the Reimagination of the Space and Time of Sickness in Twentieth-Century American Catholicism,” *Literature and Medicine* 8 (1989): 63-77, 65.

³⁰ Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 148.

³¹ Harris, *Lourdes*, 306.

³² Anon, *Bericht über die wunderbaren Heilungen, welche sich, zur Zeit der öffentlichen Anstellung des 18. August bis 6 October 1844* (Luxemburg, Expedition der Luxemburger Zeitung, 1844).

Anna Josephine Wagner	19	Alsen	epilepsy	F
Catharina Drolait	24	Ressonville	fever, lameness, seizures	F
Susanna Müller	44	Saarburg	gout	F
Widow Katharina Petsch	45	Konz	stroke	F
Joseph Heinz	11	Berncastel	lost voice	M
Mathias Mieler	51	Bontenbach bei Rhaunen	pain in left leg	M

In this list only two of the cured are male and only one of those an adult. Other pamphlets proposed twenty-three cured, of which only three were males.³³ Still others proposed a list of only nineteen cured, with only two men being relieved of physical suffering.³⁴ Thus within the pamphlet literature in the early nineteenth century women are much more represented than men among the healed.

However, by the end of the nineteenth century this trend was slowing down. In Bishop Korum's list of approved miracles six of the eleven were male, although three of the male cured were children. Even so, this 1891 official list indicates a shift from 1844. If one counts the undefined "mercies" that Korum would not confirm as miraculous then women are far and away the majority. Korum refused to confirm as miraculous illnesses like "sadness," "persistent vomiting," and "nerves." Although plenty of the "mercies" claimants insisted on an outward, physical transformation, like the "miracles," Korum was unconvinced by the evidence presented. The Bishop still included "mercies" testimony as a separate category, this suggests he did not wholly discount their testimony. Unfortunately for the nineteenth century, the sources are focused on those who claimed a successful encounter and do not give the depth of the twentieth century applications to touch the relics.

³³ Anon, *Drei und zwanzig wunderbare Heilungen die sich während der Ausstellung des h. Rockes in der Domkirch: zu Trier vom 18. August bis 6. Oktober 1844 ereignet. Ein Sendschreiben für Alle, welche Wahrheit lieben und suchen* (Coblenz: J. Hölscher, 1845).

³⁴ V. Hansen, *Achtzehn Wunderbare Heilungen welche bei der Ausstellung des h. Rockes zu Trier im Jahre 1844 sich ereignet. Nach authentischen Urkunden gesammelt* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein's Verlag, 1891).

Table 8: 1891 Miraculous Healings³⁵

Name	Age	Town	Illness	Gender
Ursula der Franziskanerinnen	Not Listed	Waldbreitbach	elbow	F
Helena Daniel	14	Recht	eye pain	F
Magdalena Weinachter	34	Nieder-Kontz	joint pain	F
Frau Peter Stinner geb. Wüst	38	Brachbach	abdominal	F
Schw. Stephanie Popp	60+	Trier	growing nodule	F
Peter Eul	1	Bürdenbach	weakness	M
Johann Wecker	4	Berlin	intestines	M
Joseph Wendling	4	Gemar in Elsaß	spine decay	M
Joseph Petri	24	Erkeln in Westfalen	cramps	M
Jakob Holzapfel	32	Caldenhausen	lameness	M
Johann Hoffmann	40	Tholey	Lupus	M

Table 9: 1891 Miraculous Mercies (Gnadenerweise)

Name	Age	Town	Illness	Gender
Michael Florange	Not listed	Trier	left eye	M
Johann May	4	Weiler	feet malformed	M
Emil Herb	12	Pforzheim	foot rheumatism	M
Johann Baptist Steinbach	12	Schillingen	heart trouble	M
Daniel Mahoney	30+	Westminster	lower back	M
Kaspar Speich	48	Linz	right hand	M
Johann Schäfer	58	Herschwiesen	dropsy	M
Franziska Papenhoff	Not listed	Heisingen	abdominal distress	F
Katharina Will	5	Dorweiler	going blind	F
Anna Reding	7	Berdorf-Luxemburg	lameness	F
Margaretha Schwartz	17	Berdorf-Luxemburg	stomach	F
Anna Maria Fink	20	Naunheim	body weakness	F
Elisabeth Felten ³⁶	22	Waldbredimus	vomiting	F
Stephanie Fleig	22	Baden	nervous system	F
Hektorine Hogenbill	25	Ueckingen	ulcer	F
Angela Rörsch	27	Cahren	aphonia	F
Elisabeth Schmitz	29	Loogh	sadness, hysteria	F
Gertrud Gilles	33	Polch	eyes and ears	F
Angela Weis	35	Ittel	spinal cord	F
Eva Maaßen	36	Haaren b. Aachen	nerves	F

³⁵ From: M. Felix Korum, *Wunder und Göttliche Gnadenerweise bei der Ausstellung des hl. Rockes zu Trier im Jahre 1891* (Trier: Paulinus Druckerei, 1894).

³⁶ Waldbredimus is in Luxembourg, her sickness is classified as “hysterical vomiting.” Forum, *Wunder*, 148-151.

Susanna Strupp	37	Wawern	heart trouble	F
Margaretha Riewer	39	Strohn	persistent vomiting	F
Schw. Edmunda	40	Waldbreitbach	lameness	F
Frau Förster Hahn	42	Laubach	uterus	F
Apollonia Franziska Allendorf	42	Wicker	inverted uterus	F
Barbara Lichtmeß	55	Waldweiler	gout in knees	F

1930s by the Numbers: Gender, Age, Class, Sickness

Aachen and Trier pilgrims who wanted to see and touch the relics with the intent of healing had to apply or secure a *Krankenkarte* (sick pass) to gain admittance to the cathedral at special times. Prior to the 1930s, these pilgrims needed to only bring a note from a physician that they were sick and an attest from a cleric stating they were in good standing. However, in 1933, the Trier Pilgrimage Committee introduced a standardized medical form and required that sick pilgrims have a physician fill it out before they could visit the relic one-on-one. In the 1930s, cure-seekers tended to be middle aged, in their 30s and 40s. In 1933, roughly one-third of the cure-seekers were men. However, by 1937, in Aachen the percentage of male cure-seekers declined to 22%. This reduction in male participation can be explained by declining unemployment and National Socialist views of sickness and health (see below).

1933 Trier

More cure-seekers visited 1933 Trier than 1937 Aachen. A conservative estimate of the total number of pilgrims to Trier seeking one-on-one time with the Coat is over 21,100 individuals (see figure below).³⁷ The 1933 Pilgrimage Committee recorded 21,126 total sick

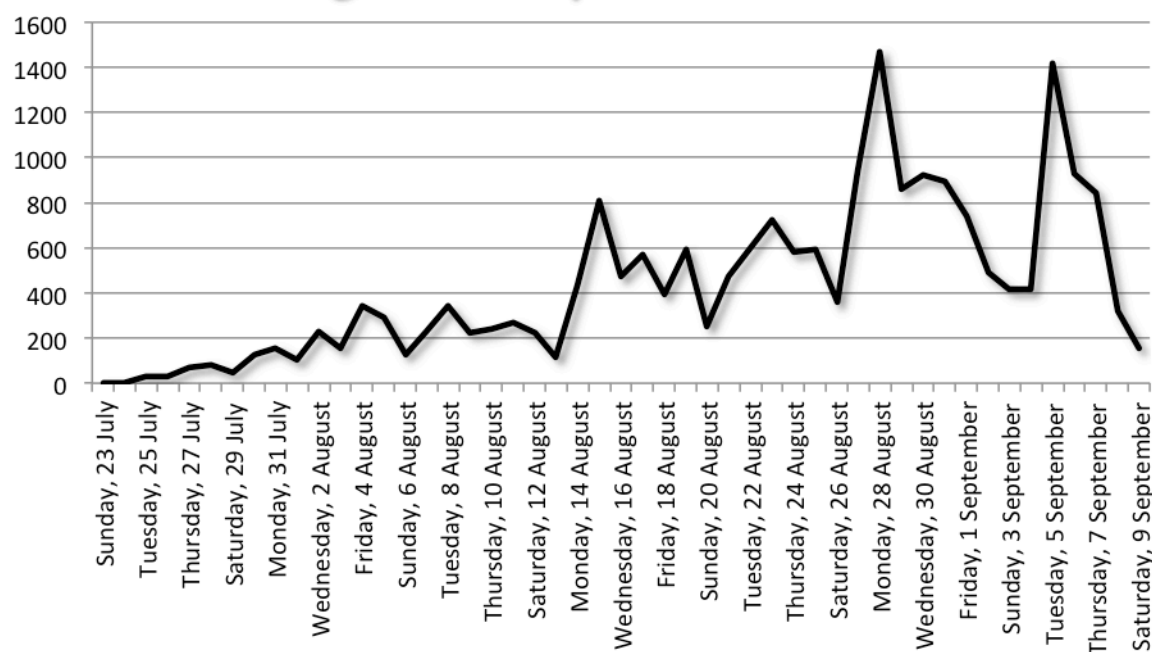
³⁷ There are 99 Akten in the BATr that are devoted to doctor's notes confirming that pilgrims were sick. Trier officials required these testaments for the ill to gain access to the cathedral. I have taken detailed notes on 19 of these Akten, which are arranged in alphabetical order, and found 3,625 applications within. Taking this as the average there are 190.79 applications per Akta times 80 Akten I have not included plus the 3,625 equals 18,888 applications. Of course, the actual number of people is likely much higher than this as there will be an increased number of applications with more common first letters in last names, for example, "T" and "S." See BATr Abt. 90, Nr. 175-Abt. 90, Nr. 199-70. In the charts that follow I am working out of BATr Abt. 90, Nr. 175-Nr. 191. The hope is that these 3,625 applications are representative as they are taken as they appear in the records.

pilgrims visited the Coat for a cure.³⁸ They were accompanied by at least 63,681 attendants.

These were individuals who escorted the ill pilgrim into the Cathedral. Each sick petitioner had about three helpers. Sick pilgrims turned in their applications, which included key information for describing those seeking healing: gender, age, job, point of origin, and illness.

Table 10:

Sick Pilgrim Daily Visits to Trier, 1933



To begin, it is useful to consider the male/female ratio of individuals. Unlike 1937

Aachen, where pilgrims often included their salutation on the application, doctors tended to simply mark M or F for the Pilgrim Committee. Therefore, for this pilgrimage, it is simpler to break the entirety of the applicants into these binary groups. Within the sample size there are a total of 3,617 applicants that are clearly labelled “M” or “F.” The male:female ration can be seen in the following pie chart. What is most shocking about this data set is that males make up nearly a third of the applications. Again, it is difficult to draw too strong of conclusions from the nineteenth century because those sources are limited to publicly proclaimed miracles, however,

³⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 489. This page is also the source for the chart below.

taking 1933 as a marker, it is safe to assume that male requests or desire for cure was much higher in the nineteenth century than is reflected in an analysis of only the well-known cures, perhaps as high as one third of those seeking cure were men.

Table 11: 1933 Trier Pilgrimage: Sickness Applications by Gender

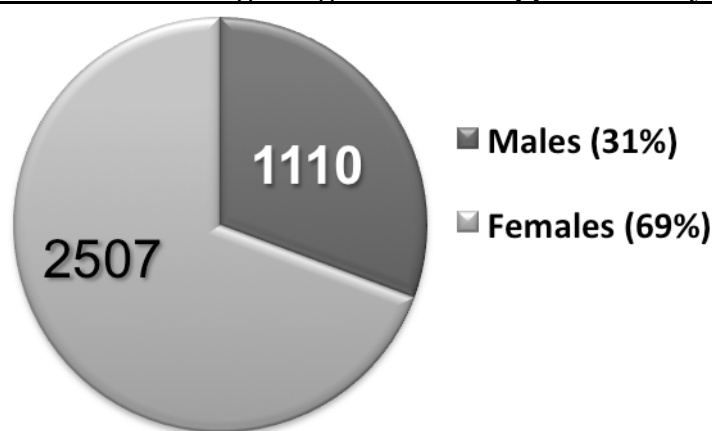


Table 12: 1933 Trier Pilgrimage: Age Analysis by Gender (All Entries)

	Sample Size	Average Age	Median Age	Mode Age
Female:	2276	40.07	41	47
Male:	1024	31.41	30	11

1933 Trier Pilgrimage: Age Analysis by Gender (12+ years old only)

Female:	2108	42.66	43	47
Male:	810	37.75	36	12

1933 Trier Pilgrimage: Age Analysis by Gender (11- years old only)

Female:	168	7.48	8	9
Male:	214	7.41	8	11

Although there is less room in Trier than Aachen to analyze women's social standing by salutation, the age information is much more complete, with 2276 female and 1024 male applicants having a clearly stated birth year or age. The average adult pilgrim seeking a cure was thus in their mid-thirties to mid-forties. Parents brought children for cures, but these were a small

percentage (21% of male applicants, 7% of female) within the overall cure-seeking population.

The children tended not to be very young, but between the ages of 8-12 when they arrived in Trier.

Male cure-seekers comprise roughly 30% of the 672 notes from priests in 1933 corroborating the illness of the petitioner.³⁹ Although a clerical note was not necessary in 1933, as it had been in the nineteenth century, many pilgrims sought notes from their priests as insurance that the Trier officials would not deny them access to the cathedral and the Coat. Once again, the gender data is best expressed in terms of salutation. Unfortunately, the priests were highly inconsistent with the age of petitioners and therefore it is best to defer to the medical testaments cited above.⁴⁰ The results are notable as they affirm previous calculations of men being roughly one third of all petitioners to see the Coat for an illness. The priest notes also reveal that men were not reluctant to ask their priest for a favor, arguably this pushes against the common historiographic assumption that women filled the pews while men met in saloons.⁴¹ However, like the nineteenth century, men were still not likely to claim a cure, of eighty-three cures investigated in 1933, only eleven were men, or 13.25 percent.⁴²

Table 13: 1933 Trier Pilgrimage, Notes from Priests

Salutation	Sample Size	Percentage of Petitioners	Out of Total Sample of:
F	..... 262	..... 39.46	..... 664

³⁹ BATr Abt. 90, Nr. 134a-134b. Kranken Attest, Krankenausweis. Even more than gender, this data is particularly useful in showing where pilgrims originated, and how far they traveled to get to Trier. However, these logistics will be explored in a different chapter, here it suffices to further corroborate the gender breakdown of ill pilgrims seeking relief.

⁴⁰ Age is only included for 143 of 672 petitioners, or 21% - this percentage is too low to draw meaningful conclusions about this data set.

⁴¹ There is a large literature on this topic to be address elsewhere, for example see: Hugh McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit – männliche Unglaube?", *Bürgerinnen und Bürger. Geschlechtsverhältnisse im 19. Jahrhundert* (1988): 134-156. On this process in the United States: Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion: 1800-1860," in *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women*, Mary S. Hartman, Lois Banner eds. (New York: Octagon Books, 1976): 137-157.

⁴² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 131.

Frau	..... 106	..... 15.96	..... 664
Frl.	..... 41	..... 06.17	..... 664
Herr	..... 23	..... 03.46	..... 664
Kind	..... 62	..... 09.34	..... 664
M	..... 154	..... 23.19	..... 664
Schw.	..... 3	..... 00.45	..... 664
Wwe.	..... 13	..... 01.96	..... 664
Female Total:	..... 425	..... 70.60	..... 602
Men Total:	..... 177	..... 29.40	..... 602

Of the original Trier sample size of 3,625 sick pilgrim requests, 3,018 of these clearly indicate their *Beruf*, or professional position. Pilgrims responded to this part of the *Fragebogen* with highly varied answers ranging from “child” to the specific Administrative Court Director (*Verwaltungsgerichtsdirektor*). Sick pilgrims fall into eight categories:⁴³

Table 14: 1933 Trier Pilgrimage, Sick Pilgrim Professions

Profession	% of Applications
1. Unemployed (Beruflos, Erwerbslos, Arbeitslos)	33.96
2. Wife (Ehefrau, Hausfrau, Frau)	16.70
3. Old Middle-Class	15.44
4. Working Class	10.07
5. Child (Kind)	08.28
6. New Middle-Class	07.52
7. Rentnermittelstand	05.14
8. Church	02.88

The Old Middle-Class includes professions such as handicrafts, commerce, and agriculture:

military officers, pig herders, florists, policemen. Germans who worked for hourly wages make

up the working class: cement workers, field hands, factory employees.⁴⁴ Salaried employees,

white-collar workers, and civil servants (*Beamtentum*, *Berufsbeamtentum*) form the backbone of

⁴³ I here follow Thomas Childers’s work on German voting patterns during the Weimar Republic and early Third Reich. Childers relied on the 1925 German census and voting information from 500 German locales to establish his *Stände*, or class, categories. See Thomas Childers, *The Nazi Voter: The Social Foundations of Fascism in Germany, 1919-1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), esp. Introduction and Chapter 2.

⁴⁴ Classifying the “working class” is highly challenging, but on the *Fragebogen* this group consists of foreign workers, construction workers, roofers, painters, daily workers, mechanics, gardener, quarrymen, and laundresses.

the New Middle-Class, which includes clerical and sales personnel.⁴⁵ The *Rentnermittelstand* lived on fixed incomes and suffered the most economically during the Weimar crises of hyperinflation and the depression: pensioners, rentiers, widowers, disabled veterans. “Church” here includes all clergy: chaplain, monk, abbot, nun.⁴⁶

The largest occupational group is the unemployed. This lines up with the large number of requests for *Andenken* to help find work as discussed in “The Sacred Economy.” The unemployed in Germany had been suffering since Franz von Papen cut unemployment benefits in June 1932 as he sought to cater to business interests and the extreme right. Chancellor von Papen’s economic policies failed to jump start the German economy and German unemployment reached a peak of 6 million people out of work, an increase of 150% between 1930 and 1932.⁴⁷ Although unemployment had declined by the 1933 Trier pilgrimage, millions of Germans were still out of work.

Overall this occupational data reveals that no single economic group, besides the unemployed, dominated in requests to touch the Holy Coat. The middle class breaks into two main groupings based on type of occupation, how long the profession has been part of the German *Mittelstand*. In 1933 Trier more members of the Old Middle-Class (466) sought time with the Trier Coat than the New Middle-Class (227). In other words, Trier officials received nearly twice as many requests from the Old than from the New Middle-Class. Combining the New and the Old Middle-Class means that 25.51% of requests came from the middle class, or

⁴⁵ For example, the New Middle-Class includes bankers, businessmen, engineers, office assistants, typists, mayors, and national train employees (Bahn Oberschaffner, Bahnbeamter, etc.)

⁴⁶ Kaplan, Klosterbruder, Klostermeister, Missionspater, Bruder, geistl. Regen, Augusterin, Vinzenskloster, Sauglingsschwester, Franziskanerin, Klosterfrau, Klosterschwester.

⁴⁷ Childers, *The Nazi Voter*, 202, 242.

more than twice the percentage of the working class. Thus 1933 Trier was very different from 1876 Marpingen, where David Blackbourn found that the bourgeoisie were underrepresented.⁴⁸

Trier's sick, as previously noted, required a note from a doctor that specified the disease they were suffering from before they could gain time with the relic. Of the sample size, 3,447 pilgrims had clearly stated illnesses on their applications. The table in Appendix 6 offers an extensive list of the common complaints. For the sake of clarity, the table maintains the phrasing used by 1930s physicians to diagnose patients who wanted to visit Trier. The variety of ailments is stunning and reveals severe limits in what doctors could heal in the early twentieth century. The table below largely ignores distinctions within categories. One example, under "lungs" are included the varied ailments of: emphysema, bronchitis, shortness of breath, lung pains, atrophy, bloody lungs, pulmonary trouble, and lung carcinoma. Similarly, categories such as cancer, heart, and stomach contain a wide range of specific diagnoses.

Due to the required medical form, Trier diseases tended to be much more specifically described than Aachen ailments. Even so, it is worth noting the concentrated areas of physical complaints among the cure-seekers in the 1930s. I have broken these into four broad categories of similar diseases. The first group, general pain, suffering, arthritis, and illness dominated petitions. Pilgrims also sought relief from a second category of illnesses, best described as "incurable sensory," which included blindness, deafness, and paralysis (lameness, multiple sclerosis, etc.). A third tier of diseases, "internal," is composed of dysfunctional/malfunctioning internal organs: heart, kidney, lungs, bladder, liver, "blood," stomach, and gall bladder. Another concentration of diseases, "unpreventable conditions," includes heart attack, stroke, polio, flu, sterility, alopecia, and epilepsy. A fifth grouping, "vague troubles," includes painful conditions

⁴⁸ Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 138.

diagnosed as cramps, war wounds, operation accident, headache, joints, bones, and so on. A final group, “mental illness,” was diversely represented with dementia, senility, paranoia, nerves, nervousness, schizophrenia, psychosis, and the problematic diagnoses of “idiocy,” “imbecility,” and “hysteria.” Interestingly, hysteria, by the 1930s is a term like “*Frauenleidend*” (woman suffering) that doctors began to abandon in favor of more specific diagnoses related to mental health and women’s reproductive organs (ovarian cancer, sterility, e.g.)

1937 Aachen

On the last day of the 1930 Aachen pilgrimage more than 1,000 sick pilgrims visited the relic, the Thursday before over 1,500.⁴⁹ In 1937, in just the first four days, 8,000 sick visited the Aachen relics.⁵⁰ In the archive for the 1937 Aachen pilgrimage there were at least 3,410 requests for a *Krankenkarten* to see the relics. However, there were many more individuals than this who sought one-on-one time with the four sacred garments because requests were often sent in for a group of three people or for both a mother and her child. For the sake of analysis, the following tables separate cure-seeking pilgrims up by their salutations: Frl. (Single woman), Frau (married woman), Wwe. (widowed woman), Schw. (Schwester, sister, member of a female religious order), Kind (child), and Herr (Mr.). Where possible, requests are classified through inference, for example, an F to Christine Schmitz and Johanna Wolff and an M to Matthias Herzog and Hermann Püsken. The tables do not include instances where there is only a last name, the first name is illegible, or the names of the members of a group request are not offered.⁵¹ Within these parameters the sample size is as follows:

⁴⁹ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 95.

⁵⁰ Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 105.

⁵¹ The data for this analysis comes from DAA, 4.1.1.18 Krankenkarten A-C, 4.1.1.19 Krankenkarten D-G, 4.1.1.20 Krankenkarten H-K,

Table 15: 1937 Aachen, Salutation Totals

F	479
Frau	1,257
Frl.	582
Group	33
Herr	358
Kind	241
M	198
Pfarrer (Priest)	1
Schwester (Sister)	94
Wwe. (Widow)	111
Undifferentiated Requests	46

In many instances, within the group requests, it is possible to distinguish men from women, and to learn how many *Krankenkarten* the group required. This data breaks down as:

Table 16: 1937 Aachen, Gender Totals from the 33 Group Requests

M	86
F	438

Undifferentiated Requests 649

Thus, there were at least 4,540 individuals who wanted to be cured by the Aachen relics in 1937.⁵² By combining these group requests with the categorical data set and removing the indistinguishable individuals, the totals become:

Table 17: 1937 Aachen, Totals by Salutation Category (Categorized+Group)

Salutation	Total	Percentage of Petitioners
F (479+438)	917	23.85
Frau	1,257	32.69
Frl.	582	15.14
Herr	358	09.31

4.1.1.21 Krankenkarten L-P,

4.1.1.22 Krankenkarten Q-Z,

Assigning the “M” and “F” is hardly scientific and requires inference, but I have tried to minimize error. For example, an individual named “Hub.”, “Christ.” or “Jos.” is excluded from the analysis because this could be the beginning of a male or female name.

⁵² This total is attained by adding the group totals to the categorical totals (removing the 33 groups from the equation).

Kind	.....	241	.....	06.27
M (198+86)	.....	284	.....	07.39
Pfarrer (Priest)	.....	1	.....	00.03
Schw. (Sister)	.....	94	.....	02.44
Wwe. (Widow)	.....	111	.....	02.89

Total: **3,845**

Finally, by lumping the categories together into “F” (F+Frau+Frl+Schwester+Wwe), “M” (M+Herr+Pfarrer), and “Kind” it becomes clear that women comprised 77% of those interested in having one-on-one time with the relics:

<u>Total 18: 1937 Aachen, Sick Pilgrim Totals by Gender</u>				
	Total:		Percentage:	
Women:	2,961	.....	77.01	
Men:	643	.....	16.72	
Children:	241	.....	6.27	
Total:	3,845			

The 1937 cure-seeker percentages reveal a decline in male requests for cure. They also parallel Blackbourn’s analysis of those claiming cures at Marpingen (78% of his cases were female, 22% were male).⁵³ The decline in male participation from 1933 cannot be merely attributed to not distinguishing children because even if one were to assume all the 1937 Aachen children were male it would still only make 22% and be a nearly 10% decline over four years. There are a few possible explanations for the drop off after 1933. First, the Coat of Trier is better known as a relic that cures, and the stories of its cured circulated widely after 1844. Second, there was a notable drop in unemployment between 1933 and 1937, in January 1933 nine million Germans were out of work and by January 1935 this number was reduced to around four million, meaning fewer men had leisure time to participate.⁵⁴ Third, men may have been reluctant to proclaim themselves ill when the National Socialist regime increasingly labeled the sick as useless eaters

⁵³ Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 149.

⁵⁴ Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power, 1933-1939* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), 328-36.

and a drag on society. Perhaps Catholic men had, to some degree, internalized National Socialist notions of masculinity as standing above the Church. On 18 October 1935 the Nazis created the Law for the Protection of the Hereditary Health of the German People, which “provided for the banning of a marriage where one of the engaged couple suffered from an inherited disease, or from a mental illness.”⁵⁵ Germans who were considered “hereditarily diseased” could not receive marriage loans and could be prevented from marrying. In this climate men may have been hesitant to seek a cure.

In the 1937 Aachen *Krankenkarten* there is detailed age information for 308 of the applicants. This data reveals a notable swing upward in the average age of pilgrims in 1937, from an average age of 43 to 54 years old for women and from 38 to 48 years old for men. As previously discussed, this age shift upwards may have been affected by National Socialist notions of health, race, and hereditary disease. As in 1933 Trier, children tended not to be infants or ill babies, but between 8-9 years old.

Table 19: 1937 Aachen, Age Table

Salutation	Sample Size	Avg. Age	Median Age	Mode Age
F	45	47.72	50.50	58
Frau	91	53.50	54.00	43
Frl.	57	46.10	47.00	47
Herr	40	48.20	49.00	52
Kind	42	08.99	08.00	8
M	12	37.38	33.00	53
Schw.	6	64.40	63.00	63
Wwe	15	63.69	63.50	74
Total:	308			

Table 20: 1937 Aachen, Gender-Age Table

Female:	214	51.30	52.00	58
Male:	52	45.59	48.50	64
Child:	42	08.99	08.00	8

⁵⁵ Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*, 520.

Total: 308

Pilgrims sought refuge from a number of diseases in 1937, including: child lameness (*Kinderlähmung*), cramps (*Krämpfe*), gout (*Gicht*), asthma, eye troubles (*Augenleiden*), afflictions (*Gebrechen*), general illness (*Kranke*), and epilepsy. Of the 3,410 *Krankenkarten* requests 3,154 (or 92.49%) pilgrims specified the disease they believed the Aachen relic could help them overcome. Like the data from 1933, the following table breaks these diseases down into larger groups where convenient. For example, any injury characterized by spasms or seizures (*Anfall*, *Schlaganfall*, *Aufbringung*) are simplified to “seizure,” or, varied complaints about pulse, heart rate, heart pain are categorized as “heart,” or, similarly, bronchitis (*Bronchitis*), breathlessness (*Atemnot*), asthma (*Asthma*), and tuberculose (*Tuberkulose*) are categorized as “lungs.” The two charts below break down the various complaints by number of occurrences. The most common requests were for relief from “sickness,” 2,585, (*Krankheit*, *Kranken*) and “suffering,” 89, (*Leidend*).

Table 21: 1937 Aachen, Pilgrimage Illness Complaints by Type

<u>Illness:</u>		<u>Number of Complaints:</u>		<u>Illness in German:</u>
Sickness	.....	2,585	.....	Krank
Suffering	.....	89	.....	Leidend
Heart	.....	66	.....	Herz
Legs	.....	58	.....	Beinen
Nerves	.....	56	.....	Nerven
Eyes	.....	47	.....	Augen
Lungs	.....	29	.....	Lungen
Head Pain	.....	26	.....	Kopf/Kopfschmerzen
Blind	.....	21	.....	Blind
Stomach	.....	18	.....	Magen
Ears	.....	17	.....	Ohren
Arms	.....	12	.....	Armen
Epilepsy	.....	12	.....	Epilepsie

Gout	10	Gicht
Rheumatism	10	Rheumatismus
Accident	8	Anfall
Breast	8	Brust
Kidneys	8	Nieren
Back	7	Rücken
Child sickness	7	Kind
Diabetes	6	Zuckerkrankheit
Joint	6	Gelenk
Liver	5	Leber
Surgery	5	Operiert
Woman Suffering	5	Frauenleidend
Spiritual Ailment	4	Geist
War Wounds	4	Krieg
Blood	3	Blut
Phlebitis	3	Venenentzündung
Sciatica	3	Ischias
Paralysis	2	Körperlähmung
Cramps	2	Krämpfe
Bladder	1	Blase
Skin	1	Haut
Speech	1	Sprachfehler
Arthritis	1	Arthritis

By the 1930s pilgrims spoke with medical precision and gave specific names to their ailments. During this decade, much of the nineteenth century complaints about hysteria and unknowable sufferings disappeared from pilgrimage rhetoric. Other pilgrimage historians have focused only on the cured. An examination of the sicknesses suffered is also revealing, however. 1930s pilgrims endured a wide variety of illnesses. German pilgrims were primarily concerned with ambulatory sicknesses that restricted their ability to freely move. Many cure-seekers had specifically modern problems including injuries from car accidents and industrial work related wounds or disfigurements. While there were still many seeking relief from “blood disease,” “illness,” and “nerves,” pilgrims had learned to medically name their afflictions with a specificity and standardization that could only come from increased contact with physicians and an upsurge in popular medical knowledge.

The 1930s pilgrimages reveal a number of continuities from the nineteenth century. The average sick pilgrim was an adult somewhere between 30-55 years old. This suggests that the individuals had suffered from their pains, aches, lameness, or other illness for an extended period of time. Likely they had already visited the doctor (in the case of Trier they had at least once) and not found relief. Men were not as underrepresented in both 1933 and 1937 as they were in nineteenth century miracle accounts. Although men did not proclaim themselves cured, they pursued miraculous interventions more frequently than historians previously realized. The diseases that plagued pilgrims were not gender-specific. The biggest complaints: vision, lameness, suffering, stomach, and heart - cut across boundaries and greatly overshadowed gendered diagnoses such as cervix, uterus, and *Frauenleiden*, which comprised only a hand-full of petitions. Pilgrims, in the 1930s, sought relief from diseases that had a negative influence on their quality of life, or threatened to shorten their lifespan. Although this numerical analysis does not allow for insights into the mentality of the petitioners it is clear that Catholic belief in the ability of relics to enable an encounter with the divine persisted into the National Socialist period, and that this belief was not polarized among the very young and very old, and was appealing to both men and women with health problems.

Cure-seekers between 1832 and 1937 fixated on diseases that negatively influenced their mobility. Five of 11 miracles declared in the *Bericht* for 1844 were related to lameness. This trend continued into the 1930s, at the 1937 pilgrimage “legs” were only behind “pain” and “heart” as the principal complaints. Similarly, in 1933 Trier “lameness” and “legs” were the third and fourth greatest request, behind “heart” and “lungs.” There was a belief among pilgrims that if they could somehow get to the relic they could find healing; that God had challenged them with immobility, but if they could get to him they would find relief and independence. Pilgrims

believed there was a link between suffering and miracle. Pilgrimage became a test of faith, if the participant was lame, they could secure cure by bearing the hardship of the journey. For example, Margretha Keinsler, fifty-five years old suffered from gout. She watched her legs turn “lightning blue” over time and would be bedridden for up to two weeks at a time.⁵⁶ The gout spread to her hands and breasts and so she traveled to visit a hospital in Bliescastel, where they unsuccessfully attempted to bring relief by slicing open the wounds. She visited Trier on 4 September 1844 and could barely stand from her swollen feet and legs. Müller brought her before the Coat and after touching it she had to sit down because she felt like she was floating.⁵⁷ When she got up the next day she felt as though her legs were more powerful and she regained mobility in her fingers. Doctors could not help Margretha and they advised her not to travel. She believed that if she could reach the divine presence of the Coat, God would renew her ambulatory ability.

The Threshold of Divine Presence

In their narratives, cure-seekers tended to include four essential elements of the miracle experience: (1) there are limits to what science and physicians can accomplish, thus cure narratives stress that modern medicine has reached the end of its capabilities; (2) there are physical sensations tied to experiencing the divine presence; (3) there are results from directly touching the relics or being in their proximity, namely, a cure or physical and/or emotional transformation; (4) after encountering the divine one must give appropriate thanks. Pilgrims

⁵⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 221, 150, “daß meine Brust kalt und blau wurde; ich hatte Schmerz darin und konnte mich gar nicht bücken.”

⁵⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220, 154-56. “wo ich durch gedachte H. Müller mit meiner rechten Hand an der Heil Rock angerührt wurde. Hierauf brachte man mich auf einer zur Seite des heilige Rockes befindliche Stuhl, wo ich ein wenig mich erholt habe, und sodann durch die (P155) gedachten Herrn, von welcher Einer weine Krücketrug, fast schwebend in das Domprobsteigebäude eingeführt wurde.”

recounting their experience tended to include all four of these components in their story and are therefore central to giving this pilgrim *Weltanschauung* texture. However, this was not a clear process, these four aspects cannot be neatly cut out of the cure-seekers narratives. Therefore, what follows is an examination of several cure narratives through the century, each pointing to at least one of these four essential elements.⁵⁸

In 1844, the *Ehrenwache*, or local volunteers who guarded the relic and watched over pilgrims, gave written testimony about each cure they witnessed.⁵⁹ Local press and pamphleteers used their reports in order to corroborate miracle stories. The *Ehrenwache* testimony reveals two aspects about the 1844 encounter with the Coat of Trier: the centrality of witnesses to corroborate events, and the necessity of physical action at the limen. For example, in the testimony of what transpired with Countess Vischering, the *Ehrenwache* first established that six reliable individuals were present including a sailor, private secretary, butcher, and innkeeper.⁶⁰ Each gave testimony and described the Countess approaching the Coat with her grandmother and a small entourage. After going before the Coat and praying she dropped the crutches. Her grandmother and General Vicar Müller helped Vischering out of the church. Thus, for the *Ehrenwache* it was not the physical contact with the Coat but the moving through the cathedral and prayer that brought about change.⁶¹ This perspective is reflected in a popular song:

⁵⁸ For a treatment of religious transformation as a multi-step process, see Lester's work on the Siervas convent in Mexico: Rebecca J. Lester, *Jesus in Our Wombs: Embodying Modernity in a Mexican Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

⁵⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220. They reported 18 cured, only one of them was male.

⁶⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220, 1.

1. Peter Marx, Schiffer aus St. Barbele

2. Thomas Varain, Rothgarber

3. Andreas Kauth, Gastwirth

4. Jakob Seeberger, Baumeister

5. Chrstian TremPERT, Metzger und

6. Jakob Bentz, Privat Sekretär

⁶¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220, 4. Testimony from Peter Marx.

Freifrau von Droste-Fischer

Freifrau von Droste-Fischer
 Zum Heil'gen Rock nach Trier ging;
 Sie kroch auf allen vieren,
 Das tat sie sehr genieren,
 Sie mußte auf zweien Krücken
 Durch dieses Leben rücken.

Sie sprach, als sie zum Rocke kam:
 Ich bin auf allen vieren lahm,
 Du Rock bist ganz unnähig
 Und ganz entsetzlich gnädig,
 Zeig mir den Gnadenlichte!
 Ich bin des Bischofs Nichte.

Da gab der Rock in seinem Schrein
 Auf einmal einen hellen Schein;
 Das fuhr ihr durch die Glieder,
 Sie kriegt das Laufen wieder,
 Sie ließ die Krücken drinnen
 Und ging vergnügt von hinnen.

Freifrau von Droste-Fischer
 Noch selb'gen Tag zum Tanze ging.
 Dies Wunder, göttlich grausend,
 Geschah im Jahre tausend-
 Achthundert-fünfundvierzig,
 Und wer's nicht glaubt, der irrt sich.⁶²

Countess von Droste-Fischer
 Went to the Holy Coat of Trier;
 She crawled on all fours,
 She did this very embarrassed,
 She relied on two crutches,
 To move through this life.

As she came to the Coat she spoke,
 I am on all fours - lame,
 You, Coat are completely seamless
 And completely gracious,
 Show me the light of grace!
 I am the Bishop's niece.

There was the Coat in its shrine
 And suddenly a bright glow;
 That went through her limbs,
 She regained her ability to walk again,
 She left the crutches inside
 And walked delightedly outside.

Countess von Droste-Fischer
 That very day went dancing.
 This miracle, divinely sent
 Happened in Year thousand-
 eight-hundred forty-five
 And whoever does not believe, is wrong.

The year is incorrect in the song, but it nevertheless reveals the popularization of the cult of the Coat. Catholics used Vischering's story to defend their pilgrimage practices. In the song, the Countess is healed by being near the Coat. Her proximity to the sacred center is enough for the mystical glow to flow out of the relic and into her limbs.

Like Vischering, eleven-year-old Catharina Schell's *Ehrenwache* testimony further reveals the power of being adjacent to the Coat for pilgrims. Schell visited the Coat on 7 September 1844. Schell had suffered from gout since Christmas 1843. Her step-mother hoped

⁶² Jost Hermand ed., *Der deutsche Vormärz. Texte und Dokumente* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1967), 157-58.

the child would find relief through pilgrimage. At 8 o'clock a.m. Schell entered the cathedral, trembling in her crutches. As she came before the Coat she fainted and was carried out of the church. Schell approached the Coat again and after praying with her step-mother she fainted. After she recovered she stated that she no longer needed her crutches, walked out, and continued to improve afterwards.⁶³ Once more, the *Ehrenwache* established that others were present as witnesses including Schell's step-mother and Anna Maria Gehren, whose husband was the mayor of Rindenberg. Similarly, 51 year-old Mathias Mieler, who suffered from a contracted left leg for two years, was healed after simply walking past the relic.⁶⁴ Here again, as in other *Ehrenwache* testimonial cases, it is the *presence* of the Coat that healed. Schell and Mieler were brought to the limen, the space between, and it overwhelmed them. They crossed through the experience to emerge free of gout and crutches, transformed into new individuals.

However, proximity to the relic was not always enough to bring physical change to the faithful. Twenty-one-year-old Maria Sibilla Müller suffered from a malformed hand and stiffness in her arms, a condition that began around Christmas 1842. Twice she came before the Coat and convulsed and fainted. Her sister helped her to secure permission to touch the relic, with the hope that physical contact would push her beyond spasms and loss of consciousness. When they arrived at the cathedral Maria and her sister realized they had lost the Bishop's permission form, but were still allowed to touch the Coat. When Maria made contact with the relic she felt strength returning. She prayed for thirty minutes and afterwards felt completely restored; her previously black and blue hand began to heal.⁶⁵ Even though the divine presence overpowered Maria, it was only by touching the garment that she was physically transformed.

⁶³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220, 21-25.

⁶⁴ Anon, *Bericht über die wunderbaren Heilungen, welche sich, zur Zeit der öffentlichen Anstellung des August bis 6 October 1844* (Luxemburg, Expedition der Luxemburger Zeitung, 1844), 9-10.

⁶⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220, 42-45.

For German pilgrims, healing could bring ecstasy, or what Eliade has termed a “return to Paradise” characterized by “the overcoming of time and History.”⁶⁶ In 1867, Franz Lauschet wrote to Aachen authorities to report the cure of a twenty-one year-old woman from Friesenrath.⁶⁷ Lauschet explained how the woman suffered from a nervous disorder that sent her into uncontrolled screaming fits on the floor. These episodes left her with bloody hands, ankles, and knees. The frequency of these attacks brought on a contraction of her knees, so that she had to lean forward to walk. In the five months leading up to the 1867 exhibition her condition worsened to the point that her confessor asked Lauschet to help the unnamed woman to the relics of Aachen. In the cathedral a priest touched Jesus’ loin cloth to her head and as he did so she prayed “Son of David have mercy on me.”⁶⁸ Lauschet then took her out of the cathedral onto the Katschhof and prayed over the girl with a priest. They told her not to lose heart and that God could yet help her. Dramatically, and only after Lauschet thought she would die, or, at the very least that he would have to carry her back home, the woman stood up straight, said she was healed, and proceeded back to the church. Lauschet called out to her “where are you going?” to which she replied “I must give thanks, I must give thanks.” She then prayed a series of Our Fathers, said the rosary and concluded with more Our Fathers. For the cured woman this experience was a restoration, a return to the paradisaal form. In the liminal moment, at the point of the loin cloth touching her head, the pilgrim asked Jesus to have pity on her and to restore her

⁶⁶ Quoted in Barbara G. Myerhoff, “Return to Wirikuta: Ritual Reversal and Symbolic Continuity on the Peyote Hunt of the Huichol Indians,” in *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, Barbara Babcock (ed.) (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1978): 225-239, 233.

⁶⁷ DAA, PA 58, “Zum Andenken und das Große Wunder welches bei der siebenjährigen Vorzeigung der Aachener Heilighümer geschehen ist.”

⁶⁸ DAA, PA 58, “Sohn Dawitz (Davids) erbarme dich meiner.”

hand.⁶⁹ For the woman, this paradisaal moment was a temporary transcending of her body, she was momentarily in the presence of Jesus, who chose to heal her.⁷⁰

Frau Willmann first became ill in February 1929, she suffered from pulmonary disease and required a cane to move about. Unlike Hepting, merely being in the presence of the relic brought no physical restoration. After securing permission to touch the garment from the Pilgrimage Committee Willmann made her way into the Cathedral on Saturday morning and had a visceral experience in the presence of the Coat:

“(I felt) alternatively hot and cold. I was seized by severe pain and broke out in sweat. I felt a rush of blood to my head and thought I would suffer a stroke and die.”⁷¹ All of this happened after I first touched the Coat. Then suddenly I felt a strong jolt... With the second touch I inwardly stated, “Dear God, stand with me!” Then I felt I was healed... I wept, but without that I would have had the feeling that I had to cry!”⁷²

For Willmann, she was so drawn to God in those moments that the encounter defied description. Those around her immediately noted a change. After the miracle Willmann became a local celebrity, indeed, residents of Mutterstadt waited for her at the train station, where she showed her grandson she could now jump.⁷³

⁶⁹ Here one can think of the relics in terms of Eliade’s talismans. Through the Coat, pilgrims gained access to divine favor and made contact with an otherworldly state. See Mircea Eliade, “Yearning for Paradise in Primitive Tradition,” in *Myth and Mythmaking*, H.A. Murray (ed.) (New York: Braziller, 1960): 61-75.

⁷⁰ On paradisaal states see: Mircea Eliade, “Yearning for Paradise in Primitive Tradition,” in *Myth and Mythmaking*, H.A. Murray (ed.) (New York: Braziller, 1960): 61-75.

⁷¹ *Für den Sonntag*, „Die Heilung einer Wallfahren: Ein Besuch bei der anlässlich der Berührung des Heiligen Rockes in Trier geheilten Frau Willmann aus Mutterstadt” Samstag 5. August 1933, Seite 5. Nr. 170, “abwechselnd kalt und heiß. Heftige Schmerzen packten mich. Ich hatte das Gefühl eines starken Schweißausbruchs. Dann spürte ich einen Andrang des ganzen Blutes zum Kopf und ich glaubte, ich bekäme einen Schlaganfall und es ginge mit mir zu Ende.”

⁷² Ibid, “Diese Vorgang spielte sich zwischen der ersten und zweiten Berührung ab. Plötzlich spürte ich einen starken Ruck, von dem auch der mich begleitende und mir behilfliche Arzt Dr. Rosen erfaßt wurde, so daß dieser fast ins Schwanken geriet. Dabei fiel mir mein Stock, der mir als Stütze diente, aus der Hand. Seither besitzt ich ihn auch nicht mehr; ich habe ihm nicht wiedergefunden.”

“Bei der zweiten Berührung hat ich innig: “Lieber Gott, stehe mir bei!” Danach fühlte ich, daß ich geheilt sei. Ich war nur furchtbar erschöpft. Ich vergoß Tränen, ohne aber, daß ich die Empfindung gehabt hätte, weinen zu müssen.”

⁷³ The 1933 cures were often widely publicized. Frau Willmann of Mutterstadt went home after her cure and did not seek any media attention, but was later interviewed by reporters from *Für den Sonntag*. *Für den Sonntag*, “Die Heilung einer Wallfahren: Ein Besuch bei der anlässlich der Berührung des Heiligen Rockes in Trier geheilten Frau Willmann aus Mutterstadt” Samstag 5. August 1933, Seite 5. Nr. 170.

An Overwhelming Encounter

The cured were often overcome by their divine encounter, they cried out in ecstasy or pain, fell to their knees, gripped their body tightly, wept openly and shuddered. Crying out, screaming, or shouting, was a central component of mid-nineteenth-century pilgrimage. In his observations about the pilgrimage, Jacob Marx, noted that one often hears cries of “Oh God!” when individuals approached the Coat.⁷⁴ The first, and most famous exclamation, came from Droste-Vischering; as word of her miracle spread it became common for people to scream out to God in the Trier cathedral. Jacob Oppenhäuser, father of the cured Madgalena Oppenhäuser, reported that his daughter was unable to contain herself after being healed of lameness. After the cure she shouted, “I will not ride father! I am now healthy and can walk, I will walk with the procession. Take me with you dad!”⁷⁵ The cured experienced extreme joy and could not contain themselves after their encounter with the relics.

For some, their experience with the liminal involved a shuddering or shivering. Heinrich Meier, thirty-two years old, from Herne, was able to touch the Coat in August 1933 with the intention of healing the swelling in his feet and knees. One hour after contact with the relic Meier noted that “in my legs, in the knees and ankles, a a cold shower went through the body.”⁷⁶ Fifty-one-year-old Frl. Hepting traveled to Trier in 1933 because she had been bedridden for the last six years. Hepting was taken into the cathedral where a priest prayed before the relic and each of the sick was given an opportunity to see the Coat. Hepting explained to the *Neue Augsburger Zeitung* that following the prayer, “I felt a lightness throughout my body that I cannot explain. It was like a shudder. My legs felt tighter, it was as if suddenly they were strong and I could

⁷⁴ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 42.

⁷⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 187-190.

⁷⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 129, 210. “Gegen 2.45 Uhr merkte ich im im beine in den Knien und Fussgelenker, ein ein Kalter schauer ging mir durch den Körper.”

walk.”⁷⁷ The following morning one of the nuns volunteering at the hospital found her walking around, physically restored. In order to assuage skeptics, the *Augsburger Zeitung* included a picture of Hepting and the sister.

Like Vischering, Catharina Droleit, twenty-four years old, had a stiff right leg, she could not get around without the assistance of a cane or friends. On 29 September 1844 she visited the Coat. Herr Edinger, a member of the *Ehrenwache* on duty that morning, reported that after Droleit touched the relic she “cried loudly.” Similarly, another witness reported that she yelled so loudly “that you could hear the shouts below the church.”⁷⁸ Droleit, after five minutes of prayer before the relic was able to bend her knee and leave the cathedral without her crutch or her friends’ supporting her. Men were less likely to cry out, for example, in the 1844 accounts of cures Mathias Mieler and Jacob Heinz, the two most famous male cured, did not weep before the Coat or after touching the relic. However, male pilgrims were not immune to emotional displays at the 1844 event, Jacob Marx watched a man enter the cathedral weeping, he gave a large donation and only stated it was for “the reversal of a large sin.”⁷⁹

Fainting was common among the cured. Josephina Wagner passed out for 5-8 minutes after touching the Coat in 1844. Wagner suffered from falling sickness and daily attacks as a result of abuse from her step-father as a child. Wagner went to Trier by foot over fourteen days and without accompaniment. In Trier she continued to suffer, but after touching the relic the sickness subsided. Johann Olk reported to the Pilgrimage Committee that she stayed in Trier ten more days, that she gave thanks at Mass, and he never saw her suffer again.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 129, 110. *Neue Augsburger Zeitung*, 12. Sept. 1933, “Schwerkrank nach Trier – genesend zurück”, Nummer 204. “Dann wurde mir leichter und es ging etwas durch meinen Körper, das ich nicht aussprechen kann. Wie ein Schauern war es. Da war mir plötzlich, als ob ich gehen könnte; meine Beine wurden straff, mir kam es vor, als ob ich Kraft in der Beinen hätte.”

⁷⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220, 75-81.

⁷⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, “Zur Bekehrung eines großen Sündens.”

⁸⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220, 50-60.

When Maria Anna Keiss arrived in Trier she first made confession and took communion. Keiss described how she temporarily felt a “power” before the Coat in 1844. She relied on crutches because her family was poor so she grew up walking barefoot. This tendency, Keiss believed, caused gout in her lower extremities. When she arrived in Trier she received communion and made confession. Afterwards she went to the cathedral and was allowed to touch the Coat. She described how she temporarily felt a “power” before the relic. As she descended the first stair with her crutches she stopped and felt a force within her that lasted as long as “several Our Fathers.” Following her encounter with the Coat, Keiss entered sacred time, not measured in minutes or seconds, but in units of prayer. At the second step Keiss sensed that her legs were healed and continued down without her crutches.⁸¹ For the pilgrims, the relic created or allowed a physical manifestation of the divine limen encounter. Pilgrims, like Keiss, often viewed their healing as a multi-step process. There were conditions for entering Paradise. The pilgrim must first take communion and often receive the sacrament of confession before approaching the relics for healing.

Spiritual Preparations/Thanksgiving

By the beginning of the twentieth century a common Vischering narrative was established across the West. The Prioress of a Carmelite order in San Francisco wrote in 1909 to verify her version of the Vischering cure. In this account Vischering wept and wailed prior to touching the garment,

“Aided by her grandmother and the other lady, the Countess mounted the right staircase leading to the choir, and approached the saint Relic. Before she stopped, and always supported by her crutches remained there for some time, standing quite still and nearly

⁸¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220, 143-145. “Nach dieser Anrührung wurde ich genöthiget, sogleich weiter mich zu begeben: als ich indessen auf meinen Krücken die erste Treppe hinunter gekommen war, befahl mich eine Gemacht, wonach ich in das Domprobsteigebäude gebracht worden bin; die Gemacht magte aber nur einige Vaterunserlang gedauert haben.” Keiss came to Trier from Senheim.

motionless, hiding her face in her hands and performing a silent prayer. Suddenly she dropped her crutches, spoke a few words to her grandmother, and without any help she knelt down, audibly weeping and praying. Her followers as well as the assembled pilgrims did the same. After about 5 minutes the Countess rose, and by the suffragan bishop, Dr. Müller, was led to the right side of the saint Tunic, where the Canon de Wilmowsky was sitting. Here the Countess, continually weeping and praying, knelt again, and her right hand directed by Monsg. de Wilmowsky, touched the saint Tunic. She remained kneeling before the Relic for 5-8 minutes, then the Countess rose, this time without any help of her assistants, turned swiftly and at her grandmother's arm, treading flat on both soles of her feet she descended the left staircase, a livery man bearing the crutches after her.”⁸²

In this recounted version, everyone present in the cathedral knelt down to praise God in one accord for the miracle. Despite this flourish, not mentioned in the 1844 accounts, the 1909 version from the United States closely resembles the testimony given by those around Vischering in 1844. The climax of the liminal encounter was coming before the presence of the Coat, the actual touching brought the cure, but Vischering was already exhibiting the symptoms of crossing a threshold before Wilmowsky guided her hand to the Coat. Furthermore, it is revealing that by 1909, the sisters focused on the enduring nature of the healing, “and the next day, for the first time, and afterwards at Kreuznach and Munster, was examined by some highly celebrated medical men, such as Dr. Hansen at Trier, Dr. Prieger at Kreuznach and Dr. Busch at Münster. On September 1st the Countess left Trier for Kreuznach, where she continued to make use of the waters for a fortnight. All to whom she had formerly been known there, were filled with wonder, when they saw her walking without crutches.”⁸³

The cured wrote to Trier and Aachen to give thanks. Frau Maria Amo from Prüm, fifty-four years old, offered thanks for healing seven years after her 1888 cure. Amo suffered from an unknown disease for 17 years that caused festering wounds all over her body. Both the regional

⁸² BATr, Abt 91, Nr. 250, 2-6.

⁸³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 250, 6. I will deal with the the turn toward verifiability and necessity for scientific soundness in the next chapter.

and the local doctors could not cure her, so she went to Aachen in 1881 to touch the relic. Unfortunately for her she did not get permission and had to wait seven years until the 1888 exhibition, during which the bishop granted her access to the relics. The morning after touching the Aachen relics the cloths she used to bind the sores on her arm were dry.⁸⁴ Amo stated that she wanted to say thanks and that she had remained healthy, and did not have to see any physicians since 1888. As part of her thank offering Amo was making the pilgrimage again in 1895 with her son, who hoped to find relief from his weak hearing.

Joh. Kessler wrote to Trier officials in 1936 to give thanks for his 1933 miracle, which included a vision after touching the Coat, “As I touched the Coat and withdrew my hand, something of the Coat hung on my hand. I wanted to look out at the cathedral which shone in a beautiful white-blue color and was empty of people, until the bishop blessed me and told me, ‘Go in peace my son.’”⁸⁵ Kessler, a pensioner from the Rhineland, had suffered from difficulty walking, a consequence of his career as a miner and soldier. After touching the Coat Kessler’s condition improved so he could once again get around with two canes and no longer needed to be carried. Kessler, although only partially recovered, was so thankful that he went back to Trier, from Elversberg, with his crutches to offer praise to Jesus and Mary for his renewed strength and mobility. Another example, Frau Minna Brenner had suffered from debilitating back and abdominal pain during menstruation since she was sixteen. Brenner consulted multiple physicians and endured two operations to help relieve the pain. She was prescribed opium, but it only brought temporary relief, so that she relied on her sister to help run the household and take

⁸⁴ DAA, PA 72, “Prüm, den 12 Juli 1895.”

⁸⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 130, 79-82, “Als ich das hl. Kleid angerührt hatte und die Hand zurückziehen wollte, blieb das hl. Kleid an meiner Hand etwas hängen. Als ich mich umsehen wollte war der ganze Dom in schöner weißblauer Farbe und ich habe sonst niemanden gesehen, bis der Hochwürdigste Herr Bischof mich segnete und zu mir sagte, Gehe him mein Sohn in Frieden.”

care of her child. Brenner decided to go to the Trier Coat in 1933. After touching the relic the pain persisted, but relented after she had refreshment and received the Eucharist. In the end she was independently mobile and free of physical suffering.⁸⁶ Again, there is the implicit criticism that the tampons, douches, opiums, and surgeries ordered by the medical establishment were nothing compared to the physical contact with Jesus' garments.

Eugenie Klaffschenkel thanked Mary for providing her with a physical transformation. Klaffschenkel was led to the Trier cathedral at 3 in the morning. Although she was taken through an alley to make the journey shorter, by the time she arrived she was weak and drenched in sweat. Upon entering the cathedral she felt a change, she walked up the stairs without difficulty to touch the Coat. Afterwards she went the entire day without her cane and had a restored appetite. Klaffschenkel believed Mary had taken pity on her and restored her ability to walk.⁸⁷

The healing power of the Coat persisted long after a pilgrimage and like the *Andenken* recipients, cure-seekers believed they did not necessarily require *direct* contact with the relics to find physical restoration. In 1830, Trier resident Rosalia wrote to her brother Anton to report that their mother was healed from her unnamed sickness relapse after holding onto a picture of the Coat. This *Andenken* was touched to the relic in 1810 and played a pivotal role in her recovery.⁸⁸ Rosalia initially expressed concern that the the three images she had of the Coat would be too small for the job, but, in the end she improved. Another example of this second-hand sacrality; Father Breitz wrote to Jacob Marx explaining his encounter with Johann Müller II, whose three-year-old son was sick. The child suffered from tumors and could not rest, and, in turn, the parents had been unsuccessfully trying to help him for three-fourths of a year. They took their

⁸⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 130, 11-12.

⁸⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 131, 146.

⁸⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 86-90. Trier den 21. Juli 1830, Rosalia

son to Trier and had his cap touched to the Coat. By the time they got home the tumors had cleared and the child was peaceful.⁸⁹

Pursuing Presence

German pilgrims went on pilgrimage hoping for physical, spiritual, and emotional cures. Individuals walked for several days, or through the night in order to seek the healing potential of Trier and Aachen.⁹⁰ For pilgrims, cures came as a chance to remodel one's life, to transcend the limitations of their physical body. Pastor Steffens in Enkerich wrote to the bishop in Trier in November 1844 to explain some of the changes he witnessed among his parishioners. One woman, "who led a most unchristian life," had to visit the Coat three times. On the third her vision was restored as she was looking at the relic that Jesus wore.⁹¹ This was a case of a sudden cure, and was delivered for her salvation. Steffens explained that she was blind before and did not have enough faith - but on the third visit she was restored by her perseverance and belief. Similarly, Katharina Petsch was relieved of the lameness of her right side only after visiting the Coat twice, initially to look upon the relic, and then to touch it. Petsch was cured after learning it was possible to physically encounter the Coat, having heard about Vischering's experience while in Trier. She viewed her recovery as having parallels to Christ's sufferings; He carried a cross to Golgotha, she bore her cane to Trier. She also understood her recovery as a blessing received because she was able to visit both the 1810 and 1844 Trier exhibitions.⁹² She was repeatedly near the Coat and that proximity to the sacred transformed her body.

⁸⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 228, 51, Halsenbach, d. 19. Octob. 1844, Breitz, Pfr. In Chapter 5, "Clerical Crossroads," I will address how clergy worked to verify claims like that of Johann Müller II.

⁹⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 50.

⁹¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 231, 59-60.

⁹² See Math. Fischer's testimony: BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 199-218.

Pilgrims were comforted by the healing potential of relics. In 1935, eighty-year-old E. Wurzer wrote to her pastor explaining that she had been ill since her fall and hoped the year would bring her a good death. Wurzer was cheered by the fact that her sister had been doing better since the 1933 pilgrimage and because she heard that a completely paralyzed Protestant woman, who was told she would never survive the journey, was fully healed after visiting Trier.⁹³ Encountering the relics, and in some cases simply hearing about the miracles, brought peace to Rhineland Catholics. Angela Altringer described to the Pilgrimage Committee how “fear and unease” left her after she saw the Coat in 1844.⁹⁴ Altringer was also physically restored, but her letter places greater emphasis on the emotional healing that came with completing the pilgrimage.

Parents often brought their children because they hoped doing so would allow their child to have a better life. Johannes Michael Dreher and his wife brought their son to Trier in 1844. The child was sickly and weak, he required crutches to move around. The parents had great hope that touching the Coat would give their son strength. After his son touched the Coat Dreher described how he wept when his son was able to walk unaided, he shed more tears of thanks for God above and for Bishop Arnoldi for letting the child touch the Coat.⁹⁵ Similarly, eleven-year-old Jacob Heinz came to Trier with his mother and was healed of speechlessness. Heinz was a unique case as his affliction came on him after initially visiting the Coat and so his mother had to return to Trier for him to be healed.⁹⁶

Pilgrims were willing to risk much for a chance to encounter the divine through the Rhineland relics. Maria Müller of Bacharach had been suffering since she was twelve from

⁹³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 654.

⁹⁴ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 228, 21-23.

⁹⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 228, 59.

⁹⁶ Heinz was popular in the 1844 pamphlets, but is also in the correspondence, see BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 91-94.

dropsy and kidney disease. Thirty-six years later Müller lived her life confined to her bed and in consistent pain. She decided that she would go to touch the Coat, despite warnings that she should not leave her bed for an hour, and certainly not brave the four hour car ride from Bacharach to Trier. Despite the warnings she received help from Sister Gisela who agreed to escort her to the cathedral and the relic. On the way to Trier Müller confided in Gisela, telling her, “either I will receive help from the Coat or the Savior will take me.”⁹⁷ In the cathedral, Müller cried out and dropped after touching the relic. Before Doctor Bellmann could get her to the descending stairs he pronounced her dead.⁹⁸ Afterwards physicians in Trier stated she had suffered from a heart attack. The Trier Domvikar notified Müller’s cousin, explaining that Müller received one of her preferred options in Trier, death, instead of healing.

Journey metaphors abound in descriptions of healing. Pilgrims focused on movement, this preoccupation is manifest in the previous discussion of ambulatory cures related to lameness, legs, and feet (see charts above). Similarly, Margretha Keinsler, in a report to the 1844 Pilgrimage Committee described how her legs turned blue and her blood thickened. She was not able to wear boots or shoes and had to go barefoot because of the pain and swelling.⁹⁹ Keinsler’s sickness worsened until she could not to go to church or leave her house. Doctors failed to cure her and she realized that only by making the painful trip to Trier would there be hope of relief. In the cathedral Keinsler could not stand because her feet were too swollen from the journey. Two men helped her to the relic, she could no longer carry herself. The next day she visited the Coat again without her crutches and was healed over the following night. Similarly, in 1925 Aachen, Father Lenartz wrote to a colleague to report the healing of Frau Schnitzler’s leg. After visiting

⁹⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 124, 219. “entweder bekomme ich beim hl. Rock geholfen, oder der Heiland holt mich.”

⁹⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 124, 217-219.

⁹⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 220, 148-149. “

no less than eight doctors she was still not able to get around on her own. However, after touching the Aachen relic she was healed over the next two days. Lenartz was happy to report “the woman can walk.”¹⁰⁰ In both of these cases it was the journey itself that brought on cure, they were purified through pain, they believed it necessary to *cross* into divine space on their own power before they could find relief.

Conclusion

There were high stakes in the 1930s cures. While the National Socialists were debating eugenics and who was and was not “Aryan,” the Catholic Church required the sick to bring forms from their doctors that inquired into the health of other family members. The Church wanted to verify if a condition was chronic throughout one’s family, as that would be an even stronger testimony to the curing and restorative authority of the Coat. Similarly, as the National Socialists condemned the chronically sick, Germans with inherited medical conditions, and the developmentally disabled as “useless eaters” the Church publicly offered them a place of honor. While remaining skeptical and hesitant, remembering the public relations struggle of the 1840s, the Church continued to minister to the sick while at the same time requiring stricter proof that they were ill and would benefit from touching the Aachen or Trier relics. At the same time, for the Church, those considered beyond the assistance of modern medicine were the best candidates for miracle.

By the twentieth century the Trier Coat was an international symbol for physical restoration. Tales of 1844 miracles continued to spread, despite Bishop Korum’s attempts to temper news of the miraculous in 1891, and the public pamphlet attacks against Trier and alleged miracles in the 1840s. This chapter has attempted to excavate the demographics of the cured and

¹⁰⁰ DAA, PA 67 a. 65 Gottesdienst. Heiligtumsfahrt 1925, “Esch. der 16 Sept. 1925.”

cure-seeking and to explore the common themes within cure-seeker testimony. Pilgrims circumnavigated clerical and scientific attempts to verify cures by subjectively believing in them, or by not bothering to report them, or by taking part of the sacral power of the relic to a sick loved one by bringing them an *Andenken*. “What is modern about modernity?” William Egginton has asked¹⁰¹. In the case of the nineteenth and twentieth-century German-Catholic miracle culture we can see aspects of modernity, such as the increased access to the relic made possible by new transportation, but also great continuity in belief. Between 1832 and 1937 German Catholics continued to pursue the healing power and divine presence of holy sites.

In 1933, Bishop Dr. Antonius Hilfreich of Limburg/Lahn delivered a homily to several hundred assembled pilgrims in Trier. In his message Hilfreich covered familiar ground for the pilgrims - the Coat brought them closer to its original owner, that Jesus had bled on the garment, and that it could heal. Hilfreich reminded the faithful that they were composed of two elements: body and spirit, and spirit is the higher of the two. The Bishop urged the pilgrims to not just see the Coat with their physical eye but to turn to it with their spiritual eye and see that the savior of the Gospels was before them.¹⁰² Hilfreich unknowingly stressed an important shift in clerical opinion regarding relics from the 1830s to the 1930s: a move from bodily and physical emphasis to stressing the spiritual healing, reconciliation, and symbolism. This clerical turn is the subject of chapter five. The next chapter examines another important aspect of pilgrim practices, the purchasing, creating, and exchanging of *Andenken*.

¹⁰¹ Egginton, *How the World Became a Stage*, 123.

¹⁰² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 101, 65. “Die Verehrung des hl. Rockes führe uns alle zur Verehrung des hl. Evangelius. Nicht für das Auge des Leibes, wohl aber für das Auge des Geistes und des Glaubens steht der Heiland im Sonntagsevangelium vor uns.”

Chapter 4

The Sacred Economy

Introduction: Religious objects

Pilgrim salami, lighters, pens, pins, chocolates, pilgrim cookies, sweat towels, magnets, book marks, paper weights, T-Shirts, hats, pilgrimage wine - these were just some of the available items for purchase by travelers to the 2012 Heilig Rock Wallfahrt in Trier, Germany. Has there always been such a diversity of objects available for consumption and purchase at Catholic pilgrimages in the Rhineland? There is a long-standing tradition within western Germany of religious journey, and more pertinent to this chapter, of pilgrims buying or manufacturing their own *Andenken* (remembrances) or *Abzeichen* (badges) to mark their journey to a religious site. In this chapter I argue that German pilgrims participated in an “economy of the sacred” through their creation and use of various pilgrimage objects. Within this economy wealth, worth, and merit were determined by the physical proximity to the relics in these towns. Even as the number of objects available increased in diversity between 1832 and 1937 pilgrims continuously thought of their *Andenken* and *Abzeichen* as part of the holy, a connection to the sacred - not mere trinkets or souvenirs.¹ Between 1832 and 1937 this sacred economy expanded geographically, in the sense that an increasing number of Catholics around the world were able to participate in the sacred marketplace, but was always centered on Trier or Aachen, foci of German Catholic piety and religious journeys within the Rhineland.

¹ See, for example, Suzanne Kaufman’s argument that the distinction between secular consumption and the sale of religious objects was not distinguishable by the end of the nineteenth century in Lourdes. Suzanne Kaufman, “Selling Lourdes: Pilgrimage, Tourism, and the Mass-Marketing of the Sacred in Nineteenth-Century France,” in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (eds.) (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001): 63-88.

The meanings assigned to *Andenken* were not merely socially constructed,² but a reaching for God-in-the-world. This belief was not superstition, and not religio-consumerism, but the persistent conviction that the transcendent could change one's life if one could only get close enough to the sacred center, in the case of Rhineland pilgrims – to the Coat of Jesus in Trier and the four Aachen relics. The sacred economy was predicated on the shared belief that God, through a divine plan, left a piece of the eternal on the earth to help the faithful. That is to say that the petitioners for and purchasers of *Andenken* did not view themselves as Germans in the 1840s, Brazilians in the 1930s etc. but as potential recipients of divine favor through religious objects: medals, relic silk, rosaries.³ They believed they could interact with and be part of the eternal. Participation in the sacred economy required that pilgrims undergo a process of *presentification* whereby they were bodily linked to an object because it could heal, relieve suffering, convert a loved one, or provide a job.⁴ Thus, one of the key objectives of this chapter is to explore how pilgrims related to *Andenken* physically and not just to ask what the devotional items mean – though that question is also addressed throughout - however, the ultimate goal is to allow pilgrims to Trier and Aachen to reconstruct the importance of *Andenken*, or, their worth within the sacred economy. In other words, to move beyond assigning meaning to the pilgrim objects and to ask how the items were *present* in the lives of pilgrims.⁵

² See Erik Cohen, "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (1988): 371-386. Cohen argues that tourists determine the authenticity of an item based on social factors. Tourists are able to play with the notion of authenticity; even knowing an item is not authentic, if it is handmade and thus has "elements" of authenticity they can explain to others that it is in a sense genuine.

³ See Hans-Joachim Kann's work for lists of postcards and medals: Hans-Joachim Kann, "Heiligrock-Postkarten-Probleme und Möglichkeiten einer Materialauswertung," in *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi*, Erich Aretz, Michael Embach, Martin Persch, Franz Ronig (eds.) (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995), 625-668; Hans-Joachim Kann, "Unedierte Metallene Heiligrock-Andenken (Medaillen, Anhänger, Plaketten, Schublerplaketten, Prägestöcke)," in *Ibid*, 669-687.

⁴ On presentification see: Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *The Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 123-125.

⁵ Again, see Gumbrecht, see also, Eelco Runia, "Presence," *History and Theory* 45 (February 2006): 1-29; Carsen Strathausen, "A Rebel Against Hermeneutics: On the Presence of Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht," *Theory and Event* (9)1 (2006). Gumbrecht does not advocate a complete rejection of hermeneutics, but has stressed studying the

Previous scholars have not adequately considered why pilgrims acquired *Andenken* nor how pilgrims understood these items.⁶ This neglect is also partly a result of the debate on whether or not pilgrimage and tourism are similar activities in the modern period.⁷ As scholars wove this debate into analyses of consumption there has been a tendency to point out that objects made available to pilgrims in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were produced, shipped, and, some would contend, consumed, in the same way as knick-knacks at touristic destinations. Suzanne Kaufman, for example, in her consideration of pilgrimage to Lourdes and its relationship to modern French tourism examined what sold well, “souvenirs, bottled water, and inexpensive religious trinkets,”⁸ not what pilgrims expected from their purchases. For Kaufman, pilgrims consumed because touristic purchasing converged with pilgrimage practices in the nineteenth century.⁹ Geographer Wil Gesler has gone so far as to call the items for sale to pilgrims in Lourdes the “vulgar” “mumbo jumbo” of commercialism.¹⁰ In contrast, I argue that in the case of

“oscillation between meaning and the presence effects,” see: Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence*, 49. Strathausen also discusses this, “A Rebel Against Hermeneutics,” 3-4. Strathausen is right to point out that Gumbrecht does not successfully implement his own ideas because “Faced with the potential socio-political consequences of his radical critique of Western metaphysics, Gumbrecht is quick to return ‘home,’ that is, back to ‘our’ values, back to America and the Western tradition.” (11)

⁶ Most work in German is concerned with categorizing and cataloging various objects, see Kann, above, and Köster: Kevin Köster, “Wallfahrtsmedaillen und Pilgerandenken vom Heiligen Rock zu Trier,” *Trierisches Jahrbuch* 10 (1959): 36-56. Köster is concerned with the material consistency up of various medals and *Andenken* between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries but does not consider how pilgrims received such items. See also Ursula Hagen, *Die Wallfahrtsmedaillen des Rheinlandes in Geschichte und Volksleben* (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag GmbH, 1973). Hagen describes the development of pilgrimage medals and how their appearance changed over time.

⁷ See Erik Cohen, “Pilgrimage and Tourism: Convergence and Divergence,” in *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, E. Alan Morinis (ed.) (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1992): 47-61.

⁸ Kaufman, “Selling Lourdes,” 70.

⁹ For Kaufman, tourism and pilgrimage converged in the modern period to the point that they were indistinguishable because of modern transport, advertising, and production. See Kaufman, “Selling Lourdes,” 80. It is possible Kaufman takes this argument because Lourdes was much more famous than the pilgrimages to Trier or Aachen and was year-round, so it could sustain more permanent shops and vendors, unlike its Rhineland counterparts. Kaufman contends that consumerism transformed pilgrimage into an act of early tourism at Lourdes. See Kaufman, “Selling Lourdes,” 64. There was much less concern in Aachen and Trier about whether or not devotional objects were legitimate than Kaufman found in Lourdes correspondence. Ruth Harris sets aside the commercialization of the Lourdes shrine, but does describe how relic hawkers harassed Bernadette’s family, See Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (New York: Penguin, 1999), 143.

¹⁰ See Wil Gesler, “Lourdes: Healing in a Place of Pilgrimage,” *Health & Place* 2(2): 95-105, 104, “One part of my mind objects to the mumbo-jumbo of the ritual and the utter vulgarity of the commercialism.” József Böröcz linked tourism to capitalism, “the emergence of mass tourism is organically connected to the spread of industrial capitalism

Andenken requests pilgrimage remained separate from tourism.¹¹ Pilgrims through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century understood their *Andenken* as part of the sacred.¹² Even as items became more standardized and were manufactured in mass, the meanings pilgrims assigned their devotional items did not significantly change over time.¹³

Between 1832 and 1937 Rhineland clergy increasingly worried about the aesthetics of *Andenken* and the meanings such objects conveyed. Trier clergy in 1933, for example, worked to define the parameters of “authentic” *Andenken* and to ensure pilgrims did not buy “kitschy” objects. Here again clerical regulation diverged from pilgrimage expectations. Aachen and Trier pilgrims make no mention of a slackening of the sacred nor do they complain that their *Andenken* are cheap reproductions. Erik Cohen has convincingly argued that commodification does not necessarily change the meaning of cultural products because “tourists” (here I would add modern

so that the production of tourists, hosts, and the commercial relationship between them, that is, the tourism industry, is a logical extension of the general principle of industrial capitalism to the realm of leisure.” (735) However, the pilgrimages to Trier and Aachen suggest that Böröcz’s link of travel culture and capitalism is too simplistic in how it deals with traveler motivations. See József Böröcz, “Travel-Capitalism: The Structure of Europe and the Advent of the Tourist,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34(4) (October 1992): 708-741.

¹¹ There is a robust literature on typologies of tourists generally ranging from a stereotypical camera-wielding type interested only in escaping their mundane life to a spiritual tourist who hopes to find a new Center, or seeks to “go native” in a new culture. See for example, Erik Cohen, “A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences,” *Sociology* 13 (1979): 179-201; Donald L. Redfoot, “Touristic Authenticity, Touristic Angst, and Modern Reality,” *Qualitative Sociology* 7(4) (Winter 1984): 291-309. Cohen has 5 types of tourist, Redfoot has 4, but the continuum described above applies to both typologies. I will further address this literature elsewhere, but it is here worth noting that I maintain pilgrimage in the nineteenth century remains separated from tourism and only takes on *some* touristic elements in the early twentieth century.

¹² Here I follow Koshar and Confino, See Rudy Koshar and Alan Confino, “Regimes of Consumer Culture: New Narratives in Twentieth-Century German History,” *German History* 19(2) (2001): 135-161, “goods, material and immaterial, contain no inherent meanings, but acquire them only through the human act of social and cultural practice,” 160. Pilgrims to Trier and Aachen and those who wrote letters to pilgrimage officials gave *Andenken* their meanings by understanding these items to be part of the sacred.

¹³ Again, the Rhineland pilgrimages here are different from Lourdes as they are periodic and not perpetual, which invariably influences pilgrim perception and the scale of what can be bought. Aliza Fleischer has used spending patterns in the Holy Land to distinguish pilgrims and tourists, but she does not analyze what meanings the purchased objects have for pilgrims and/or tourists. See Aliza Fleischer, “The Tourist Behind the Pilgrim in the Holy Land,” *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 19 (2000): 311-326. Gisbert Rinschede also links souvenirs to devotional items without analyzing their significance for the purchaser. For Rinschede, such economic activity is part of the link between tourism and pilgrimage. See Gisbert Rinschede, “The Pilgrimage Center of Fatima/Portugal,” in *Pilgrimage in World Religions: Presented to Prof. Dr. Angelika Sievers on the Occasion of her 75th Birthday*, Surinder M. Bhardwaj and Gisbert Rinschede (eds.) (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1988), 65-98, 90-93.

pilgrims) “entertain concepts of ‘authenticity’ which are much looser than those entertained by intellectuals and experts.”¹⁴ For the pilgrims to Aachen and Trier, the devotional objects derived their authenticity from their proximity to the relic. Here one can think of *Andenken* value in terms of concentric circles with a Rhenish relic at the center - the closer an item came to the middle the more it was worth in the sacred economy.¹⁵ Thus a rosary purchased at Trier or Aachen would be more prized than one acquired at a non-pilgrimage location, and an item that physically touched a relic would be most highly valued.

Trier and Aachen pilgrim correspondence also reveals the importance of *Andenken* for European Catholics. The historiography of German pilgrimage often compares German practices with those of Lourdes. David Blackbourn uses an example of a German who was appalled by what he found at Lourdes at 1876 to begin his discussion of the commercialization of Marpingen, for example. In Blackbourn’s study, he centers the commercialization discussion on the distributors of devotional items and services during the Marpingen event: inn keepers, bar owners, townsfolk who improvised bed and breakfasts, hawkers who tried to sell medals, tradesmen who attempted to sell Marpingen water, drunks who tried to sell dirt from near the apparition site etc.¹⁶ Like Kaufman’s focus on vendors, Blackbourn’s sources reveal an important aspect of commerce and pilgrimage, namely the generation and distribution of *Andenken*, but leave out the actual recipients or requesters of the items. Furthermore, Blackbourn is too quick to write off the potential uniqueness of pilgrim remembrances stating that they,

¹⁴ Erik Cohen, “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (1988): 371-386, 383.

¹⁵ I am indebted in part to Surinder Mohan Bhardwaj’s notion of “pilgrim flows” which made me think of circular motion. See Surinder Mohan Bhardwaj, *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India (A Study in Cultural Geography)* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973); Anthony V. Williams and Wilbur Zelinsky, “On Some Patterns in International Tourist Flows,” *Economic Geography* 46(4) (October 1970): 549-567.

¹⁶ See Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 163-172.

“were much the same at all the apparition sites, with suitable alterations to fit local circumstances.”¹⁷ Kaufman, relying on Walter Benjamin’s theory of mechanical reproduction, notes that “A traditional Christian pilgrimage site and its sacred objects are endowed with both a sense of sacred aura and miraculous power by their association with a unique divine power: Jesus, Mary, or a saint. This sacred aura and miraculous power was thrown into question at Lourdes by the mass-marketing of the shrine and its goods.”¹⁸ Here Blackbourn and Kaufman are right to note the great similarity of devotional object forms in Lourdes and Marpingen. In Trier and Aachen pilgrims also found great overlap in devotional object categories: medals, postcards, and rosaries. Yet the forms are rather superficial, and it is in the local manifestations of these “ideal types” that one gets a sense of what was important to pilgrims historically (which historical figures are depicted?), how Catholics saw themselves and depicted themselves (relic orientation in relation to the cathedral, what local landmarks are prominent?), and how relics were to be venerated (songs and prayers were often printed on images and postcards, these are locally specific).¹⁹ Furthermore, dismissing the different forms of *Andenken* ignores the uniqueness and importance of these objects for pilgrims. For example, in the case of Aachen and Trier, pilgrims hoped to acquire part of the silk used to wrap the relics between exhibitions. These *Andenken* were limited in number and treasured by their possessors; much like travelers to Lourdes treasured bottles of water from the grotto.

¹⁷ Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 169. Blackbourn uses Marpingen to generalize about German pilgrimage. For example, he briefly mentions the 1844 and 1891 Trier pilgrimages but only from the perspective of those who criticized the events (see Blackbourn, 164-165). In Chapter 1 I addressed the critics of Rhineland pilgrimages.

¹⁸ Kaufman, “Selling Lourdes,” ff. 27, 87.

¹⁹ See chapter 2 for examples. I will attempt to point to the varied landmarks and historical figures below, but only tangentially. In separate chapters I address a) the significance of local history in orienting pilgrims temporally and b) explore what pilgrims sang and prayed as they traveled or after arrival.

This chapter also responds to John Eade's call to look at the perspective of pilgrims themselves²⁰ in order to ascertain how pilgrims responded to commercialization at pilgrimage sites.²¹ For Eade, terms like *pilgrim* and *tourist* are problematic because "behind the superficial analogies between pilgrimage and tourism, there lies a more complex world of dissonance, ambiguity, and conflict."²² In his examination of tourists and pilgrims at Lourdes, Eade found highly varied pilgrim and tourist responses to mass produced remembrances at Lourdes, "Some would consider pouring Lourdes' water into a plastic container that is a copy of the Crowned Virgin statue, whose top is designed as the Virgin's crown, to be bad taste, bizarre, or even sacrilegious. But for others, it provides a warm memory of a special place and a visual link between themselves, Our Lady, and the shrine."²³ This chapter moves beyond Eade's conjecture about pilgrim or tourist opinions about items for sale at a holy site. Rather than describe the process of commercialization, this chapter interrogates letters sent to Pilgrimage Committees in Germany in order to ascertain the worth assigned to devotional objects; this chapter aims to present the sacred economy as it was understood and imagined by the participants.

Of course, purchasing *Andenken* from religious journeys was not new to the nineteenth century or unique to the Rhineland. In Trier historians have found pilgrim objects dating to the fourteenth century;²⁴ and in Aachen there is a rich historiography on the sixteenth century

²⁰ Here I am also following Brad Gregory, but address him more fully elsewhere, see Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory, eds. *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).

²¹ John Eade, "Pilgrimage and Tourism at Lourdes, France," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 18-32, 21. I use Eade as an example because he works on a Western European pilgrimage site. Another example of a similar argument can be found at: Bryan Pfaffenberger, "Serious Pilgrims and Frivolous Tourists: The Chimera of Tourism in the Pilgrimages of Sri Lanka," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 57-74. Throughout this dissertation I will address the debate about pilgrimage v tourism, however, the Pfaffenberger article is here relevant because Pfaffenberger urges scholars to examine what participants themselves think about their practices, rather than ascribing Western terms to religiosity in Sri Lanka.

²² Eade, "Pilgrimage and Tourism," 31.

²³ Eade, "Pilgrimage and Tourism," 27.

²⁴ Elizabeth Dühr and Markus Groß-Morgen, *Zwischen Andacht und Andenken: Kleinodien Religiöser Kunst und Wallfahrtsandenken aus Trierer Sammlungen* (Trier: Paulinus, 1992), 479.

pilgrimages to the city and the woodcut graphics by Arnt van Aich that explained the history of the relics in the Aachen cathedral.²⁵ Aich's woodcuts remain an important part of the Aachen pilgrimage tradition, for example, they were used to create mementos of the 1965 pilgrimage. In *The Canterbury Tales*, Geoffrey Chaucer describes pilgrims wearing jeweled and pewter badges and carrying rosaries to mark their travels in fifteenth-century England.²⁶

Increased Diversity of Objects Available

Between 1832 and 1937 the variety of objects available to pilgrims increased, at the same time objects became increasingly standardized and there was less evidence of pilgrims creating their own items. This decline in homemade objects was the result of two factors: increased clerical intervention in the sacred economy, and the fact that it became more convenient to acquire items on site because of the growing selection of objects available and the corresponding upsurge in independent vendors: accessibility combined with church endorsement of certain items negated the need to produce one's own remembrance. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the array of objects available to pilgrims when they arrived in Aachen and Trier was fairly limited. Through the 1830s and into the beginning of the 1840s pilgrims had access to unofficial vendors. The Cologne bishop's office gave permission for official pilgrimage items to be sold in Aachen only in 1846, these items included pictures, rosaries, and medals; consent came with the caveat that Aachen was to ensure that the vendors were honest and upright

²⁵ Erich Stephany, "Der Zusammenhang der Grossen Wallfahrtsorte An Rhein - Maas - Mosel" in *Kölner Domblatt Jahrbuch des Zentral Domvereins*, Joseph Hoster (ed.) (Köln: Verlag J.P. Bachem, 1964): 163-179. For a concise history of the Aachen pilgrimage before the fifteenth century see, Dieter J. Wynands, *Zur Geschichte der Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt* (Aachen: Einhard Verlag, 2000).

²⁶ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* (New York: Bantam, 2006). See also William A. Christian Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Giles Constable, "Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages," *Studia Gratiana: Post Octava Decreti Saeculari*, Vol. 19 (1976): 123-146. Modern scholars such as Blackbourn and Kaufman are not suggesting that purchasing devotional objects at pilgrimage sites was a new phenomenon, but that there was a shift in the scale and merit of devotional objects.

individuals.²⁷ Even then, Aachen officials did not design any official medal or pin, nor did they interfere in the aesthetics of the objects. Clerics focused on preventing fraud.

The 1846 Cologne approval of the sale of official *Abzeichen* and *Andenken* helped Aachen catch up with 1844 Trier in terms of what was available to pilgrims.²⁸ The 1844 Trier pilgrimage had more than doubled the number of items available from the previous 1810 exhibition.²⁹ These expanded *Andenken* included medals, lithographs, printed images, and models of the cathedral itself. It was also in 1844 that the Trier church leadership first issued official thank you or commemorative *Andenken* to the Honor Guard who watched over the relic for the duration of the event.³⁰

In the 1840s pilgrims developed several new ways of distinguishing their homes as “pilgrim homes” - a way of separating themselves from non-pilgrims and announcing their participation in the sacred economy.³¹ Wall hangings were not new to the mid-nineteenth century, but the variety of designs and increased availability were novel. In Trier, for example, Elizabeth Dühr found thirty-seven separate wall-applicable and embroidered images from 1810 and sixty unique remembrances from 1844.³² Thus, the number of separate pictures that could be mounted on a wall nearly doubled between these two Trier pilgrimages.³³ These hangings not

²⁷ DAA, PA 58, Letter from Iven in Cologne to Grosman in Aachen 2 Juni 1846.

²⁸ Part of a larger trend of Aachen taking lessons from the 1844 pilgrimage, for example, Aachen wanted to model the security around the cathedral on what was done in 1844 Trier, see Article 3 in “Akten betreffend die im Jahre 1846 hierselbst in Aachen Stadt findende Heiligthumsfahrt.

1. Bericht an den Herrn Erzbischof d.d. 31 März 1846”, DAA, PA 58.

²⁹ Dühr, *Zwischen Andacht und Andenken*, 249.

³⁰ Dühr, *Zwischen Andacht und Andenken*, 249. Dühr also notes (p. 250) that critics of Trier produced their own set of literature and remembrances about the pilgrimage.

³¹ On the German middle class marking their homes, see Jason Tebbe, “Landscapes of Remembrance: Home and Memory in the Nineteenth-Century Bürgertum, *Journal of Family History* 33(2) (April 2008): 195-215.

³² Dühr, *Zwischen Andacht und Andenken*, 268-306.

³³ There is a similar increase in medals between 1810 and 1844, in Dühr’s compilation of *Andenken* she found 1 Wallfahrtsmedaille for 1810 and 5 for 1844.

only helped the pilgrims remember their participation in 1844, but also announced to visitors that the family participated in the event and sympathized with the relic.

The 1840s were a nexus in the *Andenken* and *Abzeichen* production; during this period there was a marked increase in the number of objects created and an expansion of the types of items available. Accompanying the increase in the number and variety of objects in the mid-nineteenth century was a decline of homemade *Andenken* and *Abzeichen*. Before pilgrims had easy access to mass-produced items they were highly creative in generating their own objects to mark their passage to Trier or Aachen. The surviving remembrances from the eighteenth century are crafted, handmade, and often embroidered. In addition, pilgrims were eager to customize household objects, such as pipes, to recall the relics of Aachen. These self-made items reflect a desire by participants to bring part of the sacred home, to have a tangible reminder of their encounter with the relics. The sacred economy drew its strength from this willingness to generate customized *Abzeichen* and *Andenken* at a time when the Rhineland church leadership had not yet embraced the sale of remembrances as a legitimate part of pilgrimage.

Going into the twentieth century pilgrimage organizers, vendors, and participants continued to deepen the selection of objects available and widen the variety of previously offered items. In 1902, pilgrims to Aachen could easily acquire colored postcards that venerated all or only one of the four key Aachen relics, for example, a postcard of Mary's robe or John the Baptist's beheading cloth.³⁴ Pilgrims from France and the Low Countries, in 1902 and 1909, purchased postcards in French and Dutch and sent them home.³⁵ Vendors, leading up to the First World War, now offered highly-varied postcards that showed the major Aachen sites and

³⁴ ZBA, Heiligtumswallfahrt, 1902 envelope.

³⁵ Two examples, one to France and one to Belgium can be found at: DAA, PA 64. These postcards are both from the 1909 pilgrimage.

affirmed the role of Charlemagne as patron of the relics and city. Pilgrims eagerly purchased the new postcards and sent word home of their participation. For example, 1902 Aachen pilgrim, Maria Flattery, wrote back to the Trier region and asked Ms. Gretchen Stephany to give her love to their four friends; Flattery was part of a pilgrim group and found the 5:00 a.m. departure and journey to Aachen difficult to manage.³⁶ Unfortunately, most surviving postcards contain no messages and are simply addressed to a friend or relative back home. Even so, the increase in options and first appearance of addressed postcards in 1902 and 1909 reveals a desire to share the journey with those who could not participate and an eagerness to convey some of the images the pilgrim was exposed to in Aachen with their friends and family.

The push for new forms of postcards came from outside the Aachen church leadership. In 1902, the Aachen Stiftspropst, following repeated requests for access, first allowed photographers into the cathedral to take pictures of relics and of the opening ceremony. He granted permission with the understanding that the photographers would use the resulting images to make *Andenken* for pilgrims.³⁷ Similarly, in 1909, as a result of the increasingly successful pilgrimages there was demand for a new Aachen cathedral treasury, where selected relics could be on permanent display. In order to accommodate the new treasury, the Aachen leadership had to remodel part of the cathedral. One company, Engos und Export Handelsfirma, based in Cologne, wrote to the Stiftskapitel and explained how they had made *Andenken* for the Cologne cathedral by attaching stone debris to postcards. Engos and Export asked if they could carry out a similar project for the 1909 pilgrimage and use the rubble from the treasury construction as part of a 1909 *Pilgerandenken*.³⁸ The resulting postcard incorporates images of the cathedral,

³⁶ DAA, PA 82c. 1902 Postcard An FrL. Gretchen Stephany in Trier.

³⁷ DAA, PA 56. Letter to Dr. Alphons Bellesheim, 15. Mai 1902.

³⁸ DAA, PA 64. Letter from Emil Grözinger, Gen Repräsentant erster Engos und Export Handelsfirma to Stiftskapitel Aachen, 15. Juni 1909.

Charlemagne, the relics and a piece of the Aachen Münsterkirche. Pilgrims could now take home, or send a loved one, a piece of the church that housed the four Aachen relics.³⁹

Following the interruption of World War I Aachen resumed pilgrimages in 1925. After the armistice, Aachen was under Belgian occupation and experienced food shortages, inflation, and anti-grocery price demonstrations. Aachen lost 3,278 soldiers in World War I and at the end of the war 12,109 men were out of work.⁴⁰ Vendors and church officials in Aachen sold postcards that reflected the hardships and losses since the 1909 festival, these *Andenken* lacked the cartoonish images of Charlemagne or the sketches of relics. Artistic postcards were now in black and white and featured angels with downcast eyes, holding relics above the cathedral, rather than regal depictions of Charlemagne and the city.⁴¹ Aachen, as a physical location, was no longer the focus, but was beneath the eternal. Artists of illustrated postcards focused on John the Baptist, Mary, and Jesus's death rather than on the cathedral - in these new images the relics were not depicted as objects apart, instead they were shown as the pilgrims believed they were used: wrapped around a crucified Christ, or with John the Baptist as he instructs a crowd. Pilgrims in 1925 and 1930, in addition to the early-twentieth-century photos of bishops with relics and crowds before the church, could now purchase stark photographs of single objects related to the pilgrimage process: the lock used to seal the reliquary, the stand the reliquary rests on, the cathedral devoid of people.⁴²

The Trier and Aachen church authorities, in the 1920s and 1930s, embraced official *Abzeichen* and pamphlets. Indeed, the Trier officials went so far as to require pilgrims to buy the

³⁹ Below I will address the significance pilgrims assigned to objects that were in close contact with the Aachen and Trier artifacts.

⁴⁰ Bernhard Poll, ed. *Geschichte Aachen in Daten* (Aachen: VDS-Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2005), 268-269. In 1920 the population of Aachen was 148,993, *ibid*, 273.

⁴¹ DAA, PA Nr. 67 a.

⁴² DAA, PA Nr. 67 a.

church-sponsored 1933 Trier *Wallfahrt* pendant and pilgrim booklet for 30 Pfg. before entering the cathedral. Pilgrims now had to physically identify themselves as members of or participants in the religious festival and sacred economy. In an effort to avoid overcrowding, prior to entering the line to enter the cathedral in 1933, pilgrims' booklets had to first be stamped with the date by a security guard. In 1937, Aachen pilgrims needed to wear their official *Andenken* and had to fill out their personal information in their pilgrim "passport" (*Ausweis-Karte, Pilgerbücher*) before gaining access to the cathedral and relics.⁴³

Pilgrimage officials went to great lengths to assure that potential pilgrim pamphlets and official *Abzeichen* were fairly priced. The leader of a 1925 Dekanates Hochneukirch pilgrim group asked that pilgrims purchase a *Pilgerbuch* for 50 Pfg. because it contained the pertinent songs and prayers they would sing on the way and in the Aachen cathedral. In the same circular pilgrims were told there would be leisure time and they could expect to pay the same price, around 50 Pfg., for a cup of coffee.⁴⁴ In 1933 Trier, cathedral canon Fuchs notified Dr. Braun, the leader of the Trier School Board, that even school children needed the .30 RM *Pilgerbuch* and *Abzeichen*; but Fuchs also stated that the priests of the Trier diocese would be asked to help cover this small cost for the poorest children in the school system.⁴⁵ The Trier bishop's secretary noted in a letter to Julius Graff that "in every parish there are enough people who can afford to give 30 Pfg. to a poor individual."⁴⁶ The pilgrimage organizers did not charge high prices when they developed official pamphlets, passports, and *Abzeichen* and they expected the Catholic

⁴³ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.30.

⁴⁴ DAA, PA Nr. 66, "Ordnung für den Pilgerzug des Dekanates Hochneukirch am 13. Juli 1925."

⁴⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 115, 10.

⁴⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 148, 65, "In allen Pfarreien gibt es genug Leute, die gerne für einen Armen die 30 Pfg. aufbringen können."

community to financially assist those would-be pilgrims who could not afford required documents or badges.

Because of the modest fees Pilgrimage Committees did not make large profits off of the items sold to pilgrims. For example, in 1933 pilgrims had the opportunity to buy a silver or a gold *Abzeichen*, in case they wanted to distinguish themselves or desired something more imposing than the standard 30 Pfg. option. In the sales of *Goldabzeichen* the Committee made a net profit of 61 RM and on the silver only 55 RM.⁴⁷ On the *Pilgerbücher* and *Abzeichen* themselves there was a more notable profit, 84,262 RM for the *Abzeichen* and 58,782 RM for the *Pilgerbücher*. Taken together this is a profit of 143,004 RM. 143,004 RM divided by the total number of 1933 pilgrims, 2.2 million, indicates that the Committee only netted .07 RM total per pilgrim for both the *Pilgerbücher* and *Abzeichen*. These surpluses were put into covering the organizational costs of the pilgrimages.⁴⁸ Furthermore, these mandated items served as lifelong reminders of the 1933 pilgrimage. Seventy-eight year old Rosemarie Geiter attended the 1933, 1959, 1996, and 2012 Trier festivals and told reporters that she still had her 1933 *Abzeichen*.⁴⁹ Emma Krämer, eighty-seven years old from Orenhofen, also attended the previous three pilgrimages, and brought her 1933 *Pilgerbüch* and *Abzeichen* with her in 2012.⁵⁰

The official *Andenken* and booklets were part of a larger 1930s attempt by church officials to control the distribution of pilgrim remembrances. Already in 1891 Trier there is evidence that the content of *Andenken* was regulated; Dr. Joseph Keil, of a local printing press, wrote to Dompropst Dr. Scheuffgen to ask if his press could distribute images of the Coat at 10

⁴⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 163.

⁴⁸ I will more fully explore the profit margins of the pilgrimages elsewhere.

⁴⁹ Isabel Gebhardt, *Paulinus: Die Tageszeitung zur Wallfahrt*, "Von Jesus kann man nie genug haben", 11. Mai 2012, 13.

⁵⁰ Michael Merten, *Paulinus: Die Tageszeitung zur Wallfahrt*, "Tief im Herzen schöne Erinnerungen, 5. Mai 2012, 11.

Pfg. Keil wanted to ensure there was an authentic, high-quality picture of the relic available to pilgrims at an affordable price.⁵¹ In Trier, Domkapitular Nikolaus Irsch took an active role in approving and rejecting proposed goods for the 1933 festival. Vendors coveted a seal of approval from the *Wallfahrtsleitung* (Pilgrimage Committee) because pilgrims to Trier were instructed only to acquire their *Andenken* from those stands and stores that the Pilgrimage Committee recommended. The resulting correspondence between potential vendors, manufacturers, and the pilgrimage hierarchy gives a sense of how the Trier officials conceptualized an “authentic” 1930s *Andenken*.

For Irsch, the key components of a proposed *Andenken* were that it be tasteful, have artistic merit, and appropriately revere the Heilig Rock of Trier.⁵² For the potential sellers, figuring out what defined appropriate reverence and “artistic merit” was a difficult task. Frau Peter Becker offered a hand-painted image of the Rock, and was rebuffed because the work did not resonate with Irsch and the Art Committee.⁵³ Willy Rieble, from Stuttgart, had his design rejected on the grounds that it lacked any artistic beauty.⁵⁴ Otto Becker and Franz Plantz had their *Andenken* denied because it distorted the realistic appearance of the Coat and made it appear ugly.⁵⁵ Another rejection from the Art Committee, to Gustav Braendle of Pforzheim, complained about the aesthetic of the design; calling the text careless, the image of the Rock impotent, and the connection of the Rock and Jesus’ cross to be unsatisfactory.⁵⁶ Irsch was very particular about what he did not want to see available to pilgrims, including malformed angels.

⁵¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 257 a. “Paulinus Druckerei, Trier, den 10. Juni 1891.”

⁵² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 136, 110, Irsch letter to Gesellschaft für Christliche Kunst in München.

⁵³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 136, 46.

⁵⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 136, 236, “Es konnte sich jedoch kein einziges Mitglied zur Empfehlung der Entwürfe entschliessen. Auch in der neuen Fassung fehlte denselben jede kuensterliche Schönheit.”

⁵⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 136, 50, “Die Abbildung des Hl. Rockes in der aufgeblähten Form, die besonders an den Ärmeln hervortritt, entspricht nicht der Wirklichkeit und wirkt unschön.”

⁵⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 59, “Es stört die unmmächtige Darstellung des Hl. Rockes, die unbefriedigende Verbindung desselben mit dem Kreuz, und die wenig sorgfältige Gestaltung und Verteilung der Schrift.”

In a notice to Vereinigte Staniolfabriken, Irsch wrote that their request for approval of an *Andenken* card was being disallowed on account of the fact that the arms of the angels did not realistically correspond with their torsos and because of the “languishing, sweet” expression on the angels’ faces.⁵⁷ However, if Staniolfabriken was able to overcome the angel’s corporeal shortcomings, they could reapply for Irsch’s seal of approval. Artists who tried to accommodate too many elements of the Trier pilgrimage also faced the wrath of Irsch’s rejection letter. Adolf Winkel proposed an image of Constantine holding the Coat, blessed by the Holy Spirit and flanked by the Porta Nigra and cathedral of Trier. Irsch determined that it was not possible to smoothly blend Romanesque, early-Gothic, and modern elements in a single image and was surprised Winkel did not notice that himself. Irsch further decided that for an artist like Winkel it would be no problem to quickly create a more aesthetically pleasing *Andenken*,⁵⁸ which he could then re-submit for approval.

Of the 127 *Andenken* (statues, cards, medals, images) proposed only 57 or 49% were approved by Irsch and the Art Committee.⁵⁹ One firm, Gesellschaft für Christliche Kunst, wisely inquired into what exactly Irsch and the Art Committee wanted in an *Andenken* before making their submission. In the response, Irsch and the Art Committee did not define “artistic merit,” but suggested they knew it when they saw it; approved items were well-designed, had the words “Trier 1933” somewhere on them, might situate the relic in its historical context (most often

⁵⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 136, 259, “wir können, wie Sie als Sachverständige von selbst schon empfunden halben werden, den schmach tenden, süßlichen Ausdruck der beiden Engel nicht billigen. Auch müssen wir hervorheben, dass die Faltengebung oberhalb der Füße des Engels an der rechten Seite und ebenso die Faltengebung links von den Füßen des Engels an der linken Seite verfehlt ist. Ebenso ist die Bildung des Oberkörpers der beiden Engel, besonders der Schulterpartien und der Armansätze gegen die Brust hin nicht zu rechtfertigen.”

⁵⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 136, 352, “Den Entwurf zu einem Erinnerungsbildchen, den Sie uns vorgelegt haben, konnten wir mit einer Empfehlung leider nicht versehen. Sie werden selbst bemerkt haben, dass diese Verbindung von frühgotischen, romanischen und modernen Elementen zu einem einheitlichen, unbefriedigenden Ganzen eine ganz unlösbare Aufgabe ist. Dasselbe gilt von dem kleineren Entwurf, der wohl als Ansteckabzeichen gedacht ist. Vielleicht gelingt es gerade Ihnen unschwer, etwas besseres zu zeichnen.”

⁵⁹ Based on index at the front of: BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 136, 1-11.

either at the crucifixion of Jesus with St. Helena bringing the relic back from Jerusalem), and portrayed the Coat in a prudent, non-cartoon fashion. Church officials promoted images of the Coat in its natural, brown coloring. The Coat could be displayed with images of Jesus, or representations that made clear it was Christ, through the Coat, who was revered.⁶⁰ As noted above, it was not enough to incorporate these suggested elements. Firma Franka in Düsseldorf proposed a series of aluminum plaques that could be mounted on walls, they showed St. Helena displaying the Coat. Irsch signed off on the condition that they adjust the font and make sure the writing was not so close to the image itself.⁶¹ Hamm, a sculptor, also received permission to sell his statues of St. Helena with a cross and the Coat, only if he inserted the text “Display of the Holy Coat of Trier 1933” at the base.⁶² In contrast, Josef Thesing had no difficulty getting his postcard of the Coat at Jesus’ crucifixion approved - ostensibly because it was tasteful and put the relic in its biblical context.⁶³ Similarly, Ludwig Bonertz of Karlsruhe, was complimented for his approved work. For Bonertz, Irsch went so far as to call his picture of St. Helena and St. Agritius flanking the Coat and a cross “visionary” and “naturalistic.”⁶⁴

Church officials, like Irsch, worked to establish the grounds of legitimate *Andenken* by embracing and rejecting varied objects. Irsch established “authentic” as those items that were tasteful, solemn, non-kitschy, and that conveyed the sacred presence of the relics. He was a taste

⁶⁰ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 136, 110, “Da Sie um Angaben über etwa zu verwendende Gedanken hierbei bitten, möchten wir anregen, nicht nur den Hl. Rock an sich darzustellen, sondern auch den Grundcharakter der Wallfahrt, nämlich die Verehrung Christi unter dem Symbol des Hl. Rockes. Vielleicht empfiehlt sich ein Bild des mit unserer Reliquie bekleideten Heilandes, wobei selbstverständlich die traditionelle Form des Hl. Rockes möglichst wenig geändert werden dürfte. Auf anliegendem Blatt finden Sie deren Konturen, die Farbe ist dunkelbraun. Ein anderer Gedanke wäre die heilige Kaiserin Helena mit dem Hl. Rock.”

⁶¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 136, 109.

⁶² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 136, 132, “Wir setzen jedoch voraus, dass Sie den Gesichtsausdruck würdiger und klarer gestalten werden. Auch möchten wir raten, statt ‘Heiligtumsfahrt’ entsprechend trierischer Tradition zu schreiben: ‘Ausstellung des Hl. Rockes Trier 1933.’” This modification of the text away from “Heiligtumsfahrt” is likely an attempt to distinguish the Trier event from its Aachen counterpart.

⁶³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 136, 318.

⁶⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 136, 61-62.

maker and believed that “good” *Andenken* were readily apparent.⁶⁵ The devotional objects had to capture the essence of the relic, they needed to facilitate an encounter with the divine - these hoped-for holy moments could not be attained if *Andenken* resembled souvenirs one could acquire on secular journeys. The items were to act as a medium, or, as W.J.T. Mitchell has defined it, “a space or pathway or messenger that connects two things – a sender to a receiver, a writer to a reader, an artist to a beholder, or (in the case of the spiritualist medium) this world to the next.”⁶⁶ In order to ensure each pilgrim had access to a credible *Andenken* Church officials intervened in the market, establishing the boundaries of the sacred economy, demanding Church approval of items, and in the 1920s and 1930s, as previously noted, requiring each pilgrim to at least acquire an official *Andenken* to remind them of their journey. Thus Church officials viewed the 1930s, with the new array of items available for purchase by pilgrims, as a potential threat to “authentic” images and items. For officials, it was not that authenticity had changed from the nineteenth century, but that new forms of mass production were a threat to *Andenken* sanctity; the church had to ensure pilgrims got the right messages from their remembrances.⁶⁷

Correspondingly there was a “centralization of authenticity” between the 1830s and the 1930s within German Catholicism - characterized by a move from homemade items to officially approved and issued *Andenken*. This growing clerical intervention in the 1930s was in part driven by a clerical desire to ensure that the ever-increasing number of pilgrims were not

⁶⁵ See Auslander’s work on changing French tastes and style from Louis XVI to World War I. Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

⁶⁶ Bradley J. Nelson, *The Persistence of Presence: Emblem and Ritual in Baroque Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 4.

⁶⁷ Here one can also think of MacCannell’s notion of authenticity within tourism as occurring when tourists gain access to “back areas.” In pilgrimage this is decidedly not the case, authentic came from those “front objects,” that were embraced and approved by Church officials. See Dean MacCannell, “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings,” *American Journal of Sociology* 79(3) (November 1973): 589-603. See also Hagen’s survey of the range of Rhineland *Andenken*. She shows an increase in Catholic commemorative medals after the *Kulturkampf* and after the First World War. Ursula Hagen, *Die Wallfahrtsmedaillen des Rheinlandes in Geschichte und Volksleben* (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag GmbH, 1973).

mistreated and had access to a genuine, correct *Andenken*. In response to the growing danger of counterfeit goods in the sacred economy clerics not only took a more active role in shaping the appearance of objects, but also worked to control where items were sold and who offered them to pilgrims. Church officials found that they had much more influence over what was sold and purchased than over where vendors set up their stalls. Clergy lacked temporal power to completely banish objects they defined as kitschy or cheap from their cities. Pilgrims cared less about whether clergy approved the aesthetics of objects than about whether or not the *Andenken* touched the Holy Coat of Trier or the four Aachen relics.

Vendors

Over the century church leaders worried not just about the form of *Andenken* but about where such objects were sold. Pilgrimage Committees turned to Aachen and Trier municipal authorities for help, but found that they had little authority to limit the commerce of the ever-growing number of vendors and hawkers at pilgrimage events. Between 1832 and 1937 it is often difficult to accurately ascertain the number of stalls and vendors set up for each event. In his notes on the 1844 exposition, Jakob Marx counted at least 167 large and small stalls on Simeonsstraße, Fleischstraße, at the Market, on the Landstraße and Pallaststraße.⁶⁸ Combined with his observations in other parts of Trier, Marx estimated there to be at least 400 improvised shops throughout the city with *Andenken* available to pilgrims.⁶⁹

Already in 1844, Trier city officials intervened in the economy during the pilgrimage, for example, publicly posting that bread made during the event could not contain “disadvantageous

⁶⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 29.

⁶⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 230, 29, “Zählt man die andere Straß nach hinzu und die Verstädte, so kann man ganz gut vierhundert solche bude nehmen.”

substances.”⁷⁰ Trier police also prohibited butchers and bakers from increasing the price of their goods during the festival. Most importantly, Trier police took control of where vendors could set up shops, “vendors cannot set up stands or erect tables in any other open plaza, other than those referred to below, in no street, in no promenade, most especially on no street corner, with the purpose of selling food or wares. Vendors cannot disturb the free passage of the streets and plazas or the established businesses of the citizens.”⁷¹ The buying and selling of sacred objects was to be limited to those parts of the city the police deemed safe and appropriate.

Similarly, in Aachen, throughout the nineteenth century, the police played the central role in deciding which routes pilgrim groups would take through the city and where merchants could and could not sell their wares. In 1881, 1888, 1895, and 1902 the Police Presidents took action against price gouging, forbidding local shops from setting up stands that charged different prices for food and drink from what they charged in non-pilgrimage times.⁷² In addition, vendors now needed police permission to set up their stands, “without police permission there should be no stands, tables, benches, chairs, or anything else hung or set up that would inhibit the free passage of the streets and plazas.”⁷³ Police promised to seize violators and remove them immediately to jail.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 293, “Polizei-Reglement für die Zeit, während welcher der h. Rock Jesu Christi in Trier zur öffentlichen Verehrung ausgesetzt werden wird.”

⁷¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 293, #7, “Auf keinem andern öffentliche Plätze, als welcher hierzu im folgenden § besonders bezeichnet worden ist, in keiner Straße, auf keiner Promenade, namentlich aber in keinem Straßenwinkel dürfen Buden errichtet, oder Tische aufgeschlagen werden, um darauf Handelsgegenstände oder Lebensmittel zum Verkaufe auszulegen. Die freie Passage auf den Straßen und Plätzen und der ständige Handel der Einwohner darf nirgends gehemmt werden.”

⁷² DAA, PA 61, “Bei der diesjährigen Heilighumsfahrt vom 9. bis zum 24. Juli d.J. sind folgende Vorschriften zu beobachten.” There is little change between the 1888 and 1895 Police Regulations, only slight deviations in procession routes.

⁷³ DAA, PA 61, Ibid, #9: “Ohne polizeiliche Erlaubniß dürfen auf den öffentlichen Straßen und Plätzen keine Buden, Tische, Bänke, Stühle oder sonstige den freien Verkehr beeinträchtigende Sachen aufgestellt oder ausgehängt werden.”

⁷⁴ DAA, PA 61, Ibid, #11, “Zuwiderhandlungen werden streng bestraft, und außerdem solche Personen, welche durch muthwilliges Drängen oder Schieben, durch Lärm, Spott oder auf andere Weise die Feier stören, oder sich in eine Prozession oder das Münster einzudrängen versuchen, oder die Barrieren vor dem Münster übersteigen oder

By the early twentieth century citizens consistently asked for permission to set up shops near their houses. In 1902, L.N. asked Pilgrimage Committee member Propst Buschmann for permission to carry on a family tradition; his ancestors set up a stand in the space next to their house on the main Münsterplatz to sell items to the passing pilgrims.⁷⁵ That same year Ignas Lange, a cathedral choir member, inquired about managing a stall on the Chorusplatz, near the cathedral, from which he could sell *Andenken*, devotionals, and rosaries.⁷⁶ Lange asserted that he had run this stall in 1888 and 1895. Sick individuals did not always want a special visit to the relics. Jos. Willmar, a tailor, asked instead for permission to set up a stand near the cathedral so that he could sell devotional objects and medals; presumably to help pay for his medical bills.⁷⁷

Analogously, in 1909, Adolf Busch, explained to the Aachen Stiftskapitel that his store was cut off from pilgrims exiting the church because of a barrier between the cathedral and his house.⁷⁸ Busch proposed setting up a series of stands, 2.5 x 3 meters, at his own expense, from which he could continue to trade during the event. Busch also inquired as to whether or not he could put up benches for pilgrims and paint his house shortly before the pilgrimage began. In his response, Propst Buschmann rejected the stands as outside his authority, but approved the benches and deferred the painting decision to his colleague, Velten.⁷⁹ Aachen and Trier church officials continued to work with the local police to control the selling of wares into the 1930s pilgrimages. The Trier mayor and police announced that during the display of the Coat from 23

unter ihnen durchkriechen, oder die Bäume oder den Brunnen auf dem Münsterplatze erklettern, oder sich den Polizeibeamten widersetzen, festgenommen und in das Polizei Gefängniß abgeführt werden.”

⁷⁵ DAA, PA 62, “Aachen 10/4 1902.”

⁷⁶ DAA, PA 62, “Aachen, 12 März 1902.”

⁷⁷ DAA, PA 62, “20 Juni 1902. Schneidermeister”

⁷⁸ DAA, PA 64, “Aachen, 28 Mai 1909.”

⁷⁹ DAA, PA 64, “Aachen 1 Juni 1909.” The rejection of Busch’s request is made clear in a letter from Frau Wilh. von Agris inquiring if she can set up stands since Busch’s proposal was declined. See: DAA, PA Nr. 64, “Aachen 18 Juli 1909.” By 1937 all residents of the *Altstadt* (old city) who intended to rent out benches or seats on their roof for the pilgrimage were asked to inform the Pilgrimage Committee. See: DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.9, “katholische Kirchenzeitung Aachen, J.No. 5968.”

July to 3 September 1933 only certain areas of the city were designated for stands.⁸⁰ Anyone who wished to set up a kiosk or stall had to apply to the police and include how much space they required and what they planned to sell. Any application that was not received before 15 May 1933 and did not have the pertinent information was immediately cast aside.⁸¹ Aachen Stiftsvikar Müller reached an agreement with police superintendent Beyer in 1930 about commerce during the affair. Accordingly, stands were prohibited on the Fischmarkt, Katschhof, Domhof, and upper portion of the Münsterplatz, but residents on the Fischmarkt, Katschhof, and Münsterplatz could apply to the police to sell devotional items from their windows.⁸²

Clerical authorities had no power to pursue or prevent abuses from merchants operating within the sacred economy. In 1937, Maria Funk wrote to the Caritasdirektor Müller to complain about an *Andenken* she acquired while in Aachen. In their response the Pilgrimage Committee was curt, stating that such matters had nothing to do with them because the police regulated the stands set up during the pilgrimage.⁸³ In 1933 Trier, the church authorities revealed their limited

⁸⁰ *Trier Landeszeitung*, “Bekanntmachungen der Stadt Trier,” (26 April 1933). There were 11 areas:

- 1 Herz-Jesu-Kirche (Schulhof St. Barbara)
- 2 Maximinkirche
- 3 Paulinuskirche
- 4 Pauluskirche (Paulusplatz)
- 5 Südbahnhof
- 6 Abteiplatz und Matthiasstraße
- 7 Römerbrücke (Westseite)
- 8 Jesuitenkirche (2 Stände)
- 9 Hauptmarkt (soweit noch Platz vorhanden ist)
- 10 Ecke Flanderstraße - Sie um Dich
- 11 Am Verkehrshäuschen (Adolf-Hitler-Straße)

⁸¹ *Trier Landeszeitung*, 26 April 1933, “Die Anträge sind bei der Polizeiverwaltung Trier spätestens bis 15.5.1933 einzureichen und müssen bestimmte Angaben über Platzgröße, Warenart und Platzgeldangebot enthalten. Anträge, in denen diese Angaben fehlen, bleiben unberücksichtigt. Zugelassen werden nur solche Gewerbetreibende, die in Trier ansässig sind.” Article can also be found at: BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 111, 261.

⁸² DAA, PA 80, “3. Juli 1930.” “1. Auf dem Katschhof, auf dem oberen Teile des Münsterplatzes, auf dem Domhof und dem Fischmarkt dürfen keine Verkaufsbuden aufgestellt werden. Die erlaubnis zur Aufstellung von Buden an anderen als den oben bezeichneten Plätzen erteilt die Polizei nach eigenem Ermessen.

2. Die Anwohner des Katschhofes, Münsterplatzes und Fischmarktes dürfen in ihren Fenstern Auslagen von Devotionalien anbringen.”

⁸³ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.2, J.Nr. 21823.

ability to regulate unauthorized commerce. Gutschmidt, a bank director from Cologne, warned Domkapitular Fuchs that he witnessed pilgrims buying large numbers of rosaries and *Andenken* and filling up suitcases with their purchases. Gutschmidt suspected these system-abusers intended to sell the wares illegally. Fuchs thanked Gutschmidt for the tip, and affirmed that the Trier church strongly opposed such practices. Fuchs noted that the goods might just be for family members, but the church would keep an eye out for potential wrongdoing.⁸⁴ There is no mention of future punishment or suggestion that Fuchs can take preventive actions beyond being wary of scammers.

Gutschmidt was not the only individual to overestimate the authority of the 1933 Pilgrimage Committee. Vendors failed to notice newspaper ads on how to acquire space and wrongly assumed the Committee had the authority to decide whether or not they could set up stands and tables in the city. Local police had the power to discipline unapproved *Andenken* salesmen and to authorize or prohibit the establishment of points of sale in the sacred economy. Despite the public notices about police precedence, the Trier Pilgrim Committee received dozens of requests for permission to establish tables, seating, or stalls in 1933.⁸⁵ In a response to Peter Franken Firm, who inquired about setting up small chairs for pilgrims to rent while the relics were displayed from the Aachen cathedral gallery, Fuchs confessed that he had to turn the matter over to the police because “the city has taken over the pilgrim seating procedure.”⁸⁶ Similarly, the Committee could not change decisions reached by the civil authorities, much to Vitus Föhr’s dismay. Föhr did not like that he was assigned a spot on the Trier Jesuitenplatz to sell his non-

⁸⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 13-14.

⁸⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 111.

⁸⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 111, 260, “da die Stadt es übernommen hat, an den einzelnen Aufenthaltsorten der Pilger die Sitzgelegenheiten zu beschaffen.”

devotional objects.⁸⁷ He wanted a place behind the cathedral, near the cathedral museum, but was informed that would not be possible and his best bet was a place on Maximinplatz. While trying to get a space on Maximinplatz a different firm took over his Jesuitenplatz spot. Unfortunately for Föhr, he now had no ideal space to sell his items, and the Pilgrimage Committee was not able to help him because it was not in his jurisdiction and now Maximinplatz was full - there were no more stalls in high traffic areas available.⁸⁸ This Föhr episode illustrates the incredible difficulty in securing space to market objects by 1933 and the limited ability of the church authorities to control and arbitrate the use of city space during their pilgrimages.

Even Domkapitular Fuchs and the Pilgrimage Committee required police permission to set up stands for pilgrims. In a letter inquiring about public notices, Fuchs asked for access to the plazas around three Trier churches: Herz Jesu, St. Paulus, and Jesuitenkirche so that the Committee could distribute *Pilgerabzeichen* and pilgrim books required for entry into the cathedral. Mayor Weitz's office granted the request by giving Fuchs permission to set up two stalls at the three churches and at the cathedral.⁸⁹ The mayor explained that the stall space was selected to satisfy the Committee's needs without impeding the circulation of pilgrims through the city.⁹⁰

The Trier Pilgrimage Committee warned pilgrims, even before they departed, to be cautious when purchasing devotional objects. Each pilgrimage group that reserved an attendance date was sent instructions on the pilgrimage schedule and a map of the city. Within these directions was a special note on buying objects while in Trier. Pilgrims were instructed to

⁸⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 111, 251.

⁸⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 111, 252.

⁸⁹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 115, 29-30.

⁹⁰ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 115, 29-30, "Die Standplätze werden von der Wallfahrtsleitung zweckmäßig so gewählt, daß sie allen Erfordernissen entsprechen und andererseits den freien Verkehr nicht beeinträchtigen."

“exercise extreme caution”⁹¹ and reminded that the Trier officials had approved certain objects as appropriate for pilgrim reflection. Trier participants were asked to buy from established vendors, who had a Pilgrimage Committee endorsement and to not buy from “wandering hawkers.”⁹² In 1933, a month before the Trier pilgrimage even began, Trier local Nicolas Lenz wrote to the mayor to express his disgust at the vendors who were ruining the aesthetic of the city. For Lenz, the new vendors were an insult to the city because their presence implied that the locals were disorderly and peddlers of kitsch. Indeed, Lenz warned that if Mayor Weitz did not take action then his administration would be held accountable when the population of Trier set fire to the “dirt shacks.”⁹³ The presence of the hawkers was a blight on the city. Lenz called on the mayor to come down to the market to witness the insulting presence of the filthy stands (*Schmutzbuden*) and respond as a wise civil servant before the people took matters into their own hands.⁹⁴ The mayor’s office approved the establishment of stands, but did not regulate their aesthetic - Lenz’s complaint went unanswered.

Pilgrims were exposed to unapproved vendors, despite clerical approval and disapproval of specific stands. The Pilgrimage Committee faced criticism about its own volunteers and their relationship to local vendors in 1933. In a wrap-up report about his experience as an assistant during the event, J. Lirvas, pointed out the problematic relationship pilgrim guides developed with local businesses. Because of the large number of 1933 participants, the Committee

⁹¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 199-69, “Auszug aus dem Kirchl. Amtsanzeiger für die Diözese Trier. Ausgabe 14 vom 13. Juli 1933,” “größte Vorsicht anzuraten”.

⁹² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 199-69, “Auszug aus dem Kirchl. Amtsanzeiger für die Diözese Trier. Ausgabe 14 vom 13. Juli 1933,” “Auch die Wallfahrtsleitung bittet unter Angabe von Angaben von Zeugen und genauen Tatsachen um Meldung. In der Stadt Trier empfiehlt es sich, in einschlägigen Geschäften oder bei den polizeilich genehmigten Ständen die Einkäufe zu besorgen, nicht aber bei fliegenden Händlern.”

⁹³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 105, 5, “Wenn die Drohungen der Bürgerschaft, diese Schmutzbuden in Brand zu stecken, Tatsache werden so wird dies für Ihre Verwaltung u. Deutschland ein neues Dokument deutschen Verwaltungsgeistes u. jedenfalls kein rühmlicher Abschluss der grossen Trierer Wallfahrt im hl. Jahre 1933.”

⁹⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 105, 5, “Dann handeln Sie, wie ein kluger Beamter von wahrer Geistes – u. Herzensbildung handeln soll, damit das Volk nicht zur Selbsthülfe greifen muss.”

established a volunteer corps who went to the train stations and local churches to bring bigger groups to the cathedral at their appointed time. As Lirvas observed, “*Andenken* salesmen paid guides to lead pilgrim groups by their stands.”⁹⁵ Lirvas confessed the issue was likely unavoidable as inn keepers, car renters, and book stores similarly offered incentives to guides if they led their groups or directed pilgrims to their business. Lirvas’ observations reveal that despite the recommendations required from the Committee to sell items and the police regulation of locations, *Andenken* salesmen still found ways to circumvent local authorities and expose pilgrims to their wares.

By the twentieth century Trier and Aachen church officials actively worked to regulate the physical remembrances participants acquired when on pilgrimage - to control the location and form of trade goods in the sacred economy. Irsch, for example, wanted pilgrims to only buy and trade with those items that complemented the history of the relic (St. Helena and Constantine), its relationship to the city, and its role in Jesus’ life. He stressed that *Andenken* containing these elements would help pilgrims best recall their journey and the Church tradition surrounding the Holy Coat. Correspondence between pilgrims and the Pilgrimage Committees reveals that pilgrims were unconcerned with the aesthetics of *Andenken* and instead assigned merit to such objects based on how close they came to the divine presence of the Rhineland relics.

Andenken as Connection to the Sacred

In 1874, in an article describing the chaos of the disembarking and embarking passengers at the Aachen train station, *Echo der Gegenwart* described the disorderly rush of pilgrims to the nearby vendors. Participants wanted to acquire last minute items such as pilgrim books, and

⁹⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 175.

rosaries before heading home.⁹⁶ These 1874 pilgrims did not pause to consider whether or not each stand was clerically approved. As previously discussed, between 1832 and 1937 the range of objects available for pilgrims to purchase as *Andenken* increased and there was a decline in homemade remembrances.⁹⁷ Over this same period, pilgrims requested and acquired objects for similar reasons: for healing, for earthly assistance. German Catholics, and Catholics abroad, understood the acquisition of items displaying the Trier and Aachen relics, or *Andenken* blessed by the bishop or commissioned by the Pilgrimage Committee, to have transcendent power in their lives. The *Andenken* acted as a tangible portal between the sacred and the temporal. Victor Turner, in his theory of pilgrimage, describes the pilgrimage experience as a “threshold” where the participant “hopes to have direct experience of the sacred, invisible, or supernatural order, either in the material aspect of miraculous healing or in the immaterial aspect of inward transformation of spirit or personality.”⁹⁸ Pilgrims, at least those who wrote openly to officials, thought of these *Andenken* as a sacred presence, in a sacramental fashion. As William Egginton has stated, presence should be taken “in its theological sense, as in the Real Presence of the body of God” because it signifies, “that experience of space that subtends such diverse experiences

⁹⁶ DAA, PA 59, *Echo der Gegenwart*, Sonntag, 19 Juli 1874, “ihren Körbchen und Tüchern bei sich führen mustern noch rasch ihre Einkäufe, Erinnerungen an die Stadt Aachen und deren Heiligthümer, Bücher, Bilder, geweihte Kreuze und Rosenkränze u.s.w.”

⁹⁷ Again, this decline is difficult to quantify. At least in the Trier and Aachen archives the number of surviving, non-mass produced objects is strongest in the first half of the nineteenth century. Afterwards, *Andenken* are generally put out by either the Pilgrimage Committees or regional manufacturing firms.

⁹⁸ Victor Turner, “The Center out There: Pilgrim’s Goal,” *History of Religions* 12(3) (February 1973): 191-230, 214. Jon Gross, in his theory of touristic consumption likens the purchasing of an object to a salvific story, “The souvenir, like the relic of holy pilgrimage, attests to the persistence of our faith, or rather the intensity of our collective desire, for the material presence of meaning, for immanence of the world.” *Andenken* are separate from Jon Gross’ souvenirs because they are not a means to experience death and mourning. Jon Gross, “The souvenir and sacrifice in the tourist mode of consumption,” in *Seductions of Place: Geographical Perspectives on Globalization and Touristed Landscapes*, Cartier, Carol L. and Alan A. Lew (eds.) (New York: Routledge, 2005): 56-71, 59. Gross’ analysis does not directly connect the souvenir to the death experience via his allegorical analysis of evidence (tourists in Hawaii). For Gross, “Landscapes of tourist consumption are in effect sacred places that respond to our impossible desire to experience the absolute authenticity of death.” Yet, beyond placing tourists at sites of death (Pearl Harbor) there is nothing in the article to indicate actual visitors to Hawaii thought in terms of a “mourning for life,” 67.

as...the miracle of transubstantiation.”⁹⁹ Officials determined what items were available, but the recipients ultimately experienced them in their own ways, most often as an embodied link to Jesus, John the Baptist, or Mary.

The *Andenken* served as a means to connect to the divine, and offered hope and a living connection to the eternal. Perhaps a better way to set this distinction is to think of the souvenir vs. *Andenken* as one of subject culture versus presence culture.¹⁰⁰ For the pilgrims writing to church leaders the requested items were more than material objects, *Andenken* were linked to their body or were present in the sense that an item took on divine agency. In this presence culture there was “no clean distinction between the purely spiritual and the purely material.”¹⁰¹

Aachen and Trier pilgrims employed *Andenken* for this experiential threshold; their transcending was a commonly understood possibility as even those who could not attend recognized the potential power within a remembrance. Nelson Graburn has described souvenirs as “tangible evidences of travel that are often shared with family and friends.”¹⁰² For Graburn, these objects are purchased in order to demonstrate where one traveled; for pilgrims writing to church officials in Trier and Aachen *Andenken* were not solely about commemorating journeys, but relayed commanding forces in their lives with the potential to heal bodies, repair careers, and bless interpersonal relationships.

⁹⁹ William Egginton, *How the World Became a Stage: Presence, Theatricality, and the Question of Modernity* (Albany: State University of New York, 2003), 3.

¹⁰⁰ Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence*, 81.

¹⁰¹ Strathausen, “A Rebel Against Hermeneutics,” 4. This is not to say that all pilgrims thought only of their items in terms of a presence culture. However, the evidence for such perceptions is laid out below and points to an aspect of religiosity that has not been adequately explored in German historiography. See also See Strathausen, 8. Strathausen here cites: Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Brian Massumi (trans.) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1987).

¹⁰² Nelson H. Graburn, “Tourism: The Sacred Journey” in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, Valene L. Smith (ed.) (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989): 21-36, 33.

For pilgrims, the closer an object was to the relic the more powerful it became, or the more value it held in the sacred economy (again, concentric rings of sacrality). In 1844 Trier, as the pilgrims approached the Holy Coat they went up the stairs of the altar, up to this point they walked in a double line, but as they got to the stairs they merged into a single line. Pilgrims had the opportunity to have an object touch the hem of the Coat, “on either side of the reliquary are stationed ecclesiastics, one of whom receives from each passer-by their rosaries or medals...brings them into immediate contact with the hem of the garment, and then returns them to the owners.”¹⁰³ Pilgrims who failed to bring their own *Andenken* could purchase them in town, the most popular items included medals, rosaries, and images of the Coat.¹⁰⁴ During this century the sick were often allowed to actually touch the relic, with the hope that direct contact would heal.¹⁰⁵ The practice of touching items to the relic continued through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. In 1933, Trier organizers had problems with the massive number of objects that pilgrims dropped and left behind as they went through the veneration line. Director Menke wrote to Domkapitular Fuchs, beseeching him to come up with a new system because the items left behind were causing an insolvable lost and found crisis for the police. Pilgrims were bringing multiple items to touch the Coat, but the quick tempo of the line meant that many items were left behind, resulting in baskets full of displaced rosaries, medals and devotionals. Menke demanded new instructions be placed in the Catholic press organs throughout Germany, in the local churches, and on the plaza leading up to the cathedral line; pilgrims must tie together their

¹⁰³ Plater, *The Holy Coat of Treves*, 86-87.

¹⁰⁴ *Trier'sche Zeitung*, “Trier, 7. October,” 8 October 1844, No. 282, “Das Merkantile betreffend, hat sich herausgestellt, daß Abbildungen des h. Rockes, Medaillen, Wallfahrtsbüchlein und Rosenkränze die am meisten gesuchten und abgesetzten Artikel waren.”

¹⁰⁵ In this chapter I only tangentially touch on healing and sickness as it relates to Aachen and Trier, and only insofar as it is connected to the context of indirect contact with relics. I will address pilgrim cures and bodies in a separate chapter.

assorted devotional objects.¹⁰⁶ Fuchs complied with the suggestion because it was important to keep the line moving through the cathedral as smoothly as possible.

Mail-Order Sacredness

Pilgrims first began sending in mail-order requests for devotional items in the mid-nineteenth century and this practice became ever more popular into the 1930s. Writing in as a form of participation indicates that pilgrim understanding of the practice of pilgrimage was evolving. This is not to suggest that pilgrims viewed writing a letter as equal to attending, they did not. Indeed, the number of pilgrims at each festival increased by leaps and bounds during this time period. Even so, there was a widening of the participation base, in the sense that devout Catholics abroad could now access the Rhenish sacred economy by writing letters to church authorities. Those who could not attend sought the same proximity to the relics as those who could – they wanted items that had physically touched the relics. Again, the efficacy and worth of an item was determined by how close it came to a relic, or, for the pilgrims, its proximity to Jesus, Mary, or John. Robert Orsi has previously studied mail-order devotion amongst U.S. Catholics in the twentieth century and linked this practice to a shift from space to time as devotional practice (from crossing distances to taking time to write letter or petition).¹⁰⁷ Letters sent from the U.S. to Trier and Aachen help explain that letter writing was established amongst U.S. Catholics before Orsi's study begins. Yet, Aachen and Trier diverge from the Chicago St.

¹⁰⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 17.

¹⁰⁷ Orsi argues against Turner's insistence that pilgrims looked for a sacred center "out there," "Victor Turner wrote that pilgrimages offer the sick or harassed or frightened person a 'center out there,' and Jude's devout managed to find such a displaced center for themselves, not by going anywhere but by writing and waiting." See: Robert Orsi, "The Center Out There, In Here, and Everywhere Else: The Nature of Pilgrimage to the Shrine of Saint Jude, 1929-1965," *Journal of Social History* 25(2) (Winter 1991): 213-232, 223. Also, in the case of the shrine to St. Jude in Chicago letter writing was also a way for church leadership to raise funds for a church building project. Trier and Aachen officials did not view such requests as a chance to raise funds, when they asked for money it was always only to pay for the international shipping costs to send *Andenken* abroad.

Jude shrine because petitions sent in were unbidden and the German church hierarchy did not encourage letters as a substitute for attending. Thus, within their requests pilgrims explain their financial hardship or personal reasons for not being able to personally attend, even when letters are received from nearby German-speaking areas such as Austria or Bavaria.

Far and away the most commonly requested *Andenken* was a piece of relic silk, cloth that was used to wrap either the Trier or the Aachen relics. Each time church officials revealed the relics for veneration the silk they had been stored in was removed and used to make cards for pilgrims. Before putting the relics away at the end of an exhibition they were stored in new silk. Possessing a piece of the cloth was an honor, in 1860, Princess Carls hh. visited Aachen and was allowed to help display the relics to pilgrims from the outdoor gallery. Before she left Aachen, pilgrimage leadership gave her four pieces of the silk used to wrap the relics as a gift.¹⁰⁸ This same year, pieces of the cloth were sent out to bishops across Germany, including to Cologne, as a reminder of the pilgrimage.¹⁰⁹ In 1867, the mayor of Aachen asked for pieces of the relic silk for him and his colleagues.¹¹⁰ These requests and gifts reveal the high worth of the relic cloth to both civil and church authorities. Recipients sought redemption within and via the *Andenken*, they wanted divine presence, or “the unrepresented way the past is present in the present”, not mere replications or representations.¹¹¹

Laity also requested and were gifted pieces of this silk. In 1874, H. Riedel of Aachen, asked for four pieces of the relic silk for his personal use.¹¹² This same year J.N. Racke offered

¹⁰⁸ DAA, PA 58, 22 Juli 1860.

¹⁰⁹ DAA, PA 58. See thank you note: 3 September 1860 Erzbischof Johannes von Geissel von Köln.

¹¹⁰ DAA, PA 58. See Contzen, O. Bürgermeister, 30 Juli 1867.

¹¹¹ On presence see: Eelco Runia, “Presence,” *History and Theory* 45 (February 2006): 1-29, 1. In this section I am attempting to make concrete Runia’s theory that, “the presence of the past thus does not reside primarily in the intended story or the manifest metaphorical content of the text, but in what story and text contain in spite of the intentions of the historian.”

¹¹² DAA, PA 59, 22 Juli 1874. Another 1874 example can be found at: DAA, PA 82 c. In this case four pieces of silk are sent to a Catholic in Amsterdam.

to buy new silk (for 15 Thalers) for the end of the pilgrimage in exchange for four small pieces of the cloth.¹¹³ Similarly, Herr Mathey from Rensdorf was pleased to receive pieces of the cloth by mailpost after his 1874 request.¹¹⁴ Even after pilgrimages had concluded, the bishops and leadership received requests for pieces of relic silk. Agatha Miskowski, from Berlin, requested a piece of Trier cloth for her priest in 1936, three years after the 1933 pilgrimage concluded. Miskowski explained that the priest's sister had sent him an *Andenken* that was touched to the Coat, and the priest treasured the gift. Weihbischof Fuchs was able to comply with the request, but asked Miskowski to be content with only a very small piece because the cloth was almost all gone.¹¹⁵

In the twentieth century pilgrim interest in owning items that were physically near the relics, such as relic silk, greatly increased. In broad terms these requests can be divided into two categories: temporal and spiritual. Temporal requests expected that possessing an *Andenken* would better one's worldly position and spiritual were to bring emotional healing. For example, the Schwestern vom Armen Kinde Jesus asked Aachen Prälat Bellesheim for a piece of the silk in 1909. The sisters wanted as many *Andenken* with cloth they could get for their "numerous community."¹¹⁶ Another example, Eileen O-Harell from Dublin, wrote to Bishop Korum in search of physical healing,

"My brother, sister, and I are most anxious to obtain some article that has touched the Relic of the Holy Coat. We feel so sure of good health if we can only succeed in getting some relic that has touched the Holy Coat. It is not possible for us to make the journey there, circumstances and illness prevent us. I trust my Lord Bishop that you will grant me this request. I enclose an offering of 1 £ in thanks."¹¹⁷

¹¹³ DAA, PA 59, Aachen, 13 September 1874.

¹¹⁴ DAA, PA 59, Rensdorf 5 August 1874.

¹¹⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 243-244. Fuchs sent her the small piece of silk for free.

¹¹⁶ DAA, PA 65, "Aachen, den 7 Juli 1909."

¹¹⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 148, 205, "Ruttand, Dublin, Ireland 4th September."

Also in the twentieth century, pilgrims were not geographically limited; requests now came to Aachen and Trier from across the Atlantic, Asia, and from all over Europe.

One of the main pilgrim goals of mail-order *Andenken* was bodily healing. Rosina Benitz, a German speaker from Erie, PA wrote Trier in 1891 because she was plagued by headaches, the flu, and eye troubles, which she believed originated from an unnamed sin committed in 1848. Since returning to her faith she heard about 1844 Trier cures and hoped that if Bishop Korum would send her 2-3 *Andenken* it would help restore her relationship with God, and thus relieve her physical suffering.¹¹⁸ Mrs. K. Kelly, from San Francisco, also asked for “a card from the Holy Land Please have it blessed also pray for my Family.”¹¹⁹ For Kelly, it was key that whatever the bishop sent be blessed on the Coat altar because the *Andenken* was for her deformed daughter. Mary Murphy, from Glasgow, Scotland, in 1933, asked for a medal that touched the relic explaining, “I am an invalid and would be very happy to receive such a relic.”¹²⁰ Germans also requested *Andenken* to aid in physical restoration. Margaretha Probst asked Bishop Korum to send a medal to Herr Benefiziat in Layern near München. Probst explained that Benefiziat had been lame on the right side of his body for three years and could not make the trip. For Probst, the medal would help bring Benefiziat back into the fold of the church, if only the Bishop would pray for him at Mass.¹²¹

James P. Molygan from Atalissa, Iowa (Muscatine County) wrote to Weihbischof Fuchs in 1935 after he heard about the 1933 Trier pilgrimage. Molygan asked that they pray for him in Trier because he was out of work and had health problems:

¹¹⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 249 a., 15.

¹¹⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Abt. 91, Nr. 249 a., 23.

¹²⁰ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 190.

¹²¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 249 a., 71-73.

“Kiss the Holy coat and make a novena to the Lord that I can get a good home of my own soon and get a good wife so i can have someone to care for me. Can you offer up a good mass to cure up this prostrate gland and blader trouble on me as i haft to beg how is your charity can you help me some can to cure me up in good health. Send me a bit of the holy coat so i can tuch it and kiss it. as it is a dogs life the way i haft get a long. So cure me up of this trouble i am a good catholic and Right by all. tuch and kiss the holy coat in my favor so i can get well so i can get a good study job of work at once in a good PLaCE and get good wages i want to get a good home of my own so i wont haft to work by the day all my life kiss and tuch the holy coat FOR me that i can get a good home soon.¹²²

“Friend in the Lord as i will as a favor of you all. as i am a poor man and no home as i am so poor and hard up. as i haft to beg, as i am out of work so long i am a good catholic and do right by all. Take pity on me and PRaY to the Lord that i can get a good study job of work in a good place pray that i can get good wages as i need it bad. answer soon”¹²³

Molygan’s phonetic spelling, grammar, and punctuation suggest he had not completed school and was likely impoverished. Having lost his job and now his health he sought out divine intervention through the Trier Coat; he believed divine presence could be found in Trier. Fuchs was happy to oblige and prayed for Molygan during mass, he also sent him a piece of the silk that was used to wrap the Coat between 1891 and 1933.¹²⁴ Like Molygan, Fred Hallem from England, believed that acquiring an *Andenken* that had made contact with the relic would bring him work, “be so kind to send me some small holy picture that had touch the Holy Coat and for me to receive Holy Communion on receiving it I feel I should get work.”¹²⁵ These requests reveal how widely the Coat had become known and the hope that it represented for Catholics worldwide - a chance at a fresh start, a new job, and hope for a better future.

Already in the 1840s pilgrims who could not make the journey asked to participate via indirect contact. For example, in 1845, a couple requested a picture of the Trier Coat to strengthen their eldest daughter.¹²⁶ This trend continued through the nineteenth century,

¹²² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 272-273.

¹²³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 274. Capitalization, spelling, and punctuation in original.

¹²⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 275.

¹²⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 148, 221.

¹²⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 170.

Elisabeth, a self-described poor woman, assured the Aachen pilgrimage committee in 1881 that she only wanted pieces of the silk to help her grow closer to God. She wanted to ask for the pieces in person, but was too afraid. She hoped that her request would be granted, because obliging her would show that the power, grace, and light from Jesus were present in the pilgrimage.¹²⁷ For Birgid Rooney, of Castle Clayney, Ireland, the Trier relic was the last stage of a recovery from nervousness and other afflictions. Rooney previously spent over twenty days at Lourdes where she acquired an object she now sent to the bishop of Trier. Rooney expected, “to be restored to perfect health” after the sacred power of Lourdes was combined with that of Trier.¹²⁸ Pilgrims viewed the silk as a means to confidence, emotional well-being, a link to the divine.

Some Catholics understood the Trier Coat *Andenken* as a path to convert their loved ones. John Hughes of Mobile, Alabama could not attend the pilgrimage, but wrote to Trier to request a “little Relic a Chaplet or Crucifix that touched the Holy Garment” for “my Darling Wife who is not of our Faith. Pray for her that the Almighty God may soften her heart, convince her of her error and guide her Footsteps that she may be converted to our Holy Faith.”¹²⁹ For Hughes, the Coat had the power to change his wife’s confession, just by being in proximity to her.

As the pilgrimage attendance expanded, the Pilgrimage Committee was not always able or willing to fulfill requests. In 1933, Milly Brosda from Nordhorn/Haan explained that she learned about the new pilgrimage from the *Krefelder Zeitung*. Brosda’s mother had a rosary that was touched to the Trier relic, but her father lost it during World War I. Brosda asked if they could send a different rosary to the committee, have it touched to the Coat, and returned. In their

¹²⁷ DAA, PA 60. Mar. Hospital Burtscheid. d. 27/7 1881

¹²⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 249 a., 79.

¹²⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 249 a., 29.

response, the committee denied the request, noting that a large pilgrim group from the Hildesheim diocese was scheduled to visit Trier; it would be easier if Brosda sent the rosary with a trusted pilgrim in that group.¹³⁰

Not all pilgrims stated why they wanted the *Andenken*. Gillespie, a woman from Canada, posted an advertisement in the *Catholic Record London*, in which she requested Bishop Korum send her an item from the 1891 Trier pilgrimage.¹³¹ Walburga Reinhart from Ingolstadt, Bavaria also did not specify why she wanted an image. Reinhart could not attend because she had seven children and did not know anyone in Trier she could room with when she arrived.¹³² In 1933, Sister Mary Zita, based in Cleveland, Ohio, asked for permission to send in her own objects and promised to pray for Trier if she was obliged,

“Your Lordship this is the request will you please give me permission to send some goods to be made up into scapulars that is the fine scapulars of the Sacred Passion of our blessed Lord. Will you dear good Bishop permit these pieces of goods to be touched to our Blessed Lord’s tunic which He wore on his sacred Person and to other precious relics which you may have and I will promise I will pray for you every day”¹³³

The Pilgrimage Committee in Trier was more than happy to fulfill Sister Zita’s request so long as she sent in some money for the return shipping.¹³⁴ Zita’s successful request inspired the Ursuline sisters of Cleveland to send in a medal and case to be touched to the Coat.¹³⁵

For J.A. Menth, a first-generation child of two German immigrants to Cleveland, the Coat represented home, a link to the German-Catholic community left behind. In 1891, Menth asked that Korum send him two *Andenken*, two rosaries and two small crosses that touched the Coat for his parents. Menth’s parents emigrated from Bausendorf, Kreis Wittlich, only 48

¹³⁰ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 262-265.

¹³¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 249 a., 14.

¹³² BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 249 a., 75.

¹³³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 255.

¹³⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 256.

¹³⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 125, 553-554.

kilometers from Trier. Together, Menth's parents, went to see the Coat twice in 1844, but now they lived in the U.S. and could not attend the event.¹³⁶

Catholics outside of Trier and Aachen could get access to *Andenken* through unofficial intermediaries. Some individuals requesting *Andenken* distributed, and may have sold, the received goods. For example, Josef Fleck, in his request stated he had already received and distributed over 100 *Andenken* and that he had 80 more on the way from his friend in Trier.¹³⁷ Fleck further requested they send him a picture of Helena for his church, so that he could remember his trip to Trier. Js. Smyth of Wine Tavern, Ireland, was given 21 medals that touched the Coat in 1891. Smyth explained that after receiving the medals he was sieged by requests, from Jackman, a Franciscan priest; from his wife; four other priests; and nuns working in his community. Smyth apologized and asked for an additional 21 medals. In this correspondence it is clear that there was a demand for Rhineland *Andenken* and that these items were part of a larger, Europe-wide trade in remembrances. Smyth also mentions that he gave away some of the medals to the French nuns at St. Kestowed because they previously gave him water from Lourdes.¹³⁸ Unfortunately, the Smyth and Fleck correspondence is an extremely rare glimpse into how Catholic objects could trade hands in a trade-based sacred economy. J.B. Wijs, from Amsterdam, attended the 1909 Aachen event and wrote back when he got home to ask for a piece of the cloth used to wrap Mary's shroud. Wijs intended to give it to his sister for her twenty-fifth birthday.¹³⁹ These letters suggest that Catholics outside of Germany and France revered *Andenken* that were in contact with known relics or pilgrimage sites.

¹³⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 249 a., 45.

¹³⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 249 a., 50-51, "Ueber 100 Rückverschiedener (P51) Andenken habe ich bereits vertheilt".

¹³⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 249 a., 66-67.

¹³⁹ DAA, PA 65, "Amsterdam, 22 Juli 1909."

When *Andenken* were not distributed, sometimes Catholics made requests for whole groups who could not make the journey to Trier or Aachen. Friar Francis Jerome of Honesdale, Pennsylvania, explained in 1933 that, “As I have read in American papers that your Lordship has this Sacred Relic (Holy Coat) enshrined in your Cathedral, so I thought by writing to you, we could obtain from your Lordship a particle of this Sacred Relic.” The acquisition of this piece of the Coat was not for Jerome himself but, “for the veneration of the faithful.” Unfortunately for Jerome, the Pilgrimage Committee did not fully comply with his request, and instead offered to touch an object of his choosing to the Coat, so long as it arrived before the festival ended in August.¹⁴⁰ Nobody, clerics included, had access to the divine presence of the relic once the pilgrimage period concluded and the Holy Coat was sealed in its reliquary.

Petitioners often did not want the requested *Andenken* for themselves, but for friends or family. Maria-Magdalena Pfluzer, from Seifershan, asked for a picture of the Trier relic to be touched to the Coat and sent to her in 1933. Pfluzer wanted the object for an unnamed man.¹⁴¹ She explained that she had already had many Masses said for this individual but they had not been successful.¹⁴² In Pfluzer’s letter it is not clear whether her loved one is suffering physically or spiritually, but she asked for discretion from the priest.¹⁴³

Church leaders only touched devotional objects to the relics. Fritz Winter wrote in August 1933 to the Trier officials and asked that they touch a draft of an important contract to the Coat. Winter made a solemn vow to God that he would help a penniless young person study theology if the contract came through and made it possible for him to pay for someone’s

¹⁴⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 128, 258.

¹⁴¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 249, “damit ich es demjenigen geben kann od. daß er es wenigstens in die Hand nimmt.”

¹⁴² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 249, “Ob es gestattet ist weiß ich zwar nicht, doch einen anderen Rat weiß ich mir ebenfalls nicht, da ich schon so viele hl. Messen ohne Erfolg habe lesen lassen.”

¹⁴³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 249, “Und er darf doch nicht verloren gehen.” This suggests the individual in question faces either physical or spiritual death. If Pfluzer received a response, there is no record of it in this Akta.

schooling.¹⁴⁴ In their response the Pilgrimage Committee sent the unblessed contract back, apologized and said that they “only touch *Andacht* objects (*Andachtgegenstände*) to the Holy Coat.”¹⁴⁵

There was a shortage of relic cloth and high demand in 1933; which helps explain the 1933 Committee preference to touch objects pilgrims sent in to the Coat. As thanks to the 4,500 volunteers the Trier Pilgrimage Committee used the silk to make plaques commemorating each person’s service to the community and church. When the Deutsche Mittelstandhilfe asked for silk in September, Fuchs informed them that after the 4,500 volunteer plaques, “if any silk remains it is reserved for clergy and Holy Orders.”¹⁴⁶ Bishop Bornewasser also issued images of himself to notable pilgrims. For example, Bornewasser wrote Father Hilterscheid in Zewen after the bishop read an article about a 96-year-old woman who had attended the 1844, 1891, and then the 1933 pilgrimages. As thanks for the woman’s devotion to the Coat Bornewasser issued the faithful pilgrim an image of himself.¹⁴⁷

Even after the pilgrimages ended potential pilgrims sent in requests for items that were touched to the Coat of Trier. In 1933, the Pilgrimage Committee responded to this problem by establishing a second-degree sacral proximity. This can best be seen in two requests sent from Catholics in England and Brazil. In November, two months after the closing ceremony, Helen Croft of Lancashire inquired about touching a piece of linen to the Coat because she could not afford to come to Germany in person.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, Yolanda Giordano from Campinas, near Sao

¹⁴⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 252.

¹⁴⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 252, “Leider ist es uns nicht möglich, den von Ihnen eingesandt Vertrag an den Hl. Rock anzurühren, da wir nur Andachtsgegenstände an den Hl. Rock anrühren.”

¹⁴⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 102, 152, “auf 4.500 Diplomen Verwendung findet, die den ehrenamtlichen Helfern und Helferinnen gegeben werden. ob nach der Erledigung dieser Diplome noch ein Rest bleibt, ist noch nicht abzusehen; sollte das der Fall sein, so ist die Weitergabe des Restlos nur an Geistliche und Klöster gedacht.”

¹⁴⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 148, 124.

¹⁴⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 125, 562.

Paolo, asked, that Bishop Rudolph have mercy on her and send her a piece of the relic silk.¹⁴⁹ In response to these two requests, Trier officials stated that the Coat was put away and they did not know when it would next be revealed. Even so, they were able to touch the sent materials to a piece of cloth that was used to wrap the Coat.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, their *Andenken* were twice removed from the Coat, but this practice still allowed those who could not personally visit Trier, and only heard about the event after the fact, access to the sacred economy.

Conclusion

Andenken were a key part of the nineteenth and twentieth-century German-Catholic system of meaning. I have tried to show how pilgrims understood their *Andenken*, the meanings they assigned to their commemorative medals, rosaries, and images. The sources for this are limited, confined to those who took the time to write officials in Trier or Aachen to request objects and the responses to these inquiries. Even though the authors of letters tended to be members of religious orders, sick, impoverished, or unemployed they were not the only recipients of official *Andenken*. Indeed, as previously discussed, bishops, aristocrats, and mayors also requested and/or accepted relic cloth and images.¹⁵¹

Within these letters it is clear that pilgrims had great expectations for the *Andenken* and were convinced that objects brought into physical contact with the sacred, through a relic, could heal their bodies, repair their relationships, and improve their worldly position - in short, the objects were to be treasured, contained a divine presence, and became part of a pilgrim's religious worldview and practice. The closer an item was to the sacred the greater its merit in the

¹⁴⁹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 125, 564.

¹⁵⁰ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 125, 561, 565.

¹⁵¹ As Blackbourn has noted, in the nineteenth century Catholics were under-represented in the propertied and educated middle classes, see: David Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 138.

eyes of direct and indirect pilgrims. For Catholic pilgrims, objects took on a sacrality upon contact with the Coat of Trier or the four relics of Aachen. Thus, cloth that was used to wrap a relic for seven or thirty years was greatly prized, given to important pilgrims who could not attend, volunteers who sacrificed their time, and those in the direst situations. *Andenken*, as understood by the pilgrims, were not trinkets or souvenirs, but part of the holy, of the sacred, a personal connection to the divine. The sacred economy was not controlled exclusively by market forces, rather value within this system was determined by proximity to sacred sites, verification by clerical authorities, and the expectations of pilgrim participants, both those who went to Trier or Aachen and those who could not attend but wanted a physical connection to the event. In other words, the *Andenken* underwent a process of presentification for the pilgrims, in which participants understood themselves as being intellectually, spiritually, and bodily oriented toward the divine via their acquired items.¹⁵²

Although the sacred economy included church hierarchy, vendors, and the pilgrims; Rhineland clergy had little control over how pilgrims understood their objects or where they were sold. The number and variety of *Andenken* and devotional objects greatly increased between 1832 and 1937; this expansion was partly due to the Pilgrimage Committees actively commending, or at least approving, certain items and requiring official *Abzeichen* and booklets to gain access to the relics. It was not until the twentieth century that pilgrims were required to physically mark themselves as participants with official pins, a tradition, that continues in Trier to the present. Increased alternatives also meant standardization, in the sense that pilgrims were

¹⁵² On presentification see Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence*, 2004. He defines presentification as not being about assigning meaning but requiring that scholars ask “how we would have related, intellectually and with our bodies, to certain objects...if we had encountered them in their own historical everyday worlds” (124). Similarly, presentification forces the inquirer to ask, “how we would have related, intellectually and with our bodies, to certain objects (rather than ask what those objects ‘mean’) if we had encountered them in their own everyday worlds” (124).

less inclined to create their own objects to wear on the pilgrimage or to hang on their wall to commemorate the journey - they now had easy access to affordable postcards and other celebratory items. Although the selection of items for purchase increased over the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, pilgrims continued to see these objects as gateways to the celestial. *Andenken* allowed a pilgrim to experience the *divine presence in the world*, the act of touching an object to a relic had sacramental characteristics.

What participants took home or had sent to them was a key component of the pilgrimage experience because it allowed pilgrims to possess a connection to Jesus, John the Baptist, or Mary. Some pilgrims believed that this link to the relics could transform bodies and transcend physical illness. In the next chapter I will explore this conviction and its proponents and opponents. In the arguments over miracles and healing the relationship of sick individuals to the church hierarchy was transformed between 1832 and 1937 because miraculous recovery shifted from a publicly proclaimed practice to a meticulously verified claim.

Chapter 5

Clerical Crossroads - Medical Verifiability of the Sacred

Introduction

Oh! that holy coat has indeed wrought miracles, far more wonderful than the cure of a few hysterical women and rickety children! It has emancipated a nation! It has broken the chains of superstition and scattered them to the winds.¹

Between 1832 and 1937 clerical attitudes toward miracles and the possibility of miracle grew increasingly pragmatic and bureaucratic. Trier, more than Aachen, was the center of debates on cures in the nineteenth century. Unlike Lourdes, which, because of its scale, was able to support permanent medical personnel, Aachen and Trier relied on regional physicians and priests for cure corroboration. Germany was not like France, with the principal miracle battle lines drawn up between Republicanism and Clericalism.² In the Rhineland, the struggle for authority regarding miracles took place along religious lines: between Catholics and Protestants, and between Catholics and Catholic dissenters. The internal and external pressure on Pilgrimage Committees to avoid potentially embarrassing the Church led them to control bodies by regulating what cure-seekers said about their own corporeal and spiritual selves. Committees restricted claims in several ways including instating rigorous standards for who could stand as

¹ Jakob Marx, *History of the Robe of Jesus Christ: Preserved in the Cathedral of Trèves* (New York: Saxton & Miles, 1845), Translator's Preface, 4.

² See Harris, *Lourdes*, 1999. In the scholarship on French nineteenth-century medicine, Jean-Martin Charcot's studies of hysteria in his hospital, Salpêtrière in Paris, feature prominently. For example, see Ruth Harris, *Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law, and Society in the fin de siècle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Harris here examines the relationship of hysteria, hypnotism, and legal discourses of guilt and responsibility. She argues that Charcot saw hypnotism as a symptom of hysteria and so women who committed crimes while hypnotized were still responsible. On hysteria see also: Sander L. Gilman, Helen King, Roy Porter, G.S. Rousseau, Elaine Showalter eds. *Hysteria Beyond Freud* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); Jan Goldstein, "The Hysteria Diagnosis and the Politics of Anticlericalism in Late Nineteenth-Century France," *The Journal of Modern History* 54(2) (June 1982): 209-239; Jan Goldstein, "Moral Contagion: A Professional Ideology of Medicine and Psychiatry in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century France," in *Professions and the French State, 1700-1900*, Gerald L. Geison (ed.) (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984): 181-222; Dianne Hunter, "Hysteria, Psychoanalysis, and Feminism: The Case of Anna O.," *The (M)other Tongue: Essays in Feminist Psychoanalytic Interpretation*, Shirley Nelson Garner, Claire Kahane, Madelon Sprengnether (eds.) (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 89-115.

witness to sickness. They required pilgrims to visit doctors with elaborate forms that verified their pre-existing conditions. As clergy turned toward medical practitioners, cure-seekers remained steadfast in their conviction that relics could improve their health. The growing gap between what pilgrims expected, and publicly proclaimed, and clerical verification procedures was part of a trend toward de-democratization of Catholic pilgrimage. Pilgrims lost unfettered and direct access to sacred objects over the course of the nineteenth century. Their ability to influence the Catholic Church's reports on their lived encounters with Rhenish relics diminished as clergy placed new obstacles in between pilgrims and sacred relics.

Catholic clergy came to a theological crossroads in the late nineteenth century. Rhenish priests and bishops had to choose whether or not to support and affirm lay notions of divine presence or to respond to mounting criticism of the practice of pilgrimage.³ Ultimately, Church authorities drifted away from pilgrim concepts of proof of divine intervention and instead sought to verify God's acts and sacred presence through medical statements and physician testimonials. This clerical desire for positivist, or natural scientific affirmations of miracle opened a rift between the clergy and cure-seekers.⁴ Pilgrims, for their part, chose to ignore clerical guidelines and recommendations and cared little about whether priests viewed their bodily healing or transformation as an "official cure." By the 1890s, clergy suppressed unofficial cures that did not sufficiently satisfy Trier and Aachen clerical verification parameters. Undeterred by this pressure to satisfy clerical protocols, between 1846 and 1937, as discussed in Chapter Three, ill pilgrims

³ For lay notions see last chapter, "Transcending the Body," for the mounting criticism against pilgrimage see next chapter "Rending Religiosity."

⁴ Thomas Howard argues that as the nineteenth century progressed, positivism became more influential and was linked to the natural sciences. By the end of the nineteenth century, *Wissenschaft*, in German thought was associated with neutrality. See Thomas A. Howard, *Protestant Theology and the Making of the Modern University* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 29-30. Thomas Nipperdey identifies a similar trend in legal thought, and in historical writing after Ranke went out of fashion. Thomas Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800-1866* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. Originally 1983), 454-458.

continued to report cures as transformative experiences with little interest in whether or not clerics accepted their accounts.⁵ Despite the increasingly cautious attitudes of the clerics, pilgrims went to the relics with great expectation. Pilgrimage account authors wrote of the wonder of their journeys, often employing terms such as eager, enthusiastic, excited, and ecstatic to describe the atmosphere of the Holy Coat Exhibition and the crowds in Trier. Charles Anthon reported the “eager expectation, chastened by religious awe” on the faces of the pilgrims who approached the Coat.⁶ As previously discussed, in Marx’s account of 1844 miracles, a suppliant often experienced an ecstatic state prior to their healing. Catherine Petsch, a forty-five year old widow from the small town of Conz six miles outside of Trier, touched the Coat, hoping to be cured. When she felt the Coat she fell to the ground for half an hour, and Marx thought she had died, but she got up and walked away healed.⁷ Pilgrim enthusiasm surrounding the Coat was manifested in both the emotional anticipation individuals experienced before visiting Trier and in the physical encounter with the Coat that could lead to lost consciousness or weeping.

While exploring priestly responses to visceral pilgrim encounters with relics, this chapter reveals changing clerical attitudes toward acceptable sources of truth. Pilgrimage Committee clergy increasingly looked to male professionals: physicians and priests, to confirm the physical and spiritual status of cure-seekers. By the end of the nineteenth century, women’s testimony was accepted only after they had pledged Holy Orders, or when a man (relative, doctor, or cleric) corroborated what they stated. Between 1832 and 1937 women were edged out as reliable “truth

⁵ For two further examples, see the accounts of both Frau Lippert and Fr. Hepting from chapter two.

⁶ Charles Edward Anthon, *A Pilgrimage to Treves, Through the Valley of the Meuse and the Forest of the Ardennes, In the Year 1844* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1844), 110.

⁷ Jakob Marx, *History of the Robe of Jesus Christ: Preserved in the Cathedral of Trèves* (New York: Saxton & Miles, 1845), 110.

speakers.”⁸ This process of what we might call masculinization was a consequence of professionalizing the application process for cure-seekers keen to spend time with Rhineland relics. New clerical protocols for sick pilgrims developed alongside the secularization of clerical understandings of demonstrability; further characterized by a decline in Biblical proofs as satisfactory justification for a rupture in the natural world. In the case of Rhenish clergy, such temporal and physical breaches were centered on the bodies of pilgrims.

In the Rhineland, clergy first worked to contain lay testimony and verify their claims at the 1846 Aachen pilgrimage. In part, this containment strategy was a response to the 1844 Johannes Ronge schism, when Father Ronge broke with the Catholic Church because of the alleged healings in Trier. The trend toward overseeing alleged miracles continued through 1891, when Michael Felix Korum, bishop of Trier since 1881, forbade cure reports until his office investigated and approved alleged healings. Ruth Harris has previously studied the relationship of European clergy, physicians, and pilgrim bodies. She examined the Lourdes Medical Bureau in terms of a larger French debate on hypnotism and “mediumic power.”⁹ Harris first approached Lourdes via a project on French medicine at the end of the nineteenth century, which helps explain her focus on the medical culture of the day.¹⁰ For Harris, the clerical attempts to demonstrate the miraculous led late-nineteenth century French physicians – the Lourdes Medical Bureau was not established until 1883 – to believe their patients could be healed through autosuggestion while on pilgrimage.

⁸ See Steven Shapin’s work on how English gentlemen establish boundaries of reliability and truth in order to corroborate the results of scientific experiments. Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

⁹ Harris, *Lourdes*, 321.

¹⁰ Harris, *Lourdes*, xiii.

In part, the process of verifying sacred presence via secular knowledge parallels developments in medical practices during the nineteenth century. Jewson has shown how medical authority transitioned from “Bedside” practices to “Laboratory” treatments between 1770-1870.¹¹ Accompanying changes in medical practices doctors no longer viewed the patient as a whole. Instead, patients suffered from a disease on a molecular level. This change in perception led to a decline in the actual presence of the “sick-man.” Physicians were increasingly specialized and stopped taking a holistic approach to physical treatments. Medical practitioners saw the body as a sum of parts that could be healed on an individual basis. Like midwives and herbalists, German Catholic clerics’ medical authority eroded in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In order to respond to critics, they now mobilized “modern” medical knowledge by asking its professional practitioners to evaluate the merit of pilgrim healing claims. Yet, throughout this chapter it is important not to think of “science” on one side and “pilgrim” on the other – there was substantial overlap. Some Catholic physicians stated that their patient’s only hope was a miracle, while others were annoyed that they had to fill out cleric-requested *Fragebogen*, or medical history forms (literally *questionnaire* or *questionary*), in the first place.¹² This clerical drive toward medical experts’ verification in cases of alleged divine intervention led to a rhetorical gap between pilgrim experiences and beliefs and what their church leaders were willing to publicly acknowledge or allow as “genuine” divine encounters.

¹¹ N.D. Jewson, “The Disappearance of the Sick-Man from Medical Cosmology, 1770-1870,” *Sociology* 10 (1976): 225-244.

¹² On the relationship of medical practice and religion, see for example: John V. Pickstone, “Establishment and Dissent in Nineteenth-Century Medicine: An Exploration of Some Correspondence and Connections Between Religious and Medical Belief-Systems in Early Industrial England,” in *The Church and Healing: papers read at the twentieth summer meeting and the twenty-first winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford: Published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by Basil Blackwell, 1982): 165-189. Pickstone links Christian dissent movements to the fate of non-orthodox medicine like homeopathy in nineteenth-century England. He argues that over time the religious dissenters lost control of dissenting forms of medicine, which were important to them as a way of distinguishing themselves from other Christian sects.

This chapter makes three main points about the religiosity of German Catholics and transformations within Church structure. Between 1832 and 1937 German Catholic Church leadership developed a formalized method for verifying alleged cures; this involved a move from informal observation by laity, clerics, and physicians to a rigorous examination that excluded non-medical sources of information.¹³ First, this process indicates to a de-democratization of the divine – wary of being mocked or embarrassed, the clergy clamped down on access to relics. They hindered publications related to miracles by withholding imprimatur or waiting until years after an event to verify that a cure claimant had not relapsed. Second, Catholicism began to modify acceptable sources of truth: Biblical arguments no longer stood on an equal footing with to medical knowledge, male physician testimony, regardless of confession, triumphed and dominated in the corroboration of the divine. Third, the laity, especially cure-seekers, tended not to respect established clerical boundaries around the relics. Instead, they enthusiastically reported their own encounters that were at odds with the hierarchical position, creating a rift between leaders and practitioners.¹⁴

1844: The Dam Breaks

Trier officials had a very fluid and open system for verifying divine intervention in the 1840s. In 1844, clergy assembled a wide range of letters, evidence for a miraculous cure varied from two to seventeen statements. The authors of corroboratory correspondence tended to be men, which was a product of two factors. First, men in the 1840s occupied official medical posts,

¹³ For a study on the generation of knowledge and the evolution of accepted sources of knowledge see: Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Shapin argues for an “economy of truth” in seventeenth-century England which equated honor with truthfulness and required social credibility to verify knowledge claims. This study hinges on an analysis of early-modern codes of conduct and the extent to which gentlemanly behavior can be found amongst the members of the England’s Royal Society.

¹⁴ I made this point most forcefully in the conclusion of chapter three, “Transcending the Body.”

such as the district physician and local physician. Trier officials sent inquiries about the cured to these offices. Women were also involved in the medical sphere but tended to operate in “unofficial” capacities, as midwives and herbalists.¹⁵ Women did have opportunity to testify because local priests often organized a response and sent back witness reports and collected statements.¹⁶ Second, one can infer from the disproportionate number of male authenticators that the clergy placed a higher value in the male perspective, even when the cured was a woman. For example, in the case of 18-year-old Anna Josephine Wagner, of seventeen letters sent to Trier to attest to her previous condition only three were from women, two of which were included in a group statement, and one was from Wagner herself.¹⁷ Even with the clerical inquiry preference, women were often given a voice in determining divine presence (see below). In 1844, because Trier clergy acted informally and retroactively there was space for lay women to testify to divine intervention in the world, and when available this testimony was filed alongside that of physicians.

In 1844, Trier clergy faced the task of retroactively confirming miracles already made public. For example, Trier officials struggled to come up with witnesses to Josephina Wagner’s cured epilepsy after she claimed healing. Even in January 1845, months after the pilgrimage closed, clergy sought to verify Wagner’s story and find individuals who could speak to her moral reliability. Father Letsch, of Hambach, regretted to inform the district physician that he only

¹⁵ In the case of mid- to late-eighteenth-century France, see: Nina Rattner Gelbart, *The King’s Midwife: A History and Mystery of Madame du Coudray* (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1998).

¹⁶ In his analysis of miracles in early-modern Naples, Gentilcore found that midwives and other “unofficial” healers were more likely than “official” doctors to insert themselves into medical narratives. Yet, as Gentilcore concedes, making such a distinction in Naples was somewhat problematic because doctors were oftentimes avid collectors of relics, suggesting that both “official” and “unofficial” healers hoped for divine intervention if their craft failed. See: David Gentilcore, “Contesting Illness in Early Modern Naples: Miracolati, Physicians and the Congregation of Rites,” *Past & Present* 148 (August 1995): 117-148.

¹⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 94-122.

knew a little of Wagner, having just met her in 1843. During that time she had some epileptic episodes, and he heard from other people that she previously suffered from fits in 1838-39.¹⁸

Clerics feared that the cured would embarrass the church in one of two ways: by never having been sick, thus forging a divine act; or by having a scandalized past. The Wagner correspondence helps illuminate what the Trier officials sought in potential witnesses in the early nineteenth century. They first queried men of high public standing: mayors, doctors, priests, and chaplains. Father Letsch, for instance, also noted that he was not sure about the rumors that Wagner was previously pregnant. Clerics looked not just to doctors to assess their parishioners, but also weighed the opinions of local notables.

In another case, Margaretha Plein, from Speicher, had reached a point of emotional distress and instability that required the observation and intervention of the local mayor. The mayor wrote to Trier officials explaining the conditions of Plein's recent breakdown. She had been engaged to Joseph Becker and the two planned to get married on their own. Unfortunately for Plein, Becker lacked the means to fund the union and eventually called off the engagement. The breakup put Plein in a dark mental state that worsened until she eventually struck her father and tried to throw herself out of the window.¹⁹ After visiting the Coat of Trier, Plein was cured of her emotional troubles. At their darkest hour, German Catholics turned to the relics of Aachen and Trier, because they offered healing, hope, restoration, physical resurrection.

Clergy tentatively sought to verify cures in 1844, but only in response to the reports of miracles appearing in the regional press, such as the *Luxemburger Zeitung*, during the actual display of the Coat. Following published reports, Trier officials began gathering evidence of the

¹⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 120.

¹⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 228, 45, "schlug ihre Vater und ihre sonstige Bewachung und wollte durchs Fenster gehen, welches ihr auch einvoll gelungen ist, bei welcher Gelegenheit [...] unser Gelaufe ist, und der Ihrige viel Muhe gemacht, bis sie wieder nach Hause gebracht wurde konnte."

veracity of alleged healings. Most often this proof came in the form of correspondence with the cured. Claimants penned elaborate testimonials and personal statements. Further evidence came from individuals familiar with the cure-seeker, those who could corroborate their moral credibility and the physical or emotional issue that the Coat alleviated. Johann Michels, from Speicher, 57 years old, was cured on September ninth in Trier of a shoulder malady and gout that had recently left him bedridden. His dossier includes correspondence with the local physician, the district physician, the “wound doctor” (who also helped with births), the mayor, several locals, a lawyer, and a sailor. Jacob Heinz, 11 years old, from Berncastel was cured of speechlessness in 1844. The testimonials related to Heinz’s divine encounter include his physician and a local man.²⁰

In 1844-5, clerics did not consider medical statements to be essential for ascertaining whether or not a health-based cure occurred.²¹ The Trierweiler Pastor, for example, gave his word that Anna Elisabeth Pantenberg was healed, Catharina Hoelzer’s arm remained fully functional after her visit, and that Philipp Meth’s testicular disease remained a problem. Meth, the pastor’s “not-so-lucky” parishioner, believed the swelling in his scrotum had subsided after visiting Trier in 1844. After fourteen days it was clear to Meth that his right testicle was now thicker and harder than before because the condition had worsened. The Triererweiler priest confessed that he had only talked with Meth and the school teacher Johann Adam Hoffman about the sickness. A medical testimony was too impractical to include, “A certificate from an unknown doctor about the current state of the tumor, etc. [of] Meth is probably impossible” because to visit a doctor would require a 3-4 hour walk in the snow. The cleric further dismissed

²⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229.

²¹ This was part of a European-wide attempt by Catholic clerics to confirm the presence of a miracle, see, for another example: James S. Donnelly, “The Marian Shrine of Knock: The First Decade,” *Ireland* 28 (1993): 55-99. Donnelly looks at the 1879 apparition of Mary in Knock, in the 1880s Irish clerics introduced medical certificates (74).

inquiries about alternative, or natural, possibilities for Anna Elisabeth's recovery, "Whether or not this recovery was impossible in a natural way, without the help medical services, I do not know."²² Father Koeppel, in December 1844, similarly testified that his parishioner Katharina Huppert was healed, but was conspicuously evasive about offering medical evidence, "Also the woman consulted a doctor Cath[olic] I believe, in Münchwalde (in Doorwalde), he told her that her condition was incurable. Since the path through the forest is now impractical, I could not send the same testimony. The woman is not lying."²³ In this instance, Trier officials had to trust the word of the cleric, without medical testimony. The pilgrimage officials did not protest the lack of a physician's corroboration.

In the 1840s, reports on cure-seeker's bodies and mental states were highly inconsistent – Trier clergy received corroborating, at times competing, information from varied sources. Thus, in Wagner's case, Trier had a report from Father J. Steph Braemig, confirmed by a deacon and chaplain, that they were certain Wagner was epileptic before going to Trier. Deacon Schnitzler once found Wagner in a ditch on the side of the road suffering from an attack. He was only able to bring Wagner back to herself with strong wine.²⁴ After her pilgrimage to Trier, when Braemig again saw Wagner the "wild, epileptic appearance was completely gone."²⁵ Braemig's testimony was supplemented by Father Wallerath's letter to the Trier district physician that Wagner first became epileptic in her twelfth or thirteenth year. Wallerath, however, remained skeptical of her healing and did not want to give a definite opinion, but he acknowledged that the mayor seemed

²² BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 228, 77-79, "Ein Attest von einem unbekannten Ärzte über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Geschwulst des etc. Meth ausstellen zu lassen, ist wohl unmöglich.", "Ob dieses auf natürlichen Wege, ohne ärztliche Hülfe; denn sie gebrauchte keine geschehen konnte, das weiß ich nicht."

²³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 226, 126, "Auch consultirte der Frau eine Arzt (Kath glaube ich) an sogenannten Münchwalde (in Doorwalde), welcher ihr erklärte ihr Zustand sei unheilbar. Da der Weg durch der Wald jetzt unpraktikabel ist, so konnte ich ein Zeugnis desselben nicht ertragen. Die Frau lügt nicht."

²⁴ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 109-110.

²⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 109-110, "Ich fand seiner Zustand ganz verändert, das wilde, epileptische Aussehen war ganz verschwunden."

convinced of a physical change. Local priests were not afraid to attack medical or clerical opinions contrary to their own. Father Kaess from Lutzerath began his letter to the Trier physician compiling data on alleged cures that he had heard “from all sides only bad things” about Wagner.²⁶ Kaess himself was not sure about Wagner. He had only heard she was epileptic and that the local mayor would not corroborate her story. Kaess was ashamed to hear her name.²⁷ Against the skeptical reports, Braemig asserted he was able to come up with 1800 signatures that would attest to Wagner’s former sickness.

Unfortunately, there is no evaluation of the testimony included in the Trier records; however, clerics’ expectations exist in the common themes in lay testimony. In the 1840s, Aachen and Trier church officials, despite the opinions of local clerics, hoped for some form of medical testimony. They wanted to know, for example, whether the cure-seeker had previously sought professional, main-stream medical techniques. On 23 August 1844 Jakob Heinz’s parents took him to Dr. Schmitz in Berncastel for treatment because he had suffered from another bout of vomiting, convulsions, and was from that time on incapable of speaking. Dr. Schmitz wrote to Trier about how he treated Heinz from the onset of his speechlessness. Schmitz described Heinz’s symptoms as including abdominal pain, a bitter taste in mouth, swollen belly, and weak limbs.²⁸ Schmitz watched Heinz closely the last week of August and observed that pain spread to Jacob’s knees and chest. The doctor concluded his report by noting that when he last he saw Heinz, the boy could not speak and had not yet left for Trier. As a side-note Schmitz added that he believed the speechlessness was genuine because he had heard of Heinz being beaten up by a couple of other young men and he did not cry out. Schmitz’s testimony serves as a “before”

²⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 106, “daß ich von allen Seiten nur Schlimmes von der Person aus Alfien.”

²⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 106, “Bürgermeister kann ihr kein Attest ausstellen; es wird überhaupt so wüstes von derselben erzählt, daß man sich schämen muß, auch nur ihren Namen zu hören.”

²⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 91.

snapshot, acquired to clash with the “after” letter from Caplay in February 1845 that Heinz now spoke “fluently, loud[ly], and understandably.”²⁹

Often priests were skeptical and strained to hold back or to temper the rhetoric of physical transformation in their correspondence. Father Pauls, from Hettenis, wrote to Trier regarding Anna Maria Hammes. Hammes was in her early forties and claimed to be cured of lameness after visiting Trier. After relating her medical history, Pauls concluded he was uncertain if a miracle occurred because Hammes had experienced a recovery in the 1830s and was not perfectly healed. Plus, he continued, Hammes continued to walk hunched over.³⁰ Similarly, Father Boll of Bruttig urged caution regarding the healing of nine-year old Catharina Barthel, “before she could not walk without crutches, after getting back from Trier she does not need crutches, but now can only go hunched over and if she wants to go a longer distance must be led by the hand.”³¹ Boll could only say the child’s health was “satisfactory” and that she may improve over time, but did not state that a miracle (*Wunder*) had taken place before the Holy Coat. In both of these instances, the priests sought to temper the mood, to scale back the cure-seekers’ claims to absolute healing.

In 1844, some of the staunchest supporters of miracle claims used Scripture to explain Rhineland miracles. This textual approach echoes clerical arguments used to counter Johannes Ronge’s assault against pilgrimage. In 1844, the Trier district physician received a note from an anonymous supporter of Catharina Petsch’s miraculous stroke healing. In his defense of the cure the author used logic, Scripture, and Petsch’s medical history to defend her against detractors

²⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 93, “daß der Knabe seit der Wiedererlangung seiner Sprache zu Trier fortwährend fließend, laut und verständlich spricht”.

³⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 170-71.

³¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 244, “Die 9 jährige Catharina konnte früherhin ohne Krücker nicht gehen; seitdem sie vom h. Röcke zurück gekommen ist, braucht sie zwar keine Krücken mehr, kann aber nur Kümmerlich gehen und muß, wenn sie etliche Schritte weit will, an der Hand geführt werden.”

who claimed she was a fake cure, a dummy set up by the church, or an actor in a staged event designed to fool the laity into believing in the efficacy of the Coat. To begin, Anon quoted Tobit 12:7, “It’s a good idea to keep a king’s secret, but what God does should be told everywhere, so that he may be praised and honored. If you do good, no harm will come to you.”³² Petsch was right to point out her recovery because it glorified God. Detractors argued that Petsch had been better since 1842, able to get around despite the stroke. If that was the case, she would have hidden her full recovery for two years. For the author, even the dullest mind must see that this was improbable and that claims of fraud were completely false.³³ Furthermore, Anon continued, the critics were failing to distinguish a “cure” from “recovery.” A recovery left open the possibility of a relapse, one could recover from a sickness and fall back “2, 3, 4, 5, 6 times.”³⁴ Conversely, a miracle was a permanent transformation, as Jesus healed in the Gospels. Lastly, the author took aim at those who claimed God could not have shown favor on Petsch because her son misbehaved and was not faithful. In response the author pointed to Ezekiel 18:20,

“The one who sins is the one who will die. The child will not share the guilt of the parent, nor will the parent share the guilt of the child. The righteousness of the righteous will be credited to them, and the wickedness of the wicked will be charged against them.”³⁵

Her cure was all the greater because God still heard her plea despite her son’s sinful behavior. Petsch was healed to give others hope, she was not faking, she was fully cured of her ailment.

Taking a cue from the 1844 Trier troubles, the clergy in Aachen clarified who could and could not have access to their relics in 1846. Accordingly, after the church closed at 6:00PM individual pilgrims who “first must have a note from a doctor that they suffer from bodily pain,

³² Bible Gateway, GNT, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Tobit%2012&version=GNT> (Accessed 17 April 2013). Unless noted, all future Biblical citations will be from the NIV translation of the Bible.

³³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 221-240.

³⁴ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 233, “So giebt es ja Leute welche die sitzige Krankheit, oder das Nervensieber, oder andere Krankheiten 2,3,4,5,6 mal hatten.”

³⁵ Bible Gateway, NIV, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Ezekiel%2018&version=NIV> (Accessed 17 April 2013).

or a chronic condition, and, second, must have a testament from their minister” could enter the cathedral for one-on-one time with Mary’s tunic. The pilgrimage organizers asked priests to speak to whether or not the pilgrim was a moral Catholic and had recently received the sacrament of Eucharist. Cure-seekers had to submit these documents to the Provost (*Probst*) in the morning and were issued a “sick admission card.” Once the church was empty these petitioners were allowed briefly to touch the relic.³⁶ Trier officials followed Aachen’s certification system and used it in increasingly thorough forms in the 1890s and into the 1930s.

Declaring and Determining Divine Presence: Shifts in Sources

Between 1832 and 1937, Rhineland clerics brought about two notable shifts within miracle testimony. First, because Pilgrimage Committees demanded specialized documentation from cure-seekers, medical testimony underwent a process of professionalization. Second, female pilgrims, after the 1840s, required male corroborators of their alleged healings. In the 1840s, women, when available, apparently stood equal to men in terms of offering evidence. Trier officials collected letters from men, women, acquaintances, physicians, clergy, and lawyers. In February 1845 officials collated twenty-two testimonies related to Peter Hohnemann’s trip to Trier in September 1844. Peter, an adolescent at the time, went in order to recover the use of his left arm and leg. Both had become stiff, slow, and unresponsive after a bout of smallpox. Hohnemann asserted that after encountering the Coat he began to recover strength in his left limbs and reported that he could now move chairs around, carry water, and cut

³⁶ DAA, PA 58, Neues Programm für die Heiligtumsfahrt pro 1846, #11. Aachen den 31 März 1846, “aber nur unter folgenden Bediegungen: vorerst muß vorgelegt werden ein Attest von einem Arzte über wirklich vorhanden es körperliches Leiden, oder chronischen Krankheitszustand; und zweitest eine Attest des betreffenden Pfarrers”.

his own meat without assistance; he was cured.³⁷ No less than half of the testimonies gathered to corroborate this recovery came from lay women.³⁸

Table 22: Peter Hohnemann Testimonials

Name:	Age:		Gender
Eva Kamp	19	.....	F
Margaretha Immerschitt	19	.....	F
Eva Eckes	26	.....	F
Anna Frosch	33	.....	F
Anna Hitzel	35	.....	F
Franziska Schurgens	39	.....	F
Catharina Hohnemann	41	.....	F
Eleonora Elfen	42	.....	F
Katharina Sewig	46	.....	F
Anna Erf	46	.....	F
Appolonia Immerschitt	49	.....	F
Peter Jakob Hohnemann	14	.....	M
Jacob Eckes	31	.....	M
Peter Erf	36	.....	M
Jakob Eck	38	.....	M
Adam Heil	42	.....	M

³⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 248-50.

³⁸ Data for this chart from: BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 248-68. The women were, on average, 35.91 years old and the men ten years older, with an average age of 43.73. In the Akta, the testimonials appear in the following order: 1-

Peter Jakob Hohnemann

2- Eleonora Elfen

3- Appolonia Immerschitt

4- Eva Eckes

5- Franziska Schurgens

6- Katharina Sewig

7- Adam Heil

8- Jakob Eck

9 - Caspar Erf

10- Jakob Klein

11- Franz Jonas

12- Georg Eckes

13- Anna Frosch

14- Jacob Eckes

15- Peter Erf

16- Anton Bretz

17- Anna Hitzel

18- Catharina Hohnemann

19- Anna Erf

20- Eva Kamp

21- Margaretha Immerschitt

22- Wilhelm Hohnemann

Wilhelm Hohnemann	43	.....	M
Anton Bretz	44	.....	M
Caspar Erf	48	.....	M
Jakob Klein	60	.....	M
Franz Jonas	60	.....	M
Georg Eckes	65	.....	M

Similarly, in February 1845 Father Schneider and Protocol Leader Bräder, of Bingen, submitted the testimonials of those residents willing to state that Theresia Bernette recovered from the lameness of her right side, caused by a stroke in May 1840. In this case 9 of the 14 witnesses were women, or 62%.³⁹

Table 23: Theresia Bernette Testimonials

Name:	Age:		Gender
Philipp Bernette	26	.....	M
Karl Kruzius	32	.....	M
Joseph Ohler	36	.....	M
Adam Kirch	52	.....	M
Peter Nix	60	.....	M
Elise Bernet	15	.....	F
Anna Bernett	18	.....	F
Katharina Bender	43	.....	F
Margaretha Frosch	45	.....	F
Susanna Tapperich	46	.....	F
Agnes Bischof	47	.....	F
Anna Maria Müller	51	.....	F

³⁹ Data for this chart from: BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 272-88. In this instance the average female eyewitness was 42.67 years old, the average male, 41.2. In the Akta, the testimonials appear in the following order:

- 1- Peter Nix
- 2- Philipp Bernette
- 3- Franziska Schiffen
- 4- Katharina Bender
- 5- Agnes Bischof
- 6- Anna Maria Müller
- 7- Susanna Tapperich
- 8- Margaretha Frosch
- 9- Anna Maria Wolf
- 10- Anna Bernette
- 11- Elise Bernet
- 12- Adam Kirch
- 13- Joseph Ohler
- 14- Karl Kursus

Franziska Schiffmann	53	.....	F
Anna Maria Wolf	66	.....	F

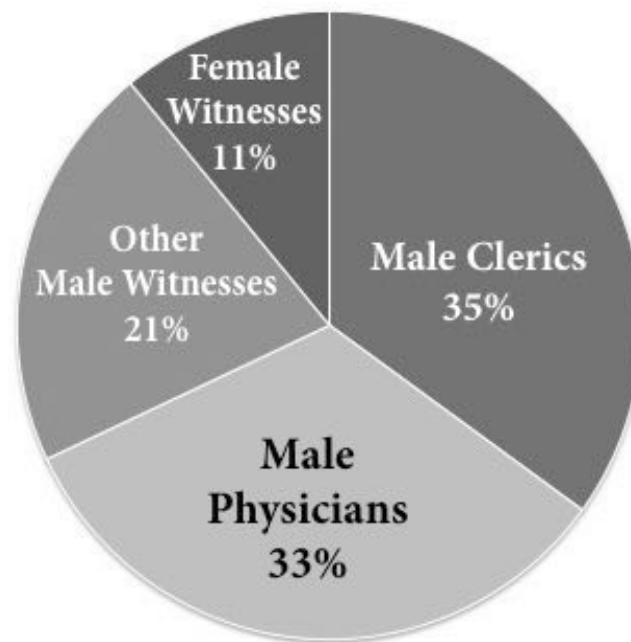
In this instance women made up a notable part of corroboration testimony. Furthermore, the male witnesses here have no particular qualification or occupation. Catholic authorities relied on all Catholics – the witnesses above specified that they were a member of the “Catholic Religion” – to verify the presence of a disease or physical limitation prior to pilgrimage and a notable change afterwards.

Conversely, by the late-nineteenth century, Bishop Korum sought specialized testimony and as a result there was a decline in the overall percentage of female witnesses. In his 1894 publication of approved cures from the 1891 pilgrimage, Bishop Korum included the correspondence that led he and his committee to conclude that either a miracle had occurred or that the pilgrim had been blessed with a “divine mercy.” Korum proclaimed a total of 11 cures and 27 graces or mercies in 1891. The corroborative testimony included 41 male clerics (pastors, priests, deacons, Jesuits), 38 male physicians, 37 “other” witnesses (13 female, 24 male).

The chart below lays out Korum’s four categories of witnesses in his 1894 pamphlet of approved cures. Women constituted only 11%, while men, either laity, clergy, or physicians, made up 89% of the included testimony. Within the “male” and “female” categories there is quite a bit of diversity. Importantly, female testimony that Trier officials counted was not independent, these statements tended to come from family members and were corroborated by a male witness or male official. In the case of Emil Herb, Frau Karoline Kistner confirmed that Herb suffered from arthritis and heart trouble and had a large, swollen knee. However Kistner did not sign her statement alone, but issued her letter with the declaration of Johann Ernst

Mülshörster.⁴⁰ Of the 13 female witnesses only 4 (31%) were “bystanders”, the rest (69%) were family: 5 mothers, 2 daughters, 1 cousin, 1 sister-in-law. Conversely, only 7 (29%) of the 24 male witnesses were related to the cure claimant (5 fathers, 1 husband, 1 brother). By the end of the nineteenth century, Rhineland clerics sought confirmation of alleged cures systematically and from both members of the curia and from medical experts.

Table 24: 1891 Trier, Bishop Korum Approved Testimony



The new system of verification, or order of authenticity, allowed for one exception to the trend towards the masculinization of truth: women in Holy Orders. In the testimonials, nuns stand equal to priests or deacons. Nuns could stand as their own clerical confirmation. For example, Schwester Ursula, a Franciscan sister from Waldbreitbach in Neuwied was declared cured of her contorted elbow on the strength of her word and that of an anonymous doctor.⁴¹ In a

⁴⁰ M. Felix Korum, *Wunder und Göttliche Gnadenerweise bei der Ausstellung des hl. Rockes zu Trier im Jahre 1891* (Trier: Paulinus-Druckerei, 1894), 97.

⁴¹ Korum, *Wunder*, 37-39.

similar case, Schwester Stephanie, from Trier, was approved with only her account and the evidence from Dr. H. Staub. After resting an Andenken on a growing nodular in her armpit in 1892, Stephanie's pain and the swelling subsidedmale .⁴² Women who were outside of Holy Orders did not have so much leniency and turned to local priests, physicians, and family members to affirm their "before and after" physical conditions. The 1933 Pilgrimage Committee copied Korum's approach of delaying the approval of miracle claims. They only sent out follow-up inquiries to nineteen cure-claimants in January 1936, and they relied exclusively on the word of physicians and the formalized *Fragebogen* forms.⁴³

Nuns were also allowed to bypass the increased regulation of access to relics. Sister Angelica wrote in 1902 in order to clarify the rules in Aachen about accessing Jesus' loincloth. She stated that there were several sick sisters and students, and that she would not be surprised if one of them was miraculously cured by the relic. Sister Angelica wanted to prevent a repeat of her 1895 experience when she brought a sick sister to the Aachen event but was denied access to the relic on the grounds that only the very sick, with proper certification, could touch the relics. Angelica bluntly reported "she was really sick, and died shortly afterwards." In response, the Pilgrimage Committee sent the Order 10 *Krankenkarten* which afforded the sisters access to the relic when they visited.⁴⁴

Growing clerical caution filtered into the late-nineteenth century press, reporters now hesitated to proclaim miracles as the *Luxemburger Zeitung* had in 1844. The Luxemburg press, at that time, quickly reported on claims of healing as part of their Trier coverage. In 1888, though, *Echo der Gegenwart* stressed that despite all of the rumors, talk, and energy surrounding such

⁴² Korum, *Wunder*, 69-70.

⁴³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 130.

⁴⁴ DAA, PA 74, "Aachen, Jacobstr 21 Herr Pralat."

claims, the alleged cures at the Heiligthumsfahrt Aachen and Cornelimünster were best left to clerical authorities. The paper had no doubt that such things were possible, after all, God's grace was endless; but because individuals could fake healing, the paper decided to respond negatively to all claims, until the church verified. Even with this disclaimer, though, *Echo der Gegenwart* further reported three potential healings: of a sick girl from Burtscheid who was healed after touching Jesus' loincloth; of another young girl from Aachen who was cured of speechlessness after touching the loincloth; and of a priest in Belgium who recovered after touching John the Baptists's cloth.⁴⁵ Popular interest in divine acts had not waned at the end of the nineteenth century. Despite clerical attempts to verify divine presence and thereby regulate the claims of cure-seekers, the press was decidedly more interested in reporting *potential* miracles than it was in completely yielding to Church trends toward the professionalization of witness testimony and delayed miracle confirmation.

1891: Bishop Korum Defines Miracles

In both 1844 and 1891 Trier clergy assembled testimonies about cures. However, the important difference between these two nineteenth-century events is that in 1891 Bishop Korum would not allow Catholics to claim they had been cured until the claim underwent a process of review. In 1844, the press was on hand in Trier to quickly report any alleged miracle. Although observer Richard Clarke drew parallels between the two pilgrimages, "the same extraordinary conversions of hardened sinners, the same miracles worked on the bodies of the sick; the same

⁴⁵ *Echo der Gegenwart*, Donnerstag, 19. Juli - Erstes Blatt. "Von wunderbaren Heilungen." "Von wunderbaren Heilungen, welche auch bei Gelegenheit dieser heiligthumsfahrt gewirkt worden seien, wurde bereits hier, in Burtscheid und in Cornelimünster viel erzählt und mitgeteilt. Zweifellos wird der allmächtige Gott wie früher, so auch jetzt diese oder jene Kranken begnadigen, ihnen ihr schweres Gebrechen."

impulse given to the faith in all the country round,”⁴⁶ he included no accounts of 1891 miracles. Instead, his evidence for the physical healing power of the Coat drew exclusively from previous pilgrimages, especially 1844. For example, Clarke noted, “in this year of our Lord 1891, there have been cures not a few, undeniably miraculous. We will select one of two from a long list of those that happened in 1844.”⁴⁷ Edward Plater, who wrote an English pamphlet about his travels through the Rhineland in the 1890s, noted that a sick woman was healed at the touch of the Coat, which church leadership explained by referencing the gospel of Mark 6:55-56, “touch the hem of his garment: and as many as touched him were made whole.”⁴⁸ As Plater explained, the efficacy of relics, he repeatedly stated that one of the ways a relic can be verified is whether or not it has the power to heal the body. He quoted Aquinas; “Moreover, God Himself has been pleased to honour such relics by working miracles in their presence.”⁴⁹ Yet, like Clarke, Plater remained aloof about miracles actually happening in 1891. He felt compelled to address this issue, but provided a cursory answer:

“What about miracles? And it is not yet the time to give the answer. That many and various miracles have been wrought during this Exposition is known to the favoured individuals, to their friends and relatives, and to the medical men and others on whom the task of verification devolves.”⁵⁰

The hesitation in these two 1891 pamphlets is somewhat surprising because it would be in the pilgrims’ interest to convince their audience of the continued power of the relic in Trier. At the end of his account Plater reported, “the Bishop of Trier and his chapter have everywhere discouraged the publication of details [of miracles]; but so soon as the process of investigation

⁴⁶ Richard F. Clarke, *A Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat of Treves: With an Account of Its History and Authenticity* (London: Longmans Green, 1892), 36.

⁴⁷ Clarke, *A Pilgrimage*, 38.

⁴⁸ Edward A. Plater, *The Holy Coat of Treves: A Sketch of its History, Cultus, and solemn Expositions; with Notes on Relics Generally* (London: R. Washbourne, 1891), 25.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Plater, *The Holy Coat*, 12. From: S. Thom. Aq. Pars. iii Qu. xxv., Art 6.

⁵⁰ Plater, *The Holy Coat*, 100.

has been closed, and the authority of science has confirmed, then, and not till then, will their complete history be made public.”⁵¹ Both Clarke and Plater remained aloof in order to comply with Korum’s decree that no news of 1891 miracles was to be published prior to his verification in his 1894 pamphlet. In 1891, “science” had new “authority” to “confirm” God’s will over the body.

In 1891, Bishop Korum wanted to avoid announcing cures too hastily and commissioned a committee to evaluate all alleged cures.⁵² As part of their deliberations they assembled letters from clerics attesting to a physical change in one of their parishioners. These statements were often very straightforward and occasionally vague, for example, “Jacob Breit, 24 years old, son of Johanna Breit, for the last 20 months has suffered from a sickness and unable to get out of bed, suffers five times a day from attacks. 31. August ...healed from the previous disease.”⁵³

Bishop Korum sought to lay out the grounds for a miracle in his 1894 pamphlet on “approved” or “confirmed” cures. Korum followed Aquinas’ conception of miracle as, “an obvious fact or effect, which is produced and established by God, and is brought forth in the order of nature.”⁵⁴ Korum further explained to the faithful that there are three necessary arguments to establish a divine act: (1) that miracles are possible, (2) that there are ways of recognizing such deeds established in tradition and Scripture, (3) that divine assistance leaves behind tangible evidence or testimony. To the first condition, Korum explained that miracles can be classified into two tiers. First, acts that are impossible in nature, such as an individual being raised from the dead. Second, events that nature could produce, but not in the specific way it was

⁵¹ Plater, *The Holy Coat*, 101. Italics mine.

⁵² The papers from this commission are at: BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 219 o.D. Nachweise derjenigen wunderbaren Heilungen, worüber das Komitee der Ehrenwache Verhandlungen aufgenommen hat (fol. 1-34)

⁵³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 219 o.D., 4.

⁵⁴ Korum, *Wunder*, 8.

brought about, for example, a sick person who is suddenly healed from a disease that time and modern medicine could have cured.⁵⁵ Thus, the miraculous lies in the rapidity and abruptness of the physical transformation. Korum sought only to approve cures that he viewed as beyond contradiction. His drive to verify miracles meant that the Trier bishop prevented clerics from prematurely reporting cures. Korum set out guidelines that defined what sort of information he wanted. Local clergy, under Korum's strictures, could not make a case for cured pilgrims simply by sending in large numbers of corroborative statements, now they were required to secure the word of physicians, who were overwhelmingly male.

The Bishop adopted his reserved attitude after Ronge, German unification, and the *Kulturkampf*. Bismarck challenged the role of the Church in German society throughout the 1870s and 1880s and Korum did not want to do anything to make the Church vulnerable to criticism.⁵⁶ Korum, therefore, delayed reports of miracles until after the 1891 pilgrimage had concluded and scientists and doctors agreed that an extraordinary event had occurred. German Catholics had survived a wave of repression and public ridicule when the Church promulgated Papal Infallibility in 1870. Papal Infallibility laid the foundation for the *Kulturkampf*, Korum did not want a Trier miracle to further inflame Liberal prejudice.⁵⁷ Following the pronouncement Paul Hinschius, a National-Liberal deputy, proclaimed it a death sentence against the German state.⁵⁸ Liberal opposition to the doctrine centered on the claim that such a Catholic conviction was a threat to German loyalty. In 1871, the Reichstag passed the Pulpit Law which prevented

⁵⁵ Korum, *Wunder*, 8.

⁵⁶ For a breakdown of the German liberal thrust against Catholicism see: Michael B. Gross, "Kulturkampf and Unification: German Liberalism and the War against the Jesuits." *Central European History* 30(4) (1997): 545-566. Gross characterizes the attack as "the campaign [against the Church] was launched in the name of the modern state, science, *Bildung*, and freedom," 546.

⁵⁷ Martin Kitchen, *A History of Modern Germany 1800-2000* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 140-141. On the visual material printed against the Church see: Gross, *War Against Catholicism*, especially, 128-184.

⁵⁸ Gross, "Kulturkampf," 546.

priests from discussing political affairs. Following a wave of laws designed to restrict Catholicism, priests responded by urging German Catholics to politically organize.⁵⁹ Korum himself took over the Trier bishopric in 1881 after it was empty for five years due to tensions between Berlin and Rome over the right to appoint bishops.⁶⁰

As he lay out the grounds for a miraculous cure, Korum established a wall of demonstrability in order to show that the Catholic Church only approved true divine interventions. Korum, a strong proponent of the two point argument, similarly contended that there were two steps in the process of recognizing a miracle: first, acknowledging the fact that something supernatural has transpired; and, second, accepting the inexplicable nature of the process.⁶¹ To illustrate his point, Korum noted that several of the 1891 Trier miracles were obvious and satisfied both of the above conditions. Thus, a dropsical shepherd from Herschwiesen, whose body had become so visibly distended that he could no longer button his clothes and one hour after touching the Coat was cleared of all symptoms, qualified as an instantly identifiable divine marvel. Miracles, for Korum, left no room for refutation, such as a wound that physicians diagnosed as requiring a certain amount of time to heal, but cleared up well ahead of this schedule after a pilgrimage.⁶² Korum also favored cases like Helena Daniel, who was cured of blindness. There was nothing doctors could have done to help Daniel and no medicine was used on her eyes before she came to Trier, therefore, Korum maintained, God had restored her sight.⁶³

⁵⁹ For a discussion of the laws passed against Catholics, see Manuel Borutta, "Enemies at the Gate: The Moabit Klostersturm and the Kulturkampf: Germany," *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (eds.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 227-254, esp. 249-250.

⁶⁰ Jakob Treitz, *Michael Felix Korum: Bischof von Trier 1840-1924* (München: Theatiner Verlag, 1925), 35-83.

⁶¹ Korum, *Wunder*, 11.

⁶² Korum, *Wunder*, 13.

⁶³ Korum, *Wunder*, 14.

For Korum, miracles left behind a traceable trail of evidence for the faithful to follow. God pointed to the possibility of miracle in the Scriptures, which lay out the evidence for miracles from Moses to Jesus to the Apostles of the early church in Acts. The Scriptures also answered questions that remained pertinent in the late nineteenth century: why is not everyone who believes healed? Here Korum noted that Jesus did not heal every ill individual at the pools in Bethesda.⁶⁴ Korum similarly relied on Acts to show that it was possible for miracles to occur after Jesus ascended to Heaven. Beyond the Scriptures, Catholics could rely on Church tradition regarding the miraculous. St. Gregor the Great explained that miracles are less and less frequent because the church was no longer in its infancy and required fewer proofs to win converts.⁶⁵ Furthermore, St. Thomas argued that miracles happened from time to time to remind us of God's power in the natural world.

In the modern period, Korum explained, Catholics faced new challenges and acquired new means of verifying divine presence and unnatural divine acts. The tools for establishing a miracle in the nineteenth century were, once more, two-fold. First, physicians could now verify cures by examining patients before and after visiting Trier. Korum thanked German physicians for their cooperation in both refuting and confirming healing, the latter at great risk to their practice, especially if their names wound up in Catholic newspapers.⁶⁶ The second implement was negative – ruling out other possible sources for physical transformation. Here the *physical* was truly central because Korum disavowed mental or emotional “miracles” – they could not be satisfactorily verified and made up a separate, lower category in his schema. By eliminating, or at least demoting unobservable changes, Korum deliberately struck at several nineteenth-century

⁶⁴ John 5 (<https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=John+5&version=NIV>) (Accessed 23 April 2015).

⁶⁵ Korum, *Wunder*, 17.

⁶⁶ Korum, *Wunder*, 20.

theories of the body. Miracles could not be brought on by auto-suggestion, hypnosis, energy of the will, trance, magnetism, clairvoyance, or hallucination.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Korum declared, “our cases have absolutely no resemblance to experiments.”⁶⁸ The bishop was willing to concede that the above methods might have some positive influence on mental strain or hysteria, but hypnosis could not make a blind child see, clear lupus, or heal dropsy.⁶⁹ Korum only accepted organic transformations, claims that none could gainsay. By the time of Korum’s pamphlet, church officials engaged with the scientific and pseudo-scientific processes around them and offered the divine as a supplement to German Catholics. God could rupture the natural order at will and leave behind traces of divine work to strengthen the faithful.

In his 1894 work, Korum laid out the review process each cure-claimant underwent. The Bishop waited until the pilgrimage had ended, on 3 October 1891, before he sent out the first requests for information about potential cases of cure, on 24 November. In this initial inquiry to deacons, Korum asked whether or not they knew of anyone who had been healed, and not just individuals who had touched the Coat but “also those cured as a result of venerating the relic (pilgrimage to Trier, devotions etc.) or by those cured from an object that had been touched to the Coat.”⁷⁰ The bishop instructed clergy to gather pertinent information on anyone they thought healed, including:

⁶⁷ Korum, *Wunder*, 14.

⁶⁸ Korum, *Wunder*, 14, “absolute keine Aehnlichkeit mit gewissen Experimenten.”

⁶⁹ On the occult and its relationship to German modernity see, Corinna Treitel, *A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Genesis of the German Modern*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). Treitel argues that the occult was part of a general German anxiety about modernity that was also characterized by Cultural Protestantism, Theosophy and völkisch groups. I would argue this attempt to verify miracles is different because it is rooted in Catholic insecurity following the Ronge scandals of the mid-nineteenth century and the *Kulturkampf*. Korum wanted to save face and show Germany that there was a thorough review process. Furthermore, unlike the occult, this was not an “alternative form of knowledge,” but prioritized conventional science to show the possibility of the divine breaking into the temporal world.

⁷⁰ At the outset of his pamphlet Korum includes his requests to the deacons, see here Korum, *Wunder*, 21. “sondern auch um jene Heilungen, die durch bloße Verehrung des hl. Rockes (Wallfahrt nach Trier, Andachtsübungen etc.) oder durch Gebrauch eines an die hl. Reliquie angerührten Gegenstandes erfolgt sind.”

1. Name, age, day they visited the Coat
2. Whether or not they had been treated by a physician
3. Whether the cure was gradual or sudden
4. If any natural remedies were used just before visiting the Coat that would have influenced healing.
5. Whether they thought the cure-seeker deserved full faith, Korum hoped the cured could write out a statement chronicling the history of their experience.
6. Whether or not reliable witnesses could be found, individuals that would be willing to give an oath; especially in cases where the cure-seeker has no medical testimony OR was healed indirectly by an object, without directly touching the relic.
7. Korum also wanted a medical testimony where possible. As doctors often refused to say a miracle happened, Korum did not require that, but did want the doctor to state clearly that the individual under investigation was now in good health.⁷¹

All of this data was to be collated and sent back to Trier by the end of January 1892 for review.

As the bishop prepared his pamphlet for publication he once again sought the assistance of clergy in March 1893. In the new questionnaire, Korum was primarily concerned with the duration of the healing, whether or not the cure-seeker's condition had reversed:

1. Has the person remained healthy since visiting Trier? "the illness/evil (Uebel) has not been reinstated?"⁷²
2. If there was a successful healing from the Holy Coat is there a medical explanation or means for the recovery? If so, what?⁷³
3. Please send, where possible, a medical testimony regarding the pilgrim.
4. Ask the cured themselves and their families about the procedure and process of their recovery and send a simple, truthful report back, perhaps written by hand.⁷⁴

Before the 1894 publication of cures during his pilgrimage, Korum instituted a two-step process of checking on cure-seekers. In the two lists of requested data it is clear that Korum has an ambiguous opinion of medical practices and physicians. He affirmed their authority by asking for medical testimonies and yet also wanted to be sure that it was the divine and not a doctor who intervened to bring on a physical change. Korum kept himself at a distance, using intermediaries

⁷¹ Korum, *Wunder*, 21-23.

⁷² Korum, *Wunder*, 23, "hat sich das frühere Uebel nicht wieder eingestellt?"

⁷³ Korum, *Wunder*, 23, "Ist nach der durch Verehrung des hl. Rockes erfolgten Heilung noch ein ärztliches Mittel für die Genesung von den betreffenden Leiden angewandt worden und event. welches?"

⁷⁴ Korum, *Wunder*, 24, "Man bittet die Geheilten selbst oder deren Angehörigen, über den Vorgang und Verlauf der Genesung einen einfachen, wahrheitsgetreuen Bericht, womöglich eigenhändig geschrieben, einzusenden."

to gather data on his behalf. He looked to deacons and clergy to interview cure claimants and to relay the information in a coherent and timely manner. Korum brought together a panel of physicians, clerics, and scientists to evaluate the thirty-eight miracles before he confirmed them as divine.⁷⁵ The miraculous healings included “nervous and hysterical affections, chorea or St. Vitus’s dance, and a few cases of certain milder forms of lupus and tabes.”⁷⁶

Because of his plan to delay public declaration of cure, Bishop Korum was ambiguous about miracles in his final homily of the 1891 Exposition. He challenged science, but only to the extent that it could replace Catholicism or master the natural world, “Facts such as these [that bodily miracles had been wrought], which science is powerless to explain, and which compel us to acknowledge that there exists a world beyond this material, visible, and finite world.”⁷⁷ When the Bishop mentioned miracles, he emphasized spiritual renewal and downplayed bodily cures. For example, he stated, “though many who were sick did not recover bodily-health, yet they received a great consolation of soul.”⁷⁸ Although many came for physical cures, Korum instructed that the greater cure was spiritual. Similarly, the Bishop discussed a specific case in which a young man received a bodily cure. Korum again stressed that the spirit was more important than the body: “when he knelt before the Holy Coat, he experienced such joy and consolation that he could not say whether his sufferings were not more precious to him than his health could have been, had he regained it.”⁷⁹ The faithful were directed to understand their physical ailments as gifts from God. God only gave corporeal challenges if the laity could withstand them. Korum emphasized the possibility of a unique cosmic encounter in Trier, not

⁷⁵ E.P. Evans, “Recent Recrudescence of Superstition,” *Popular Science* (October, 1895): 761-775, 765. See last chapter for a discussion of the constant presence of male cure-seekers between 1892-1937.

⁷⁶ Evans, “Recent Recrudescence,” 763.

⁷⁷ Bishop Korum’s final address, as quoted in Clarke, *A Pilgrimage*, 137.

⁷⁸ Clarke, *A Pilgrimage*, 137.

⁷⁹ Clarke, *A Pilgrimage*, 137.

cure-seekers' healing. The true miracles occurred when pilgrims were internally renewed, not externally restored.

In 1891 Trier authorities were strict about who could and could not touch the Holy Coat. Physical encounters with the Coat were only possible with the guidance of the bishop and out of the view of most pilgrims. As in 1846 Aachen, in order to be allowed access to the Coat a cure-seeker had to present a note from a physician and a letter from their priest.⁸⁰ The Bishop of Trier reviewed these notes; he then assigned an evening for the sick individual to visit the relic. After the Cathedral was closed to pilgrims, also like Aachen, the sick were allowed into the church. Korum assisted them in touching the relic and prayed with them individually.

Despite Korum's best efforts to present the miracle claimants as confirmed, reviewed, and reasonable he still faced detractors both at home and abroad. E.P. Evans, in 1895, in *Popular Science*, attacked Korum for arguing that the miracles were scientifically sound. Evans contended,

“Dr. Korum seeks to give his brochure a quasi-scientific character by a so-called ‘documentary representation’ of the miracles wrought by the ‘holy coat,’ consisting of certificates issued by obscure curates and country doctors and indorsed by an Episcopal commission of theologians and physicians, who have very discreetly forgotten to sign their names to their reports and thus relieved themselves of personal responsibility for their opinions.”⁸¹

Korum was further criticized by Friedrich Jaskowski, a cleric in the Trier diocese, who in 1894 published his own pamphlet that argued the Trier Coat had not been considered miraculous until 1844 when Bishop Arnoldi emphasized the ability of the Coat to work bodily cures. Any cures from the Coat, argued Jaskowski, were the product of hetero- or auto-suggestion. As evidence he

⁸⁰ Clarke, *A Pilgrimage*, 99.

⁸¹ Evans, “Recent Recrudescence,” 763. See: Friedrich Jaskowski, *Der heilige Rock von Trier, gerichtet von seinen eigenen Freunden: nebst einem Anhang: Verzeichniss der unzähligen Reliquien der Stadt Trier*. Trier: Klingebell, 1891).

cited passages where Jesus said the faith of his followers cured them. These New Testament passages suggested that Jesus did not physically cure, but individuals healed themselves through their individual faith. The Korum/Jaskowski confrontation reveals two opposed understandings of the role of the Trier relic in German Catholic religiosity. For Korum, it could be empirically demonstrated that the Coat operated above the laws of nature for certain devout individuals. For Jaskowski, the Coat was symbolic, and any cures that came from a pilgrimage to Trier were the result of suggestion and an individual's will to be better.⁸² Within the Rhenish Catholic realm there was a reversal of arguments. In the early-nineteenth century defenders of miracle used Biblical proofs, but in the late-nineteenth century, the clerical opponents of miracle used the Bible to undermine empirical evidence of bodily transformation before the Coat. Korum established a system for confirming divine approval, by 1894 when he published his account of official healings, the Bishop had elevated physicians to the level of clergy in confirming miracle. Pilgrims required notes from both their parish priest and their local physician. This second authority, and the complicated relationship between worldly healers and spiritual leaders, is the topic of the following section.

The Rise of the Healing Bureaucracy

Physicians played an ambiguous role in confirming miracle claims but were not necessarily enemies of the pilgrimage experience. Unlike Marpingen pilgrims, Trier and Aachen pilgrims needed to consult a doctor before they were given access to sacred items. Naturally,

⁸² On the role of neuropathologists and auto-suggestion in the post-pilgrimage miracle debates see Evans, "Recent Rescuescence," 765-766. Auto-suggestion has played a role in the historiography of religiosity since the early twentieth century. Marc Bloch, for instance, concludes his study of scrofula and the Royal Touch with an auto-suggestion argument, "What created faith in the miracle was the idea that there was bound to be a miracle." See Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Authority and Scrofula in England and France*, J.E. Anderson (trans.) (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 243. In Ireland, Donnelly notes that the clergy were aware of auto-suggestion and it made them uncertain what to think of miracle claims at Knock. See Donnelly, "The Marian Shrine," 89.

there was a wide range of medical responses to the extra-iatrical possibility of Catholic relics. As previously discussed, one potential response was embarrassment or shame, as in the case of Schwester Ursula's doctor who refused Korum permission to publish his name. However, Dr. Thomé, a house physician, wanted to touch the Coat in 1891 for his own benefit.⁸³ In the case of Trier and Aachen it is too simplistic to state that pilgrims went looking for miracle because they were impoverished and could not afford medical care or because there was a shortage of doctors after German unification.⁸⁴ The excuse (from clerics) that a doctor was too inconvenient or far away became untenable once Pilgrimage Committees began requiring physician's statements in 1846.⁸⁵ Once mobilized to help clarify cures, Rhenish physicians developed a position similar to their French counterparts: somewhere between being sympathetic toward the possibility of miracles and asserting "the coldness of scientific rationalism."⁸⁶

Doctors did not think visiting the relics would do any harm, assuming the patient was fit for extended travel.⁸⁷ Indeed, some Rhineland physicians were adamant supporters of pilgrimage. Dr. Maria Pütz, in 1937, not only recommended patients visit the Aachen relics, but used her position as a physician to secure five tickets to the cathedral treasury for herself.⁸⁸ Furthermore, for Pütz, Aachen offered a chance for relief from both physical and spiritual ailments. Thus, she issued Frau Wwe. Josef Capellmann a note. Capellmann suffered from

⁸³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 249, 88.

⁸⁴ See Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 155-57.

⁸⁵ Again see Blackbourn, *Marpingen*, 157, "The perceived arrogance of doctors was undoubtedly one reason, together with non-availability and cost, why the sort of people who put their trust in Marpingen were often reluctant to consult a medical man."

⁸⁶ Harris, *Lourdes*, 329.

⁸⁷ In both the early modern and modern period healers referred patients to shrines for nonmedical problems. One-fifth of early modern cure-seekers to Cubas, Spain, sought relief from nonmedical issues. There is also a long tradition of pilgrimage to heal a range of ailments William Christian has classified as "circulatory problems" beyond the ability of contemporary healers. William Christian refers to a woman in the 1560s who suffered a heart attack in Serranillos, "the barber in the adjacent village advised her to turn to the shrine, since it was a heart problem." Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval*, 82-83.

⁸⁸ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.19 Krankenkarten D-G, "Düsseldorf, den 11.7.37."

hardened arteries and dizziness.⁸⁹ Pütz also recommended 35-year-old Frl. Clara Müller as a candidate for time with Jesus' loincloth, stating that Müller, "is indeed bodily, that is, organically healthy, but has a difficult spiritual suffering."⁹⁰ Pütz thus continued a five-hundred-year-old tradition of local healers sending patients to shrines and relics for spiritual renewal or when disease was beyond their ability to heal.

Before Pütz's endorsement, clerics' tempers occasionally ran hot when it came to verifying miracles. On 21 December 1844, Pastor Breitz wrote to the doctor in Halsenbach to assure him that Philip Bersch's wounded head had been healed. Breitz complained that if one waited long enough the doctor could discount any cure because people eventually got sick again. Breitz concluded his note by suggesting "We should often read 2. Thessal[onians]."⁹¹ This was an implied threat because in this letter to the Thessalonians Paul promises judgment to those who harass the faithful,

"God is just: He will pay back trouble to those who trouble you and give relief to you who are troubled, and to us as well. This will happen when the Lord Jesus is revealed from heaven in blazing fire with his powerful angels. He will punish those who do not know God and do not obey the gospel of our Lord Jesus."⁹²

However, not all pastors shared Breitz's fervor to proclaim their parishioners cured. Pastor Adams from Reifferscheid delayed responding to inquiries from Trier about the cure of Joh. Michael Dreser's eight-year-old son until February 1845. In his report Adams could only report inconclusive results: the child was born weak, but had been getting steadily stronger. After visiting Trier Dreser no longer needed crutches to get around, but his legs were still crooked.⁹³

⁸⁹ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.19 Krankenkarten D-G, "Düsseldorf, den 8.7.1937."

⁹⁰ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.19 Krankenkarten D-G, "Düsseldorf, den 11.7. 1937." "35 J. alt, ist zwar Körperlich, d.h. organisch gesund, hat aber ein schweres seelisches Leiden, weswegen ich herzlich bitte, sie zur Krankensegnung anlässlich der Aachener Heiligtumswallfahrt".

⁹¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 228, 56.

⁹² Bible Gateway, NIV, II. Thesallonians 1:6-8. NIV, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=2%20Thessalonians%201&version=NIV> (Accessed 18 April 2013).

⁹³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 228, "Geht übrigens ziemlich gut, ob schon seine Beine noch ebenso krumm sind, wie früher."

Adams' caution was likely related to his low opinion of the boy's father, to whom he referred as a "tyrant." Even so, Adams was not convinced by the fact that the child could now walk without assistance because this was unaccompanied by an observable change in his legs.

Such confusion about cure-seeker bodies inspired Committees, with each successive pilgrimage to Trier and Aachen, to limit access to the relic to those who could document their ailments. Clerics sought to merge two types of evidence, clinical and spiritual, to ensure that their parishioners were *actually* healed. To do so, Rhineland clergy required assistance from physicians, who lent legitimacy to claims of physical transformation. If doctors verified that one of their patients experienced an inexplicable physical or mental transformation then miracles and cure-seekers moved beyond reproach; critics would be silenced in the face of third-party evidence. At the same time, doctors were threatening because they could debunk, challenge, and undermine priestly claims of the divine breaking into the world. This ambiguity was further compounded by the fact that clerics wanted to show physicians had failed; there was not a miracle if a doctor could cure or relieve pilgrim suffering. In 1895, Joh. Caster wrote after his cure, "since then I have been completely healthy and no longer required any doctor."⁹⁴ In essence, Aachen and Trier clergy sought statements from medical men that both demonstrated their learning via precise diagnoses, and their limitations, showing that the illness was either beyond their ability or that the patient had recovered faster than modern medicine could have caused. German clerics created their own version of science that simultaneously allowed for "enchantment" and demonstrability.⁹⁵ Catholics were willing to partner with contemporary medicine and science in certain situations, such as miracle verification, but this was to the

⁹⁴ DAA, PA 61, Prüm, den 12 Juli 1895, "Seitdem bin ich vollständig gesund und bedurfte keines Arztes".

⁹⁵ On disenchantment, Max Weber, trans. Peter Baehr and Gordon C. Wells, *The Protestant Ethic and the "Spirit" of Capitalism and Other Writings* (New York, New York: Penguin Books, 2002).

advantage of the divine, from a Catholic perspective, ruling out false claims in order to illuminate further the instances when God chose to act through a relic.

Doctors and physicians were central to creating this clerical miracle system throughout the nineteenth century. Doctor Clemens wrote in to the bishop of Trier in 1844 on behalf of Herr Michels, his patient. Clemens stated that Michels had been sick with conditions “only God could heal” for sixteen years but was miraculously relieved after his September visit to Trier. Clemens added that “the man, whom I understood to be incurable, stands before me healthy.”⁹⁶ However, doctors had the power to undermine divine credibility.

For some physicians, the excitement of the pilgrimage occasion led to physical improvements. For example, Dr. Suker in Gürzenich noted that his patient was often in pain, but that visiting Aachen only cured her of hysteria, which he did not consider an actual disease.⁹⁷ Similarly, when the *Neue Augsburger Zeitung* interviewed Frl. Hepting’s physician he was surprised that Hepting was able to move around, but doubted there was a full cure because she could not do everything she could prior to her illness.⁹⁸ Hepting’s doctor stated that she could have been “emotionally aroused” by the pilgrimage setting. Such an experience could have led Hepting to temporary relief. Furthermore, he wrote, it was not his job to declare or determine miracles. Dr. Suker noted the placebo potential of a relic in his report on Joseph Kripperath’s wife’s medical condition after her 1925 Aachen pilgrimage, stating, “on the clinical change of her infected, swollen knee there was no objective change in the swelling or the form of the bones. In contrast, the psychological behavior of Mrs. K underwent a change, which we

⁹⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 2.

⁹⁷ DAA, PA 66, Gürzenich, den 29 August 1925.

⁹⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 129, 110. “Wir haben auch den Arzt besucht, der Frl. Hepting bisher behandelt hat. Nach seiner Ansicht kam die Patientin in wesentlich gebessertem Zustand von Trier zurück. Eine vollständige Heilung dürfte jedoch seiner Meinung nach nicht vorliegen, da die Patientin zurzeit noch nicht fähig ist, ihrem früheren Berufe vollkommen nachzukommen.” Hepting also suffered from heart troubles and joint rheumatism.

summarize under the term ‘hysteria.’” Suker went on to explain that the entire problem with Kripperath’s knee had been auto-induced, so the emotional encounter with the relic was a “quite natural” explanation for her quick recovery.⁹⁹

Physicians often took the time in their medical appraisals of patients about to embark on, or recently returned from, pilgrimage to offer their opinions on the aesclepiian potential of relics. In 1844, Dr. Clemens, in his report on the recovery of Johann Michels from Speicher conceded, “I had visited Herr Michels at his sick bed in early April of this year and left him with an odd consolation, I told him ‘there are sicknesses that only God can heal.’”¹⁰⁰ Clemens gave up on Speicher, noting that his consolation came from years of experience, and he saw in Speicher a man beyond the intervention of human hands.¹⁰¹ The report wraps up cleanly with Speicher revisiting the doctor after going to Trier, physically restored and fit. Other physicians left special notes to show their doubts. Dr. Jung, in his follow-up evaluation of Schwester M. Ethelvides from Neunkirchen-Saar in 1936, initially only reported Ethelvides’ leg measurements as she was cured of hip joint tuberculosis. However, at the end of his report he added,

“Comment. The sister was suffering from May 1930 to May 1931, bedridden from hip joint tuberculosis. She was then prescribed a leg prosthesis to correct the hip joint. This prosthesis fell away on 20. August 1933. As the hip was organically improved according to the rules of general healing through the prosthesis, which had the sole purpose of fixation [healing the leg], fell away at a given time, [and] did not suddenly require a special moment.”¹⁰²

⁹⁹ DAA, PA 66, Gottesdienst. Heiligtumsfahrt 1925, “Gürzenich, den 29 August 1925.”

¹⁰⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 2, “den ich Anfangs April dieses Jahres an seinem kranken Bette zuletzt besuchte, der etwas sonderbaren Trost hinterließ, indem ich ihm sagte: Es gäbe kränkliche Zustände, die nur Gott allein heilen könne: er der Kranke möge sich diesem nur völlig überlassen.”

¹⁰¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 229, 2, “Diese Tröstung mag und wohl etwas sonderbar scheinen; allein sie war das Ergebnis eine langjährigen Erfahrung in dem Seelenamte bei den Kranken, und war somit der Ausdruck einer züversichtlichen unterstellung, daß hier menschliche Hülfe nicht mehr fruchten könne.”

¹⁰² BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 131, 83-84, “Bemerkung: Die Schwester war von Mai 1930 bis Mai 1931 bettlägerig an Hüftgelenktuberkulose erkrankt. Es wurde ihr dann eine Prothese verordnet, wodurch das Bein im Hüftgelenk fixiert werden sollte. Diese Prothese liess die Schwester nach dem 20. August 1933 weg. Da organisch das Hüftgelenk nach den Regeln der allgemeinen Besserung zur Heilung kam, konnte die Prothese, die nur den Zweck der Fixation hatte, zu einer gegebenen Zeit wegfallen, ohne dass dabei ein besonderer plötzlicher Moment erforderlich war.”

Again, doctors' opinions of cure possibility varied, with some physicians interested in asserting a miracle while others went out of their way to offer logical explanations.

Catholic clergy regarded Protestant doctors' testimony as especially powerful. Bishop Vischering wrote Bishop Arnoldi from Kreuznach in 1844 to let him know that Sanitätsrath Prieger looked over his granddaughter, Countess Droste zu Vischering and found her healthy. This was especially good news as evidence "by a Protestant doctor cannot be regarded as entirely typical for healing from the Holy Coat."¹⁰³ Confessional division on relic healing potential continued to influence doctors into the 1930s. In 1937, Aachen officials reached out to The German Association of Statutory Health Insurance Physicians (*Kassenärztliche Vereinigung Deutschlands*) Office Leader, Dr. Baumann, for help finding enough physicians to work the First Aid office. Baumann wished the Aachen pilgrimage good luck in finding physicians to be on call during the event. For Dr. Baumann, it was impractical to ask physicians, especially Protestant physicians in The German Association of Statutory Health Insurance Physicians to attend "the pilgrimage, which is a purely Catholic religious affair." The Office Leader was certain that if the Pilgrimage Committee put out their call to Catholic doctors in the region there would be adequate medical care for "your pilgrims."¹⁰⁴ Such deflections did little to deter Catholic engagement with medicine. Despite Baumann's rebuff there is no mention in the 1937 correspondence of a physician shortfall. Some Catholic doctors explained the real need for a divine act. The Köln-Lindenthal physician who recommended Frau Wilhelmine Mohlberg did so in part because "The doctor who writes this testimony, Herr Doctor Sebastiany is a devout

¹⁰³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 232, 54, "indem ein Evangelischer Arzt nicht als gartypisch für die Heilung beim Heil Rocke kann angesehen werden."

¹⁰⁴ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.7, J. No. 15650, "der Heiligtumsfahrt, welche eine rein katholisch konfessionelle Angelegenheit darstellt", "hinreichende ärztliche Betreuung Ihrer Pilger sicherzustellen"

Catholic.” For good measure Dr. Sebastiany added, “I personally know Frau Mohlberg ... as a devout Catholic woman.”¹⁰⁵

At the local level, clerics and physicians cooperated to keep cure-seekers safe.¹⁰⁶ Eventually physicians became part of Rhineland events, no longer participating solely as cure-seeker assessors. At the 1925 Aachen pilgrimage, the Committee established a Volunteer Ambulance Column (*Freiwillige Sanitäts-Kolonne*) to assist with the care and transport of sick pilgrims. This group worked with the First Aid stations (*Sanitätswache*) erected for the duration of the event. The *Sanitätswache* had several diverse objectives in July 1925: they coordinated stretcher bearers, established patrols of their office and into the streets every 15 minutes, ensured that members had balms and sufficient bandages, and, importantly, deferred to doctors. The volunteers were told: “The orders of doctors are to be executed.”¹⁰⁷ The true rift was not between doctors and priests, but between church leadership and pilgrims over identifying a cure (see also Chapter Three, “Transcending the Body”).

As clergy made use of physicians to verify divine presence, their parishioners continued to stress that science and medicine had failed to restore their health. Otto Hanck of Münster expressed his desire for a *Krankenkarte* “because I have suffered for twenty years from indescribably severe nerve pain in the face...which, until now, no doctor has been able to eliminate or relieve.”¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Father Adolf Lennartz, immediately noted of his parishioner, Frau Adene Schnitzler, that “she has consulted 8 doctors [including] Sanitätsrat Dr. Lansenberg,

¹⁰⁵ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.20, 3. Juli 1937, “Der Arzt, welcher das Zeugnis ausgestellt hat, Herr Dr. Sebastiany, ist ein strenggläubiger Katholik. Frau Mohlberg ist mir persönlich als erhebend, fromme katholische Frau bekannt.”

¹⁰⁶ Blackburn sets up two opposing camps in *Marpingen*, 159, “Catholic poor, supported by priests and Catholic newspapers, against the state authorities, supported by doctors and the liberal press.”

¹⁰⁷ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.7, “Vorschriften für die Sanitätswache bei der Heiligtumsfahrt.”

¹⁰⁸ DAA, PA 79, Münster i.W. den 16. Juli 1925, “da ich seit 20 Jahren alljährlich an unbeschreiblich heftigen Nervenschmerzen “Neuralgie Arigen leiden, und zwar im Gesicht, davon Beseitigung oder Linderung bisher nach keinen Arzte gelungen ist.”

and the famous Stemmler in Cologne.”¹⁰⁹ Despite these consultations, Schnitzler continued to suffer from “a bad leg” for four years.¹¹⁰ Catholic pilgrims saw the limits of medical knowledge as the ideal place for God to show his power and to offer definitive proof that He had dominion over the natural world.

Unlike Trier, Aachen moved away from rigorous medical certification in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. House doctor, Kleinseidtz, for instance, found the process annoying, and wrote a blank statement for sisters of the Josephinischen Institut in 1881 because it was impractical to issue every nun an individual certificate, and “it would require days [of consultations] to satisfy those who want to touch [the relic].”¹¹¹ The pastor, Real H., of the Josephinischen Institut forwarded the Kleinseidtz note to Canon Spee, who, after consultation with colleagues, agreed that one note for all the sick of the Institute would be sufficient.¹¹² Kleinseidtz further asked that the Aachen officials let in the sick to touch the loincloth regardless of what they brought with them so that they did not travel for nothing.¹¹³ This complaining was not in vain. By the 1925 pilgrimage, sick to Aachen required only a note from their pastor for admission into the cathedral between 9:00-9:45am.¹¹⁴ Aachen requirements continued to cause confusion among German and foreign clergy, as well as sick pilgrims into the 1930s. With only about a month before the 1937 pilgrimage, Father Bieger, from Opladen-Lützenkirchen, wrote to

¹⁰⁹ DAA, PA 66, Esch. der 16 Sept. 1925, “8 Ärzte hat sie in Anspruch genommen und a. Sanitätsrat Dr. Lansenberg, den berühmten Hönörpaten Stemmler in Köln.”

¹¹⁰ DAA, PA 66, Esch. der 16 Sept. 1925, “ein schlimmes Bein.”

¹¹¹ DAA, PA 60, “Aachen 12 Juli 1881.” “und es ist unmöglich, für die Einzelnen ein ärztliches Attest auszustellen, es würden Tage dazu gehören, alle zu befriedigen, die die Berührung wünschen.”

¹¹² DAA, PA 60, “Aachen den 13. Juli 1881.”

¹¹³ DAA, PA 60, “Köln d. 13.7.1881.”

¹¹⁴ DAA, PA 66, “Heiligtumsfahrt im Münster zu Aachen vom 10. bis 26 Juli 1925.” “**Kranke** werden täglich vorm. 9 bis 9 ¾ Uhr im Münster mit den Heiligtümern berührt. Diese Kranken müssen im Besitze einer mit dem Pfarrsiegel versehenen kurzen Empfehlung ihrer Seelsorger sein und diese Empfehlung an der Wolfstüre vorzeigen, um Einlaß zu finden.”

the Aachen Pilgrimage Office, inquiring whether or not his ill parishioners must submit a physician's note before leaving.¹¹⁵

For the 1933 Trier pilgrimage, the sick had to bring an extensive questionnaire (*Fragebogen*), completed by a doctor. Physicians, through the *Fragebogen*, were required to give a diagnosis for their patient, speak to their medical history, the medical history of the patient's family, whether the physician considered the applicant to be hysterical or psychologically imbalanced, whether or not they thought the disease was imagined, whether or not the patient had visited a natural healer and, arguably most important, whether the disease originated from spiritual problems.¹¹⁶ These soul-sicknesses included "tendency to drunkenness," "chain smoking," and "drugs."¹¹⁷ Such asocial practices should not expect to find miraculous remedy before the Coat of Jesus.

Acquiring medical slips and doctors' services for the *Fragebogen* was not gratis, much to the consternation of Albert Lehnertz. Lehnertz complained that he heard from his brother and a trusted Protestant source that doctors filling out the *Fragebogen* were charging 10 RM, keeping 6 for themselves and sending 4 RM on to the Trier Pilgrimage Committee. Lehnertz knew the rumor to be false because his sister-in-law had already had her form filled out and it did not cost that much. However, Lehnertz urged the Pilgrimage Committee to issue a press release that made their financial policy on *Fragebogen* clear to the public so that the Protestants could not criticize. In their response, the Pilgrimage Committee stated that they had instituted a flat, low-price fee for the doctors affiliated with the parish hospital, but regretted that they had no power to force

¹¹⁵ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.21, Krankenkarten L-P, 6.6.1937 An das büro. "ob die Kranken, welche mit unseres Herrn Lententuch berührt werden, ein ärztliches Attest vorlegen müssen."

¹¹⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 130, 8-9, "Hat er (Kranken) sonstige seelische Alterationen?"

¹¹⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 130, 8-9, "Neigung zur Trunksucht, starken Rauchen, Rauschgiften."

other doctors to charge less than 10 RM, “that is their own affair.”¹¹⁸ Ten RM or not, at least 19,000 individuals applied for time with the Coat in 1933.¹¹⁹

When Rhineland pilgrims arrived in Trier and Aachen in the twentieth century they were generally aware that physicians could not help them. The specificity of medical analyses reveals that pilgrims first sought medical intervention by the post-World War I period. In Aachen, even without prompting from complex, detailed medical forms, doctors in the 1930s volunteered extensive, developed, and precise diagnoses of their patients. For example, Dr. Sasse, in a note for Christine Schwinges during the 1937 pilgrimage, wrote of Schwinges’s throat difficulties:

“Swallowing difficulties for 2 years. 10 kg weight loss. The thick soft mass [Kontrastbrei] hangs level with the upper thoracic aperture. Here is a great mass as ovalbumin accumulation, which is to the rear and to the right of the esophagus in the lateral rotation. The outline of the shading is entirely sharp, one can recognize even a few peristaltic waves. Then the soft mass slides freely down to the cardia. The remaining portion of the esophagus is narrow and does not show any changes. Fold reliefs and intact peristalsis. In sagittal path can be seen that the shading is to the left of the esophagus. ... The cardia is conically pointed, a sure failure is not visible here. X-ray of the chest is no evidence for coarser changes. Normal sized heart with sharp contours. The entire aortic arch is widened.”¹²⁰

Accompanying this trend, imprecise or vague notions of illness were edged out (pain, suffering, sickness, e.g.) as legitimate physical grievances. Now cure-seekers looking to Jesus’ loincloth or Coat suffered from specific, complex medical conditions and had run out of medicinal alternatives. This is not to diminish their desire, indeed, this subtle change points to a greater expectation at the liminal encounter with the relics.

Pilgrims found the Trier *Fragebogen* process cumbersome and worried about being denied access to the Holy Coat. A group of Silesian pilgrims, for example, brought not only their sick, but also the physicians who were to attest that the ill required time with the relic. This led to

¹¹⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 103-104, “dann ist das ihre eigene Sache.”

¹¹⁹ See footnote in “Transcending the Body” chapter, in the “1933 Trier” section.

¹²⁰ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.19 Krankenkarten D-G, “24. Mai 1937, Herrn Dr. Sasse.”

a shortage of housing and office space because the Pilgrimage Committee had to find rooms for the doctors to examine patients and to fill out the required medical form.¹²¹ Father Steinmetz, from Kirchberg expressed his frustration in 1933, “Twice I have already asked the Pilgrimage Committee to send me doctor’s *Fragebogen* forms. The forms have not yet arrived.”¹²²

Steinmetz explained that he only needed fifteen for his sick and suffering and that he wanted his blind parishioner, Jacob Kreb, to have access to the Coat on 8 October 1933 when they visited as a group. Three days later Domkapitular Fuchs fulfilled Steinmetz’s third request, persistence was sometimes necessary during the chaotic weeks of the pilgrimage.¹²³ Fuchs also confirmed appointments for five of Steinmetz’s parishioners prior to receiving their *Fragebogen*. In another instance of flexibility, Domkapitular Fuchs waived the form for the 200-300 deaf pilgrims who visited the Trier Coat at 4:30 AM on 26 July 1933 with the Reichsverband der Katholischen Taubstummen Deutschlands e.V.¹²⁴

Stonewalled and frustrated, Frau Wilh. Rosche complained to Trier officials about her inability to get a *Fragebogen* from her priest in Seibersbach, “I have already gone to see Paster Minter twice [for a *Fragebogen*], whether Herr Pastor has forgotten it or what I do not know.” Rosche planned to be in Trier in six days and needed assurance that her nine-year-old son, who was blind in his left eye and had poor vision in the right, would be allowed to touch the relic. The mother further noted that she had taken the boy to Lourdes two years prior to no avail, but she

¹²¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 100, 165, “Die schlesischen Pilger hatten ihre Kranken und [Ä]rzte mitgebracht, es konnten ihnen zur Untersuchung und zum Ausfüllen der Fragebogen keine Zimmer zur Verfügung gestellt werden. So drängten sie in die nicht für sie vorgesehenen und ohne hin schon vom Personal und Publikum angefüllten Büros der Wallfahrtsleitung ein.”

¹²² BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 121, 301-02, “Die Wallfahrtsleitung habe ich schon zweimal gebeten, ärztliche Fragebogen nach hier senden zu wollen. Die Bogen sind noch nicht gekommen.”

¹²³ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 121, 303.

¹²⁴ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, 114-115, “Ist für alle diese Taubstummen eine Berührung des hl. Rockes statthaft? (Ja) Sind auch für diese Taubstumme besondere Attest notwendig? (Nein)”

now “believed with all her hope” that they would find relief in Trier.¹²⁵ This letter, like the Irish Catholics seeking medals and *Andenken* in the 1930s, again suggests a shared international European Catholic culture that sought healing and divine presence from Catholic pilgrimage sites such as Lourdes and Trier.

The *Fragebogen* forms codified physicians as an intermediary between the Coat and the pilgrim. In the 1930s Church officials found doctors willing to give their time and energy to prevent non-sick pilgrims from touching the Coat and to ensure that *Fragebogen* were properly completed and accurate.¹²⁶ In 1933, the Pilgrimage Committee established the Health Care Ministry (*Krankendienst*) to assist with expected cure-seekers. Physicians were available throughout the event and helped to facilitate the encounter between relic and ill pilgrim. There were also doctors on hand in Trier for those who forgot their form or who failed to realize they needed a special form.¹²⁷ At the end of the pilgrimage these medical specialists were honored and marched in the closing procession ahead of the *Frauenordnungsdienst* (Women Steward Service). One *Frauenordnungsdienst* participant, Cäcilie, who called herself the “pilgrim mother,” recognized her former physician in the parade, Dr. H., who was pleased to see her healed of Basedow’s disease.

Pilgrim demand for healing remained high into the 1930s. Already on 24 August 1933, Fuchs sent out a memo that the Pilgrimage Committee should not send out any more *Fragebogen* because there would not be enough time for all the sick to see the relic before the pilgrimage closed on 10 September.¹²⁸ Two days later, Trier organizers asked newspapers to inform the

¹²⁵ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 106, “dann ich war schon zweimal selbst zum Herrn Pastor Minter und unser Junge schon zweimal selbst, ob Herr Pastor es vergessen hat oder was da ist ich weiß es nicht.” And “und jetzt glaube ich doch mit aller Hoffnung das unser lieber Heiland unserem Kinde helfen wird”

¹²⁶ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 199-70, 35-36.

¹²⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 260, 165. A group of Silesian Pilgrims brought their own physicians and needed space for them to set up their consultations.

¹²⁸ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 124, 24.8.33, von Fuchs, An Beuthen Reisebüro

public that they could issue no more *Fragebogen* due to demand. In a letter to Dr. P. Louis, the head of the St. Sebastian Confraternity, Fuchs apologized that the sick wives of *Schützen* members would not be able to touch the Coat. Even so, he sent Louis a *Fragebogen* so that he would not miss this opportunity, but he also warned that there would be no more sick time with the Coat after 5:00AM on 9 September.¹²⁹ In 1937 Aachen, clergy continued to campaign for access to Jesus' loincloth and offered further details to pilgrim's testimony where possible. The Mannheim-based priest at St. Peter's noted of his parishioner Frl. Margareta Lawo that she was at risk of losing her job due to her nerve troubles. He was concerned for her because she had no parents and losing her sole source of income would be incredibly difficult.¹³⁰ Belief and hope in miracle persisted into the twentieth century and remained an integral part of pilgrimage practices. Numerically the number of cure-seekers continued to expand between 1832 and 1937 as modern transportation and church organization made it possible for an increasing number of individuals to visit the relics.

Conclusion

The clerical and medical definitions of, and debates about miracle failed to grasp the opinions and hopes of cure-seekers, cured, and pilgrims themselves. Pilgrims had great expectations from their physical encounter with the relics. They journeyed in anticipation of a life-changing event. Even though she was not cured herself, E. Wurzer believed if all Germans had heard the message of Trier, many non-Catholics would be forced to rethink their religious

¹²⁹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 123, 62, "Damit Sie diesen Termin nicht verpassen, senden wir Ihnen gleichzeitig einige Fragebogen, bitten Sie aber, es unbedingt den Kranken als Pflicht aufzuerlegen, dass sie im Laufe des 8. September ankommen, damit sie entweder am 8. September abends oder am 9. September morgens gegen 5 Uhr angerührt werden."

¹³⁰ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.20, Mannheim, 22.7.1937, "die Besitzerin dieses Schreibens, ist laut ärztl. Zeugnis schon längere Zeit schwer Nerven leiden und in Gefahr ihren Beruf ob dieser Krankheit zu verlieren. Da sie keine Eltern mehr hat, wäre das sehr schwer."

opinions. The obvious evidence of healing, for Wurzer, left no choice to individuals but to draw close to the Catholic Church.¹³¹ While the priestly and aesculapian authorities debated Catholic bodies, pilgrims were oriented away from authorities and toward the divine. Pilgrims continued to have liminal and out-of-body experiences and their healing narratives remained largely unaltered into the 1930s.

Clerics enlisted the aid of physicians to help verify healing and to prevent ridicule. Clergy relied on medical corroboration as a new source of truth about God acting in the world. Physicians helped to reinforce clerical practices and provided evidence that God revealed Himself through the relics. Thus, when the Prioress of the San Francisco Carmelites requested, in 1909, confirmation that Countess Vischering had been healed of lameness in 1844, one of the important details she wanted the Trier bishop to verify was that “she [Vischering] presented herself to the bishop, Dr. Arnoldi, and the next day, for the first time, and afterwards at Kreuznach and Munster, was examined by some highly celebrated medical men, such as Dr. Hansen at Treves [Trier], Dr. Prieger at Kreuznach and Dr. Busch at Münster.”¹³² Importantly, physicians, though “highly celebrated,” remained secondary to the initial revelation to Bishop Arnoldi, but doctor’s somatic knowledge acted as a buffer with the secular world. The Prioress herself might have been satisfied with just Arnoldi’s word, but the physicians alleviated any potential doubt or uncertainty.

Priests in the Pilgrimage Committees alienated pilgrims with medical questionnaires and formal forms. Pilgrims worried about the cost of having a physician fill out the form and about the new procedures blocking their access to the physical presence of the relics.

¹³¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 654. “Mit Stolz auf unsern verehrten Bischof haben wir seine Rede in Trier gelesen, wenn sie doch allen deutschen bekannt würde! Mancher Nicht Katholik wurde sich wundern.”

¹³² BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 250, 6.

Even with their caution and hedging, Catholic clerics came under heavy criticism for miracle claims, the most ferocious criticism accused clergy of willfully duping the laity for economic gain. As stated previously in this chapter, clerics were under pressure in the 1840s to show their critics that pilgrimage was not superstition. Catholic clergy turned to medical knowledge, historical sources, archaeology, and fiber analyses to argue that Rhineland pilgrimage was a legitimate practice. Priests were disappointed that these new research techniques could not prove beyond doubt that their relics were authentic. In their writings and homilies after 1844, the clergy stressed the symbolism, not the efficacy or authenticity, of the Coat of Trier and the four Aachen relics for Rhineland pilgrims.

Chapter 6

Historical Authenticity as Presence

Introduction

In September 2012, Dr. Karen King, a Harvard Divinity Professor of History unveiled a small piece of papyrus at a conference in Rome. The papyrus included the words, “Jesus said, ‘my wife.’” For King, the small artifact could spark debate over clerical celibacy and the role of women in Christianity.¹ The discovery led to a documentary, which was to air on The Smithsonian Channel on 30 September. However, persistent doubts about the authenticity of the papyrus led to a delay of the documentary and to a round of scientific testing. After months of examination, scientists at the University of Arizona confirmed the papyrus as dating from eighth century Egypt in April 2014. Experts also studied the chemical composition of the ink and found it to be consistent with ancient Egyptian inks. Not all were convinced, though. Egyptologist Leo Depuydt at Brown University said of the papyrus that “it could be done in an afternoon by an undergraduate student,” and that the inscription was so fake as to be “ripe for a Monty Python sketch.”² *Harvard Theological Review* published both King’s article and a rebuttal by Depuydt.³ This discussion about celibacy, Jesus’ marital status, and women in the church was decided with carbon dating, the University of Arizona’s Mass Spectrometry Laboratory, historians, and micro-Raman spectroscopy.⁴ Although the Vatican newspaper dismissed the papyrus as a forgery in

¹ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-19796163> (Accessed 15 April 2014).;

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-19648862> (Accessed 15 April 2014).

² Quoted in Laurie Goodstein, “Papyrus Referring to Jesus’ Wife Is More Likely Ancient Than Fake, Scientists Say,” *New York Times* (10 April 2014), (http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/10/science/scrap-of-papyrus-referring-to-jesus-wife-is-likely-to-be-ancient-scientists-say.html?_r=0) (Accessed 15 April 2014).

³ *Harvard Theological Review* published a volume containing King’s article, papers on the tests conducted to determine authenticity, Depuydt’s criticisms, and a response to Depuydt by King. See *Harvard Theological Review* 107(2) (April 2014): 131-193.

⁴ There was a lot of press coverage on this event in April 2014, see <http://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2014/04/10/new-tests-show-evidence-forgery-gospel-jesus-wife/IusII8b4el86HgDTKipLhN/story.html> (Accessed 15 April 2014).; “‘Wife of Jesus’ reference in Coptic 4th Century script,” *BBC* (19 September 2012) (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-19645273>) (Accessed 15 April 2012).; Scott Neuman, “‘Gospel Of Jesus’s Wife’ Papyrus Not A Forgery, Harvard Says,” *NPR* (10 April 2014)

September 2012, the media surrounding the question of authenticity looked to university-trained experts. Authenticity was a question for professors, not for the Catholic Church.⁵

In Germany, the transition to scientifically-based analyses of relics began in the nineteenth century. Rhineland clergy struggled to determine the relationship of science and history to their relics.⁶ On 22 July 1891, C.J. Libertz, a priest from Olzheim, wrote to Trier officials to explain that the Holy Coat was authentic (*echt*), an actual garment worn by Jesus during his lifetime. In a sprawling treatise, Libertz combined analyses of Scripture, Greek texts, Thomas Aquinas, and recent works on the ancient world. He presented information on ancient Egyptian, Greek, Persian, and Hebrew garments. Libertz's arguments ranged widely. He traced biblical garments through the early Hebrew priesthood and into *The Book of Judges*, in order to show that Jesus' Coat marked him as a teacher and a member of the priesthood. He further explained that it made sense that Jesus would have worn his finest garments at his last dinner with his disciples. For Libertz, "The seamless Coat shows that he [Jesus] was not dressed as the poor; he died not as beggars, but as a priest and king."⁷ He maintained that the coloring and form

(<http://www.npr.org/blogs/thetwo-way/2014/04/10/301432378/gospel-of-jesus-wife-papyrus-not-a-forgery-harvard-says>) (Accessed 15 April 2014).

⁵ See Elisabetta Povoledo, "Vatican Says Papyrus Referring to Jesus' Wife Is Probably Fake," *New York Times* (28 September 2012).

⁶ In 2009, Ron Numbers edited a volume specifically written to tackle popular misconceptions about this relationship, for example, that Giordano Bruno was the first martyr to science, that the medieval church suppressed science, that Galileo was imprisoned and tortured for advocating the Copernican system, or that Darwin was complicit in Nazi biology. Ronald Numbers ed., *Galileo Goes to Jail: and Other Myths about Science and Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009). Even so, one often finds these very myths perpetuated in the press and in popular opinion. The relationship between Catholicism and science was recently revisited with the ascension of Francis I to the papacy. Francis, who was trained as a chemical technician, at the beginning of his papal term, urged the Church to help protect the environment. See Florence Davey-Attlee, "Vatican seeks to rebrand its relationship with science," http://edition.cnn.com/2013/04/11/world/pope-vatican-science/index.html?hpt=hp_c4 (Accessed 2 May 2013). Davey-Attlee states that Galileo was imprisoned, implies he was harshly interrogated, and states that Galileo was lucky to get away so easy, especially compared to Giordano Bruno, "Galileo's fate was very different from that of other scientists at the time of the Inquisition. Some were executed for threatening the church's teachings. Italian astronomer Giordano Bruno, an Italian philosopher who argued that the universe was infinite, was burned at the stake."

⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 78, "Der ungenähte Rock läßt erkennen, daß er nicht ärmlich gekleidet war; er starb nicht als Bettler, sondern als Priester und könig."

of the garment was consistent with tradition. Libertz did not, however, point to the 1844 miracles as evidence of the Coat's legitimacy. After 1844, clerics sought new non-transcendent explanations for relic origins to complement their established Scripture-based arguments.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Aachen and Trier church officials co-opted scientific experimentation to corroborate relic authenticity. They thereby broadened the base of acceptable truth and evidence regarding the historical origins of these cathedral treasures. This chapter considers clerical attitudes toward relics and further illuminates the divergent pilgrimage expectations of German Catholic clergy and laity. I here expand the argument already begun in "Clerical Crossroads," namely, that after 1844 Rhenish clergy began to pursue extra-Scriptural and, extra-miraculous justifications for pilgrimage. Clerics reacted to 1844 attacks on relics by beginning to scientifically scrutinize the Coat of Trier and the Aachen cathedral relics.⁸ Their goal was to show both the laity and detractors that it was reasonable to believe their items were linked to the earliest days of German Christianity, to Constantine and to Charlemagne.⁹ Most importantly, these examinations reveal a clerical desire to find accommodation with their harshest critics; a willingness to broaden their acceptable sources of knowledge to explain Catholicism's devotion to certain Rhenish relics. This clerical turn outward - toward laboratories, fiber analysis, and archaeology - points to one way clergy became uneasy with popular religious practices in the later nineteenth century.

Clergy wanted simultaneously to rally Catholics to the relics while appearing *bürgerlich*, or respectable.¹⁰ Since the early 1990s historians have expanded analyses of the intersection of

⁸ There were two main 1844 attacks: Johannes Ronge (in "Rending Religiosity") and Johann Gildemeister with Heinrich von Sybel (discussed below).

⁹ On Charlemagne as the quintessential memory of the Middle Ages in the Rhineland see Barbara Stambolis, "In den Steinbrücken "lokaler" Erinnerungskultur: Karl der Große also Inbegriff "denkwürdigen" Mittelalters in Paderborn," *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen* 7 (2003/2004): 1-30.

¹⁰ Eric Yonke recently called on historians to expand the Catholic milieu beyond the Bürgertum, see Eric Yonke, "The Problem of the Middle Class in German Catholic History: The Nineteenth-Century Rhineland Revisited," *The*

religion and *Bürgertum*.¹¹ Thomas Mergel, and Eric Yonke, both worked to place Catholics firmly in the *Bürgertum*. Mergel critiqued historians for reading their understanding of a Catholic milieu following the *Kulturkampf* further back into nineteenth-century *Bürgertum*.¹² Indeed, Mergel sees the *Kulturkampf* as crucial and argues that through state-sponsored persecutions Catholics were drawn slowly out of *Bürgertum*. For Mergel, Catholic associations, such as the *Katholikentage* clubs in the 1870s and 1880s “established a discourse which set the standards for what it meant to be a good Catholic,” and drew many non-practicing Catholics back to the Church. Catholic *Bürgertum* was eroded by external pressure from the *Kulturkampf* and internal demands from the Church to stand in solidarity with persecuted brethren. Mergel later asserted that class and confession were not interrelated in a study that focused on Catholic elites in Bonn and Cologne in the nineteenth century.¹³ More recently, Eric Yonke has pushed against Mergel and suggested that the Catholic middle-class was much larger than the *Bürgertum*.¹⁴ Researching in Aachen, Koblenz, and Düsseldorf, Yonke found a vibrant, Catholic civil society between the 1840s-70s. Catholics, not just members of the *Bürgertum*, formed clubs, organized orphanages, met informally to discuss the First Vatican Council, and Concordats. In these cities, Catholic organizations acted as mediators between state and church. The role of Catholics as intermediaries is especially significant because Yonke wanted historians to break out of a

Catholic Historical Review 88(2) (April 2002): 263-280. Yonke sees the middle class as being much broader than the *Bürgertum* within the Catholic milieu and including members of the *Mittelstand*, artisans, retailers, and the lower-middle class. (264)

¹¹ See *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German middle class from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century*, eds. David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans (New York: Routledge, 1991); Jürgen Kocha, “The European Pattern and the German Case,” in *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Jürgen Kocha and Allan Mitchell (Providence, Rhode Island: Berg, 1993).

¹² Thomas Mergel, “Ultramontanism, Liberalism, Moderation: Political Mentalities and Political Behavior of the German Catholic *Bürgertum* 1848-1914,” *Central European History* 29(2) (1996): 151-174.

¹³ Thomas Mergel, *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession: Katholisches Bürgertum im Rheinland 1794-1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).

¹⁴ Eric Yonke, “The Problem of the Middle Class,” 2002.

Bürgerium model and speak of Catholics as an aggregate, rather than limiting analysis to the propertied and educated Catholic elite.

Both Mergel and Yonke have helped to make the *Bürgerium* more confessionally inclusive, but they miss important distinctions about religious practice within the Catholic milieu.¹⁵ Bourgeois Catholics cultivated liberalism; and successfully influenced the church and state. For example, they brought the legal traditions of the Rhineland, especially concepts such as civil rights, into the wider German political sphere. As more Catholics began regularly practicing their faith and as clergy interacted with members of the Catholic *Bürgerium* priests sought to explicate the practice of relic veneration in new terms.

While Catholics came together in associations and in politics, they diverged in their understanding of divine presence.¹⁶ In the realm of religiosity, it is unhelpful to think of the entirety of German Catholicism as an aggregate, historians cannot sweep aside important distinctions between the sacrosapes of pilgrims and clergy. Clerics had different measurements for the genuineness of relics from their laity both before and after the *Kulturkampf*, though it was only following Johannes Ronge and *Kulturkampf* persecution that Rhineland church authorities seriously pursued scientific arguments. Yet, the *Kulturkampf* was not a turning point, but an intensifier of already existing trends within German Catholicism. For example, Aachen first began investigating Charlemagne's bones in 1861, but did not consult experts in Berlin until 1907, after the *Kulturkampf* had subsided.

¹⁵ Historians have also recently included Jews in the *Bürgerium*, see David Sorkin, "The Impact of Emancipation on German Jewry: A Reconsideration," in *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in nineteenth-century Europe*, eds. Jonathan Frankel and Steven J. Zipperstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

¹⁶ See O'Sullivan also on the Catholic milieu. This chapter responds to his call for approaches to German Catholicism that move away from structural approaches of the 1990s and adopt cultural and social history approaches to religiosity, Michael E. O'Sullivan, "From Catholic Milieu to Lived Religion: The Social and Cultural History of Modern German Catholicism," *History Compass* 7(3) (2009): 837-861.

Catholic clerics strove for two different, but parallel, goals when describing the authenticity of these five relics. First, priests wanted to demonstrate the reasonableness of their belief. Thus, if the Coat of Trier was from the first century, then venerating Jesus in the Coat was a legitimate practice. Second, by demonstrating that their relics were indeed ancient, Rhenish church leaders showed that Catholicism was modern, scientific; in other words, not arcane, outmoded, or superstitious as detractors suggested. German Catholic clergy sought to find an accommodation with science, to use secular research to further their own cause of showing the historical origins of Rhineland relics. Church leaders looked to *Wissenschaft* (science) to explain relics, their origins, their chemical makeup, and their *potential* authenticity. Accordingly, they conceived of “authentic,” or *echt/Echtheit* in German, as meaning the historical origins of the Coat in Trier and the four Aachen relics. Simply stated, clerics grappled with the question of whether or not these objects had come from antiquity. For clerics, authentic meant the historical possibility of legitimacy. By focusing on origins from the 1860s-90s, clerics departed from pilgrim notions of divine presence. Tests on relics were a Catholic form of historically contextualizing sacred objects. For pilgrims, divine presence came in the form of spiritual and, sometimes, physical restoration. They wanted an intangible experience, the impossible made possible, a divine breaking into the world.¹⁷ Clerics fomented and encouraged these experiences - they called on pilgrims to fast, to financially sacrifice for the trip; however, they simultaneously fixated on historical sources, Frankish historians, ancient manuscripts, cloth width, and texture.

In pursuing their increasingly secular arguments, Catholic clergy risked leaving the laity behind and alienating pilgrim expectations for their pilgrimage. Relics could heal bodies and physically connect pilgrims to God’s *presence*; it was less clear what archaeological artifacts that

¹⁷ See previous chapters in this dissertation, “The Sacred Economy,” and “Transcending the Body.”

contained fibers from the Near East had to do with the divine. Just as clerics turned outward to doctors to corroborate miracle, so they sought external validation of relic authenticity in the late-nineteenth century. Concern over relic origins was not a new phenomenon, but even though Church officials probed the authenticity of their relics in the medieval and in the early modern period, the nature of their inquiry shifted in the nineteenth century because they harnessed experimentation and archaeology. Much like the “turn outward” with regards to un-confessional, universal explanations, German clergy in the nineteenth century sought new sources of corroboration, they strove for explanations that everyone, Protestant, Catholic, agnostic, could accept. Their new research methods reveal how German clerics were in tune with broader European intellectual trends.

Authority: Sacred and Profane

In the nineteenth century European intellectuals looked to “science” as an alternative to religious explanations of humanity’s place in the natural world. J.W. Burrow notes that during this century science became unassailable; science was the goddess who would not betray her worshippers.¹⁸ By the 1850s, German academics described undemonstrated belief as a sin against reason.¹⁹ Hermann von Helmholtz (1821-1894) worked to represent human experience in mathematical terms and helped distinguish scientific disciplines, including physics, psychology, mathematics, biology, and physiology. Helmholtz sought to create a unified scientific system to describe the world.²⁰ German universities expanded science and medical

¹⁸ J.W. Burrow, *The Crisis of Reason: European Thought, 1848-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 55.

¹⁹ Burrow, *Crisis*, 56. On materialism in German thought in the nineteenth century see Richard G. Olson, *Science and Scientism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), esp. “The Rise of Materialisms and the Reshaping of Religion and Politics,” 122-163.

²⁰ See “Introduction” in David Cahan ed., *From Natural Philosophy to the Sciences: Writing the History of Nineteenth-Century Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003). On Hermann von Helmholtz, see David

faculties, and by the 1860s Germany overtook France and Britain as the leading European country for medical research.²¹ Some European thinkers declared science redemptive. For example, Comte strove, “not merely to eradicate Catholicism but to replace it with literally a new religion of science, progress and humanity, for religion human beings must have.”²² In 1898, Thomas Henry Huxley reflected on the rise of science since 1850 and proclaimed science,

“the foundation of our wealth and the condition of our safety from submergence by another flood of barbarous hordes; it is the bond which unites into a solid political whole, regions larger than any empire of antiquity; it secures us from recurrence of the pestilences and famines of former times; it is the source of endless comforts and conveniences, which are not mere luxuries, but conduce to physical and moral well-being.”²³

For Huxley, science, not Christianity, explained how best to organize society because science allowed humanity to make their own fate, free from the divine. Faced with this external pressure, German Catholic leaders attempted to find a non-antagonistic relationship with scientific research by using varied scientific methods to confirm relic authenticity.

Rhineland clergy were not alone in Europe as they worked to graft new research methodologies onto established religious practices. In France, for example, two divergent groups sought to define the place of science in French society. Positivists believed that new research methods displaced religion – humanity could find its morality via natural inquiry. Opposite the positivists, a diverse group of Catholic intellectuals, idealists, including George Fonsegrive, contended that science was bankrupt. “Science” could not increase happiness nor serve as a moral compass. Between these opposing groups, French-Catholic scientists opposed attempts to

Cahan ed., *Hermann von Helmholtz and the Foundations of Nineteenth-Century Science* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

²¹ Thomas Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck 1800-1866*, trans. Daniel Nolan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), Table 35c, 438.

²² Burrow, *Crisis*, 79.

²³ Thomas Henry Huxley, *The Advance of Science in the Last Half-Century* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1898), 17.

use science as “an antireligious Juggernaut” and sought to reconcile a new scientific worldview with the tenets of Catholicism.²⁴ Harry Paul situates this French debate in the 1890s because he sees the Catholic-scientific drive for reconciliation between the Church and theories of the natural world as part of a French Catholic response to Leo XIII’s 1892 order that Catholics make peace with the Republic.²⁵ By the 1890s German Catholics, like their French co-religionists, had settled into an uneasy peace with the state. At the same time, German clergy were still working out how to respond to attacks on relic authenticity that originated in the mid nineteenth century.

German Catholic clerics undertook an explanatory shift regarding relic authenticity in Trier between 1844 and 1891. In 1844, clerics found their version of the history of the Trier Holy Coat under siege as detractors denounced the relic as inauthentic on new grounds: that it was the wrong color, or that competing relics rendered the Coat invalid. In 1890, the Bishop of Trier, Michael Felix Korum, had the Coat scrutinized by a committee of experts – including the mayor, an architect, and fellow clergy – in order to assert that the Coat was indeed a genuine artifact. This approach was a departure from the 1840s Scriptural and historical defenses of authenticity. The clerical desire to explain their religiosity by justifying it on the terms of their critics failed to connect with the popular press and pilgrims, who continued to use earlier arguments about relic *Echtheit*, for example, that their relics had been passed down from Jesus, Mary, and John the Baptist and had been owned by Constantine and Charlemagne. The authenticity question continued to fascinate Germans after the nineteenth century. Following the 1959 Trier pilgrimage, for example, Erwin Iserloh weighed the existing written evidence and concluded that the Coat could not be a garment that Jesus actually wore. Nevertheless, he urged Catholics to

²⁴ Harry W. Paul, “The Debate over the Bankruptcy of Science in 1895,” *French Historical Studies* 5(3) (Spring 1968): 299-327, 320.

²⁵ Paul, “The Debate,” 304.

view the cloth as symbols of unity and of Jesus. Pilgrimage allowed Catholics to realize their “historical existence.” The Coat made it possible for the faithful to seek “the unity of love in communion with our [Christian] brothers.”²⁶ How did the Coat and Aachen relics become symbols instead of the actual garments of Jesus Christ? The Coat was always a rhetorical representation of unity, as previously discussed in the anti-Ronge arguments, but as scientific evidence remained inconclusive, *symbol* increasingly dominated *Echtheit* after the 1844 authenticity debate.

Established Verification Procedures:

Even before the 1844 criticisms, in the early modern period, clergy had discussed the origins of relics and worked to reassure onlookers that relics had not been tampered with since the last exhibition.²⁷ In a 1514 pamphlet, Bishop Johann Enen (d. 1591), for example, discussed whether or not the Coat could have come from the Holy Land to Trier in the first centuries of Christianity.²⁸ Clergy provided pilgrims with external confirmations of authenticity. The two most common forms of demonstrating relic integrity included clerics splitting up the reliquary key between two officials and publicly verifying that seals placed on the relic during the previous exhibition had not been broken. For example, in 1725, Trier officials broke the reliquary key in half and gave the bishop and the cathedral chapter each a piece.²⁹ Throughout

²⁶ Iserloh, “Der Heilige Rock,” 172, “die Einheit der Liebe in der Gemeinschaft mit unseren Brüdern.” For a detailed exposition on the sixteenth century Trier Coat authenticity discussion see: Dr. Johannes Gildemeister und Dr. Heinrich von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier und die zwanzig andern Heiligen Ungenhähten Röcke. Eine historische Untersuchung*. (Düsseldorf: Verlag von Julius Buddens, 1844), XVIII-XXI.

²⁷ In 1599, Iserloh (above) argued that Christians in Trier debated the authenticity of the Coat before the Reformation began in Wittenberg.

²⁸ Erwin Iserloh, “Der Heilige Rock und die Wallfahrt nach Trier,” in *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi*, Erich Aretz, Michael Embach, Martin Persch, Franz Ronig (eds.) (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995), 163-67.

²⁹ 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*, Erich Aretz, Michael Embach, Martin Persch, Franz Ronig (eds.) (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995).

the nineteenth century, Aachen officials split the reliquary key and gave half to the bishop and half to the mayor. Upon wrapping the relics in silk, clerics affixed wax seals to the seams. After opening the Marian Shrine, Aachen clergy held up the wrapped relics to their peers to ensure them that the seals remained unbroken from the previous pilgrimage. Following the final display, clerics rewrapped the four Aachen relics in new silk and sealed them with wax that corresponded to the silk of each relic.³⁰ Seals were not limited to the stored relics. In 1925, for example, one of the featured *Andenken* was a postcard with four pieces of silk that had been used to wrap the relics for 16 years. On the bottom left hand corner church officials included an orange wax seal that attested to the genuine origins of the attached cloth.

Importantly, seal-verification was corroborated by secular authorities. Thus, in 1930, Bernhard Witte, the apostolic goldsmith charged with opening the Marian shrine, appeared before Aachen Mayor, Dr. Wilhelm Rombach. Witte swore before “God Almighty” to carry out his duties at the opening and closing ceremonies. The goldsmith was traditionally the first and the last to view the relics after breaking the lock on the Marian shrine, so an oath of honesty was an important aspect of ensuring that the relics were authentic and undisturbed.³¹ As a non-cleric, Witte’s position at the opening and closing ceremonies was ambiguous, the oath before God and secular authorities was insurance against potential foul play.³² After the 1930 opening ceremony, thirty-nine witnesses signed a protocol that summarized the events and confirmed that “It was

³⁰ This practice appears in numerous newspaper and archival reports. See *Echo der Gegenwart*, “Schluß der Heiligtumsfahrt 1909. Aachen, 26. Juli.” Montag, 26. Juli 1909. Nr. 172, Abend-Ausgabe. And *Aachener Zeitung*, “Programm a. Für den Tag der Eröffnung der Heilighumsfahrt, Montag, den 9. Juli 1860.”

³¹ *Fliegende Taube*, “Von der Landesgrenze,” Samstag, den 10. Juli 1909. Nr. 78. The author explains that the goldsmith oath was a centuries old tradition, “Dieser Eid ist seit vielen Jahrhunderten für die gewissenhafte Wahrnehmung der dem erwählten Goldschmiede obliegenden bedeutungsvollen Handlung vorgeschrieben”.

³² DAA, PA 69, “Verhandelt zu Aachen, im Rathause, den 9. Juli 1930.”

found that the seals of the silk wrapped to seal the relics were unharmed.”³³ The witnesses included clergy, the mayor, the city inspector, and the city councilors.³⁴

Secular witnesses played a central role in authenticating sacred relics during each unveiling and resealing of the shrines. Clerics had long assembled bystander testimony to corroborate preexisting sicknesses during cases of alleged cures, and also used witnesses for inspections between pilgrimages. In 1890, as Korum prepared to have the Coat examined by a committee of experts, he invited not only his fellow Trier clerics, but also the mayor, a canon from Cologne, and Stephen Beissel, a Jesuit who wrote extensively on the topic of Rhineland relics.³⁵ Those present for the opening signed a protocol that stated they found the sixteen 1844 seals still intact, that the 1844 silk wrappings were still present, and that they found the Coat covered with a considerable amount of mold.³⁶ After deciding that nuns would help clean the relic, and that potential researchers needed actual cloth samples to determine the origin and consistency of the Coat, the assembled politicians, priests, and experts resealed the Coat. The major point here is that Korum and the Cathedral canons did not tamper with the Coat alone, they called in collaborators who would be able to testify to the origins of the fiber samples and that the Coat had not been opened since 1844 - authentication demanded extra-church cooperation.

³³ Examples of the Aachen protocols abound in the archive, for example see, DAA, PA 58, “Programm für die Heilighumsfahrt 1832.” and, DAA, PA 58, “Neues Programm für die Heilighumsfahrt pro 1846.” For an example in Trier see BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 241, 196-218. This account describes removing the Coat in 1844 for the pilgrimage. During the ceremony the witnesses verified the seals before opening up the relic display.

³⁴ DAA, PA 69, “In der Anlage übersende ich Abschrift des Protokolls über die Öffnung des Marienschreines und die Erhebung der Heiligtümer am 9. Juli 1930.”

³⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 48-49.

³⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 49.

1844 Revisited: Gildemeister and von Sybel's Critique:

In 1844, at the previous unveiling of the Coat, Johannes Ronge had criticized Bishop Arnoldi and the pilgrims on theological grounds. In addition to Ronge's previously analyzed popular critiques, pilgrims in 1844 were exposed to historical arguments against the veracity of St. Helena's relic. Orientalist Johann Gildemeister and historian Heinrich von Sybel, both professors in Bonn, sought to critically examine the evidence for and against the Coat in a pamphlet titled "The Holy Coat of Trier and the Twenty Other Holy Seamless Coats: A Historical Inspection."³⁷ These two Bonn professors presented a unique anti-pilgrimage criticism that was not based on theology or Scripture. Gildemeister and von Sybel defended their pamphlet as not contradicting clerical views of the pilgrimage. Because the Coat was not an aspect of dogma, it was fair to subject the relic to an historical inquiry.³⁸ They hoped that their study would help to discredit the Coat, and cited historical precedents for the abandonment of relics, most famously the two heads of John the Baptist that required adjudication.³⁹ Furthermore, the Bonn professors stressed their appreciation of truth, Catholic pilgrims deserved access to all the historical facts of the Trier Coat. They vowed only to relate what was known, which included a rejection of the traditions that Mary had sewn the Coat, or that the Coat miraculously grew as Jesus got older and was thus present with him from childhood to execution.⁴⁰

The authors' chief objective was to undermine Jacob Marx's version of the history of the Coat. Gildemeister and von Sybel complained that the Trier bishop approved Marx's highly

³⁷ Johann Gildemeister and Heinrich von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier und die zwanzig andern heiligen Ungenähten Röcke: eine historische Untersuchung* (Düsseldorf: Verlag von Julius Buddens, 1844). See also Wolfgang Frühwald, "Die Wallfahrt nach Trier: Zur historischen Einordnung einer Streitschrift von Joseph Görres," in *Verführung zur Geschichte. Festschrift zum 500. Jahrestag der Eröffnung einer Universität in Trier 1473-1973*, Georg Droege, Wolfgang Frühwald, Ferdinand Pauly (eds.) (Trier: NCO-Verlag, 1973): 366-382, 380.

³⁸ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, VII, "Was nicht Sache des Glaubens ist, muß nothwendig Sache des historischen Beweises sein."

³⁹ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, IX.

⁴⁰ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 53.

biased history, which led to a false confidence in the Coat's authenticity. For von Sybel and Gildemeister, Marx labeled hearsay, legends, and sagas as "fact." How, they asked, could Helena bring the Coat to Trier in 330, when she died in 327?⁴¹ Helena did visit Palestine to give thanks for Constantine converting, but did not find the True Cross or the Coat during that trip. If she had, Gildemeister and von Sybel stressed, Eusebius would have written that down.⁴² Or, if not Eusebius, then certainly Pope Sylvester would have recorded the Coat in his list of authentic items Helena found in Palestine.⁴³ The professors did not limit their criticisms to the fourth-century tradition of the Coat. Gildemeister and von Sybel sarcastically dismissed Marx's speculation that John the Apostle or Mary Magdalene could have purchased the Coat back from the Roman soldier at the foot of Jesus' cross: "Obviously it must be, as Mr. Marx presupposes about the unsewn Coat, that the early Christians had nothing more urgent to do than bring the Coat and keep it as a precautionary measure. Of all [the] things related to Christ ... but especially of so many things that [Christ could have] given his relatives and companions without the trouble and danger of buying [back] items his enemies possessed."⁴⁴ For Gildemeister and von Sybel, truth meant the most likely scenario in a series of choices.

The Bonn professors used Marx's speculative approach to history in order to further weaken the Trier origins story. They sarcastically applied guesswork to the Coat said to be in Georgia. Georgian tradition said the soldier at the foot of the cross was from the Georgia region and that after he fought in Syria he returned home with the garment. That myth, they contended,

⁴¹ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, XIII, "daß die schon um 327 gestorbene Helena den Rock um 330 nach Trier geschickt habe, und so festes Vertrauen in den Trierer Rock setzt".

⁴² Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 19-20.

⁴³ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 24.

⁴⁴ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 9, "dass sie ihn an sich gebracht und sorglich bewahrt hätten, auch von allen auf Christus bezüglichen Dingen gelten (wie er es denn selbst auch von den vier Stücken des Oberkleides behauptet), besonders aber von so vielen Dingen, die seine Verwandten und Begleiter ohne die Mühe und Gefahr des Ankaufs bei seinen Feinden sich verschaffen konnten oder noch besaßen."

sounded more plausible than Marx's version of events.⁴⁵ In fact, they explained, the idea that the Coat was even in Trier only surfaced in the eleventh century, when the Trier bishop undertook a search for the Coat but failed to find it.⁴⁶ The Coat was likely placed in the *Nikolausaltar* in 1121, without any canonical evidence attesting to its merit. In 1196, Bishop Johann opened the altar and found the Coat within, but it had only been there for seventy years, not since the fourth century.⁴⁷ Later, in 1512, when the Coat was again exhibited, its fame grew because of two historical contingencies. First, Central Europe was already religiously agitated with miracles and visions in the early sixteenth century, and this made the people vulnerable to a legend about a garment of Jesus. And, second, once the Reformation began five years later, Catholics in the Trier area turned to the Coat as a sign of unity and affirmation of their universal religiosity.⁴⁸

Gildemeister and von Sybel concluded that the relic was an old piece of clothing being passed off as the Coat of Jesus. They weighed the Coat's potential legitimacy on four factors: form, color, material, and conception.⁴⁹ Jesus, as a wandering teacher would have worn a Coat that was similar to that of the Pharisees, a Stola. His garment would also follow Greek and Roman customs and not be so long that he could not walk and work freely. However, the Trier Coat was too long to fit these requirements.⁵⁰ Gildemeister and von Sybel must have had a notion of how tall Jesus was to decide on the form question, but they make no mention of average heights from the period. Color, for the professors, was straight-forward. The Trier Coat appears brown-reddish and must have previously been purple. However, Jesus, again as an

⁴⁵ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 12.

⁴⁶ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 30.

⁴⁷ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 47.

⁴⁸ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 55.

⁴⁹ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 1, "ob er nach Form, Farbe, Stoff und Arbeit der Vorstellung entspreche".

⁵⁰ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 4, "Es ist daher zu urtheilen, daß der Trierer Rock zu lang sei, um für das ächte ungenähte Kleid Christi gelten zu können."

impoverished teacher, could not have afforded a dyed garment and so the Trier Coat was a forgery. The authors analyzed Greek, Roman, and Hebrew cultures to determine the consistency of ancient cloth, how garments were made, and how they aged. They guessed that the actual fabric was likely cotton or linen. Jesus would have worn clothing sewn from wool because women and priests wore linen garments, not men in antiquity. Unless Marx was saying Jesus was effeminate, then Jesus the carpenter would have worn wool.⁵¹

One of the most popular points of attack against the relic in Trier was to note that many other churches in Europe claimed to have the Holy Coat of Jesus and Jesus could not have owned all of them. Gildemeister and von Sybel argued that the Catholic Church had peddled false relics in earnest since the twelfth century. The Roman Church continued to allow superstition and false belief to spread among the laity in the nineteenth century, they contended. They thought that if they succinctly summarized the history of all the “competing” Coats in the world then Catholics would finally concede that the Trier Coat was inauthentic. Accordingly, they identified twenty competing Coats, including those of Galatia, Safed, Santiago, Frankfurt, Westminster, Rome, Jerusalem, Mainz, Bremen, Loccum, Cologne, Moscow, Georgia, Turkey, Ghent, Constantinople, and Argenteuil. The historical Jesus was poor and did not possess multiple changes of clothing. And even if Jesus had several garments they certainly would not have survived the nearly two thousand years since his crucifixion. For the Bonn professors, these duplicate relics revealed that Trier was no less absurd than those churches claiming to have Mary’s breast milk or hair from Noah’s beard.⁵² Of the twenty alleged garments, the authors

⁵¹ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 6, “Leinene Kleider erscheinen im Alterthum als Kleidung vornämlich der Frauen und Priester, bei Männern galt ihr Gebrauch als Zeichen der Weichlichkeit und diese trugen Wolle. Daß das Verhältniß damals auch in Palästina so gewesen sei, scheint sich aus seiner Stelle des Hegesippus (um 150) zu ergeben, der es als etwas besonderes hervorhebt, daß Jacobus keine wollene, sondern leinene Kleider getragen.”

⁵² Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 60.

centered in on Argenteuil, near Paris, as the best example of how Catholic clergy peddled false relics.⁵³

According to Argenteuil tradition, this garment came to Europe by way of Galatia, Safed, Jerusalem, and Constantinople. From Constantinople, the Byzantine royal family gifted it to Charlemagne, who in turn donated it to a monastery in Argenteuil. When the Normans attacked in the ninth century, the Argenteuil residents sealed the relic in one of the walls to protect it from looting.⁵⁴ After systematically ruling out the possibility of the Coat being in Safed, Jerusalem or Galatia in the sixth century, Gildemeister and von Sybel critiqued the idea that the Coat could have survived in a wall. Argenteuil was rebuilt, not remodeled in the twelfth century, suggesting that the Coat, were it in a wall, would have been lost.⁵⁵ Furthermore, had the Coat survived the Normans, Gildemeister doubted it would have survived the Huguenots, who plundered and sacked the town on 12 October 1567. The Argenteuil garment became a symbol for the French church only after the Revolution, thus in 1804 the Bishop of Versailles, despite the seeming unlikelihood that the Argenteuil garment could have endured through the Normans, Huguenots, and Revolutionaries, affirmed the reliability of the relic. This declaration paved the way for Gildemeister and von Sybel's outrage toward Europe's varied coat traditions. In 1843 Pope Gregor XVI declared the Argenteuil item as authentic, seemingly contradicting Pope Leo X's 1 February 1514 affirmation that the Trier Coat was authentic and that Helena had brought it to Trier.⁵⁶ Faced with this multifaceted rejection of the Holy Coat's authenticity, 1840s German

⁵³ I am using Gildemeister and von Sybel as a case study of questions of authenticity surrounding the Trier Coat. The correspondence on this topic becomes more prevalent later in the century as Trier clergy began to respond to the question of *Echtheit*. See also BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 239b. Korrespondenzen über das Officium und die Echtheit des hl. Rocks.

⁵⁴ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 60-67.

⁵⁵ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 68.

⁵⁶ Gildemeister and von Sybel, *Der Heilige Rock*, 72.

clerics began formulating new justifications, in conjunction with existing explanations, for the place of relics in religious practices.

Catholic Responses to Historical Criticism: (Re)reading the Sources

Jacob Marx and Joseph von Hommer responded to Gildemeister and von Sybel's historical critiques with Catholic Church tradition and historical evidence that supported the Trier Coat's authenticity. In 1844, Marx and von Hommer had also anticipated this Argenteuil argument in their pamphlets on the history of the Trier Coat. Von Hommer conceded that there were four potential coats, all of which Gildemeister and von Sybel presented in their work, namely, those in Rome, Cologne, Argenteuil, and Trier.⁵⁷ For von Hommer, the Trier Coat was authentic for two reasons: first, that medieval and early modern documents upheld the oral tradition of the Coat; and, second, the main Coat competitor, the relic in Argenteuil, was a different garment entirely and was also genuine. Two sources, Gregory of Tours (d. 587) and Abbot Theofrid von Echternach (d. 1110), both indicated that Jesus' Coat moved through Galatia and Zapha, and was thus near Constantinople and Jerusalem respectively.⁵⁸ For Marx and von Hommer, Tours and von Echternach proved that the Coat was known and existed as early as the sixth century. In order to put the Coat in St. Helena's hands, von Hommer pointed to the reasonableness of tradition. Accordingly, St. Helena definitely visited Palestine and was friends with the Bishop of Jerusalem, Marcarius.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Constantine, her son, ruled from Trier, so it made sense that she should have taken one of the most precious relics she discovered during

⁵⁷ Joseph von Hommer, *Geschichte des heiligen Rockes unseres Heilandes welcher in der Domkirche zu Trier aufbewahrt und vom 18. August d.J. ab, während eines Zeitraums von sechs Wochen öffentlich wird ausgestellt werden* (Bonn: bei T. Habicht, 1844), 2-3.

⁵⁸ von Hommer, *Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 4-6.

⁵⁹ von Hommer, *Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 13.

her Holy Land travels back to this city on the Mosel River.⁶⁰ Unhelpfully, Tours and von Echternach potentially referred to two separate relics. Tours wrote of a “seamless Coat” (*ungenähten Rock*) while von Echternach described his relic as “eine Tunica.”⁶¹ Von Hommer used this distinction to argue that the Trier and Argenteuil garments were not mutually exclusive. In Argenteuil, it was entirely possible that Chalemagne got the relic from the Byzantine Emperor and donated it to a monastery outside of Paris. This second Jesus garment was possibly a “tunic,” or “Mantel” (jacket) but not the seamless Coat.⁶²

Like von Hommer, Marx worked to demonstrate how Argenteuil did not compete with Trier. Marx drew parallels between Trier and Argenteuil and the competing narratives about the Coat penned by Gregory of Tours and Fredegaire, a Frankish historian. Accordingly, both Tours and Fredegaire had the relic being rediscovered in 590, Tours in Galatia, near Constantinople, and Fredegaire in Jaffa, near Jerusalem. Marx decided that readers had two options: they could either discount both accounts, which would not be unreasonable as Tours only reported rumor and Fredegaire wrote about events far removed from him, both temporally and geographically.⁶³ Alternatively, following his attempt to parallel the narratives and the two relics, the reader could safely believe both accounts because Jesus certainly owned more than one garment. Also, Marx noted that even the outer garment, which was divided into four parts by the Roman soldiers in John 19, could have survived, “although it had been divided into four parts, it might still have been purchased again from the hands of the soldiers, have been pieced together, and thus a precious memorial of the Saviour might have been formed from it.”⁶⁴ It was therefore possible

⁶⁰ von Hommer, *Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 15.

⁶¹ von Hommer, *Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 6.

⁶² von Hommer, *Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 10-12.

⁶³ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 31-32.

⁶⁴ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 31-32.

that Argenteuil possessed this other garment of Jesus, his outer cloak, while Trier had preserved the seamless Coat of their Savior.

Marx pushed the coexistence of garments argument further than von Hommer, “I ask, can these claims impair the tradition of the church of Trier respecting the seamless robe? We reply absolutely that they cannot; the authenticity of the garment at Argenteuil, even taken for granted, would not cast the shadow of a doubt on the tradition of Trier, and whoever will examine the matter without prejudice, will have no trouble to convince himself of it.” Marx offered a number of proofs to his favor, most notably, chronicler Robert de Monte, the first scholar to report the relic in Argenteuil, called it a cappa, or cloak, an outer garment.⁶⁵ His second major point was more indirect, that the important authors of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century “unanimously maintain that the holy robe is in the cathedral of Trier, and it never came into the mind of any of them to take the garment of Argenteuil for the tunic.”⁶⁶ For Marx, when the Coat actually surfaced in the records it was linked to Trier, not Argenteuil, giving more weight to the relic on the Mosel. Finally, his third argument followed from the reasoning of the second: since the beginning of Christianity and into the medieval period “the church and ecclesiastical writers nearly all regard the seamless robe as an emblem of the church.”⁶⁷ Here Marx pointed to varied theologians who all alluded to the John 19 garment as a metaphor for the undivided church, including John Calvin, St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, Pacien, the bishop of Barcelona in the fourth century, Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria who confronted the Arian heresy in the fourth century, and St. Bernard.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 36.

⁶⁶ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 36.

⁶⁷ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 37.

⁶⁸ Marx, *History of the Robe*, see “Chapter VIII. What the Holy Fathers Have Said of the Garments and Especially of the Robe of Our Lord. Mystical Signification of the Seamless Robe,” 39-43.

After distinguishing the Argenteuil and Trier relics, von Hommer contended that the post-Helena Catholic traditions about the relic were, in fact, reliable history. In this chronology, after Helena the Coat entered a period of obscurity, hidden in one of the Trier altars. In 1196, Bishop Johann I sought to improve the Trier cathedral and remodeled large portions of the church.⁶⁹ During the construction, he found the Coat in the *Nikolausaltar*. The Trier citizens celebrated its reappearance with an improvised pilgrimage on the Philippus and Jacobs feast day, 1 May 1196. Marx explained that because the relic was walled into an altar and not shown there was no reason for scholars to leave behind written records regarding its presence. Following the 1196 display, clerics placed the Coat back into an altar until 1512, when Kaiser Maximilian visited Trier and pressured the Bishop, Richard von Greifenklau, to show him the Coat. Von Greifenklau warned Maximilian that he might go blind after looking upon the relic, but Maximilian remained undeterred. They broke open the cathedral altar and pulled out the Coat on 14 April 1512, the Wednesday after Easter.⁷⁰ Maximilian did not go blind, and the ensuing pilgrimage was blessed by Pope Leo X and attracted over 100,000 pilgrims. Now that the Coat was back in the public eye pilgrimages were held more frequently, initially every seven years, but becoming less regular over time. Jacob Marx, concurred with von Hommer's Coat narrative from the fourth century to the 1810 exhibition. Marx maintained that "St. Helena being once in possession of the Holy Coat [Robe], would naturally present it to the Church at Trier [Treves]...she would have bestowed no mark of her attachment on Trier, where she had resided for so long a time?"⁷¹ Marx, furthermore, affirmed the miraculous traditions of the relic. Most notably, he argued in favor of the legend that Mary herself wove the Coat because, for Marx, this

⁶⁹ von Hommer, *Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 17.

⁷⁰ von Hommer, *Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 21.

⁷¹ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 19.

story was “based upon strong probabilities, especially when it is also remembered that a garment made by a mother’s own hand was regarded as a token of love and tenderness for her son.”⁷²

Marx further supposed that the Roman soldiers at the foot of the cross would want to sell the Coat to one of Jesus’ followers. Doing so would have been better than holding onto the possession of a criminal, someone the Roman soldier despised.⁷³

Both supporters and detractors of the Trier Coat continued to cite the Argenteuil robe into the 1891 pilgrimage. However, where Gildemeister and von Sybel saw similarity and mutual exclusion, Edward Plater, author of an English language history of the Coat, emphasized the differences between Trier and Argenteuil. Even if the garments shared an analogous tradition, they were substantively different artifacts, “[the coat of Argenteuil] is shown to have been of a totally different character to the Tunic of Trier, than which it is much smaller, and of wholly different material—a kind of woven camel’s hair, still found in the East.”⁷⁴ Furthermore, Plater, like Marx before him, maintained the authenticity question was not an either/or issue – both coats could be legitimate. The Argenteuil garment was genuine, but it was not a coat like Trier’s Coat, rather it was an under-garment, “intended to be worn beneath the more ample Robe preserved at Trier.”⁷⁵ Richard Clarke, another 1890s pamphleteer, reinforced Plater’s argument and wrote that Trier did not claim to be the only garment of Christ extant, but asserted that they possessed the garment described in John 19.⁷⁶

Ultimately there could not be a compromise between Gildemeister/von Sybel and Marx/von Hommer. For Gildemeister and von Sybel, Marx was wildly off target when he

⁷² Marx, *History of the Robe*, 15.

⁷³ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 16-17.

⁷⁴ Plater, *Holy Coat of Trèves*, 60.

⁷⁵ Plater, *Holy Coat of Trèves*, 60.

⁷⁶ Clarke, *Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat of Treves*, 4.

considered saints' mentalities, or relied on the descriptions of New Testament individuals to speculate on how they would have responded to Jesus' execution. History, and by extension the truth about the Trier Coat, argued Gildemeister, could only be found in the surviving written records, and there were too few of those to make a convincing case for authenticity. Furthermore, the plethora of alternative relics undermined any possibility that the Trier relic survived from the first century to the nineteenth. Against Gildemeister, Marx and von Hommer turned to church tradition, exegesis, and the sermons of the church fathers to uphold their belief that the Trier Coat was authentic, that it held the actual drops of blood from the crucifixion. These mid-nineteenth century arguments for the authenticity of the Coat hung on plausibility; it was probable that Helena brought the relic from Jerusalem and it lay in Trier undiscovered until 1196 and 1512. Against these claims, detractors of the relic stressed the unlikelihood that a garment could survive nearly two thousand years undetected. For critics, the documents did not reveal enough definitive information and speculation was inadmissible. Gildemeister and von Sybel dismissed Marx's ahistorical perspective. For example, they would have scoffed when Marx guessed at Kaiser Maximilian's mentality in 1512. Marx reported that Maximilian wanted to show the Trier Coat to "not only arouse the ancient piety of Christians which slumbered and was dying in many hearts, but would also increase the honour of God among men."⁷⁷ However, the Bonn professors failed to realize that Marx was not interested in reporting an objective history of the Coat, he was commissioned by the bishop and trained in Catholic theology.

Marx did not limit his sources to historical monographs, letters, or other documents, but turned to the divine, the Holy Spirit, as a force in history that guarded the Coat. Only divine intervention and protection, for Marx, spared the Aachen and Trier relics during unsettled times.

⁷⁷ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 47.

Marx's history of the Coat is also a history of the Rhineland, told from the perspective of a relic. The Coat, at the center, survived successive assaults on Trier. Trier was sacked in 410 by the Vandals and then by the Franks in 411 and 415.⁷⁸ The destruction was total, and the relic was only safe because it was hidden within stone. Salvien wrote of the fifth-century Frankish attacks,

“There is not a single corner of the city in which the wrecks of the conflagration may not be found heaped pell mell upon one another with bones and the remains of victims; not a spot which is not stained with blood, strewn with dead bodies and mangled limbs; every thing presents the spectacle of a conquered city; terror and the image of death are every where. Those who have survived this disaster weep over the tombs of their unfortunate fellow-citizens, on all sides nothing is to be heard but the sound of lamentations.”⁷⁹

The subsequent years were not much kinder to the city. In 451, the Huns took the town and then in 880 the Normans attacked Aachen and Trier.⁸⁰ In 1514, after the outbreak of the Reformation, Trier was again attacked by foreign armies.

For Marx, God not only chaperoned relics through this violent history, but made each Trier pilgrimage possible. Following its discovery in 1196 and rediscovery in 1512, Pope Leo X affirmed the Coat as authentic and called for pilgrimages every seven years. These events were to coincide with the Aachen festivals because both Rhenish towns possessed precious garments from Jesus. The Coat was shown to the faithful in 1545 and perhaps 1553, but that same year Albert Margrave of Brandenburg marched against Trier and burned the churches and convents.⁸¹ Trier continued to stumble through the Wars of Religion, and the region endured another conflict in 1592 as the Lord of Befort, Gaspard Buy, took Lusenburg. During the Thirty Years War, the Trier region was attacked by Swedes and French in 1631-32, and even after the Peace of Westphalia it took time before Trier residents had total relief from the fighting.⁸² In 1657 and in

⁷⁸ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 47.

⁷⁹ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 27.

⁸⁰ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 28.

⁸¹ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 53.

⁸² Marx, *History of the Robe*, 68.

1734 the Coat was moved to the Ehrenbreitstein fortress because of warfare in the Trier area. In 1759 the Coat was again moved because soldiers from Hannover marched against Ehrenbreitstein. The Trier Coat first went to Bamberg, until 1803, and then to Augsburg, until 1810.⁸³ During July 1810, French-appointed Trier Bishop Charles Mannaÿ had the Coat brought back to Trier. To celebrate the relic was displayed from 9 to 27 September and more than 227,000 pilgrims came to the city.⁸⁴ Through these travails, the Coat, and Trier, and by extension Christendom endured. Marx wrote that “the history of the robe is a faithful picture of that of the Church!”⁸⁵

In Marx’s view, God acted in history on multiple occasions to protect both Trier and the relic. The Coat was meant to survive, to strengthen Catholics, when returning from its exile, the holy robe re-entered its ancient cathedral, it found there the same pontifical power which Jesus Christ had established, “the same faith, the same sacrifice and the same sacraments.”⁸⁶ The Coat was, furthermore, still in extant to comfort the faithful. The Coat brought emperors, Protestants, princes, and pilgrims to tears because it was so deeply connected to Christ’s Passion.⁸⁷ The Coat was an historical actor - its divine origin ensured its survival through centuries of uncertainty and warfare in the Rhineland. Marx dismissed the Gildemeister and von Sybel analysis as missing the entire sacred point of the Holy Coat of Jesus. However, after 1844, Rhineland clergy sought new arguments and new methodologies that transcended historical documents and did not include the Holy Spirit in order to demonstrate that their relics were authentic.

⁸³ von Hommer, *Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 29-30.

⁸⁴ von Hommer, *Geschichte des heiligen Rockes*, 33.

⁸⁵ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 87.

⁸⁶ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 88.

⁸⁷ Marx, *History of the Robe*, 94.

1890s: Fiber Analysis and New Research Methods

By the next Trier pilgrimage, the clergy had abandoned Marx and von Hommer's document and Jesus-centered authenticity arguments. Clergy now strove to bring contemporary, powerful arguments against potential critics by blending new scientific analyses with historical evidence that the Coat was the garment from John 19. In 1891, Richard Clarke summarized the importance of accuracy about the Coat, "it is only on this ground [independent corroboration of the authenticity of the Coat] that we have any right to ask of those outside the Church to accept our belief in it."⁸⁸ Catholics could not expect any respect from those non-Catholics unless they demonstrated that the Coat was authentic, a relic worn by Jesus in the Gospels.⁸⁹

In the run-up to the 1891 Trier display, Catholic authorities sought to resolve the authenticity question once and for all. In 1890, between July 7-10, twelve individuals undertook an examination of the Trier Coat. The assembled, including, Bishop Korum, Mayor de Rys, the Jesuit Stephan Beissel, an architect, members of the Cathedral chapter, and the Cologne Domkapitular Alexander Schnütgen found the garment in a bad state.⁹⁰ Following the 1810 and 1844 pilgrimages the Coat was walled into the cathedral stone altar, a damp and dark environment, and consequently the garment was covered in mold.⁹¹ On the backside of the Coat they found red and purple silk cloth that was not original to the Coat. The committee's

⁸⁸ Clarke, *Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat of Treves*, 57.

⁸⁹ Science provided the Church with a new vocabulary to describe the Coat's origins with evidence beyond tradition. Scientific argumentation also provided a response to the Kulturkampf for German Catholics. Michael Gross has convincingly argued that the German liberal attack on Catholicism was prompted by a belief in science, Bildung, and German unity. For Gross, German liberals viewed the fight against Catholics as a war over German identity. See: Michael Gross, "Kulturkampf and Unification: German Liberalism and the War against the Jesuits," *Central European History* 30(4) (1997): 545-566.

⁹⁰ Clarke, *Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat of Treves*, 199-122.

⁹¹ Petra Hesse, "Die Restaurierung des Hl. Rockes in Trier 1890/91 Anhand Zeitgenössischer Quellen," in *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi*, Erich Aretz, Michael Embach, Martin Persch, Franz Ronig (eds.) (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995): 335-346, 336.

subsequent report on the origins of the Coat relied heavily on an analysis of this previously unstudied silk cloth that lined part of the relic.

Korum, who was planning for the 1891 pilgrimage, wanted to restore the garment. For help, he turned to the Arme Kinde Jesu sisters. Dr. Franz Bock, from Aachen, recommended the restoration work of the Simpelveld nuns, especially sister Francisca (Anna Maria Lauffs), because he was impressed with their work on the Aachen and Cornelimünster relics.⁹² The sisters had previously restored medieval vestments and also had experience improving antique garments. Korum, and members of the Domkapitel, oversaw the restoration process between 6-13 August 1891. The Simpelveld sisters used alcohol to slowly clear away the mold.⁹³ All encounters with the Coat were recorded, even when there was no apparent change to the relic. Thus when cathedral architect Wirtz traced the silk bird pattern onto glass for analysis, Korum and company acknowledged and approved the procedure.⁹⁴ Restoration proceeded with caution, the sisters used a glue to stabilize the fabric, but only tested a little bit at first and left it overnight. After it was found to work well, they continued with the application to the whole Coat. The 1891 preservation process hardened the textile surface and dulled the color of the relic, giving it a brown appearance.⁹⁵ The leading sisters, Franzisca and Maria Athanasia (Clara Pick) noted large cracks in the fabric, which they thought came from how the Coat was folded and stored. They used brown string to sew up the major cracks that resulted from folding the relic over long periods of time.⁹⁶ Sister Franzisca warned Korum that if they did not come up with a

⁹² BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 61-67. This order was established in Aachen in 1848, but because of the Kulturkampf they moved to Simpelveld in the Netherlands in 1878. See Hesse, "Die Restaurierung des Hl. Rockes," 338.

⁹³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 54, "III. Abschrift Trier, den 9. Juli 1890."

⁹⁴ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 55, "Trier, der 10. Juli 1890."

⁹⁵ Mechthild Flury-Lemberg, "Das Reliquiar Für die Reliquie vom Heiligen Rock Christi" in *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi*, Erich Aretz, Michael Embach, Martin Persch, Franz Ronig (eds.) (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995): 691-708, 691-92.

⁹⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 54, "III. Abschrift Trier, den 9. Juli 1890."

better way to store the heirloom the next time they opened the altar they would not find the Coat, only dust.⁹⁷ Accordingly, the bishop hired Stuttgart-based Epple und Egge to design a wooden shrine to help preserve the relic. The new case was sufficiently large to let the Coat lie flat while being shown to pilgrims.⁹⁸

That same year, Bishop Korum commissioned a number of experts to analyze the Coat. These included Wilmowsky, an antiquities expert, Fischbach, a “connoisseur” of ancient fabric, and Dr. Bock, who studied the cloth in an attempt to date the fabric, and a chemist from Mülheim, who was to use a microscope and chemical analysis to determine the material of the relic.⁹⁹ In addition, the Bishop had seven particles of cloth removed and sent to Dr. J. Herzfeld for analysis, including parts from:

- 1 the relic itself
- 2 the inserted fabric on the back of the relic
- 3 the shoulder of the undergarment on the left arm
- 4 the upper shroud
- 5 the gauze on the back
- 6 patterned fabric from the front, containing images of birds
- 7 a bead from the front of the relic¹⁰⁰

While the Coat was theologically a symbol of church unity, the garment itself was subjected to clerical dissection in order to verify its merit as a theological symbol.¹⁰¹

The test and examination results were mixed, but the clerical turn to microscopes reveals their acceptance of a *Wissenschaft* as a means to understanding sacred objects. Wilmowsky

⁹⁷ BATr, Abt 91, Nr. 244, 68-69, “Nach neuen 40-50 Jahren in dem Verließ, worin einmal eine Sonnenstrahl dringt wird sie wohl ganz zerfallen sein.”

⁹⁸ Hesse, “Die Restaurierung des Hl. Rockes,” 341-343.

⁹⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 1-3.

¹⁰⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 2.

¹⁰¹ For a recent article that summarizes the importance of the Coat as a theological symbol of unity in the medieval period see, Franz Ronig, “Die Tunika Christi - “Heiliger Rock” - in der Theologischen Literatur des Mittelalters” in Erich Aretz, Michael Embach, Martin Persch, Franz Ronig (eds.), *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi* (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995): 67-79.

simply stated that the “design makes it clear that it belongs to an early date.”¹⁰² On 5 October 1891, Professor Dr. Hermann Schaffhansen, a physician from Honnef am Rhein, examined two pieces of fabric from the right shoulder of the Coat with a microscope.¹⁰³ Schaffhansen measured the two pieces of fabric and attempted to determine what material the Coat was made up of and whether or not the spots on the relic were human blood. In his report to Trier, he concluded that the fibers from this part of the relic were cotton, thereby ruling out silk and wool. He also wrote, “After earlier experience in the investigation of old, dried-blood, I must declare that the cotton fibers were most probably stained with human blood. Only if the study was repeated perhaps [would I] be able to argue this judgment safer.”¹⁰⁴ Repeated analyses here took the place of inference and common sense as the basis for determining authenticity.

Clerics turned to professors and physicians, both Catholic and non-Catholic, as potential corroborators in the inquiry into authenticity. One month after Wilmowsky’s examination, on 19 November 1891, Dr. Grisar, also a physician, submitted his report on silk and cotton fibers from the Coat. These threads also came from the back of the Coat, from the same area of the garment that Schaffhansen drew his samples.¹⁰⁵ Grisar used a microscope, and worked from 6-15 November on analyzing the Coat’s material. He noted that after scrutinizing the magnified cloth, he immediately recognized the brown material as cotton.¹⁰⁶ However, he was not willing to hazard a definitive conclusion about the origins of the garment and did not mention the supposed blood on the relic. There were several other experiments run on the fibers. Father Dressel boiled

¹⁰² Clarke, *Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat of Treves*, 61.

¹⁰³ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 11, “Bericht über meine am 5. October 1891, Nachmittags 3 Uhr in Trier vorgenommen mikroskopische Untersuchung zweier Stückchen des Gewebes der Tunica des heiliger Rockes sowie des dieselbe bedeckender Byssus.”

¹⁰⁴ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 12, “Nach fruhere Erfahrungen bei der Untersuchung alter, vertrockneter Blutes muß ich erklären, daß mehrscheinlich die von nur untersucher Baumenvollfäder mit menschlichem Blute befleckt waren. Nur eine wiederholte Untersuchung wurde vielleicht im Stande sein, dieses Urtheil sicherer zu begründen.”

¹⁰⁵ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 17.

¹⁰⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 18.

them and exposed them to a zinc-chloride solution after looking at them under magnification.¹⁰⁷

Korum sought further assistance from academics, for example, he wrote to Professor Neumann in Vienna to inquire about Jewish clothing in the first century. Neumann, in turn, referred Korum to an “Orient expert” in Budapest.¹⁰⁸ The Trier bishop also consulted a Talmud scholar in Metz about Hebrew references to silk and cloth in the Mishnah and Talmud.¹⁰⁹

The significance of these inquiries lies not in the findings, but in the great effort the 1890/1891 Trier Church authorities expended to scientifically demonstrate the origins and consistency of the Coat. Together, Korum, with Dompropst Scheuffgen, Domdechant de Lorenzi, and those present at the opening of the reliquary: Mayor Wirtz, and Meurer, H. Feiten, Ditscheid, Lager, Schnütgen, Nys, and Beissel, all experts or clerics, issued an analysis of the relic. Accordingly, they found that even with the mold it was possible for them to draw some conclusions from the garment “with absolute certainty.”¹¹⁰ The Coat, they noted, consisted of three layers, an outer fabric, silk, and gauze. The patterned silk, containing images of birds in yellow and purple originated in the Orient sometime between the sixth and ninth centuries, though they did not explain how they arrived at this range of dates. Most important, they confidently stated that during the physical examination they found nothing to contradict the traditions of the Trier church regarding the relic and its history¹¹¹, “the investigation has revealed nothing at variance with the time-honoured traditions of the Church of Trier.”¹¹²

Richard Clarke interpreted the findings of the Bishop’s committee as firm evidence that the garment was indeed the Holy Coat of Jesus. Clarke was not concerned about the specific

¹⁰⁷ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 33-34.

¹⁰⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 36.

¹⁰⁹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 38.

¹¹⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 51, “Trotzdem konnte mit unbedingter Gewißheit folgendes festgestellt werden.”

¹¹¹ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244, 52-53.

¹¹² Clarke, *Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat of Treves*, 121.

date, the antiquity of the cloth was sufficient evidence that the Coat was esteemed in ancient times and that it had to be protected from being cut up for relics.¹¹³ Yet, unlike 1844 pamphleteers, these 1890s experts were wary of stating absolute surety. Clarke stated, “it is quite obvious we cannot expect mathematical certainty.”¹¹⁴ Still there was a “practical certainty” he found convincing because “the Holy Coat was treated as a relic of very special value as early as the fifth or sixth century, and was even at that time in danger of falling to pieces from its age.”¹¹⁵ In other words, the Bishop’s Committee had dated the Coat back far enough for Clarke to consider the relic authentic.

Following the official 1890 investigation of and restoration of the Holy Coat, the Trier clergy did not have an official line on authenticity beyond reiterating that venerating relics, since the Council of Trent, was not an article of Catholic faith. This vague approach left considerable room for interpretation. Importantly, clerics did not completely abandon Scripture, rather they sought to embolden their authenticity claims with scientific inquiry. Father C.J. Libertz in Olzheim in 1891 undertook a “biblical-archaeological investigation of the material and color of the John 19:23 garment.”¹¹⁶ Libertz concentrated on biblical lexicons and commentaries to contend that Jesus’ garment, as it appeared in Scripture, was likely the Trier relic. Libertz set forth a number of tentative parallels throughout texts, but his argument rested primarily on two pillars: the transfiguration and Jesus’ garment in the book of Revelation.

For Libertz, the clergy must remember that, for all his other titles, Jesus was the new Adam, a king who established a new kingdom and religion. Jesus, though poor, did not have

¹¹³ Clarke, *Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat of Treves*, 63.

¹¹⁴ Clarke, *Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat of Treves*, 64.

¹¹⁵ Clarke, *Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat of Treves*, 64.

¹¹⁶ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244 (2), 75, “biblisch-archäologische Untersuchung über Stoff und Farbe des ... aus Joh 19.23”. This Akta is quite brief, and consists only of the Libertz correspondence.

impoverished garments. His clothes were priestly garments, demonstrated by the fact that Jesus was anointed with oil. Libertz next turned to the transfiguration in Matthew and Mark. He cited both passages: “After six days Jesus took with him Peter, James and John the brother of James, and led them up a high mountain by themselves. There he was transfigured before them. His face shone like the sun, and his clothes became as white as the light. Just then there appeared before them Moses and Elijah, talking with Jesus.”¹¹⁷ And, “After six days Jesus took Peter, James and John with him and led them up a high mountain, where they were all alone. There he was transfigured before them. His clothes became dazzling white, whiter than anyone in the world could bleach them. And there appeared before them Elijah and Moses, who were talking with Jesus.”¹¹⁸ This encounter, during which Jesus’ clothes are especially named as part of the transfiguration, revealed the extraordinary role of the Coat during Jesus’ ministry. As further evidence of the relic’s special role in the Gospel, Libertz pointed to the baptism of Jesus by John, during which Jesus would have worn his Coat. Furthermore, Libertz continued, Jesus appeared in John’s apocalypse with the Coat from his crucifixion. He cited Revelation 19:13, “He [Jesus] is dressed in a robe dipped in blood, and his name is the Word of God.”¹¹⁹ The reference to Jesus’ blood-soaked garment in the apocalypse suggested that the Coat possessed a significance outside of time and would remain important to Christ’s followers until the eschaton, the end of history. Bishop Korum and the Domkapitel approved of Libertz’s writings. This fact can be inferred from a follow-up letter from Libertz to the Trier Domprobst in which Libertz expresses his joy at the reaction to his writing.¹²⁰ Libertz’s letter was private and his priestly reflections on Scripture

¹¹⁷ Bible Gateway, NIV, Matthew 17:1-3,

<http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew+17&version=NIV> (Accessed 29 May 2013).

¹¹⁸ Bible Gateway, NIV, Mark 9:2-4, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Mark+9&version=NIV> (Accessed 29 May 2013).

¹¹⁹ Bible Gateway, NIV, Revelation 19:13,

<http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Revelation+19&version=NIV> (Accessed 29 May 2013).

¹²⁰ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 244 (2), 83.

related to the Coat were for the benefit of his fellow clergy. The Olzheim priest wanted to show that Scripture did not contradict what Korum was learning about the relic from the bishop's inquiries into the substance and form of the Coat. Even here, where Libertz turned back to Scripture-based arguments like 1844 pamphleteers, he couched it in the language of a "biblical-archaeological" analysis.

Edward Plater openly addressed the authenticity question in a pamphlet and emphasized the archaeological evidence for the Coat. For Plater, authenticity was centered on two arguments: the archeological origins of an ivory tablet, and the now-familiar position that other garments that claimed to be the Holy Coat were not the same as the Coat located in Trier. Plater argued that an ivory tablet was the missing piece of evidence needed to assert the genuineness of the Coat. In 1836, Plater's tablet appeared in a private collection in Antwerp. Archaeologists in Frankfurt analyzed the tablet ten years later, in 1846, and concluded that it was carved no earlier than the fourth century and no later than the ninth. The tablet measured 10.25 by 5.5 inches, and Plater concluded that it had adorned a reliquary mentioned in an account of the 1512 Exhibition. Unfortunately, the Trier church lost the reliquary at some point in the early modern period and Plater could not test his theory that it came off of a larger piece of ivory.¹²¹

Plater argued that the bas-relief of a procession linked the Holy Coat to the fourth century. The female figure depicted at the entrance of the temple and holding a cross was the Empress Helena. The empress is extending her hand to welcome the pilgrimage, which ends with a large horse drawn cart. Behind Helena, Catholics were building the Cathedral of Trier to house the faithful and their new relics. Above saints Sylvester and Agritius, Jesus' head is depicted; his presence indicated that the relics being brought to Trier were truly his former possessions.

¹²¹ Plater, *Holy Coat of Trèves*, 41-47.

Finally, Plater stated that the architecture of the scene indicated that it was Trier. The building in the background “with arches, columns, and cornice (much in the style and proportions of the Porta Nigra at Trier, which indeed it strikingly suggests).”¹²² For Plater, the tablet filled in the scant documentary evidence of the history and origins of the Coat. With the relief, Catholics had acquired one more piece of historical evidence that pointed to the authenticity of that garment. This ivory tablet now resides in the Trier Cathedral Museum and the Church no longer considers it to be related to the Trier Coat.¹²³ Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Schmid, after describing the tablet much like Plater as procession bringing a new relic into a city, notes that the relief has to have come from Byzantium, not from Trier. “Although the building is reminiscent of the Porta Nigra and you think the Empress with the cross is Helena, mother of Constantine, who according to legend has given several relics to Trier, the ivory tablet makes no reference to Trier.”¹²⁴

Plater’s ivory tablet argument diverged from both the 1844 clergy and Leibertz’s use of evidence. Plater made no appeal to fate, destiny, God’s will, or divine intervention in relating the story of the tablet. He laid out his argument, but, like the other 1890s scientific reports, he did not conclude that it alone proved the Coat was authentic. Rather, the tablet was only one piece of the puzzle. It helped to establish that the Helena legend had precedence, possibly as early as the fourth century. Plater, like Bishop Korum, explored new forms of relic corroboration in microscopes, fiber analyses, and archaeology.

¹²² Plater, *Holy Coat of Trèves*, 44.

¹²³ The tablet can be seen here: <http://www.dominformation.de/internet-de/nav/a48/a487036c-2733-7401-54ab-d11d8bc1d2b3.htm> (Accessed 19 May 2015).

¹²⁴ See Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Schmid, “Die Elfenbeinschnitzerei des 5. Jahrhunderts ist ein Hauptwerk der Kunst der Spätantike, sie zeigt uns ein detailliertes Bild einer Reliquienprozession und des byzantinischen Hofzeremoniells,” <http://www.dominformation.de/internet-de/nav/a48/a487036c-2733-7401-54ab-d11d8bc1d2b3.htm> (Accessed 19 May 2015), “Auch wenn das Gebäude an die Porta Nigra erinnert und man bei der Kaiserin mit dem Stabkreuz an Helena, die Mutter Kaiser Konstantins denkt, die der Trierer Kirche der Legende nach zahlreiche Reliquien geschenkt hat, dürfte die Elfenbeinschnitzerei keine Bezüge nach Trier aufweisen: Die Tafel gelangte erst im 19. Jahrhundert aus einer Privatsammlung in den Domschatz.”

Speaking Past Pilgrims, A Question of Reception: Authenticity beyond the 1890s

The Catholic laity had their own measurements for authenticity and resisted qualifications regarding relic origins and credibility after the 1890s analyses.¹²⁵ In an anonymous prayer three weeks before the start of the 1925 pilgrimage, one Catholic linked the veracity of the Aachen relics to German ascendancy. The prayer asked God to strengthen the city, to show His power by healing pilgrims, give the poor security, the sinner new life, and the bereaved consolation. Here authenticity was guaranteed by results: comfort, increase in attendance, healing. In late April 1925, parents wrote in to complain to the Aachen canons that the religious instruction teacher, Neuss, told their children that the Aachen relics were not authentic.¹²⁶ The parents complained that there was already enough confusion in the world and that Neuss was undermining the religious lives of their sons. They further noted that telling children they did not have to believe in the relics was un-pedagogical. They called on the bishop to force Neuss to recant his tactless speech. In his defense, Neuss asked the bishop whether or not religious instruction was supposed to enlighten the students. He protested that he only confirmed Church teaching, and had not answered completely negatively. The student had specifically asked about the relics after school - Neuss felt he could speak freely.¹²⁷ Although the authenticity of the relics was not an official part of church dogma, Aachen residents took pride in the treasures of Charlemagne and viewed the objects as an important part of Catholic belief.

Nationalistic Catholics understood pilgrimage as part of an ancient German tradition, whether or not the object at the end of the journey was authentic. Thus the *Rheinisch Westfäl.*

¹²⁵ Perhaps the most clear form of resisting clerical historical descriptions of the relics came in the form of pilgrims ascribing great worth to *Andenken* in proximity to the Rhenish sanctuaries. One example not included in the "Economy of the Sacred" chapter: in 1925 Frau Anton Schumacher wrote to Aachen from Adenau bez. Koblenz asking for silk and an "authentic Andenken" (etliche *Andenken*) because she was too sick and impoverished to attend the festival. See DAA, PA 79, "Adenau bez Koblenz, Frau Anton Schumacher."

¹²⁶ DAA, PA 66, "Aachen 25. iv. 25."

¹²⁷ DAA, PA 66, "Aachen, den 1. Mai 1925." "Auch da habe ich meine Antwort rein negativ nicht gehalten."

Volksfreund reported that the Aachen pilgrimage was tied not only to Charlemagne, but to the legacy of St. Bonifacius and the establishment of Central Europe as the Holy Roman Empire.¹²⁸ Furthermore, Pope Leo III consecrated the Aachen cathedral in 804 and Pope Leo X approved the Aachen pilgrimage in 1530, making the journey as important as traveling to Rome or Jerusalem. Here the important figures are not Jesus, Mary, or John the Baptist, but the Christian founders of “Germany.” In 1925, Dr. Felix Brüll also saw pilgrimage to Aachen as part of early German history, “We see already the ancient Germans on the trek...in their future and current home country, in Gaul, Italy, and Hispania.”¹²⁹ Brüll thus equated pilgrimage with German military expansion into the rest of the Western European continent.

Catholic pamphleteers, like cure-seekers previously analyzed, pointed to the results of the pilgrimage as evidence for the authenticity of the relics. If thousands of people took to the roads and numerous bodies had been transformed then obviously the items in Aachen or Trier had a link with the divine. Even after the 1890s investigations, these “fruits of the pilgrimage” arguments perpetuated Marx and von Hommer’s 1844 use of historical common sense to explain relic origins. In his *Pilgrim Guide*, W.v.d. Fuhr included a chapter on the authenticity of the Aachen relics. For Fuhr, there are two main, interdependent, reasons that the Aachen relics were actually from the first century. First, Charlemagne was highly intelligent and would not have been fooled into acquiring a fake relic. Fuhr asked the 1895 pilgrims, “Would King Charlemagne, this deliberate monarch, call upon a relic, without confirming the authenticity with

¹²⁸ DAA, PA 58, (Beilage zum *Rheinisch Westfäl. Volksfreund*), “Wie aber seine Nachfolger, so bewahrte auch das deutsche Volk durch alle Zeiten hindurch treu und dankbar das Andenken an den großen Kaiser, und mit Recht: Karl und der h. Bonifacius waren ja die Gründer des heiligen römischen Reiches deutscher Nation.”

¹²⁹ DAA, PA 68, “Zur Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt von Dr. Felix Brüll,” “Wir sehen schon die alten Germanen auf der Wanderung und finden sie nicht lange nach ihrem geschichtlichen Auftreten in ihrem späteren und heutigen Heimatlande, in Gallien, Italien und Hispanien wieder.”

the popes, bishops, and princes from whom he received it?”¹³⁰ Clearly not. As further evidence for this point, Fuhr looked to the 813 Council of Mainz, which affirmed Charlemagne’s practice of only allowing the laity to honor those relics that ecclesiastical authorities affirmed as worthy of veneration.¹³¹ In addition, historical contingencies had destroyed the paper evidence of the origins of the four Aachen relics and so pilgrims had to rely on Charlemagne’s good judgment. Following Charlemagne’s death, the Carolingians and their successors, failed to protect Aachen’s documents. In 881, the Normans turned Charlemagne’s cathedral into a stable and burned the palace and churches. Later, Aachen suffered fires in 1146, 1224, and a cathedral fire in 1236. However, these were not nearly as bad as the 1656 fire that once again burned the churches, 4,660 houses, and the Council and Alderman archives.¹³² War and violence in the past meant that it was unreasonable of critics to expect an unbroken documentary genealogy of Rhineland relics. Authors like Fuhr and Brüll pointed to a continuity of practice as a partial explanation of relic legitimacy.

Between 1895 and 1925 the Catholic press linked pilgrimage to identity-politics, German Catholics revered items because they always had and would forevermore. In 1925, much like Brüll’s Gauls of the past, Germans continued to make pilgrimages across Europe; to Kevelaer, southern France, Spain, Switzerland, Rome, and even Jerusalem.¹³³ That same year, the Aachen clergy sent out a flurry of press releases to German newspapers that included potential articles for publication. In, “Die Aachener Heiligtümer!” clerics addressed the question of authenticity

¹³⁰ W.v.d. Fuhr (Rektor), *Die Heilighümer Aachens, Burtscheids und der ehemaligen Abtei Cornelimünster: Festschrift zur Aachener Heilighüthumsfahrt vom 10. bis 24. Juli 1895*. (Aachen: Druck von Oetterle & Co., 1895), 41, “Sollte nun Kaiser Karl d. Große, dieser umsichtsvolle Monarch, sich eine Reliquie haben zustellen lassen, ohne von den Päpsten, Bischöfen oder Fürsten, von denen er sie erhielt, über deren Echtheit sich Gewißheit zu verschaffen?”

¹³¹ Fuhr, *Die Heilighümer*, 41.

¹³² Fuhr, *Die Heilighümer*, 43.

¹³³ DAA, PA 68, “Prozessionen nach heiligen Orten in der Nähe und in der Ferne zu veranstalten und Wallfahrten selbst über die Alpen und über die See, bis nach Rom und Jerusalem, bis zum südlichen Frankreich und nach Spanien zu unternehmen. Einsiedeln in der Schweiz und in der rheinischen Heimat Kevelar”.

by stressing Charlemagne's relations to the Byzantine empire and his desire to set up Aachen as a holy city on par with Rome and Constantinople.¹³⁴ Charlemagne had good connections for relics, he was close ("dear friends") to Pope Hadrian (772-795) and Leo III (795-816).¹³⁵ Charlemagne received gifts from the rulers of Persia and Baghdad, he helped the Patriarch of Jerusalem, he had connections in the east. Because of his prestige, world leaders sent the Aachen emperor various Christian relics. Both Charles the Bald and Charles the Fat reported that Charlemagne collected relics, although these official Aachen press releases again pointed to the various fires and sackings of the city that destroyed any accurate records of the emperor's holdings. Here, importantly, the point of the article is not to offer definitive proof, but to explain the possibility of authenticity to the public, "So long as one is not able to bring-in-evidence to the contrary [they] should not and must not revile and despise the faith of pious Catholics."¹³⁶

Also in 1925, Cardinal Schulte, from Cologne, addressed the merit of the relics during the opening ceremony of the Aachen pilgrimage. Schulte adopted a cautious position vis-a-vis the authenticity issue. The Cardinal stressed that thus far no one could completely discount the relics, even though reliable historical sources went back only to the eighth and ninth centuries.¹³⁷ The relics came from "Especially with our relics, which do not first originate from the uncritical period of the crusades, for our relics, which we have inherited from our spiritually and morally healthy German ancestors of the earliest time."¹³⁸ Like interpersonal relationships, commerce, and civic life, relics required trust. For Schulte, turning to relics required no more trust than what

¹³⁴ DAA, PA 68, "Die Aachener Heiligtümer!"

¹³⁵ DAA, PA 68, "innigster Freund".

¹³⁶ DAA, PA 68, "Solange man also nicht Beweise des Gegenteils bei-zu-bringen vermag soll und darf man den Glauben frommer Katholiken nicht schmähen und verachten."

¹³⁷ *Aachener Rundschau*, "Der Beginn der Aachener Feierliche Oeffnung des Marienschreines und Erhebung der Heiligtümer. Aachen, den 10. Juli 1925," Aachen, Freitag, 10. July 1925.

¹³⁸ *Aachener Rundschau*, "Besonders bei unseren Reliquien, die nicht erst aus der kritiklosen Periode der Kreuzzüge stammen, bei unsern Reliquien, die wir von unsern geistig und sittlich gesunden deutschen Vorfahren der frühesten Zeit überkommen haben?"

was required to overpay for an item and expect correct change in return. Catholics should look to the 1000 years of Germans venerating the Aachen relics and depend on the reliability of their German forefathers. In other words, researchers had not demonstrated that the four cloth items were illegitimate, so pilgrims should carry on as they had in the past. Schulte promoted faith in the Catholic people of the past as an argument for the genuineness of Aachen relics. He did not emphasize a Scripture-based argument, though Schulte later mentions Paul's garment healing in the Acts of the Apostles, but a reliance on Catholic tradition and the word of the clergy.

In Saxony, in 1930, the authenticity of the Aachen relics remained a point of contention between Protestants and Catholics. For example, the Aachen authorities promised to send Saxon teachers more information about the relics and recommended they consult Cardinal Schulte's opening homily from 1925, the 1925 *Pilgrim Book*, and Dr. Schiffer's work on the cultural history of the Marian shrine.¹³⁹ Aachen clergy further offered the encouragement that "Viennese academics" were making a pilgrimage to Aachen, ostensibly to show that the journey was respectable among the *Bürgertum*. Finally, for a quick counter-offensive, teachers could remind Protestants that they held Luther's personal items in the Wartburg as venerable, so why should the Aachen shrine be different?

The question of relic authenticity did not wane between 1832 and 1937, but remained an important topic with each successive pilgrimage. Thus, in 1937, articles like "Are the relics authentic?" and "What the Carolingian period reports on the Aachen relics" continued to appear in the Catholic press.¹⁴⁰ The *Ketteler-Feuer*, based in Munich, reported, "the authenticity [of the relics] was based on human, but credible, evidence."¹⁴¹ For the *Ketteler-Feuer* author, the

¹³⁹ DAA, PA 80, "Mein lieber Landmesser!"

¹⁴⁰ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.9. DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.10, H. Schiffers, "Was die Karolingerzeit über die Aachener Reliquien berichtet," *Sanct Josephsblatt*, Bonn, Nr. 19, 9 May 1937.

¹⁴¹ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.10, *Ketteler-Feuer*, "Die Heiligtumsfahrt nach Aachen." München, 3. Juni 1937.

evidence in favor of authentic relics was overwhelming. Although the original Charlemagne documents had been lost to time, there was the fact that Alcuin, one of Charlemagne's counselors, suggested that the emperor was interested in assembling relics. The author pointed to Angilbert's 799 report that Aachen was gathering relics from around the world. Charlemagne had personal relationships with Popes Hadrian I (772-795) and Leo III (795-816), thus "we can conclude that these two Popes gave Charlemagne valuable, authentic relics as gifts."¹⁴² There were also the Georg Rauschen legend of Charlemagne from the eleventh or twelfth century and the Albrici Chronicle of 1238 that suggested Charlemagne had acquired one or more of the Aachen relics. Even with this array of evidence, the author drew no definitive conclusions, "one can make of the authenticity of the relics what one wants."¹⁴³ However, the author suggests that to disagree with the authenticity was to countermand the beliefs of bishops, saints, cardinals, and thousands of pilgrims.¹⁴⁴ The Catholic press in Bavaria reaffirmed that believing in the relics was not part of dogma, the *Ketteler-Feuer* but also informed readers that not believing was obstinacy, a refusal to carefully and fairly consider the mound of evidence in favor of the veracity of the relics.

For 1930s church leaders authenticity meant a link to German forefathers, which was more historically secure than demonstrating that relics originated in the first century. Clergy thus continued to respond to the times with new justifications for pilgrimage. In 1937, the Aachen general press release announcing the upcoming pilgrimage referred newspaper readers interested

¹⁴² DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.10, "können wir doch den Schluß ziehen, daß diese beiden Päpste Karl dem Großen wertvollste, echte Reliquien zum Geschenke machten."

¹⁴³ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.10, "Man kann sich zur Echtheit der Reliquien stellen wie man will."

¹⁴⁴ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.10, "Tatsache ist, daß tausende und abertausende Katholiken in den Jahrhunderten nach Aachen gepilgert sind. Kaiser und Könige, Fürsten und Adelige, heilige, von denen nur die hl. Brigitta, der sel. Heinrich Suso, die hl. Dorothea von Montau genannt seien, Bischöfe und Kardinäle. Sie alle haben an die Echtheit der Reliquien geglaubt."

in the authenticity of the Aachen relics to Dr. Schiffers' work on the topic.¹⁴⁵ As additional evidence, though, the release reminded readers that the relics, since 1239, had been on display every seven years and had rested in Aachen since Charlemagne's lifetime.¹⁴⁶ *Der Johannesbote* in Schneidemühl, for example, printed the official release, which relied on Schiffers and Klinkenberg to offer tentative explanations about the origins of the relics, but conceded that "Our generation has become more critical, due to the intellectual development of the last centuries, than the strong belief [of the] Middle Ages."¹⁴⁷ Now that cleric-led research challenged the origins of the Aachen relics, it was up to priests and the Catholic press to reframe the past of the four items. In 1937, newspapers followed several nineteenth-century relic authenticity explanations, and even noted the same broad story, that the Aachen relics came to the town via Byzantium and Charlemagne.¹⁴⁸ They cited older sources, for example, to argue that Emperor Leo I moved Mary's relic from Galilee to Constantinople in the fifth century. Yet, there was an important distinction in 1937, "we venerate these relics because they are sacred inheritance of our fathers, and saw the most important part of German history over a thousand years. Our generation is not ashamed of the past: by holding high the religious legacy of their fathers and forefathers it only fulfills a loving duty of high respect and gratitude."¹⁴⁹ The relics were old,

¹⁴⁵ Correspondence shows the pressing concern of establishing the link between Charlemagne and the relics as evidence of authenticity, for both domestic and foreign pilgrims, see DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.31, "15. Mai 1937, An Schriftwaltung."

¹⁴⁶ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.9, "Große Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt".

¹⁴⁷ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.11, *Der Johannesbote*, Schneidemühl, "Sind die Aachener Heiligtümer echt?," 4. Juli 1937, Nr. 27, 4-5.

¹⁴⁸ For evidence that the Aachen clergy wrote and sent out press releases, including, "Sind die Aachener Heiligtümer echt?" see DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.32, "23.6.1937 An Schriftwaltung."

¹⁴⁹ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.11, "wir verehren diese Reliquien, weil sie heiliges Erbgut unserer Väter sind und den Hochtteil deutscher Geschichte über ein Jahrtausend lang gesehen haben. Unsere Generation schämt sich der Vergangenheit nicht: dadurch, daß sie die fromme Hinterlassenschaft ihrer Väter und Ahnen hochhält, erfüllt sie nur eine liebe Pflicht der Hochachtung und Dankbarkeit."

and, more importantly, were part of ancient German religious practices and therefore deserved respect and honor.

Also in the 1930s, the Nazis challenged Rhenish clerics' version of German pre-history. If Nazis appealed to *Urgeschichte* and the ancient origins of Germanic tribes as a new basis for German society, Catholic leaders played along by aligning their relics with the first German king, Charlemagne. Catholics worked to firmly anchor Charlemagne to themselves, even as National Socialists strove to parallel their own policies with Charlemagne.¹⁵⁰ Gauleiter Staatsrat Grohé in 1937, explained in the *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, that every German citizen has religious freedom, so long as it is not anti-German. However, Grohé protested the Catholic Church co-opting Charlemagne for its own purposes. Charlemagne wanted a large German Reich and achieved his goal via warfare; without conflict his Reich would have been untenable. Like Hitler, Charlemagne had lifted the Germanic race out of selfishness and particularism.¹⁵¹ Grohé reminded Catholics that Catholic bishops had to humble themselves before Charlemagne and walk underneath his throne. Similarly, the 1937 Church should accept the new regime and not worry about "papal concern-encyclicals."¹⁵² Charlemagne was German, not Catholic, he gave the months German names, he assembled Germanic hero songs, and created the rules of a German Reich. To counter this Nazi claim on Charlemagne's legacy, the clerics fell back on 1840s arguments regarding the historical origins of their relics. They returned to common sense

¹⁵⁰ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.30, *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, Gauleiter Staatsrat Grohé, "Zur Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt", 24.7.1937.

¹⁵¹ DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.30, *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, Gauleiter Staatsrat Grohé, "Zur Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt", 24.7.1937, "so wenig wie wir heute ein einiges deutsches Volk hätten, wenn Adolf Hitler nicht die Eigensucht der Klassen und die Eigenwilligkeit partikularistischer und separatistischer Kreise gebrochen hätte".

¹⁵² DAA, Domkapitel 4.1.1.30, *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, Gauleiter Staatsrat Grohé, "Zur Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt", 24.7.1937, "das praktische Christentum in unseren Tagen im Nationalsozialismus enthalten ist, vom nationalsozialistischen Staat allein gepflegt und vom nationalsozialistischen deutschen Volk trotz päpstlicher Sorge-Enzykliken betätigt wird."

historical explanations to contend that Catholics, not Nazis, had the only legitimate claim to the founder of the first Reich.

Conclusion

The exact material composition of the Trier Coat continues to fascinate. In 1995, as part of the preparation for the 1996 pilgrimage, textile conservationist Mechthild Flury-Lemberg wrote about her encounter with the Coat in the 1970s, when the cathedral was being renovated, and offered an analysis of the Coat's fabrics. Flury-Lemberg described a layering of different components as a "Sandwich."¹⁵³ This textile "sandwich" contained 7 different material layers on the backside of the Coat:

1. red-brown silk (1891)
2. brownish fabric (1890)
3. fine silk gauze
4. a felt layer
5. greenish taffeta
6. a felt layer
7. silk gauze

Flury-Lemberg proposed three stages of the Coat, an original garment, which was reinforced with a liturgical tunic from the sixteenth century, and, finally, lined with brown fabric and coated with a preservative in 1890-91. Ultimately, though, she conceded that "An analysis from the Coat's present conditions can do little more than guess."¹⁵⁴ During the 2012 Trier pilgrimage, one of Flury-Lemberg's students, textile archaeologist Regula Schorta, gave an interview with *Paulinus*, the daily pilgrimage newspaper. Dr. Schorta explained that she felt very privileged to

¹⁵³ Mechthild Flury-Lemberg, "Das Reliquiar Für die Reliquie vom Heiligen Rock Christi," in *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier: Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi*, Erich Aretz, Michael Embach, Martin Persch, Franz Ronig (eds.) (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1995): 691-708, 696.

¹⁵⁴ Flury-Lemberg, "Das Reliquiar," 707, "Darum kann eine Analyse, die von heutigen Gegebenheiten ausgeht, kaum über Vermutungen hinauskommen."

view the Coat in the 1980s when Flury-Lemburg participated in an inspection of the relic.¹⁵⁵ In the course of the interview, the closest Schorta came to an evaluation of the genuineness of the garment was a rhetorical comment, “We must carefully distinguish findings and interpretation. Often the latter is obvious, seems more clear, but caution is appropriate. The Holy Robe is a robe, sure. But was the robe ever worn by a human? Is that what we have before us today? Perhaps, more likely, the image of a garment? Sometimes textile technology can give factual answers to even very basic questions. Ideally, we can give a ‘biography to an object’”¹⁵⁶ Even after the 1890-91 investigations, definitive answers regarding the Trier Coat’s textile composition remain contentious.

By the mid-twentieth century, pilgrims to Trier and Aachen encountered two main approaches to authenticity in official press releases. Now, with the Helena narrative, clergy included additional information indicating the Trier Coat came from the time of Christ. For example, in a draft article for the pilgrims of Basel, the author stated “The garment is...as worn by the inhabitants of Palestine during the time of Christ, unadorned, 1.48 long, below 1.09 wide, above 0.70, a simple design with short wide sleeves. The Holy Coat hangs on a rod in a specially created purpose box, which is stored in a cabinet in a fixed iron vault.”¹⁵⁷ Not only were the measurements and style historically accurate, but the relic was stored in a space beyond tampering, suggesting that it could not be switched out or stolen. The early modern forms of

¹⁵⁵ Eva-Maria Warner, “Geheimnisse der Vergangenheit lüften,” *Paulinus Tageszeitung zur Wallfahrt*, 2. Mai 2012.

¹⁵⁶ Warner, “Geheimnisse der Vergangenheit,” “Dabei muss sorgfältig unterschieden werden zwischen Befund und Interpretation. Oft ist diese letztere sehr naheliegend, scheint mehr als nur eindeutig, Vorsicht ist aber immer angebracht. Der Heilige Rock ist ein Gewand, sicher. Aber wurde dieses Gewand je von einem Menschen getragen? Ist das, was wir heute vor uns haben vielleicht eher das Abbild eines Kleidungsstückes? Manchmal können textiltechnologische Fakten Antworten sogar auf solche, sehr grundsätzlichen Fragen geben. Im Idealfall können wir die Biographie eines Gegenstandes erarbeitet, seinen “Lebensweg” nachzeichnen.”

¹⁵⁷ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 125, 481, “Das Kleidungsstück ist ein ungenähter Leibrock, wie ihn die Einwohner Palästinas zur Zeit Christi trugen, unverziert, 1.48 lang, unten 1.09 breit, oben 0.70, einfacher Ausführung mit kurzen breiten Ärmeln. Das hl. Gewand hängt an einem Stab in einem eigens dazu geschaffenen Kasten, der in einem eisernen Schrank in festen Gewölbe aufbewahrt wird.”

establishing authenticity were not subsumed by historical contingency, fiber analyses, and microscopes.

Over and over, priests reminded pilgrims that relics were not part of Catholic orthodoxy, pilgrims need not subscribe to the belief that the Trier Coat and Marian Shrine relics were authentic to be in good standing with the Church. Yet, this caveat was often accompanied by exhortations to purify oneself before making the journey to the Rhineland. In an 1891 pastoral letter, Bishop Korum, Dr. Willems, and General Vicariate Henke reminded pilgrims that the Coat was a *Symbol* and remained outside of essential Catholic teachings and beliefs. At the same time, though, they urged pilgrims to condition their bodies in the days leading up to their journey, “I therefore decree that during the three days before the opening ceremony Catholics should pray and think (*Andacht*) on the relic, and the last day before the start of the exhibition is to be a day of fasting and abstinence throughout the diocese.”¹⁵⁸ The *Symbol* demanded respect, confession, and the Eucharist before pilgrims approached. This clerical regulation of the pilgrimage sacraments seems rather reverent for a potentially inauthentic relic, but reveals the disconnect between pilgrim and clerical authenticity expectations.

For pilgrim participants authenticity meant results: healing, help, relief. Purification before traveling only increased the import of the pilgrim journey and helped explain the sacrifice of the pilgrimage as a spiritual sanctification (see Chapter One). Between 1832 and 1937 Rhineland clerics offered a myriad of explanations about the genuineness of Aachen and Trier treasures: historical sources, scientific tests, precedent, national or Catholic pride. When clerics addressed non-Catholic critics, though, they ran the risk of losing touch with the religious

¹⁵⁸ BATr, Abt. 91, Nr. 246, 7, “Ich verordnen daher, daß an den drei Tagen vor der Eröffnung der Feier eine Andacht vor dem ausgesetzten hochwürdigsten Gute stattfindet, und der letzte Tag vor Beginn der Ausstellung in der ganzen Diöcese als ein Fast- und Abstinenztag gehalten werde.”

aspirations of actual pilgrims. Thus, by the 1930s, faced with the Nazi conquest of the past and newspapers perpetuating the early-nineteenth century narratives that linked the Aachen Marian Shrine to Charlemagne and the Trier Coat to Helena and Constantine, the officials backed off. Rather than risking decoupling the laity from pilgrimage, officials once again embraced the *Zeitgeist* and linked pilgrimage to ancient Germanic practices, thereby once more expanding the base of acceptable truth to include an old argument with new significance.

Conclusion Verifying Presence

When Frau Anna Maria Wagner arrived in Trier she had been sick for four years. Her troubles began when she was thirty-three years old and experienced a growing discomfort in her left lower jaw. The pain developed into a large, red, and inflamed tumor that stretched from her throat to her left eye. She could not sleep because of the constant pain. The people around Wagner tried to help her and offered a number of home remedies, but these brought no relief. One morning her tumor ruptured and a “bloody material flowed unceasingly out of her mouth and even in her throat.”¹ Afterwards, Anna Maria stopped bleeding in her mouth, but the external wound refused to close. Nearly every hour she had to change the bandages on her face, which were soaked with alternatively white, then yellowish fluid flecked with blood. The open tumor continued to expand until finally Anna Maria visited the district physician, Dr. Wieler from Lützerath. Dr. Wieler could not help her with the wound.

On 20 August 1844 Anna Maria and her husband began their pilgrimage to Trier. They hoped that the Holy Coat would restore what Dr. Wieler could not heal. When they neared the bridge over the Mosel River Anna Maria drew to the back of the procession because she did not want to bring undue attention to her face. In the Trier cathedral she removed her facial veil and used her handkerchief to keep the wound dry. When Anna Maria came before the Coat she angled the tumor so that it faced the relic. She also touched an *Andenken* to the Coat before exiting the church. She did not know that Bishop Arnoldi allowed the sick to directly touch the Holy Coat. Outside she was disappointed to find that the tumor persisted. She covered the open

¹ *Drei und zwanzig wunderbare Heilungen die sich während der Ausstellung des h. Rockes in der Domkirch: zu Trier vom 18. August bis 6. Oktober 1844 ereignet. Ein Sendschreiben für Alle, welche Wahrheit leiben und suchen* (Coblenz: J. Hölscher, 1845), 11. Anna Maria Wagner’s story plays out on pp. 11-14.

wound once again, but before she did so she placed the *Andenken* against her mangled cheek. When Anna Maria got home her bandages were dry and her face was restored. She was healed. Anna Maria was healed by her proximity to the relic, by the *direct* contact of sacred presence - contained within the Holy Coat *Andenken* - with the open tumor on the side of her face. For four unsuccessful years Anna Maria Wagner sought a remedy in both homemade medicine and with the district physician. Only the sacred center of Trier restored her face to its former health.

Anna Maria visited the Coat in 1844, by the time of the next Trier pilgrimage, in 1891, her corroborating evidence would have been insufficient to confirm a miraculous healing. Anna Maria's story appeared in an anonymous pamphlet as one of twenty-three miraculous cases of healing. The author did not have an imprimatur, church approval for the publication. But the author did offer readers two witnesses to Wagner's recovery. The first was Anna Maria's husband, Mathias Steffens; the second was listed as the "wife of Caspar Benz," Margaretha Benz. Neither Margaretha nor Mathias would have qualified for Bishop Korum's 1891 panel of experts who reviewed miracle claims over three years.

In 1894, Korum had to account for pilgrimage critics and the legacy of Johannes Ronge when he spelled out his definition of miracle. Pilgrims like Anna Maria here, and Frau Willmann from the introduction, had to account only for the pains in their bodies. This difference in orientation - Anna Maria looking to the Coat for internal help with her tumor and puss-ridden throat vs. Korum looking outward to potential critics and backward to Gildemeister and Ronge - laid the foundation for two diverging discourses about the divine presence within the Rhineland sacred objects. To curb criticism, Korum wrote in his list of approved miracles that none of the cases included "hysteria." The 1894 miracle review committee dismissed anything called

“hysteria” that did not include “organic changes” to the pilgrim.² Despite Korum’s carefully-worded conception of miracle at least thirty-two pilgrims, sick with “hysteria,” attended in 1933.³

The major turning point for German Catholic nineteenth-century religious practices was 1844, not German Unification, the *Kulturkampf*, or the First World War.⁴ After 1844, German Catholics developed two distinct discourses regarding the authenticity of Rhineland relics. In this book, I have linked these two discourses to the attendees (pilgrims) and coordinators (clergy) of Rhineland pilgrimages.⁵ In response to internal criticisms and external challenges, clergy began to dwell on relics and their significance for religious practices differently from pilgrims.⁶ Following Ronge’s call to sever spiritual and financial ties with Rome, and his criticisms of pilgrimage and Trier Bishop Arnoldi - the “blind tool” of the papacy - clergy worked to restrain what pilgrims said about relics and restrict their access to sacred objects.⁷ After 1844, clerics

² Korum, *Wunder*, v. In Bishop Korum’s 1894 list of miracles during the 1891 exhibition only one person with hysteria is mentioned, Elisabeth Schmitz. And Schmitz did not actually receive a divine “miracle,” but a “grace,” that helped her overcome her condition of sadness/hysteria.

³ See Appendix 6. Again this 1933 number was probably much higher. There are 99 Akten in the BATr that are devoted to doctor’s notes confirming that pilgrims were sick. Trier officials required these testaments for the ill to gain access to the cathedral. I have taken detailed notes on 19 of these Akten, which are arranged in alphabetical order, and found 3,625 applications within. Taking this as the average there are 190.79 applications per Akta times 81 Akten I have not included plus the 3,625 equals 19,078 applications. Of course, the actual number of people is likely much higher than this as there will be an increased number of applications with more common first letters in last names, for example, “T” and “S.” See BATr Abt. 90, Nr. 175- Abt. 90, Nr. 199-70. In the charts that follow I am working out of BATr Abt. 90, Nr. 175- Nr. 191. The hope is that these 3,625 applications are representative as they are taken as they appear in the records.

⁴ Again, much of the historiography on pilgrimage takes a political focus and this has permeated into popular literature. For example, see Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 493-94. For Carroll, the 1891 Trier pilgrimage was “nothing less than an ongoing political victory rally.” This is, of course, part of the story but Catholics did not attend solely because they were Zentrum Party supporters.

⁵ Throughout this dissertation I have let the participants speak for themselves; from Johannes Ronge’s critiques of pilgrimage practices to Catholics in the American Midwest asking for *Andenken*, see Brad Gregory, cited above, on letting historical actors explain their practices and beliefs.

⁶ On dwelling see Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 2006, esp. chapter 4, 81-122.

⁷ See Johannes Ronge, *Sendschreiben an die Katholiken Deutschlands von Johannes Ronge* (Selbstverlag, Reinhold Baist: Frankfurt am Main, o.d.). This pamphlet also appears in LHA Ko, Bestand 442, Nr. 10439.

described relics as symbols (*Symbole*) of German unity, Catholic religious practice, or as reminders of Catholic dominance in the past. Instead of publicly proclaiming miracles as they occurred, the clergy began urging caution in claims about the divine presence within relics.⁸ In official pamphlets, newspaper articles, and in their homilies, clerics framed Rhineland relics as important traditions regardless of their authenticity. Yet clergy never satisfied staunch critics and did not gain conclusive evidence for relic authority. Church leaders did succeed, however, in placing obstacles between pilgrims and relics. Pilgrims sought unmediated access to divine presence, but clergy scheduled time with the relic and in the cathedral they ensured that no pilgrim paused for too long in front of relics.

While clergy focused on the methods of pilgrimage and relic detractors, pilgrim participants continued to pursue divine presence, especially in the realms of *Andenken* and miracle culture.⁹ As pilgrims converged at sites in the Rhineland they also diverged from the relic discourse Aachen and Trier clergy and Pilgrimage Committees cultivated. After 1844, pilgrims still dwelt on the four Aachen relics and the Holy Coat of Trier as sacred sites. In the relics pilgrims found a place where heaven and earth met.¹⁰ They resisted restrictions placed on access to relics by church authorities. They filled out their medical questionnaires (*Fragebogen*) in order to visit relics while infirm; wrote songs; and prayed for divine intervention through the relics. Pilgrims saw their bodies and their landscapes as porous, open to the possibility of God

⁸ On presence see Gumbrecht, cited above, and William Egginton, *How the World Became a Stage: Presence, Theatricality, and the Question of Modernity* (Albany: State University of New York, 2003).

⁹ Throughout this project I have used individual voices to characterize a group. Barbara Nimri Aziz has previously called for this approach as an answer to “communitas.” See Barbara Nimri Aziz, “Personal Dimensions of the Sacred Journey: What Pilgrims Say,” *Religious Studies* 23(2) (June 1987): 247-261. For a recent study that emphasizes continuity see Monica Black’s examination of burial practices in Berlin from Weimar to the Berlin Wall. Monica Black, *Death in Berlin: From Weimar to Divided Germany* (Washington, D.C.: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁰ Peter Brown describes a similar process in early Christianity that took place at the sites of martyr graves. See Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), esp. “Chapter 1: The Holy and the Grave,” 1-22.

intervening in the world by changing their corporeal composition or earthly condition. Pilgrims to Aachen and Trier did not see various advances in science as challenging to their sacred practices: physicians could not heal Frau Willmann's pneumonia in 1933, for example.

Pilgrims incorporated elements of modernity that helped them approach the sacred center; trains and automobiles meant more pilgrims could get to the cities. Pilgrims trekked to these foci of presence in increasing numbers between 1832 and 1937. They traveled circular paths in pursuit of the transcendent. Pilgrim correspondents saw their bodies and lives in terms of these sacred encounters, not as political or symbolic acts. Aachen and Trier pilgrims created and crossed sacred place, dwelled at the relics, then traveled back home. They demarcated the boundaries between holy and profane with their actions: singing, praying, and processing.

Rhineland clergy fixated on questions of relic authenticity (*Echtheit*) only after 1844 when Johannes Ronge declared the Trier Coat a representation of clerical greed and Gildemeister and von Sybel labeled the Coat a fraudulent object. In response to claims that venerating relics was superstitious, medieval, and backward; the clergy sought a modified modernity that included rationalistic explanations for affording relics an honored position. Clerics strove to synthesize the methodology of their opponents with sacred practices. They turned outward, away from pilgrims, and developed new defenses of both relics and popular pilgrimage practices. These included using scientific tests and archaeology to situate relics in biblical history, as well as the introduction of elaborate medical certificates for sick pilgrims.

Rhineland pilgrims reveal the limits of secularization in German and European society before the Second World War. Historians have proven that weekly attendance in both Protestant and Catholic services declined over the nineteenth century; but this statistical presentation does not capture the range of European religious practices. In Aachen and Trier Catholic men came

for healing, wanted their clubs (*Vereine*) publicly represented in processions, and volunteered to guard sacred objects. Pilgrim practices show remarkable continuity between 1832 and 1937, as participants at both ends of the century relied on tradition and established sacred events to orient themselves in the world.¹¹ The travelers wanted to honor the divine and sought out sacerdotal assistance. German regimes could not provide all letter-writers with work, the military could not protect their sons, and textile factories could not provide Rhinelanders with relic silk. In response to these perceived failings of the state and society pilgrims drew close to sites of sacred presence. Relics prompted Rhinelanders to move and act: to touch them, to write about them; to visit them; to sing and pray toward them; to cross landscapes; to create sacred place. This has been a history of five objects and the people in motion around them, about convergence at physical relics and divergence of what these sacred items meant or represented.

¹¹ See Gumbrecht's questioning of the twentieth-century chronotype. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "Incarnation, Now: Five Brief Thoughts and a Non-Conclusive Ending," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 8(2) (June 2011): 207-213.

Appendix 1

Selected Pilgrim Songs in Translation, 1839-1933

1839:

“Begrüssung des Aachener Heiligthums.”¹

“Greeting the Aachen Relics.”

Sey, o Heiligthum, begrüßt,
Da du jenes Kleinod bist,
Das aus rein bewährten Quellen
Und von Gott geweihten Stellen
Glaubensvoll für uns're Stadt
Kaiser Karl gesammelt hat.

Be, O Heiligthum, greeted,
Since you are that treasure,
That from pure, established sources
And from God's consecrated places
In faith for our city
That Charlemagne has collected.

Was nach alter Sagen Spruch
Einst Maria leidend trug,
Als den Heiland sie geboren,
Der vom Vater auserkoren,
Jenes Kleid bewahrst Du treu,
Jenes Kleid bleibt ewig neu.

What Mary according to ancient saying
Once carried in suffering,
As she bore the Savior,
Chosen by the Father,
That Garment you keep faithfully,
That Garment remains eternally new.

Sieh, es kam aus fernem Land
Uns ein anderes Liebespfand,
Jene dunkelgelbe Binde,
Die dem lieben Jesus-Kinde
Gegen Sturm und Windsgefahr
Einst die erste Rettung war.

Look, it came from a far country
For us another pledge of love,
That dark yellow Band,
Which the lovely Jesus-child
Against storm and winds
Once was the first rescue.

Seht Joannes blut'ges Tuch,
Worin man ihn damals trug,
Als er für sein treues Streben
hat das Leben hingegeben,
Und sein Haupt als Preis im Spiel
Eines schnöden Tanzes fiel.

Look at John's bloody cloth,
In which one carried him at the time
As he in his faithful pursuit
had given up his life,
And his head fell as the prize in the game
Of a filthy dance.

Stadt, du hegst noch unversehrt
Jenes Tuch, so hoch verehrt,
Das des Heilands Leib umhüllte,
Als er ganz die Schrift erfüllte;

City, you hold still intact
That cloth, so highly revered,
That enveloped the body of the Savior
When he completely fulfilled all the Scriptures;

¹ Anon, *Die Aachener Heiligthumsfahrt auf das Jahr 1839: neueste Beschreibung der Heiligthümer, welche alle sieben Jahre den Christgläubigen zur Verehrung vorgezeigt werden, nebst genauer Bezeichnung der übrigen Reliquien und der in geschichtlicher Beziehung merkwürdigen Ornate der hiesigen Münsterkirche* (Aachen: Vlieckx, 1839), 9-10. This song was still used up to the 1860s, but by 1895, Aachen had a new welcome song for the relics, see: W.v.d. Fuhr, *Die Heiligthümer Aachens, Burtscheids und der ehemaligen Abtei Cornelimünster. Festschrift zur Aachener Heiligthumsfahrt vom 10. bis 24. Juli 1895. Dem Hochwürdiem Stiftskapitel zu Aachen gewidmet und den frommen Bewohnern und andächtigen Besuchern der alten Kaiserstadt dargereicht* (Aachen: „Volksfreunds“, 1895).

Als er leidend für uns starb,
Und uns ew'ges Heil erwarb.

As he died painfully for us,
And we acquired eternal salvation.

Heiligthum, dein Werth ist groß!
Dich bewahrt der Kircheschoos
Seit viel Hunderten von Jahren,
Was für Schmach sie auch erfahren;
Deiner Wunder Wirksamkeit
Bot oft Schutz der Christenheit.

Heiligthum, your worth is great!
You preserve the bosom of the Church
Since many hundreds of years,
In indignity they also experienced;
Your wonderful properties
Often offered protection for Christendom.

Darum schauen wir auf Dich
Im Vertrauen inniglich,
Mit dem frommen Liebesflehen:
Laß uns Deine Gnade sehen,
Und uns rein von bösem ahn
Wandeln auf der Tugendbahn.

We therefore look at you
In intimate trust,
With pious, loving entreaty:
Let us see your grace,
And purify us from evil man
Transform our path to virtue.

1844:

“Lied auf den heiligen Rock.”² Nach der Melodie: Alles meinem Gott zu Ehren.
“Song to the Holy Coat.” To the Melody: All my honor to God.

1. Eilt beflügelt fromme Christen!
Eilt begeistert hoch erfreut
Voll vom wärmsten Dankgefühl
Zu dem Schatz der Heiligkeit,
Den die Hand der Vorsicht wieder
Unsrer Stadt zurückgestellt,
Den der wahre Christ noch immer
Heilig und höchst schätzbar hält.

Hasten inspired, pious Christians!
Hasten enthusiastically thrilled
Full of the warmest gratitude
To the treasure of Holiness,
The hand of prudence again
Our city postponed,
That the true Christian still
Holds sacred and highly treasurable.

2. Kommt von Liebe ganz durchdrungen,
Stimmt ein Lob- und Danklied an!
Singt mit Ehrfurcht vollen Zungen
Dem, Der uns hat wohl gethan.
Laßt uns dieses Heilthum achten
Würdig, wie es sich gebührt,
Es im Geist der Buß betrachten,
Tief von Gottes Huld gerührt.

Come completely imbued with love,
Voice a song of love and thanks!
Sing with full, reverent tongues
To Him who to us has done well.
Let us make this Heilthum
Worthy, as we ought,
View it in the spirit of penance,
Deeply stirred by God's grace.

3. Würdigstes der Alterthümer!
Das uns je die Welt gezeugt;
Dir sei nach dem Allerhöchsten
Ehre auch von uns erzeugt.
Denn du bist das heil'ge Kleinod,

Most worthy of antiquities!
That we and the world ever witnessed;
To you be after the Most High
Honor bestowed upon by us,
For you are the sacred Garment,

² Anon, *Andachtsübungen bei der feierlichen Aussetzung des heil. Rockes unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi in der Domkirche zu Trier, im Herbste des Jahres 1844* (Trier: Lintz'schen Buchhandlung, 1844), 4-5.

Welches Jesus lange Zeit
Als ein Kleid am Leib getragen
Hier in Seiner Sterblichkeit.

Which Jesus for a long time
Wore as a Garment on his body
Here in his death.

4. Wer kann all'die Wunder zählen,
Die in diesem heil'gen Kleid
Der Erlöser hat gewirkt
So viel Tausenden zur Freud!
Nur den Saum von diesem Kleide
hat ein krankes Weib berührt
Gleich gesund an Leib und Seele
Ward sie Jesu vorgeführt.

Who can count all the miracles,
In his sacred Coat
The Savior had worked
So many joy for thousands!
Only the hem of His Coat
Had touched a sick woman
Equally healthy in body and soul
She was presented to Jesus.

5. Dieses Kleid auf Thabor glänzte
Wie der Schnee beim Sonnenschein,
Nahm die Herzen der Apostel
Jesu mit Verwundrung ein.
Da war es ein klares Vorbild
Jener hohen Reinigkeit,
Die die Himmelsbürger kleidet
In dem Reich der Herrlichkeit.

This Coat shone at Tabor
As [bright as] the snow in sunshine,
It took the hearts of the apostles
Of Jesus with wonderment.
As it was a clear example
That high purity,
[In which] the citizens of heaven dress
In the kingdom of glory.

6. Dieses Kleid trug er am Oelberg,
Wo Er Blut wie Schweiß vergoß,
Als Er ging zur Schädelstätte,
Wo Sein letzter Tropfen floß.
Da ward es die Beut der Kriegsknecht,
Die mit wilder Grausamkeit
An das Kreuz genagelt haben
Ihn, den Herrn der Ewigkeit.

He wore this Coat on the Mount of Olives,
Where he shed his blood like sweat,
When he went to Calvary,
Where his last blood flowed.
Since it was the booty of a soldier
With the direst cruelty
Nailed to the cross
Him, the Lord of Eternity.

7. Heil'ges Kleid! du warest Zeuge
Da, wo Jesus stark und matt,
Stark in Thaten, matt durch Leiden,
Uns zum Heil gewirkt hat.
Werd auch Zeuge unsres Dankes,
Unsrer Ehrfurcht, unsrer Lieb,
Die wir dir dahier geloben,
Stärk in uns den heil'gen Trieb.

Holy Coat! you who were witness
There, where Jesus strong and feeble,
Strong in deeds, through feeble suffering,
For us has wrought Salvation.
You are also witness of our gratitude,
Our respect, our love,
Which we here promise you,
Strengthening in us the sacred instinct.

8. Du, der du dies Kleid anschauest,
Sei auch wohl auf das bedacht,
Was ein Gottmensch dir zum Nutzen,
Zur Erlösung hat vollbracht.
Weinen sollen Aller Augen,
Jeder, der den Heiland kennt,

You, who look on this Coat,
Be well also mindful of this,
What a God-Man for your benefit,
To Salvation has accomplished.
All eyes should weep,
Anyone who knows the Savior,

Und vertrauen auf Seine Güte
Weil Er ist, was Er Sich nennt.

And trusts in His goodness
Because He is, what He calls Himself.

9. Heiland! Du Hast hier auf Erden
Blinde, Lahme oft geheilt,
Und den Todten und den Sündern
Neues Leben mitgetheilt.
mach auch ißt, wir bitten flehend
Durch der Liebe Wunderkraft,
Die in diesem Kleid gewirket,
Uns gerecht und tugendhaft.

Savior! You have here on Earth
Blind, lame often healed,
And the dead and the sinners
Communicated new life.
Make also sustenance, we ask pleadingly
Through the miraculous power of love,
That was wrought in this Coat,
Us righteous and virtuous.

10. Christen! Trierer! macht euch würdig
Dieser hohen Vorzugs Gnad,
Jesus Rock hier zu besitzen:
Wandelt auf dem Tugendpfad!
Denkt, was einmal, was noch heute
Er zu unserm Heil gethan.
Freut euch, Fromme! zittert, Sünder!
Fangt ein neues Leben an.

Christians! Trier citizens! Make yourselves worthy
This high, preferential grace,
The Coat of Jesus to here have:
Walking on the path of virtue!
Think, what was, what even today
He has done for our Salvation.
Rejoice, pious! Tremble, sinner!
Begin a new life.

1867:

“Grußlied. h. Lendentuch.”³

“Greeting Song for Holy Loincloth”

Die Ihn entblößet hatten,
Beschenkt mit einem Gewand
Der Heiland, als Ihn Schatten
Der Finsterniß umwand.
Die Wunden die Ihn begossen,
Die Striemen die Ihn entstellt,
Dies Tuch von Blut durchflossen
Das Kleid sind so Er behält.

When bare, he was
Presented with a robe
The Savior, as he was shadowed by
The eclipse transformation.
The wounds poured upon Him,
The welts disfigured Him,
The cloth soaked with blood
Which the garment retains

Als in dem Kleid der Schmerzen
Ihn seine Mutter sah,
Wie bohrte ihr im Herzen
Das Schwert des Mitleids da.
Er hieß sie auf uns Sünder,
Uns auf sie Mutter seh'n,
Die uns dem Ueberwinder
Des Tod's gebar in Weh'n.

As in the Garment of Sorrows
He saw His mother,
Lik her, pierced in the heart
There the sword of compassion
He called on us sinners,
On us, to see [His] Mother,
The conqueror of death
Given to us in birth pangs.

³ Franz Bock, *Karl's des Großen Heiligthümer zu Aachen: kurze Beschreibung derselben nebst Betrachtungen und Gebeten bei der öffentlichen Zeigung; zur Erinnerung an die Aachener Heilighumsfahrt im Jahre 1867* (Köln: Schwann, 1867).

1881:

8. "Den Gästen," Mel. "Strömt herbei etc."⁴
 "The Guests,"

Offen steh'n des Domes Hallen
 In der heil'gen Gnadenzeit,
 Und zum Heiligthum zu wallen
 Sehnet sich die Christenheit.
 Strömt herbei aus allen Landen,
 Kommt mit gläubig-frommen Sinn;
 Bei den Heilighümern fanden
 Fromme Gnad' stets und Gewinn.

The Cathedral Halls stand open
 In the holy period of grace,
 And go up to the Heiligthum
 Long for the Christianity.
 Flowing forth from every land,
 Comes with pious-faith sense;
 Found in the Heilighümern
 Pious grace and profit.

Wer da trägt der Krankheit Schmerzen
 Hoffend zu dem Heiligthum,
 Und wer auch mit trübem Herzen
 Gläubig schaut nach Tröstung um:
 Den durchbebt "der Zeichen" Segen
 Geisterhaft, so er sich naht,
 O er fühlt, dass Gott zugegen,
 Und bei Gott ist Hilf und Gnad'.

Whoever carries the pain of disease
 Hoping to the Heiligthum
 And who also has a sad heart
 Believers looking for consolation to:
 By the trembling of "the signs" blessing
 Phantasmal, he will come near,
 Oh he feels, that God is present,
 And through God is help and grace.

Heil dem, der mit freier Stirne
 Sich zum Heiligthum bekennt,
 Ob der Feind mit blödem Hirne
 Es auch Tand und Trug benennt.
 Ob der Unglaub' höhnt und eifert,
 Wahre Du die Einfalt Dir.
 Wie's im Bösen brennt und geifert
 Singt es froh im Herzen Dir.

Blessed is he who with a clear brow
 Confesses to the Heiligthum,
 Whether the enemy with idiotic brains
 Names it [the Coat] baubles and deceit
 Whether the unbeliever jeers and disclaims,
 Truly the simplemindedness is yours.
 Such as burns and drools for evil
 Sing it gladly in your heart.

Die Ihr kommt, mit uns zu ehren
 Unser hehres Heiligthum,
 Ihr, die Priester, die uns lehren, -
 Und Ihr, Deutschlands Stolz und Ruhm,
 Die für's Recht der Kirche streiten, -
 All' Ihr, die um uns geschaart:
 Seid willkommen! Mög' begleiten
 Gottes Segen Eure Fahrt

That You come, with us to honor
 Our noble Relics,
 You, the priests who teach us,
 And You, Germany's pride and glory,
 You who fight for Church law,
 All you who rallied around us:
 You are welcome! May you be accompanied with
 God Blessing on your journey

1881:

10. "Zur Heiligthumsfahrt." Mel. "Was schimmert dort auf dem Berge so schön."⁵
 "To the Aachen Pilgrimage." Mel. "What light there so beautiful on the mountains."

⁴ Anon, *Lieder zur Heiligthumsfahrt im Jahre 1881* (Aachen: Jacobi, 1881), 10.

⁵ Anon, *Lieder zur Heiligthumsfahrt im Jahre 1881* (Aachen: Jacobi, 1881), 12.

Was schwebet dort oben in luftiger Höh', - Was tönen die Glocken so mild? - "Das ist der reinsten Jungfrau Kleid!" - O Pilger verehere die Mutter dein! O Pilger verehere die Mutter dein!	What soars there in airy heights, - That sound the bells so mild? "This is the purest Virgin's dress!" O Pilgrims adore your Mother! O Pilgrims adore your Mother!
Was kündet des würdigen Priesters Wort Vom hohen und heiligen Dom? - "Das sind die Windeln unsers Herrn!" - O knieet ihr Pilger von Nah und Fern! O knieet ihr Pilger von Nah und Fern!	What heralds the holy Priest proclaims word From the high and holy Cathedral? "These are the swaddling clothes of our Lord!" O kneel you pilgrims from near and far! O kneel you pilgrims from near and far!
Was schall'n die Posaunen vom hohen Thurm Wie ein Lied aus vergangener Zeit? - "Sie grüssen das Lendentuch des Herrn!" - O betet ihr Pilger von Nah und Fern! O betet ihr Pilger von Nah und Fern!	What do the trumpets from the high tower sound Like a song from the forgotten past? "They greet the loincloth of the Lord!" O pray you pilgrims from near and far! O pray you pilgrims from near and far!
Was singt so melodisch der Sänger Chor, Wie Engelstimmen so rein? - "Das ist des Täufers geheiligtes Tuch!" - O Pilger beweinet die Sündenschuld! O Pilger beweinet die Sündenschuld!	What does the choir sing so melodiously, Like angelic voices so pure? "This is the [beheading] cloth of the Baptist!" O pilgrims lament the guilt of sin! O pilgrims lament the guilt of sin!

1891:

"Lied 4."⁶

"Song 4."

1. Nun, Christen kommet, laßt uns gehen, Der Liebe Wunderwerk zu sehen, Das man uns jetzt vor Augen stellt. Gedenkt an den und dessen Thaten, Der unsre Schuld auf sich geladen, Und blutend starb für's Heil der Welt.	Well, Christians come ye, let us go, To see the lovely miracle, This one is now before our eyes. Consider him and his deeds, He who took our guilt on Himself, And bleeding He died for the world's salvation.
2. Die Gottes Sohn, der Engel Freude, Dir Menschen Sohn, und Deinem Kleide, Sei Ruhm und Lob von uns gebracht. Du zogest uns aus dem Verderben; Du schufst uns um zu Himmelserben, Du hast uns heil und froh gemacht.	The Son of God, the joy of angels, You Son of Man, and Your Coat, Let praise and love from us be brought. You draw us out of Perdition; You make us heirs to Heaven, You make us whole and happy.

⁶ Anon, *Pilgerfahrt nach Trier 1891. Der hl. Rock. Kurze beschreibung und Geschichte des im Dom zu Trier aufbewahrten ungenähten Gewandes unseres Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi. Mit geschichtlichen Mittheilungen über den Dom und die übrigen Kirchen der Stadt, sowie deren Haupt-Sehenswürdigkeiten, nebst einen kleinen Anhang von Gebeten und Liedern. Mit Genehmigung der Bischöflichen Behörde.* (Trier: Philippi & Koch, 1891), 25-26.

3. Was können wir wohl Dir vergelten?
 Beherrscher, König aller Welten!
 Was ist, was liebt, was schwebt, ist Dein,
 Nimm unser Herz, nimm unsern Willen;
 Wir wollen Dein Gebot erfüllen:
 Dich lieben, Dir gehorsam sein.

How can we repay you?
 Ruler, King of the whole world!
 What is, what loves, what hovers, is Yours,
 Take our heart, take our will;
 We want to fulfill your bidding:
 Love You, be obedient to you.

4. Nun bitten wir um diesen Segen,
 Daß Fürst und Volk auf Deinen Wegen
 So wand'le ohne still zu stehen,
 Daß sämtliche am End der Zeiten
 Gelangen zu des Himmelsfreuden.
 Sprich hierauf: ja! Es soll geschehen.

Now we ask for this blessing,
 That prince and people to your paths
 So stroll without standing still,
 That all at the end of time
 Go to the joys of heaven
 Say thereto: yes! It shall be done.

1895:

“Gemeinsamer Schlußgesang der Pilger.”⁷
 “Common Final Song of the Pilgrims.”

I. Wir sind im wahren Christenthum,
 O Gott, wir danken dir
 Dein Wort, dein Evangelium,
 An dieses glauben wir.
 Die Kirche, deren Haupt du bist,
 Lehrt einig, heilig, wahr;
 Für diese Wahrheit giebt der Christ
 Sein Blut und Leben dar

We are in the true Christianity,
 Oh God, we thank you
 Your Word, your Gospel,
 In this we believe.
 The Church, whose head you are,
 Teaches one, holy, true;
 For this the Christian gives
 His blood and life

II. Großer Gott! wir loben dich,
 Herr! wir preisen deine Stärke;
 Vor dir neigt die Erde sich,
 Und bewundert deine Werke;
 Wie du warst vor aller Zeit,
 So bleibst du in Ewigkeit!
 Alles, was dich preisen kann,
 Cherubim und Seraphinen
 Stimmen dir ein Loblied an;
 Alle Engel die dir dienen,
 Rufen dir stets ohne Ruh';
 Heilig, Heilig, Heilig zu!

Great God! we praise you,
 Lord! we praise your strength;
 Before you, the earth bows down,
 And admires your works;
 As you were before all time,
 So you stay forever!
 All that can praises you,
 Cherubim and Seraphim
 Sing to you a song of praise;
 All the angels serve you,
 Call you always, without rest;
 Holy, Holy, Holy!

III. O du heilige,
 Du jungfräuliche,
 Süße Jungfrau Maria!

Oh thou holy,
 You virginal,
 Sweet Virgin Mary!

⁷ Matthias Mießen, *Andachtsübungen bei der Heilighumsfahrt zu Cornelimünster* (Cornelimünster: Hsgr., 1895), 15-16.

Selig Gepries'ne,
Herrliche erwies'ne!
Ave, ave Maria!

Blessed praised,
Proven magnificent!
Ave, ave Mary!

Dir begnadigte,
Dir Gesegnete,
Jachzen Himmel und Erde;
Himmliche Lieder,
Tönen hernieder.
Ave, ave Maria!

You are pardoned,
You are blessed,
Heaven and Earth rejoice;
Heavenly songs,
Tones descend.
Ave, ave Mary!

1895:

“Grußlied.”⁸

“Greeting Song.”

Gott in der Höh sei Ehre,
Den Menschen auf Erden Fried',
Des Höchsten Ruhm sich mehre
Mit seines Reichs Gebiet!

Glory to God on high,
Peace to the people on earth,
Glory to the most high who is multiple
With his kingdom territory!

Der Geist sich hoch entzücke
Und mach den Schöpfer groß,
Das Herz sich tiefer bücke
Zum Heiland aus Jungfrauschooß!

The spirit enraptures highly
And makes the creator great,
The heart reaches deeper
The Savior from the Virgin's bosom

O öffnet weit die Pforten
Der Jungfrau-Mutter Kind,
Das Zuflucht aller Orten
Es in den Herzen find'!

Oh open wide the gates
The Virgin-Mother's Child,
That refuge of all places
Find it in the hearts!

O könnt' ich Dich umschmiegen
Gleichwie die Windelein,
So nah wie sie Dir liegen,
Du göttlich Kindelein!

Oh that I could embrace you
Just as the swaddling clothes,
As close as they are to you
You divine child!

1933:

“Reiselieder 1.”

“Untitled Travel Song 1.”⁹

1 Laßt uns froh zum Dome wallen,

Let us joyfully sojourn to the Cathedral,

⁸ W.v.d. Fuhr, *Die Heiligthümer Aachens, Burtscheids und der ehemaligen Abtei Cornelimünster. Festschrift zur Aachener Heiligthumsfahrt vom 10. bis 24. Juli 1895. Dem Hochwürdien Stiftskapitel zu Aachen gewidmet und den frommen Bewohnern und andächtigen Besuchern der alten Kaiserstadt dargereicht* (Aachen: „Volksfreunds“, 1895), 29.

⁹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 128, 79-80. Both songs are designated as “Reiselieder.” The second song here transcribed does not have page numbers, but appears in the same Akta after pages 79-80.

wo das heilige Kleinod ruft;
Jubel-Lieder laßt erschallen,
dem unschätzbar hohen Gut.
Christen eilt mit demuts sinn,
zu dem heiligen Kleide hin.

where the holy Cloth calls;
let cheering songs resound
the inestimable Good.
Christians hurry with appropriate humility
towards the Holy Coat.

2 Laßt den Glauben uns bekennen,
dem der dieses Kleid einst trug,
mag die Welt uns thöricht nennen,
ihr ist alles Heilige Lug.

Let us confess our faith,
the faith that once wore this Garment,
let the world call us foolish,
for them all that is holy lies.

3 Laßt der Hoffnung Kranzergrünen,
der gewandelt in dem Kleid,
wollt auch unsre Schulden sühnen,
führen uns zur Seligkeit.

Let the hope of the chaplet/wreath blossom,
which transformed into the Coat,
[you] also want to atone for our sins
and lead us to salvation.

4 Laßt vor allem unsre Herzen-lodern
auf in Liebesglut ihm,
der unter tausend Schmerzen
gab aus Lieb sein letztes Blut.

Let our hearts above all blaze
in His ardor,
he who under a thousand wounds
gave us his last blood out of love.

5 Herr! wir nahen mit Vertrauen, dir,
du Heil der Christenheit,
mach uns würdig einst zu schauen,
dich im Kleid der Herrlichkeit.

God! we confidently draw near to you,
you salvation of Christendom,
make us worthy to see once,
you in the Coat of glory.

1933:

“Reiselied 2.”

“Untitled Travel Song 2.”

1 Nun laßt die Fahnen wehen den Pilgerstab zur Hand
Wir wollen betend gehend ins heilige Trier Land
Wir wollen lobend wallen zum sehen Gottes-Kleid,
dem Heiland wirds gefallen, drum eilt von weit und breit.

Now take the Pilgrim staff to hand, the flags are flying
We go prayerfully into Holy Trier Land
We want to go up to praise and to see God's-Coat,
the Savior will be pleased that we hurry from far and wide.

2 Es zieht mit mächt'gen Banden, zum Gottes Kleid uns hin,
Vor dem die Väter standen, In gläubig frommen Sinn.
Was uns in jungen Tagen Erzählt der Mutter Mund,
Bekennen ohne Zagen Auch wir zu jeder Stund.

It attracts us with a powerful push to God's Coat,

Before It stood the Fathers, In devout meditative appreciation.
 What our mothers narrated in earlier days,
 We confess without trepidation at every hour.

3 Mag auch die Welt sich streiten, Uns höhnen stets aufs neu,
 Wir stehe zu allen Zeiten, Zu unserm Bischof treu.
 Und mag die Höll uns wehren, In blinder, wilder Wut,
 Wir werden stets dich ehren Mit glaubensfrohem Mut.

The world also likes to quarrel, to mock us always again anew,
 We stand at all times, true to our Bishop.
 We defend ourselves against Hell in a blind, wild rage,
 We will always honor God with a joyful, courageous faith.

4 Herr segne unsre Pfade, Halt von uns Unheil fern,
 Leih uns das Last der Gnade, Laß leuchten deinen Stern,
 damit wir heimwärts Kehren, Mit reichlichem Gewinn,
 Und deinen Ruhm vermehren, Erneut an Herz und Sinn

God bless our paths, keep evil away from us,
 lend us the weight of grace, Let your star shine
 so we return home, With ample profits,
 And propagate your glory, once again in heart and mind.

Appendix 2
Daily Pilgrim totals in 1891

Date: **Number of Pilgrims¹:**

August 20	24,600
August 21	41,252
August 22	37,849
August 23	44,300
August 24	45,000
August 25	42,000
August 26	30,344
August 27	31,042
August 28	36,452
August 29	41,179
August 30	47,286
August 31	36,348

September 1	45,000
September 2	45,625
September 3	33,000
September 4	36,452
September 5	24,274
September 6	33,500
September 7	38,830
September 8	40,282
September 9	31,646
September 10	30,051
September 11	28,646
September 12	33,964
September 13	39,312
September 14	39,820
September 15	44,950
September 16	40,750
September 17	46,994
September 18	35,045
September 19	35,521
September 20	53,381
September 21	44,688
September 22	56,128
September 23	44,998
September 24	53,133
September 25	45,241
September 26	59,223

¹ Joseph Hulley, *Kurze Geschichte der Wallfahrt zum Heilige Rock in Trier im Jahre 1891* (Trier: Druck und Verlag der Paulinus Druckerei, 1891), 57-58.

September 27	74,093
September 28	58,678
September 29	55,023
September 30	49,316

October 1	54,697
October 2	63,149
October 3	52,042

Total:	1,925,130
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Appendix 3
Daily Pilgrim totals in 1933¹

<u>Date:</u>	<u>Day:</u>	<u>Number of Pilgrims:</u>
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July 23	Sunday	37,950
July 24	Monday	27,893
July 25	Tuesday	25,726
July 26	Wednesday	30,347
July 27	Thursday	31,722
July 28	Friday	25,698
July 29	Saturday	19,069

<u>Week 1 Total:</u>		<u>198,396</u>
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July 30	Sunday	42,417
July 31	Monday	35,954
August 1	Tuesday	36,490
August 2	Wednesday	45,356
August 3	Thursday	42,844
August 4	Friday	39,591
August 5	Saturday	29,414

<u>Week 2 Total:</u>		<u>272,066</u>
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August 6	Sunday	42,092
August 7	Monday	43,844
August 8	Tuesday	40,466
August 9	Wednesday	37,041
August 10	Thursday	35,956
August 11	Friday	25,446
August 12	Saturday	26,615

<u>Week 3 Total:</u>		<u>251,460</u>
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August 13	Sunday	57,759
August 14	Monday	41,219
August 15	Tuesday	49,052
August 16	Wednesday	40,382
August 17	Thursday	43,451
August 18	Friday	34,606
August 19	Saturday	38,386

¹ BATr, Abt. 90, Nr. 173, 610.

Week 4 Total:	304,855
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August 20	Sunday	46,542
August 21	Monday	47,785
August 22	Tuesday	40,023
August 23	Wednesday	43,873
August 24	Thursday	42,623
August 25	Friday	36,081
August 26	Saturday	50,546

Week 5 Total:	307,473
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August 27	Sunday	54,882
August 28	Monday	52,944
August 29	Tuesday	45,476
August 30	Wednesday	52,248
August 31	Thursday	45,203
September 1	Friday	47,000
September 2	Saturday	51,554

Week 6 Total:	349,307
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September 3	Sunday	97,202
September 4	Monday	63,111
September 5	Tuesday	64,557
September 6	Wednesday	92,407
September 7	Thursday	78,591
September 8	Friday	70,626
September 9	Saturday	40,070

Week 7 Total:	506,564
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1933 Total Attendance:	2,190,121
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Daily Average:	44,700
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Appendix 4

Holy Coat Songs in Trier Hymnal, 1846-1955

1846:

1. Sei begrüßet, liebster Jesu! (Fünf-Wunden-Lied).
2. Spende Lob, erlöste Seele. (Tunika, Nägel, Lanze).
3. O ungenähetes Gewand. (Tunika).
4. Eil't mit flammender Begierde. (Tunika).
5. Sieh, hier das Kleid, mein armer Christ! (Tunika).

1. Hail, dearest Jesus! (Five-wound-song).
2. Bounty praise, redeemed soul. (Tunic, nails, Lance).
3. O seamless robe. (Tunic).
4. Hasten with flaming eagerness. (Tunic).
5. See, here the gown, my poor Christ! (Tunic).

1871:

1. Sei begrüßet, liebster Jesu! (Fünf-Wunden-Lied).
2. Sieh, hier das Kleid, mein armer Christ! (Tunika).
3. Eil't mit flammender Begierde. (Tunika).

1. 1. Hail, dearest Jesus! (Five-wound-song).
2. See, here the gown, my poor Christ! (Tunic).
3. Hasten with flaming eagerness. (Tunic).

1892:

1. Kommt zu grüßen, kommt zu preisen! (Tunika und Leidenswerkzeuge).
2. Sieh, hier das Kleid, mein armer Christ! (Tunika).
3. Eil't mit flammender Begierde. (Tunika).

1. Come to greet, come to praise! (Tunic and suffering tools).
2. See, here the gown, my poor Christ! (Tunic).
3. Hasten with flaming eagerness. (Tunic).

1955:

1. O ungenähtes Heilandskleid. (Tunika).¹
1. O seamless Savior garment. (Tunic).

¹ Heinz, "Die Lieder vom Heiligen Rock," 531.

Appendix 5

Pilgrimage Dates, 1835-1937

Aachen:

1825	9–24 July
1832	10–24 July
1839	10–24 July
1846	10–31 July
1850	1 July opened for King of Bavaria, Max II 10–24 July
1853	9–24 July
1860	9–24 July
1867	9–24 July
1874	10–24 July
1881	9–24 July
1888	9–24 July
1895	9–24 July
1902	10–24 July
1909	9–28 July
1916	First World War: no pilgrimage
1923	Rhineland Occupied: no pilgrimage
1925	10–26 July
1930	10–27 July
1937	10–25 July
1945	19–22 July
1951	8–22 July
1958	10–27 July
1972	10–21 August
1979	10–20 August

Trier:

1810	9 – 27 September
1844	18 August – 6 October
1891	10 August – 3 October
1933	23 July – 10 September

Appendix 6
1933 Trier Pilgrimage Sick Pilgrim Complaints

Disease:	Total Complaints:	Complaint in German:
Anus	2	After
Giantism	2	Akromegalie
Alopecia	2	Alopecia
Accident	7	Anfall
Arm	38	Arm
Arthritis	99	Arthritis
Asthma	99	Asthma
Eyes	143	Augen
Basedow's	1	Based
Legs	171	Beine
Bladder	4	Blase
Blind	84	Blind
Blood	63	Blut
Breast	20	Brust
Deformity	3	Deform
Dementia	3	Demenz
Depression	12	Depression
Diabetes	65	Diabetes
Epilepsy	163	Epilepsie
Genetic Defect....	2	Erbfehler
Fever	7	Fieber
Foot	15	Fuß
Gall Bladder	29	Gallen
Spiritual Illness....	14	Geist
Joint	141	Gelenk
Genitals	6	Genitalien
Face	12	Gesicht
Gout	27	Gicht
Flu	11	Grippe
Throat	6	Hals
Skin	50	Haut
Herpes	1	Herpes
Heart	198	Herz
Megakolon	1	Hirschsprung'sche
Thyroid	4	Hyperthyreose
Hypochondriac....	1	Hypochonder
Hysteria	32	Hysterie
Idiocy	31	Idiotic
Imbicility	10	Imbicilität
Sciatica	19	Ischias
Child Lameness...	44	Kinderlähmung

Bones	.....	36	.....	Knochen
Head	.....	73	.....	Kopf
Body	.....	15	.....	Körper
Cramps	.....	40	.....	Krämpfe
Sick	.....	132	.....	Krank
Cancer	.....	35	.....	Krebs
Cretinism	.....	1	.....	Kretinismus
War Wound	.....	6	.....	Krieg
Goiter	.....	6	.....	Kropf
Lameness	.....	181	.....	Lähmung
Liver	.....	10	.....	Leber
Suffering	.....	15	.....	Leidend
Lungs	.....	218	.....	Lungen
Lupus	.....	24	.....	Lupus
Lymphoma	.....	3	.....	Lymphoma
Stomach	.....	105	.....	Magen
Mental Health		13	.....
Paranoia			.....	Paranoia
Psychopathic			.....	Psychopathisch
Senile			.....	Senil
Schizophrenic			.....	Schizophrenie
Multiple Sclerosis...	45		.....	Multiple Sklerose
Mouth	.....	2	.....	Mund
Muscle	.....	26	.....	Muskel
Cervix	.....	14	.....	Muttermund
Nose	.....	5	.....	Nase
Nerves/Nervous...	150		.....	Nerven/Nervöse
Kidneys	.....	33	.....	Nieren
Ears	.....	81	.....	Oren
Operation	.....	7	.....	Operation
Ovaries	.....	6	.....	Ovarien
Paralysis	.....	18	.....	Paralyse
Parkinson's	.....	15	.....	Parkinson
Polio	.....	8	.....	Polio
Rickets	.....	1	.....	Richitis
Rheumatism	.....	69	.....	Rheumatismus
Ribs	.....	7	.....	Rippen
Back	.....	57	.....	Rücken
Thyroid Sarkoma..	1		.....	Schilddrüsen Sarkom
Sleep Disorder....	6		.....	Schlafkrankheit
Stroke	.....	11	.....	Schlaganfall
Pain	.....	21	.....	Schmerzen
Palsy	.....	4	.....	Schüttellähmung
Weakness	.....	9	.....	Schwäche
Spasms	.....	4	.....	Spastische
Spinal Injuries.....	71		.....

Spina Bifida			Spina Bifida
Spinale Kinderlähmung.....			Spinal Child Lameness
Wirbelsäulenkrümmung.....			Curvature of the Spine
Speech Impediment 8			Sprachfehler
St. Vitus Disease... 14			St. Vitus
Mute 4			Stumm
Syphilis 4			Syphilis
Deaf 69			Taubheit
Tuberculosis 120			Tuberkulose
Typhus 1			Typhus
Urine Tract 1			Urin
<hr/>			
Total:	3,447		

Appendix 7

1867 Aachen Closing Ceremony Procession

1. The Male Congregations
2. The Sodality [guild or brotherhood]
3. The Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus with their pupils
4. The Poor Sisters of St. Francis
5. The Sisters of Charity for the Poor and Orphans
6. The Christenserinnen
7. The Franciscan Brothers with their pupils
8. The Alexian Brothers
9. The men of the parish brotherhoods with their torches
10. Holy Orders clergy in their choir clothes, namely:
 - a. the Franciscans
 - b. the Redemptorists
 - c. the Jesuits
11. The Parish clergy, namely:
 - a. the whole chorale with the crosses of St. Foilans church at the front
 - b. all the chaplains, but those who carry relics from their churches [wear] dalmatics
 - c. all the parish priests in choir coverings
12. the clergy with the relics of the collegiate church, namely:
 - a. the collegiate choir, singers next to the music choir with the chapter crosses between two candles at the front
 - b. the collegiate vicars, augmented by other clerics in dalmatics who carry the relics, and carry the large reliquary on a stretcher adorned with carpeting
 - c. on either side of the reliquary silver censers and lanterns of the Collegiate and the other churches of the city, then
 - d. the honor of genuine canons in choir clothes
13. The Rev. Mr. Archbishop and the other Bishops attending, with staff and miter and vestments, each between two chaplains, who hold the tip of the [Bishops'] caps;
14. The Magistrate, and
15. The dignitaries with torches
16. The Gesellverein.¹

¹ DAA, PA 58, "Schlußfeier der Heiligthumsfahrt am Mittwoch, d. 24. Juli 1867."

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GStA PK –	Geheimnes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
LHA Ko –	Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz
SAA –	Stadtarchiv Aachen
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ZBA –	Zentralbibliothek Aachen

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