Gregor Mendel’s meeting with Pope Pius IX: the truth in the story.

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Abstract

According to Hugo Iltis, Mendel had made a journey to Italy in the 1860s, not knowing when or for what purpose. Mendel might then have also paid a visit to Pope Pius IX, and become acquainted with the “later” Cardinal Teodolfo Mertel. Oswald Richter had already discovered that Mendel had received a 3-months pass for the Italian states in mid-August 1863. In this article, I put forward new evidence and arguments that it is very likely that Mendel took part in a three weeks’ organized group tour to Italy in September 1863. This tour was organized by the same entrepreneurs as Mendel’s group tour to the International Exhibition in London a year earlier. In Rome, the group was received by the Pope. Furthermore, there were stays of several days in Naples and Florence. Because Mertel had already become Cardinal four years before this trip, this part of the story about Mertel cannot be correct. I argue that it is likely that the high dignitary whom Mendel met was Karl von Hefele, professor of church history, spokesman for the group at the meeting with the Pope. It is striking that in 1862 and 1863, Mendel could make expensive international trips, which were only affordable to the societal elite. These major international journeys illustrate Mendel’s broad interest in the world and the society of his days and contrast the view that he was a monk in recluse.
Although Gregor Mendel is one of the greatest biologists in history, his life, and work, as a result of his posthumous recognition, is still surrounded by many mysteries. His name is world-famous, but as a person, he is largely unknown. These mysteries include the great international journeys he undertook in the 1860s, first to Paris and London in 1862 and later to Rome. Recently Van Dijk and Ellis (2020) have published new information about the journey to Paris and London, and here I report new information regarding the journey to Rome.

We owe most of what is known about the life of Gregor Mendel to Hugo Iltis, Mendel’s first biographer. Shortly after the ‘rediscovery’ of Mendel’s work in 1900, Iltis began to collect information from people who had known Mendel. One of their memories was that Mendel had told about a trip to Italy, where he would have met Pope Pius IX and became acquainted with the “later” Cardinal Mertel. Augustinian Father Clemens Janetschek (1857-1908) suspected that it was around 1864 when Mendel was still an ordinary priest. According to Mendel’s nephew, Alois Schindler (1859-1930), Mendel had made the journey as a newly elected abbot, in 1868, to introduce himself to the Pope, an assumption which was accepted by Gustafsson (1969, “to pay his respects to the Pope”) and Bishop (1999, “to be received by the Pope”).

The story of the Italian journey has also inspired the movie “Gardener of God” (2009). This movie, written and directed by Liana Marabini, shows a private conversation between Mendel and Pope Pius IX, in which the Pope supports Mendel’s scientific efforts. The film was launched in Rome in December 2009, in the presence of Archbishop Gianfranco Ravasi, president of the Pontifical Council for Culture. According to Amazon’s product description: “The film tells how he was invited by Pope Pius IX to the Vatican where they shared their views about science and faith, and how they are related. The Pope recognizes the important scientific contribution of Father Mendel, and speaks the prophetic words to him, “Father Mendel, your discovery will survive you and it will survive all of us”.

According to Iltis (1924, 1965), it was sure that Mendel would have met Mertel, the later Cardinal, during the Italian voyage. Furthermore, in Iltis’ time, grapevines were still growing in the monastery garden in Brünn (now Brno) grown from seeds Mendel had collected in Florence during his Italian journey. Teodolfo Mertel had already become a Cardinal in 1859, and not after Mendel’s journey, so the story that Mendel met him on the journey, and he later became a Cardinal cannot be correct. I will provide a more logical explanation below.

Father Janetschek joined the Augustinian Order in 1881, at least 13 years after Mendel’s Italian journey and three years before Mendel’s death. Alois Schindler lived close to the monastery in
Brünn from 1870 to 1880, and later together with his younger brother Ferdinand, five years his junior. The nephews often met Mendel during the weekends (Schindler 1902, Krizenecky 1965). Mendel had already been dead for 20 years when Iltis asked Alois about the travels. In that respect, different recollections are not surprising. Often, however, these distorted stories contain some truth.

Research into the Italian journey

Oswald Richter (1943) found in the pass protocol book that Mendel received a 3-month pass for the Italian states on 14 August 1863. Since the new school semester started on 3 October (Weiling 1993), Mendel's Italian journey must have taken place between 14 August and 3 October. Traveling from Vienna to Florence or Rome in 1863 was a complicated matter. As the Italian train network was not yet connected, the journey would have to be made partly by boat (Genoa - Livorno and Livorno - Civitavecchia, *visa versa*). Besides, Mendel probably did not speak Italian, and bandit gangs were active around Rome. Because Mendel had participated in a group journey to Paris and London in 1862 (Van Dijk and Ellis 2020), I investigated the possibility of whether his Italian journey might also have been made with a tour group. Historical newspapers indeed showed that the same entrepreneurs who organized the journey to Paris and London in 1862, Neumeyer and Mihailović, also advertised a group journey (*Internationale Fahrgesellschaft*) to Florence and Rome in 1863, departing on 1 September from Vienna and returning on 24 September in Venice (Figure 1). This, thus, fell precisely within the period that Mendel was free.

The section of hotel arrivals in the *Fremden-Blatt* showed that Mendel was in Vienna around the date of departure. Therefore it very plausible that Mendel took part in this group travel. The organizers managed to arrange an audience for the group with Pope Pius IX, which is consistent with the story of Alois Schindler. The Viennese newspapers reported extensively about this special event. The Pope spoke briefly with all the clergy, so also with Mendel, if he was present.

The *International Fahrgesellschaft* train departed from Vienna on Tuesday, 1 September. In the *Fremden-Blatt* of Thursday, 3 September, Mendel is listed at the *Goldene Lamm* hotel in Vienna. To participate in the journey, Mendel must have checked into a hotel by Monday, 31 August. So Mendel's name can be found in the arrivals list three days later. However, from other journeys, where the arrival date is known, it can be inferred that a delay of 3-5 days in the publication of the names is not exceptional (Van Dijk and Ellis 2020).
Since Rome is the center of the Catholic Church, it was conceivable that Mendel might have made the journey with other clergies from Brünn, especially Augustinian brothers. The year before, Mendel traveled to Paris and London with his friend Johann Nave. In the period between 30 August and 5 September, 59 other residents of Brünn were found in the arrivals list, but this did not include any fellow brothers. So there is no evidence that Mendel traveled with colleagues, but this does not necessarily mean that he traveled alone, as not all guests’ names were published.

The train would depart from Paris and would, on the way to Vienna, pick up participants in Baden, Württemberg, and Bayern (Wiener Zeitung, 09-07-1863). On 31 July, the Wiener Zeitung wrote that until then, most of the participants were from Paris and Stuttgart and that the journey was guaranteed. Just like the Paris and London group tour, the participants belonged to the elite and well-to-do class of society: “nobility, senior soldiers, civil servants, writers and artists, university teachers, merchants, manufacturers, etc., etc.” Ultimately, the pleasure train had more than 100 participants, in addition to Austrians, Germans and Frenchmen, also Englishmen (Innsbrucker Nachrichten 08-10-1863). Thirty participants were from the German states, and 42 were from the Austrian empire (Wiener Zeitung 16-09-1863). The only names that are known are from seven German participants. The Fremden-Blatt and der Wiener Zeitung both had a correspondent on the journey who reported on several episodes.

The program of the pleasure train

The pleasure train left Vienna on Tuesday, 1 September, at 9 am. The travel program is described in the advertisement in Figure 1. The route is shown in Figure 2, and the itinerary is listed in Table 1. A total of four stages were completed by boat. On the new rail route connecting Rome and Naples, the night train had to be avoided because this area was too dangerous due to the operation of bandits. Milan and Genoa were briefly visited on the outward journey, but for longer on the return journey. There was half a day at Pisa to visit the cathedral, baptistery, and the famous leaning tower, “with clear and understandable explanations by Dr. Von Hefele, professor of church history and archeology at the University of Tübingen” (Fremden-Blatt 17-09-1863). Then a few days in and around Rome for churches, art treasures, antiquities and museums and trips to Frascati and Tivoli, and then on to Naples where a boat trip was made in the Bay of Naples. The Vesuvius volcano and the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum were also visited. On the way back, there was a three-day stay at Florence with visits to the Uffizi museum, the Medici palaces, and the Santa Croce with tombs of and monuments for famous artists and scholars such as Dante, Michel Angelo, Cellini, and...
Galilei. Here Mendel collected his grape seeds, the bushes of which were still growing in Brünn in Iltis’ time. During the stay in Milan, an excursion to Lake Como was made. On Thursday, 24 September, the train arrived in Venice, where the group split. The French and the English traveled back via Marseille, the Germans over South Tyrol, and the Austrians to Vienna.

The papal audience

The group arrived in Rome on 6 September and was received at the Vatican in the late afternoon on the 9th. The Fremden-Blatt correspondent sent a telegram from Rome that was published the next day (Figure 3):

“We receive the following telegraphic message about the participants in the Italian pleasure tour organized by Messrs. Neumayer and Mihailović, dated Rome, 10 August [sic: September], Evening:

Today, through the mediation of the Austrian ambassador, His Holiness the Pope received all the participants of the pleasure tour in the Vatican, devoted some benevolent words and gave everyone his apostolic blessing. The group arrived safely in Rome on the 6th and will leave the Holy City on the 12th to go to Naples. The state of health is excellent.” The telegram was also published in several other newspapers. The papal audience was later described in detail in the Fremden-Blatt and the Wiener Zeitung. The Wiener Zeitung of 18 September 1863 wrote (For the original German text, see Appendix I):

“The day before yesterday, Neumeyer's travel group had the good fortune to be received by His Holiness the Pope in a special audience in the great throne hall of the Vatican. The audience was arranged through the mediation of his Excellency the k. k. Ambassador to the Holy See Freiherrn v. Bach, upon demand of Messrs. Neumeyer and Mihailovits. Around 5 p.m., most of the group went to the Vatican in a long row of carriages. They were led into the Audience Hall and told to form a long double row. Accompanied by Monsignor Talbot, and the Master of Ceremonies, Monsignor Pacca, His Holiness soon entered the hall, giving with a sonorous voice a short salutation in French to the assembled people, who had kneeled when the Holy Father entered (Figure 4). His Holiness expressed his delight at the arrival of the German caravan in Rome under the skillful guidance of Messrs. Neumeyer and Mihailovits, adding to have given this audience on the mediation of the k. k. Austrian Ambassador upon the request of the directors of the train. He asked in which language the majority preferred to be addressed, whether in Latin / Italian or French. Mr. Neumeyer now spoke and requested His Holiness to use the French language, which was understandable to most.
The Holy Father sat down in the throne chair and first Professor Dr. v. Hefele, from the Catholic Theological Faculty of the University of Tübingen, stepped forward in his ceremonial clothes and recited his curriculum in Latin and gave an eloquent speech, expressing his deep sentiments of how much he appreciated the great fortune of being allowed to appear before the Holy Father to receive the apostolic blessing, to which he humbly committed. His Holiness also asked some questions in Latin to the kneeling, accompanied them with a few benevolent words, and then gave the apostolic blessing. The other clergymen in the group also made their requests in Latin, and each one received a kind word in the same language with an apostolic blessing. The clergy, about ten in number, were all from Austria and Württemberg. They were followed by the secular members, first of all, the directors of the train, who, like your rapporteur, used the French language, and everyone received a gracious word and an apostolic blessing. Many had spread rosaries, crucifixes and medals bought during the day so that the papal blessing could also be issued on them. To commemorate this memorable hour, Professor v. Hefele received a remembrance coin with the portrait of the Pope, Monsign. Pacca issued the others a piece of marble from the Columbarium Calixti that was cut into the shape of a paperweight. Finally, the Holy Father raised from his throne chair and made a short farewell speech in Latin to the assembled people, issuing an apostolic blessing to the whole congregation. Lively and enthusiastic Evviva’s from everybody accompanied the departure of the Holy Father, who had made a deep impression on everyone with his benevolent and heart-winning nature and his beautiful majestic stature so that none of us will ever forget this trip to Rome.

From the newspaper reports, we can conclude that Mendel exchanged a few words in Latin with the Pope. However, it was not a private audience, as depicted in the movie “Gardener of God”. The director Liana Marabini claimed that the scenario was based “on several documents of the monastery of Brünn and private collections containing letters from the monk.” (Villa 2009). This, however, is unlikely to apply to the meeting, and the scene in the movie where Pius IX and Mendel discuss science and faith has to be seen as a piece of artistic freedom. Since Mendel received his pass for the Italian States on 14 August (Richter 1943), well before the scheduled audience of the group to the Pope was announced (Wiener Zeitung 23 August 1863), devoutness could not have been the reason for Mendel to participate in the group journey. Mendel must have been interested in classical antiquity, renaissance culture, and the people and the country.

Did Mendel meet the later Cardinal Mertel?
Iltis wrote that it was certain that during the trip, Mendel had become acquainted with the later
Cardinal Mertel (so not friends, as the German Wikipedia states). Theodolfo Mertel (1806-1899) was
born to German parents who had emigrated to Italy. Mertel, a lawyer, was appointed as Minister of
Justice and Home Affairs for the Papal State in 1853 by Pius IX and was part of the inner circle of the
Roman Curia (Figures 5 and 6). It is easy to demonstrate that the story that Mendel met the “later”
Cardinal Mertel in Rome cannot be correct because Mertel had already become Cardinal four years
earlier, 1859 (Wikipedia). It is also difficult to understand how a simple priest like Mendel might have
met a high-ranking official from the Roman Curia at the time. Since Iltis does not provide any further
evidence as to why it is certain that Mendel met Mertel, he likely drew this conclusion, as both
Father Clemens and Alois Schindler mentioned Mertel. What remains of this story is that during the
Italian journey, Mendel met a probably German-speaking person who later held a high position in
the Catholic Church.

I think this was probably Karl Joseph von Hefele (1809-1893)(Figure 7), the professor of church
history at the University of Tübingen, who spoke on behalf of the group during the papal audience.
During the Italian journey, Mendel would have spent three weeks in the company of Von Hefele,
who was ordained Bishop of Rottenburg (Germany) six years later in 1869. This is in line with the
story of a German-speaking person who was later given a high ecclesiastical function. Von Hefele
would play an important role at the Vatican Council of 1870, which elevated the doctrine of the
infallibility of the Pope to a dogma. This first general Council in more than 300 years lasted from
December 1869 to September 1870 (Kirch 1913). Initially, an important group of Bishops disagreed
with the infallibility dogma. Von Hefele was one of the prominent spokesmen for the opponents of
this dogma and initially threatened to resign as a Bishop. Mertel, on the other hand, represented the
Roman Curia and sat directly next to Pius IX at the Council (Arthur 1903) and was, without doubt, an
advocate of the infallibility dogma.

The Linzer Tagespost (30-12-1869) described von Hefele as follows: “An excellent scholar, of a liberal
mind, a man who considers tolerance, education, and progress to be compatible with the Catholic
religion, Bishop Hefele is thoroughly oppositional to the outrageousnesses that the Jesuits are doing
to the Catholic religion”. Tüchle (1969) called him the: “Most learned of the German Bishops of the
19th century”.

Von Hefele made frequent appearances in the Viennese and Brünner newspapers. Between 1869,
the year von Hefele became a Bishop, and 1880, his name is found 463 times in Austrian newspapers
in the ANNO database. Von Hefele is also often mentioned in the Brunner newspapers (32 times
between 1869 and 1880; MZK and DIFMOE databases). Von Hefele left the Council early to avoid
First, he gave up his struggle and submitted to the infallibility dogma, as one of the last Bishops to do so, in April 1871. On 18 July 1871, Pope Pius IX proclaimed the infallibility dogma. Finally, he gave up his struggle and submitted to the infallibility dogma, as one of the last Bishops to do so, in April 1871. On 18 July 1871, Pope Pius IX proclaimed the infallibility dogma. Mendel will have closely followed the discussion about the infallibility dogma in the newspapers, and he may also have spoken about his acquaintance with one of the major players in the presence of his nephews (the oldest Alois was 12 years old in 1871). When Iltis asked Alois Schindler about it in the early 1900s, Mendel had been dead for 16 years, and probably he only remembered that Mendel had become acquainted in Rome with a German-speaking cleric who later became a high dignitary. Von Hefele had been dead then for ten years (1893), and Alois Schindler may not have been able to make the association. Mertel, on the other hand, had died only a few years earlier (in 1899) and had been a well-known figure at the Vatican in Rome, of one of the few of German origin and thus German-speaking. Ironically, Mertel was probably not an enthusiastic speaker of German, because, in correspondence with the pastor from the Bavarian village where his parents came from, he was annoyed that the pastor replied not in Latin, but German (Anonymous 2009).

Conclusions

It is not surprising that the memories of Father Clemens and Alois Schindler were different and proven to be inexact. The journey was an event they had not participated in themselves, and Mendel had told the relevant stories many years earlier.

In the case of the Paris and London journey, it is beyond doubt that Mendel participated in the group tour, because of one of his letters mentioning it and because his name is on a participants list. The timing of the Italian journey (in the six weeks interval that Mendel did not have to teach and had a valid passport), organized by the entrepreneurs who also organized the Paris and London journey the previous year, the fact that at Mendel was in Vienna at the of departure of the train and the fact that the group was received by the Pope makes it very likely that Mendel participated in this journey. It is hard to imagine how he might otherwise have made the arduous journey to Rome and Florence. This is strong circumstantial evidence, although definitive proof would be, for example, the finding of the paperweight papal souvenir at the Augustinian monastery in Brno, or Mendel’s name in the Italian hotel registrations.

The Italian voyage was Mendel’s second international journey, after that of 1862 to the London Industry Exhibition. These luxurious journeys were expensive and almost exclusively made by the higher classes of the Austrian Empire. The London journey cost fl. 250 and the Italy journey fl. 300.
Mendel as a supplement teacher will have only earned fl. 400-500 a year (Mährische Correspondent 09-06-1868), so the travels cost about half a year's salary. The journeys were not paid for by the monastery, because, unlike many shorter trips, Richter (1943) could not find them in the cash books of the monastery. Iltis (1924) assumed that Mendel would have made these expensive journeys after he became the abbot in 1868 when he earned much more, but that turns out not to be the case. After 1863, Mendel made no further major international journeys before being elected abbot in 1868, which may indicate that it was a one-time opportunity in 1862 and 1863. This could possibly be related to an inheritance because his mother died on 28 March 1862 (his father had died in 1857). It is known that in 1842 Mendel received part of this heritage from his sister Theresia to pay for his studies at the Philosophical Institute at Olmütz (Kříženecký 1965), but it is possible that when his mother died in 1862, a remaining part became available. After he was elected as abbot, Mendel made one more international journey, in September 1871, to Kiel, northern Germany, to attend an international conference of beekeepers and visited Cologne and Frankfurt on the way back.

The common view of Mendel is often that of a monk who carried out his meticulous crossing work in isolation inside a monastery in a provincial town in Austria. This image of seclusion, however, is misplaced. First, Mendel was not a monk but a friar and taught outside the monastery at a public secondary school. Secondly, Brünn was not a provincial town, but the industrialized capital of Moravia, with a particularly rich cultural and scientific life, in which Mendel actively participated. Thirdly, Mendel made major international journeys in the 1860s. So far, little more was known about these journeys, “except that they took place” (Iltis 1965). Details of the London journey have recently been uncovered by Van Dijk and Ellis (2020), and here the same has been done for the Italian journey. They create the image of a confident, enterprising man, interested in other countries and cultures, and in technical progress rather than of a monk in recluse.

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References:

ANONYMOUS:


Fig. 1. The advertisement for the International group-tour in Der Kamerad: österreichisch-ungarische Wehr-Zeitung (Austrian-Hungarian Army Newspaper) of 24-07-1863.

Fig. 2. The route and dates of Mendel’s journey to Italy.
Fig. 3. Telegram about the visit of the group to the Pope (Fremden-Blatt 10 September 1863).

Figure 4. Group portrait. Pope Pius IX and members of the Papal court (1868). Monsignor Pacca is the second person on the right; Monsignor Talbot is standing on the right behind the Pope (Credit: Wellcome Collection).

Figure 5. Pius IX with the King of the Two Sicilies Francesco II (left with the dark tailcoat) in 1862 in Anzio. The person in between them is likely Cardinal Teodolfo Mertel. Left of the King stands Monsignor Talbot and second left Monsignor Pacca (Source: Wikipedia).
Figure 6. Cardinal Teodolfo Mertel in later years (Source: Wikipedia).

Figure 7. Bishop Karl Joseph von Hefele (as Council participant, 1870) (Source: Wikipedia).
Table 1. The travel scheme of the Italian group tour 1863.

1 September  Departure from Vienna, 9.00 am; night train
2 September  first longer stop at Nabresina near Triest
3 September  arrival at Verona, the first night in a hotel
3 September  Peschiera [del Garda] crossing border Austria-Italy Desenzano del Garda
Brescia, Bergamo, Milano
4 September  arrival at Genua around noon, night boat (Aunis) to Livorno
5 September  arrival at Livorno, anchor laid off for one day
6.00 pm. departure from Livorno night boat (Aunis)
6 September  at dawn: arrival at Civitavecchia; the border between the Papal States and the
Kingdom of Italy
arrival at Rome, 16.00 pm. Hôtel de la Minerve
7 September  sightseeing
8 September  Catholic festival ceremony lead by the Pope at St. Maria del Populo.
afternoon: Frascati, Albano, Grottaferrata
9 September  5.00 pm. audience at the Pope
10 September  sightseeing
11 September  sightseeing
12 September  from Rome to Naples by train. Crossing border between Papal States and the
Kingdom of Italy. Arrival at Naples late in the evening. Hôtel de Russie. Sightseeing.
Two large church festivals, Museum Borbonico, Posilipp with the Seiano tunnel, San
Martino’s with the Carthusian monastery, and Castel Sant Elmo
13 September  ascend of the Vesuvius
14 September  visit Pompeii and Herculaneum
15 September  Camaldoli hill with the Camaldolese monastery
in the evening: departure night boat (Aunis) to Livorno
16 September  boat voyage to Livorno
17 September  arrival in Livorno (after 37 hr – two nights – on the boat). Train to Florence. Hôtel New-York

18 September  Florence; sightseeing: dome (Mendel collects grape seeds)

19 September  Florence

20 September  train from Florence to Livorno

21 September  boat voyage to Genua, arrival in the evening, check-in Hôtel de Ville

22 September  Genua

23 September  train to Milano, arrival in the evening check-in, Hôtel Reichmann

24 September  Milan

excursion to Lake Como

arrival in Venice.
Privat correspondent in Rom, 11. September


Der h. Vater ließ sich nun auf den Thronsessel nieder und zuerst trat Professor Dr. v. Hefele, von der katholisch-theologischen Facultät der Universität Tübingen [later bisschop], im geistlichen Ornate vor und trug in lateinischer Sprache und in gewandter Rede seine Personalien vor, gab seinen tiefen Gefühlen Ausdruck, wie hoch er das Glück zu schätzen wisse, vor dem h. Vater selbst erschien zu dürfen und den apostolischen Segen zu empfangen, den er sich hiemit demüthigst erstehe. Se. Heiligkeit richtete gleichfalls in lateinischer Sprache einige Fragen an den Knieenden, begleitete sie mit einigen wohlwollenden Worten und ertheilte hierauf den apostolischen Segen. Auch die übrigen geistlichen Mitglieder der Gesellschaft trugen ihre Bitten lateinisch vor und jedem ward ein wohlwollendes Wort in gleicher Sprache nebst dem Segen zu Theil. Die Geistlichen, etwa zehn an der Zahl, waren sämmtlich aus Österreich und Württemberg. Auf sie folgten die weltlichen Mitglieder, voran die Directoren des Zuges, die wie Ihr Berichterstatter sich der französischen Sprache..."
bedienten, und Jedem ward ein huldvolles [genadig]Wort und der apostolische Segen. Viele hatten
dabei am Tage gekaufte Rosenkränze, Crucifixe und Medaillen vor sich ausgebreitet, damit auch
über sie der päpstliche Segen gesprochen werde. Professor v. Hefele wurde mit einer
Gedächtnißmünze mit dem Bildnisse des Papstes, die übrigen jeder mit einem in Form eines
Briefbeschwerers zugeschnittenen Stück Marmor, die aus dem Columbarium Calixti stammten, zur
Erinnerung an diese jedem unvergeßliche Stunde beschenken, die sie aus den Händen Monsign. Pacca
empfingen. Zum Schlüsse erhob sich der h. Vater von seinem Thronsessel und hielt noch eine kurze
Abschiedsrede in lateinischer Sprache an die Versammelten, ihnen insgesammt noch den Segen
ertheilend.

Lebhaften und begeisterten Evvivas aus aller Munde begleiteten den Abgang des h. Vaters aus dem
Saal, der auf alle durch sein wohlwollendes und herzugewinnendes Wesen und seine schöne
majestätische Gestalt einen tiefen Eindruck hervorgebracht hatte, so daß keinem von uns je diese
Reise nach Rom aus dem Gedächtniß entschwinden wird.

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1 from the fifth grade of the Volksschule (primary school) until his final exam of the Gymnasium.
2 16 were from Württemberg, 10 from Prussia, 2 from Baden, 1 from Bayern and 1 from Frankfurt.
3 The Augsburger Post Zeitung (24-09-1863):
   Prof. Karl Joseph von Hefele, Professor in theology and church history, from Tübingen,
   Priest Dr. Stephan Uhl, Chief editor of the Deutsche Volksblatt, from Stuttgart
   Dr. H. Czolbe (of Zolbe), Chief military doctor, from Königsberg,
   Herr Glasmacher, merchant from Köln,
   Herr Hoette, secretary of the Chambre du Commerce, from Elberfeld,
   Herr Major von Tempelhoff from Aachen,
   Dr. Viol, honored doctor (Sanitätsrath) from Prussia.

4 the Pope’s chamberlain and secretary (Reinhard 2009).
5 with the name of the site and of Pope Pius IX engraved in it
vi ANNO (AustriaN Newspapers Online), the virtual library of the Austrian National Library (http://anno.onb.ac.at/index.htm).

vi Digital library of the Moravian Library in Brno (Moravská zemská knihovna) (http://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/mzk)
Bis ins hohe Alter hielt der Hobby-Historiker und Hobby-Archäologe Kontakt mit Eglfing, unterstützte unter anderem Nachkommen seiner Tante Margarethe und war verstimmt darüber, dass der dortige Pfarrer seine lateinischen Briefe auf Deutsch beantwortete."