

*International Colloquium-Workshop*  
**New perspectives on the secularization of funerary culture**  
15<sup>th</sup> June 2017, Liberaal Archief, Ghent



**The introduction of cremation in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg:  
a long struggle in a small state**

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[www.transmortality.uni.lu](http://www.transmortality.uni.lu)

*RIP - Material Culture and Spaces of Remembrance.  
A Study of Cemeteries in Luxembourg in the Context of the Greater Region*

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Recherche Luxembourg

- A – The historical context of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg
- B – The secularization of funeral practices: a low-density “Kulturkampf”
- C – The introduction of cremation to Luxembourg in two steps

## Continuity and Change of Territories, Rulers, Laws ...

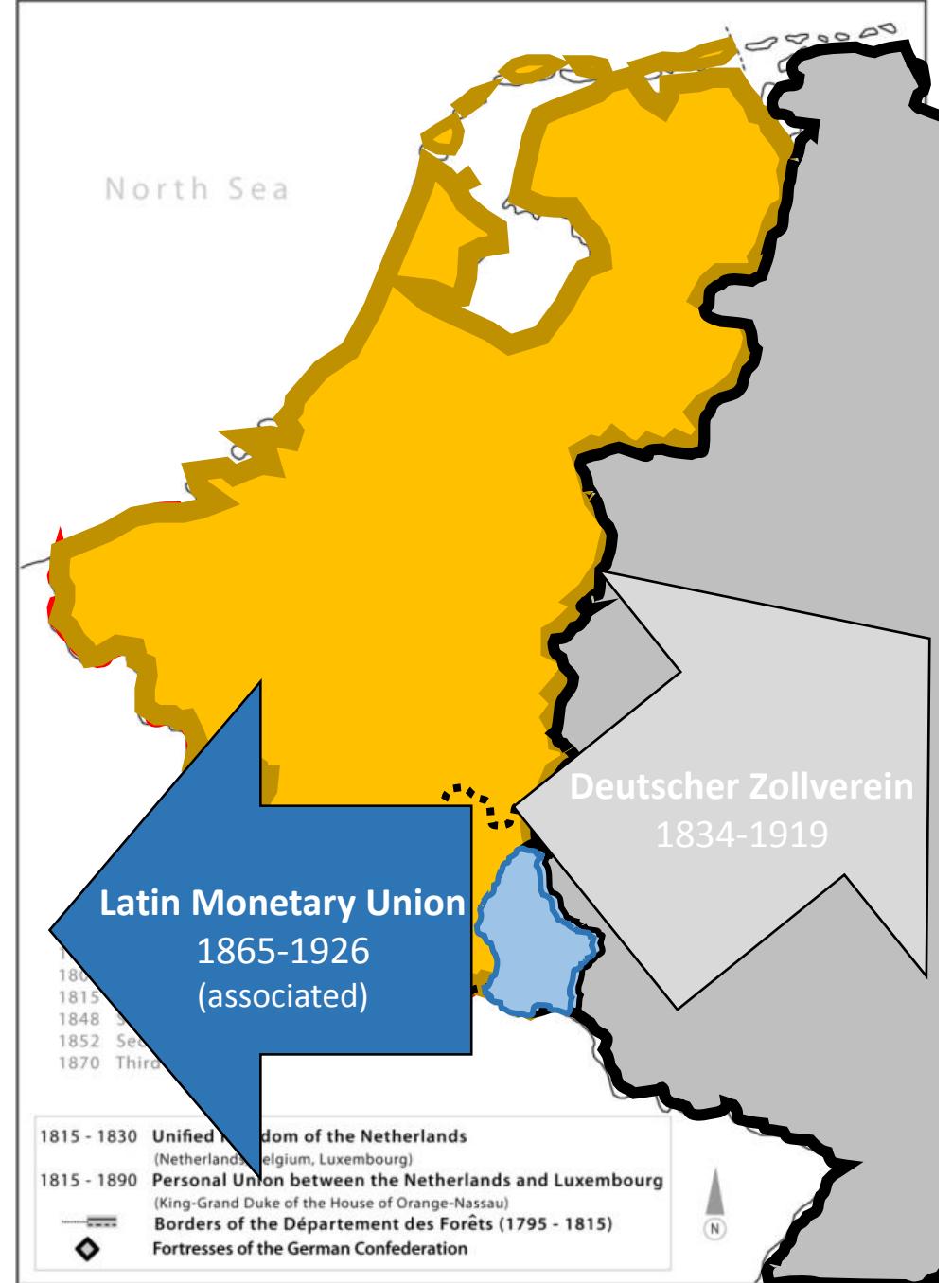
*Austrian Netherlands 1714-1797*

*Département des Forêts 1795-1814/15*

*United Kingdom of the Netherlands 1815-1830/39*

*German Confederation 1815-1866/67*

*Grand Duchy (neutral) 1866/67-present*



# Continuity and Change of Sepulchral Culture

## Département des Forêts 1795-1814/15

- civil registration (births, death, marriages) from parishes to commune (officer)
- “Kirchenfabriken” (*Décret du 30 décembre 1809 concernant les fabriques des églises*)
- « 23 prairial, an XII » (*Décret impérial sur les sépultures, 12 juin 1804*)

## United Kingdom of the Netherlands 1815-1830/39

## German Confederation 1815-1866/67

## Grand Duchy (neutral) 1866/67-present

- minor amendments (*Arrêté grand-ducal*, i.e. ministerial/administrative decree, e.g. 1937)
- *Loi du 1er août 1972* (“Cremation Law”)



## "Kulturkampf" over dead bodies?

**Kulturkampf** ("culture struggle/fight")

1830s Switzerland (Ultramontanes vs. Liberals)

1871-79 under Bismarck in the German Empire

1879-84 Belgium ("First School War")

...

## ***Grand Duchy – a Catholic country***

### **Which diocese?**

1801-1823	Diocese of Metz (F)
1823-1833/40	Diocese of Namur (B)
1840	Apostolic Vicariate
1870	Independent Diocese
1988	Archdiocese

...

**Rural population** and one 'big' city: (garrison town) of Luxembourg

1850: 195.000 (Luxembourg-City 22.000)

1950: 295.000 (Luxembourg-City 63.000)

**Village schools** and one *Athenée Royal* (only institute for higher education)

**Pulpit and Catholic Press**

## “Kulturkampf” over dead bodies?

- “**Cohabitation**” of commune & parish (“Friedhofszwang”)
- **No real challenge** and alternative to a “Catholic-style funeral”
- *Civil burial: imitation* & religious surrogate of Catholic rituals

## "Kulturkampf" over dead bodies?

... an illustrative example

New Cemetery



Section separated by  
a quickset hedge



Grave of the  
Protestant



Graves of unbaptized  
infants



Grave of a  
suicidal

Forgery / Misrepresentation  
of the mayor (in red lines)  

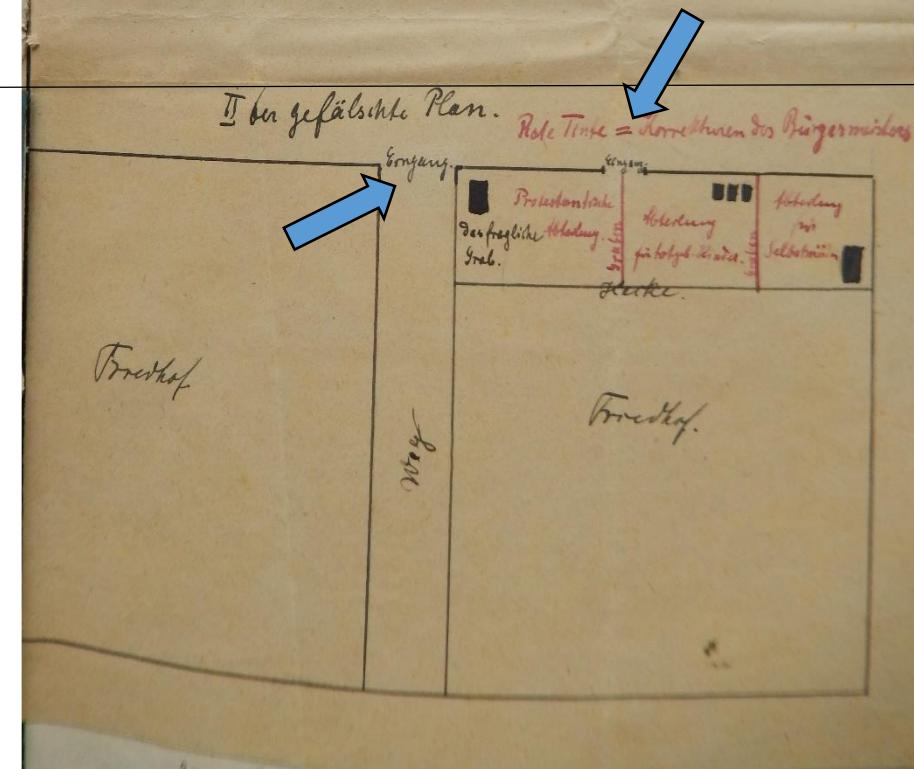
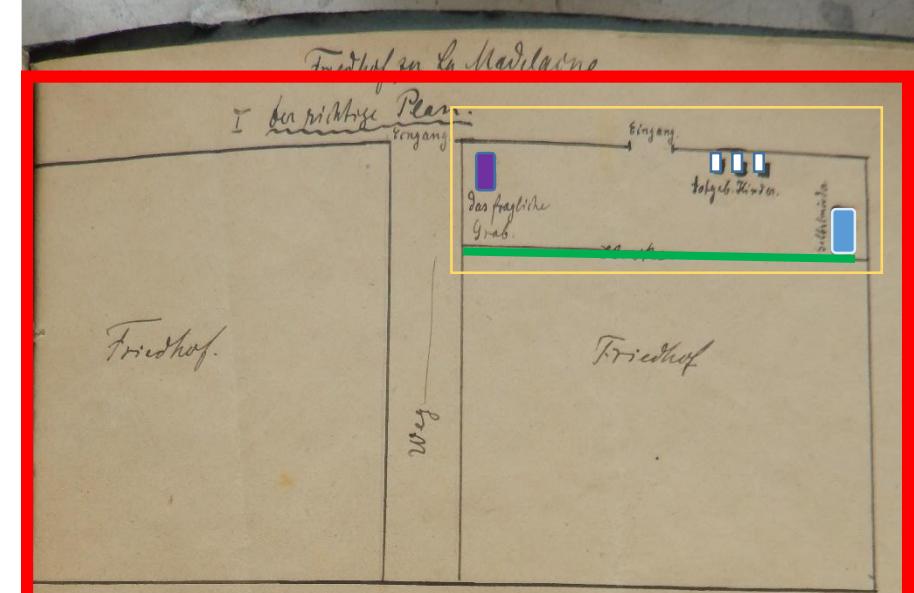
- no separation
- no separate entrance for  
Protestants etc.

Separation or not?

The case of Lamadelaine (*Rollingen*)/Commune Pétange

1885-1886

ANLux (Archives Nationales de Luxembourg)  
Friedhofsangelegenheiten, H7-2B - Eglise Protestante



## The Introduction of Cremation

“Im ward – gemäß seinem ausdrücklichen Willen – als Mitglied des Hollericher Feuerbestattungs=Vereins – das traurige Privileg, der erste Luxemburger zu sein, dessen Leichnam im Mainzer Crematorium verbrannt wurde. Seine Asche wurde nach deren Zurücksendung ziviliter auf dem Kirchhofe von Hollerich beigesetzt.”

*Pfarrer Martin Blum in: Ons Hémecht 1 (1916), S. 25*



Krematorium Mainz, establ. 1903

First Cremation of a Luxembourger: **1910**  
First Cremation in Luxembourg: **1995**



Krematorium Luxemburg-Hamm, opened in 1995

## The Introduction of Cremation



Crematory Hamm/Luxembourg-City



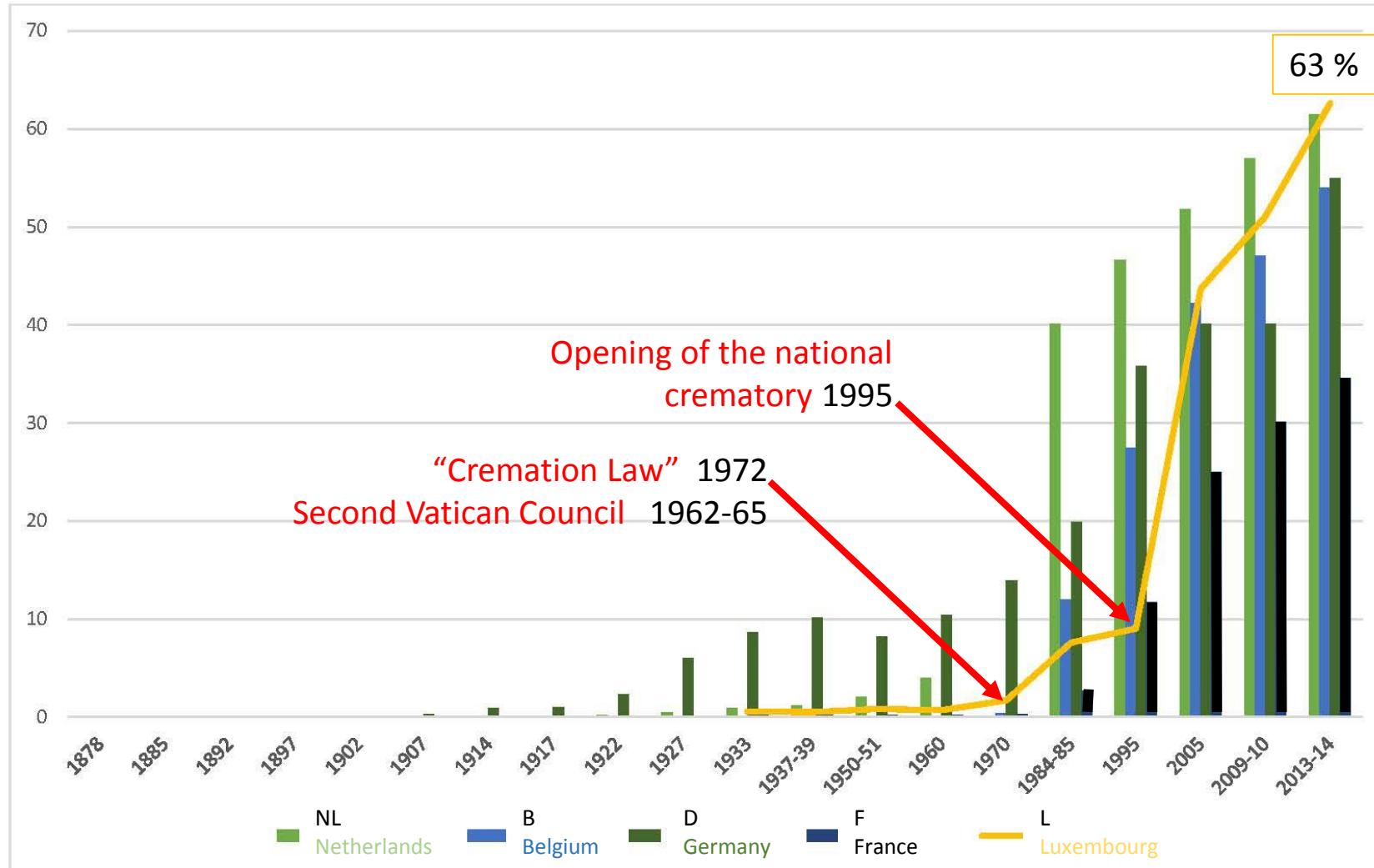
Crematory Hamm/Luxembourg-City ("Streuwiese")

## The Introduction of Cremation

- Foundation of *Flamma (Société pour la Propagation de l'Incinération)* in 1906
- **Immigration** and **new social group** due to industrialization
- **Provocation** of Christian faith & political “**proxy war**”

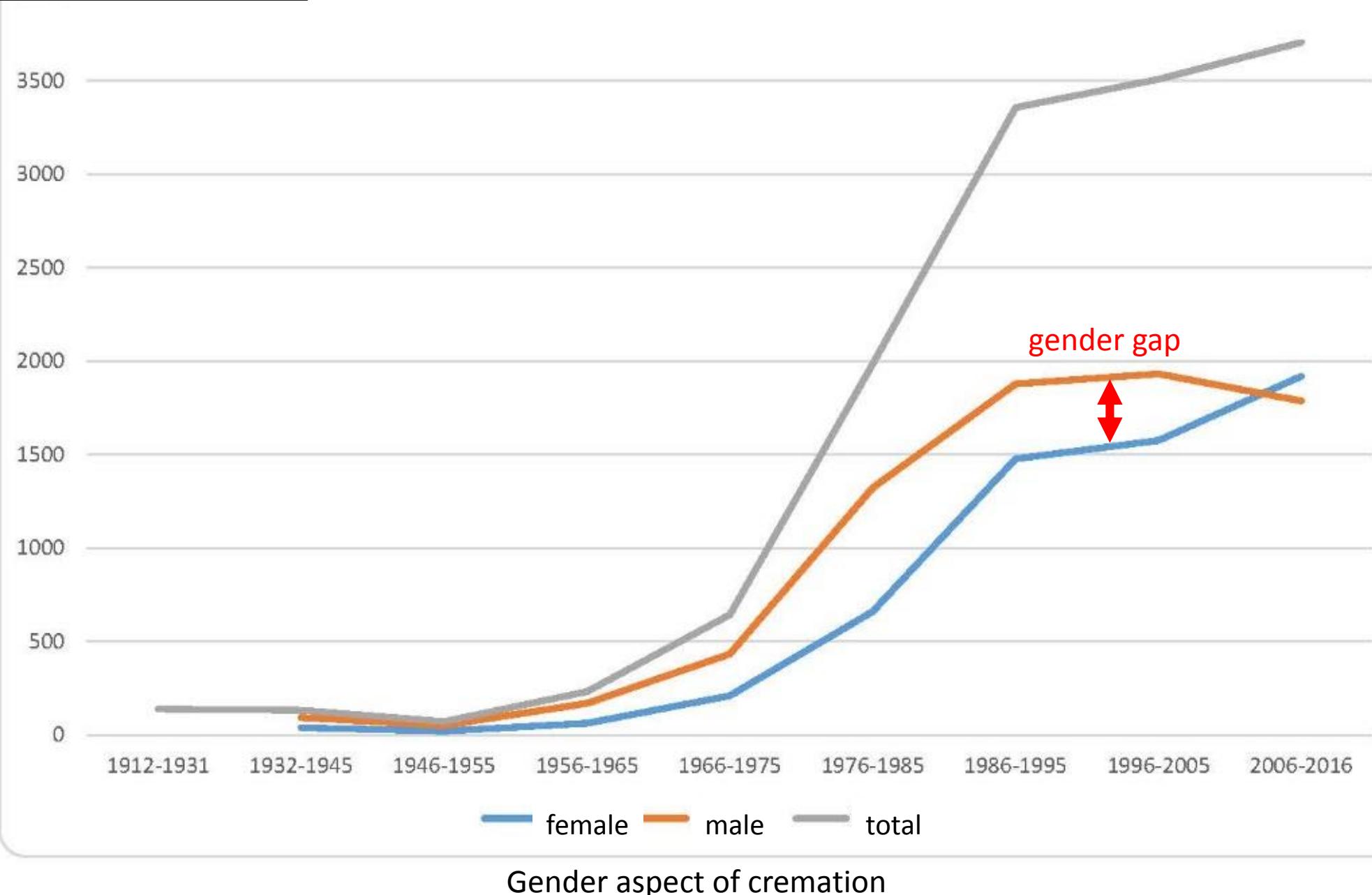
Modern cremation has involved the greatest practical and ritual change experienced by Christianity. The debate triggered a low-density “Kulturkampf” between Catholic-conservative protagonists and liberal/socialist/freethinker elites.

## The Introduction of Cremation

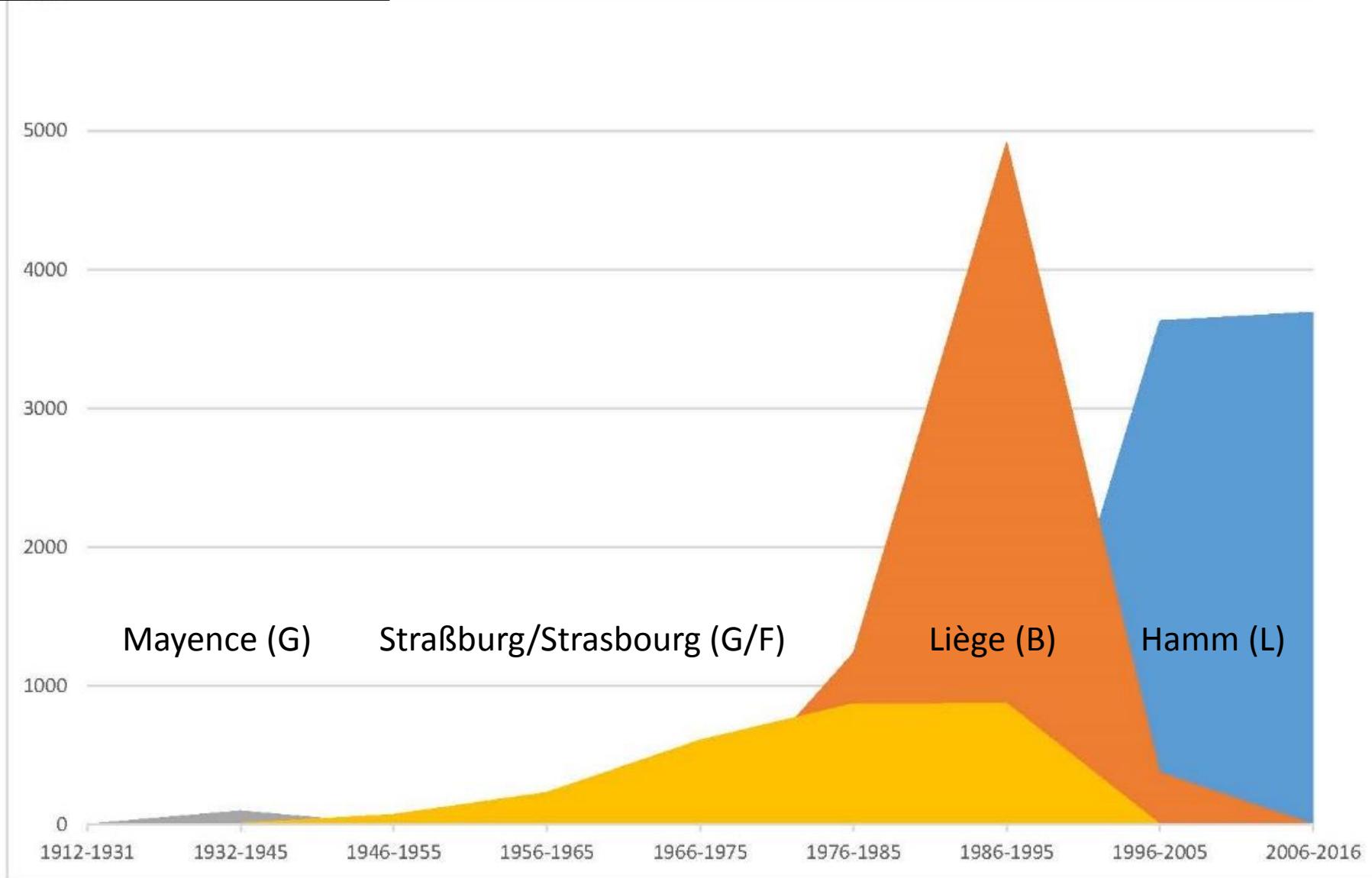


**Cremation:** Percentage proportion/burials in selected countries

## The Introduction of Cremation



## The Introduction of Cremation

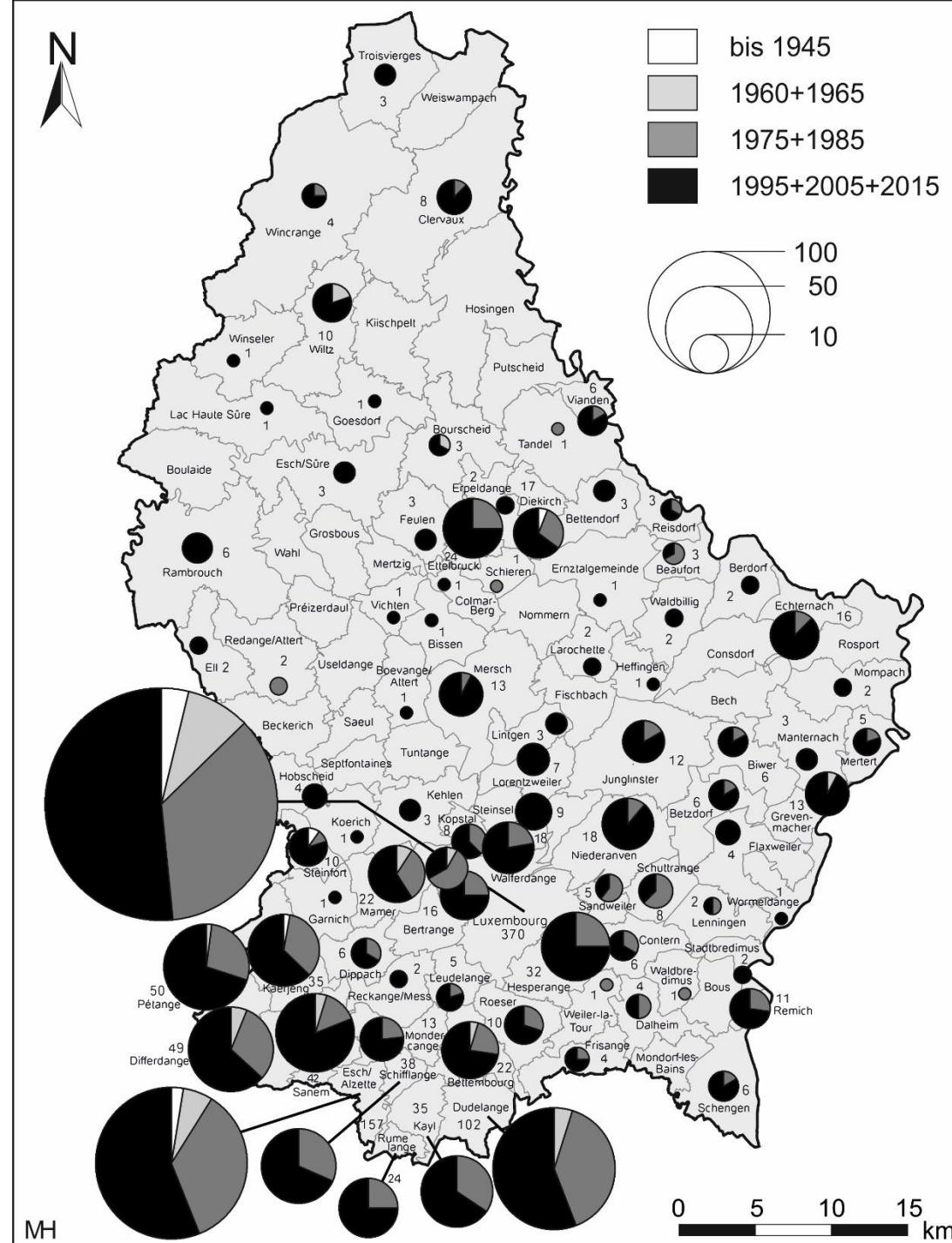


The most important crematories for Luxembourgers

## The Introduction of Cremation

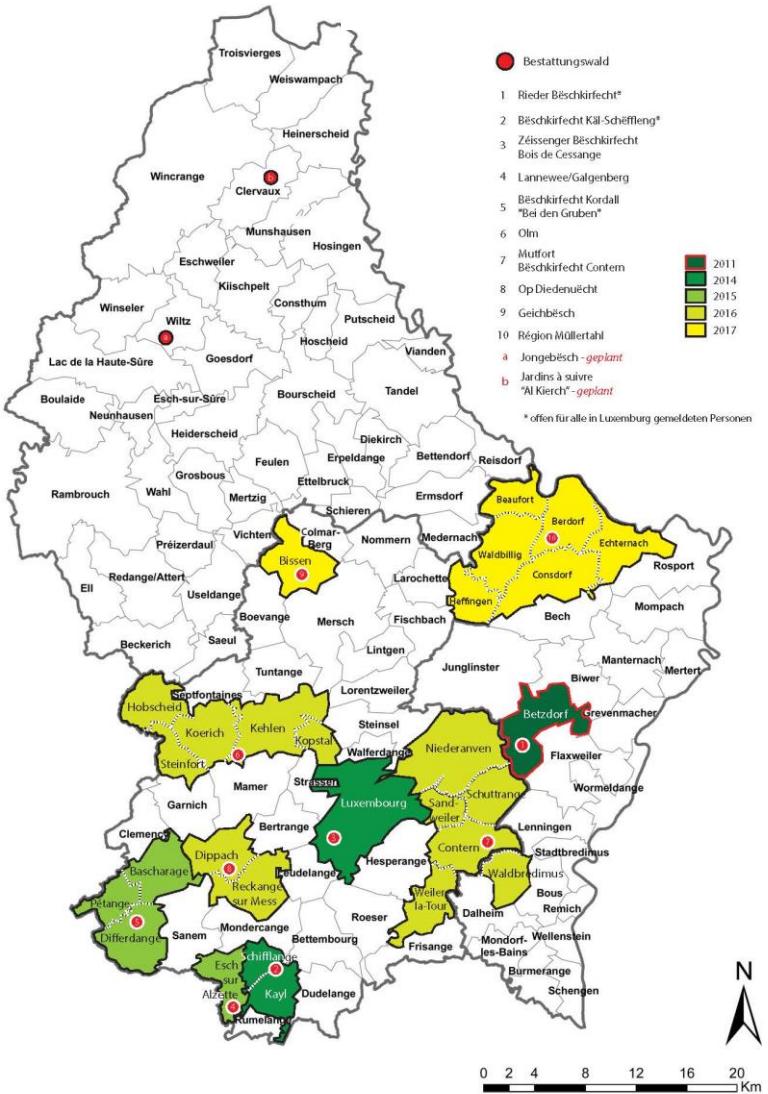
spatial/regional distribution of cremation

N to S: 100 km – 1h20min/car drive

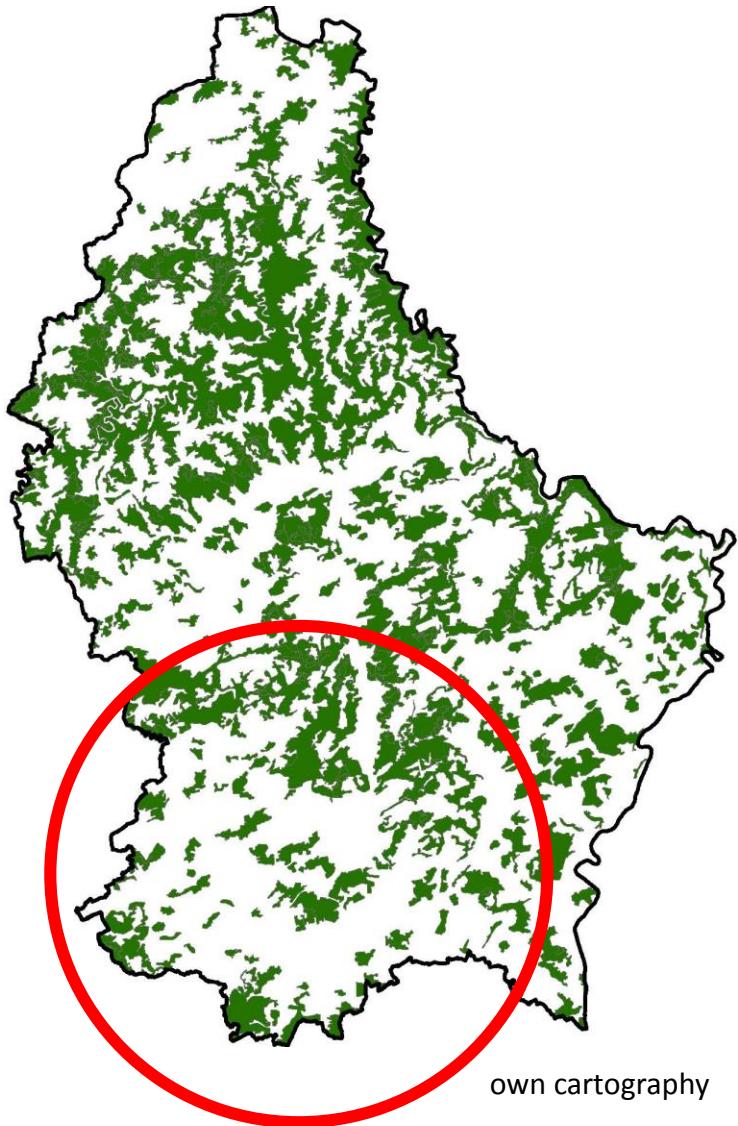


# C The Introduction of Cremation

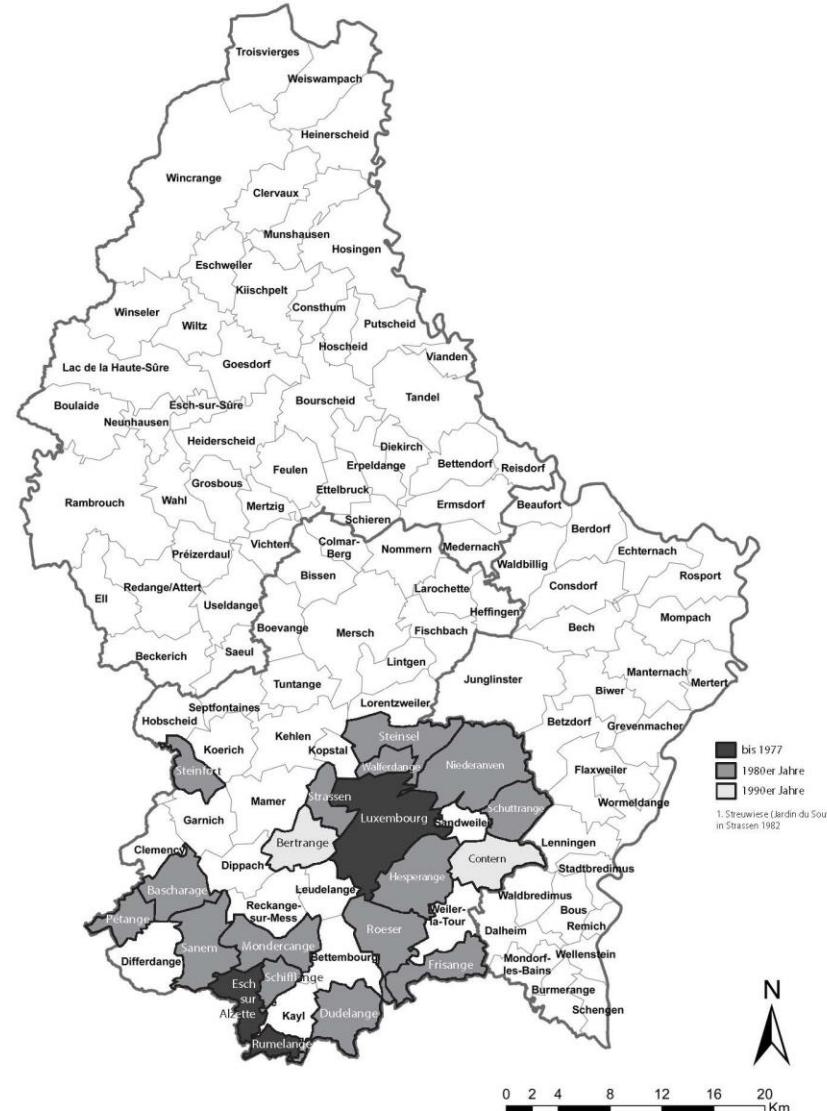
“Waldfriedhof”



Woodlands



Cremation Infrastructure



## The Introduction of Cremation

... where is the struggle/conflict?

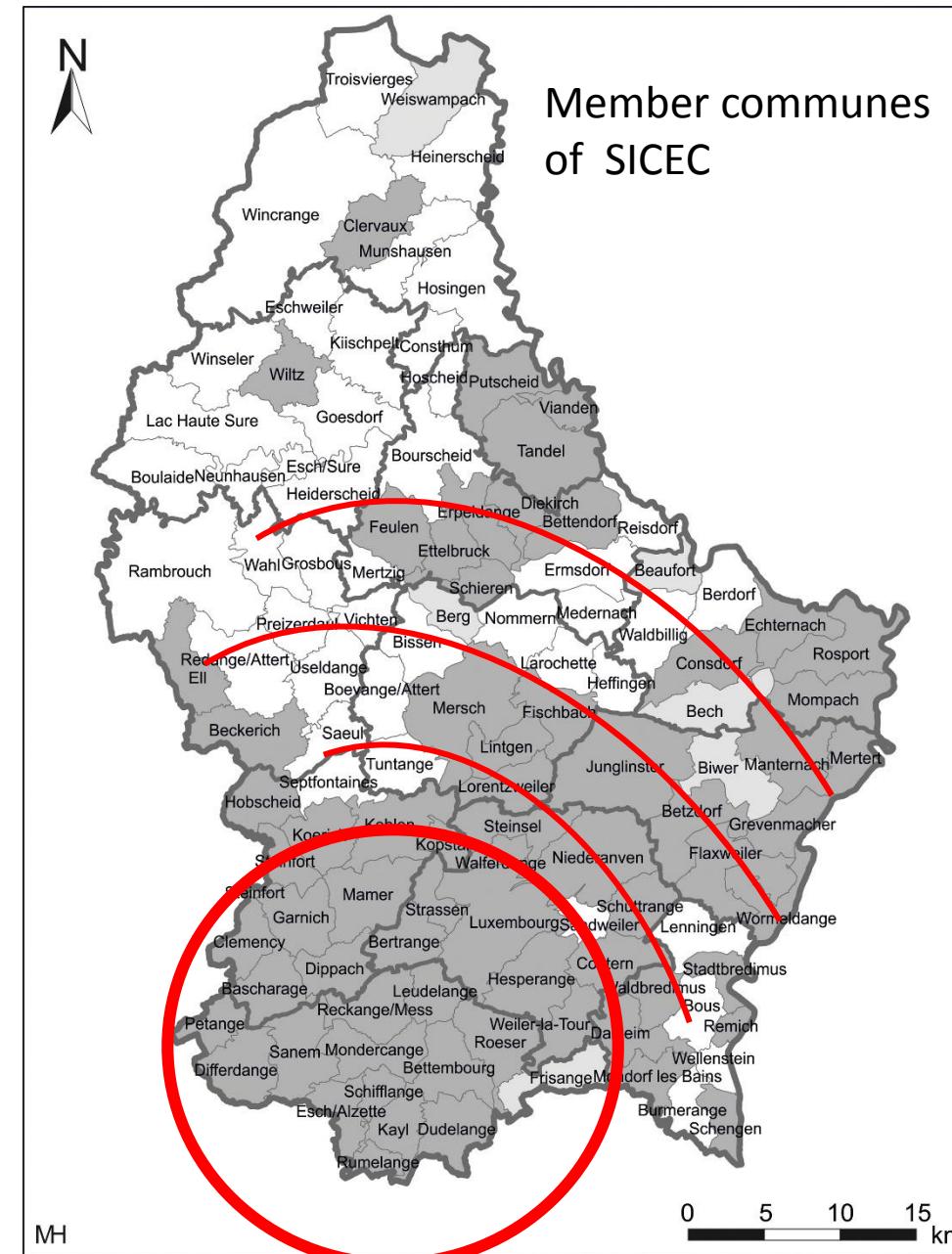
- **Debate in Belgium** about the introduction of cremation (1920s-30s)
- **Disrespect of last wills**
- **Intimidation** by the pulpit (face-to-face-society)
- 1972 – 1994/95: **SICEC** (“intercommunal operating society”)  
*Syndicat de communes ayant pour objet la construction,  
l'entretien et l'exploitation d'un crématoire sur base intercommunale (S.I.C.E.C.)*

## The Introduction of Cremation

... the “Konkordanzdemokratie” of Luxembourg

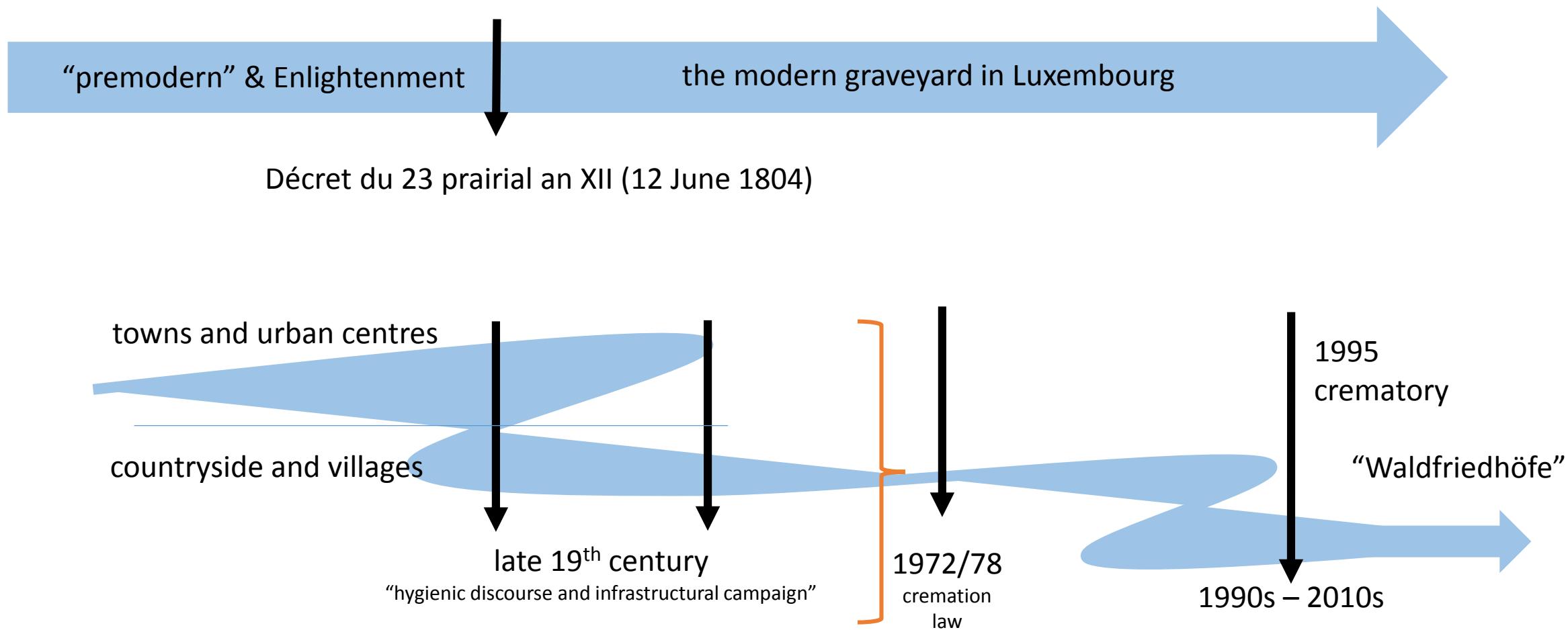
The **golden rule** of a “concordance system” :

The government must reach a compromise,  
even though it is composed of antagonistic parties

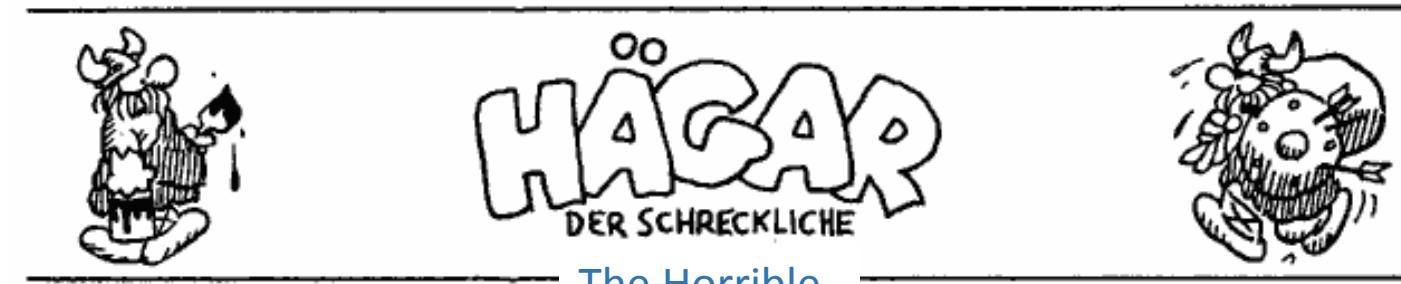


## Contemporary funeral culture in Luxembourg:

**an atavistic practice of a small state of and  
with a progressive narrative of modernization**



# Thank you!



The Horrible

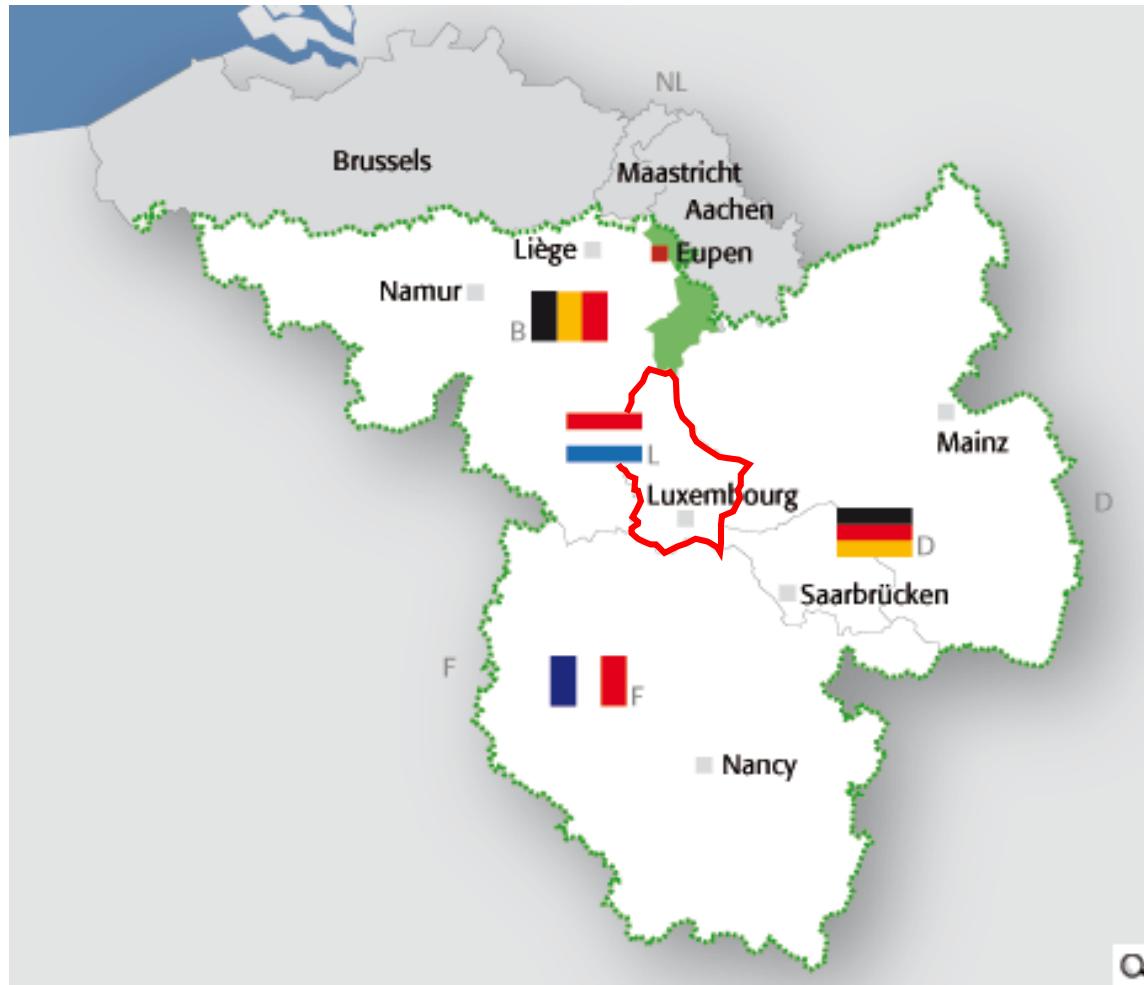


Attack!!  
Down with Luxembourg!



Darn!  
Now we have run over it again!

## A – the Grand Duchy



Area: 2,586.40 km<sup>2</sup>  
Population: 576,000  
Languages: Luxembourgish  
French  
German  
Portuguese  
English

Foreign population: 46,7 % (2016)



Area of interregional cooperation  
between  
France, Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg

# Material Culture and Spaces of Remembrance. A Study of Cemeteries in Luxembourg in the Context of the Greater Region

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Sociology of the Cemetery  
*Histoire du corps vivant et mort à l'époque contemporaine*  
Law History  
History of Luxembourg and Demography  
Archaeology  
Cemetery Research