

Appendices

Appendix A Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral (London), 1793–1823*

Name	Nation	Nobility	Rank/ Profession	Resolution HoC	Motivation (in CJ)	Pantheon	Sculptor	Shared
Lord George Rodney, KB	English	earned	Admiral	17 June 1793	life-time service	SP (1811)	Rossi	
George Eliot, Lord Heathfield, KB	Scottish	earned	General	17 June 1793	Gibraltar	SP (1823)	Rossi	
James Montagu	English		Captain	16 June 1794	Ushant	WA (1798)	Flaxman	
John Harvey	English		Captain	10 July 1794	Brest	WA (1798)	Bacon	Hutt
John Hutt	English		Captain	10 July 1794	Brest	WA (1798)	Bacon	Harvey
Robert Faulknor	English		Captain	14 April 1795	French West Indies	SP (1798)	Rossi	
Thomas Dundas	Scottish		Major-General	5 June 1795	French West Indies	SP (1798)	Bacon	
Rt Hon. Richard Burges		inherited	Captain	3 November 1797	Camperdown	SP (1798)	Banks	
George Westcott	English		Captain	21 November 1798	Aboukir	SP (1803)	Banks	
Richard Earl Howe, KG	English	inherited	Admiral	3 October 1799	life-time service	SP (1803)	Flaxman	

*KB = Knight of the Bath (after 1815 divided in GCB = Knight Grand Cross / KCB = Knight Commander); KG = Knight of the Garter; KC = Knight of the King's Counsel; HoC = House of Commons; CJ = Commons Journal; SP = St Paul's Cathedral; WA = Westminster Abbey. 'Nation' is based on the birth-place and where the parents came from. If different, the family connection is placed between parentheses. Under the column heading 'pantheon', the location as well as the date at which the decree for an inclusion was issued are indicated. Where the nationality is unclear, a blank space appears.

James Robert Mosse	English		Captain	16 April 1801	Copenhagen	SP (1803)	Rossi	Riou
Edward Riou			Captain	16 April 1801	Copenhagen	SP (1803)	Rossi	Mosse
Sir Ralph Abercromby, KB	Scottish	inherited	General	18 May 1801	Aboukir	SP (1803)	Westmacott	
Rt Hon. William Pitt, refused KG	English	inherited	Prime Minister	27 January 1806	life-time service	WA (1807)	Westmacott	
Lord Viscount Nelson, KB	English	earned	Vice-Admiral	28 January 1806	Trafalgar	SP (1807)	Flaxman	
George Duff	Scottish		Captain	28 January 1806	Trafalgar	SP (1807)	Bacon	
John Cooke	English		Captain	28 January 1806	Trafalgar	SP (1807)	Westmacott	
Charles Marquis Cornwallis	English	inherited	Governor General	3 February 1806	life-time service	SP (1807)	Rossi	
Sir John Moore, KB	Scottish	earned	General	25 January 1809	Corunna	SP (1810)	Bacon	
George Hardinge	English		Captain	18 May 1809	Indian Seas	SP (1810)	Manning	
Cuthbert Baron Collingwood	English	earned	Admiral	8 June 1810	Trafalgar	SP (1811)	Westmacott	
Daniel Hoghton	English		Major-General	7 June 1811	Albuera	SP (1812)	Chantrey	
[unknown] Mackenzie			Major-General	24 June 1811	Talavera de la Reyna	SP (1812)	Bacon	Langworth
[unknown] Langworth			Brigadier- General	24 June 1811	Talavera de la Reyna	SP (1812)	Bacon	Mackenzie
Henry Mackinnon	English (Scottish)		Major-General	10 February 1812	Ciudad Rodrigo	SP (1812)	Bacon	Craufurd
Robert Craufurd	Scottish		Major-General	21 February 1812	Ciudad Rodrigo	SP (1812)	Bacon	Mackinnon

(continued)

Appendix A Continued

Name	Nation	Nobility	Rank/ Profession	Resolution HoC	Motivation (in CJ)	Pantheon	Sculptor	Shared
Rt Hon. Spencer Perceval, KC	English	inherited	Prime Minister	15 May 1812	life-time service	WA (1814)	Westmacott	
John Le Marchant	Guernsey		Major-General	3 December 1812	Salamanca	SP (1814)	Chantrey	
Barnard Bowes			Major-General	13 July 1813	Salamanca	SP (1814)	Chantrey	
Sir Isaac Brock, KB	Guernsey	earned	Major-General	13 July 1813	Canada	SP (1814)	Westmacott	
Sir William Myers	English	inherited	Lieutenant- Colonel	13 July 1813	Albuera	SP (1814)	Kendrick	
Henry Cadogan	English		Lieutenant- Colonel	13 July 1813	Vitoria	SP (1814)	Chantrey	
Robert Ross	Irish		Major-General	14 November 1814	Baltimore	SP (1815)	Kendrick	
Sir Edward Pakenham, GCB	Irish	inherited	Major-General	5 June 1815	New Orleans	SP (1816)	Westmacott	Gibbs
Sir Samuel Gibbs, KCB	English	earned	Major-General	21 June 1815	New Orleans	SP (1816)	Westmacott	Pakenham
Arthur Gore			Major-General	21 June 1815	Bergen-op- Zoom	SP (1816)	Chantrey	Skerrett
John Skerrett			Major-General	21 June 1815	Bergen-op- Zoom	SP (1816)	Chantrey	Gore
Sir Robert Gillespie, KCB	Irish (Scottish)	inherited	Major-General	21 June 1815	Kalunga	SP (1816)	Chantrey	

Andrew Hay	Scottish		Major-General	21 June 1815	Bayonne	SP (1816)	Hopper
Sir Thomas Picton, GCB	Welsh	earned	Lieutenant- General	29 June 1815	Waterloo	SP (1816)	Gahagan
Sir William Ponsonby, KCB	Irish	inherited	Major-General	29 June 1815	Waterloo	SP (1816)	Baily
John Earl St Vincent, KB	English	earned	Admiral	27 March 1823	life-time service	SP (1823)	Baily
Adam Viscount Duncan	English	earned	Admiral	27 March 1823	life-time service	SP (1823)	Westmacott

Appendix B Panthéon / Sainte-Geneviève and Invalides (Paris), 1791–1815*

Name	Noble title	Legion	Profession	Senate	Inclusion/decreed	Pantheon
Honoré Riqueti	Count of Mirabeau		Politician / Legislator		4 April 1791	PAN (out)
Voltaire			Philosopher		11 July 1791	PAN
Jacques Simonneau			Mayor of Etampes		3 June 1792	PAN (sash)
Nicolas Beaurepaire			Colonel		12 September 1792	PAN (not)
Louis Lepelletier	Count of Saint-Fargeau		Politician / Legislator		24 January 1793	PAN (out)
Auguste Picot	Marquis of Dampierre		Colonel		13 May 1793	PAN (not)
René Descartes			Scientist / Philosopher		2 October 1793	PAN (not)
Joseph Chalier (Oulx, Piedmont)			President District Lyon		20 December 1793	PAN (not)
Denis Fabre de l'Hérault			Deputy at the Convention		12 January 1794	PAN (not)
Vincent Malignon			Agent for the Convention		23 June 1794	PAN (not)
Sailors of 'Vengeur du Peuple'			Sailors		9 July 1794	PAN (not)
Joseph Bara			Infant Soldier		28 July 1794	PAN (not)
Joseph Viala			Infant Soldier		28 July 1794	PAN (not)

* In the column 'noble title' the imperial titles are placed in italics. In the column 'profession' the focus is on the principal careers (i.e. those that justified inclusion in the imperial elite). 'PAN' is the Panthéon, 'SG' is Sainte-Geneviève, 'INV' stands for Invalides, 'TNV (reb.)' stands for the reburials in the Invalides.

Jean-Paul Marat (Boudry, CH)			Journalist		21 September 1794	PAN (out)
Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Geneva, CH)			Philosopher		11 October 1794	PAN
Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne	Viscount Turenne		Marshal of France		22 September 1800	INV (reb.)
François Tronchet		grand officer	Lawyer (civil code)	x	17 March 1806	SG
Claude Petiet		grand officer	Governor of Cisalpine Republic	x	27 May 1806	SG
Jean-Baptiste Bévrière		member	Notary, Member of Estates-General	x	14 March 1807	SG
Louis Joseph d'Albert	Duke of Luynes / <i>Count</i>	commander	Royal Marshal	x	23 March 1807	SG (out)
Jean Portalis		grand dignitary	Minister of Cults		29 August 1807	SG
Louis Pierre Resnier		commander	Man of Letters	x	12 October 1807	SG
Antoine César de Praslin	Duke	commander	Royal Marshal	x	4 February 1808	SG
Jean Frédéric Perrégaux (Neufchatel, CH)		commander	Banker (Bank of France)	x	22 February 1808	SG
Jean-Pierre Malher	<i>Count</i>	grand officer	General		8 April 1808	SG
Georges Cabanis	<i>Count</i>	commander	Physician, Aesthete, Philosopher	x	14 May 1808	SG
Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban	Marquis de Vauban		Marshal of France		26 May 1808	INV (reb.)
François Béguinot	<i>Count</i>	commander	General	x	30 September 1808	SG
Gabriel de Caulaincourt	Marquis / <i>Count</i>	member	Lieutenant-General	x	29/30 October 1808	SG

(continued)

Appendix B Continued

Name	Noble title	Legion	Profession	Senate	Inclusion/decreed	Pantheon
Girolamo Durazzo (Genoa)	<i>Count</i>		Doge of Genoa, Man of Letters	x	January 1809	SG
Jean-Baptiste Papin	<i>Count of Saint- Christau</i>		Lawyer	x	February 1809	SG
Joseph Vien	<i>Count</i>	commander	First Painter of the King, Master of David	x	31 March 1809	SG
Pierre Garnier	<i>Count of la Boissière</i>	grand officer	General, Chamberlain of Napoleon	x	14 April 1809	SG
Justin Morard	<i>Count / Count</i>	grand officer	Admiral	x	July 1809	SG
Jean-Pierre Sers	<i>Count</i>	commander	Tradesman, Revolutionary Politician	x	September 1809	SG
Emmanuel Crétet	<i>Count of Champmol</i>	commander	Minister of Interior (Retired)		1 December 1809	SG
Louis Vincent Le Blond	<i>Count of Saint- Hilaire</i>	grand eagle	General (Promised a Marshalcy)		6 July 1810	SG
Jean Lannes	<i>Duke of Montebello</i>	grand eagle	Imperial Marshal (Prince of Sievers)		6 July 1810	SG
Giovanni Caprara (Bologna, Papal States)			Cardinal, Papal Legate to France		23 July 1810	SG
Charles Claret	<i>Count / Count</i>	grand officer	Governor of Tuileries	x	22 August 1810	SG
Jean-Baptiste Treilhard	<i>Count</i>	grand officer	Lawyer, President of Tribunal		5 December 1810	SG
Nicolas Songis des Courbons	<i>Count</i>	grand eagle	General		5 January 1811	SG

Charles Erskine of Kellie (Rome)			Cardinal, Papal Representative in Britain		2 April 1811	SG
Vicenti Mareri (Rieti, Papal States)			Cardinal, Papal Legate to Spain		2 April 1811	SG (out)
Alexandre Hureau de Sénarmont	<i>Baron</i>	commander	General		5 June 1811	SG
Baptiste Pierre Bisson	<i>Count</i>	grand officer	General		(† 26 July 1811)	INV
Michel Ordener	<i>Count</i>	commander	General (retired), Governor of Compiègne	x	4 September 1811	SG
Louis Bougainville	<i>Count</i>	grand officer	Vice-Admiral, Explorer		5 September 1811	SG
Jan Willem de Winter (Kampen, NL)	<i>Count of Huessen</i>	grand officer	Vice-Admiral, Imperial Marshal of Holland		6 June 1812	SG
François Dorsenne	<i>Count Le Paige</i>	grand officer	General (retired), Chamberlain		27 July 1812	SG
Louis Baraguey d'Hilliers	<i>Count</i>	grand digni- tary	Colonel-General of the Dragoons, General		13 February 1813	INV
Jean-Baptiste Éblé	<i>Count</i>	grand officer	Inspector-General of the Artillery		14 February 1813	INV
Jean de Lariboisière	<i>Count</i>		General		15 February 1813	INV
Joseph Lagrange (Lagrangia) (Turin, Piedmont)	<i>Count</i>	grand officer	Mathematician, Astronomer	x	13 April 1813	SG
Jean-Baptiste Bessières	<i>Duke of Istria</i>	grand eagle	Imperial Marshal		3 May 1813	INV
Gérard Duroc	<i>Duke of Frioul</i>		Grand Marshal of the Palaces	x	(† 22 May 1813)	INV
Jean Jacqueminot	<i>Count of Ham</i>	commander	Lawyer (civil code)	x	16 June 1813	SG
Hyacinthe Cossé- Brissac	<i>Count / Count</i>	member	Royal Marshal, Chamberlain of M. Mère	x	25 June 1813	SG
François Viry	<i>Count / Count</i>	grand officer	Royal Ambassador, Imperial Chamberlain	x	25 October 1813	SG

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Appendix B Continued

Name	Noble title	Legion	Profession	Senate	Inclusion/decreed	Pantheon
Jean Rousseau	<i>Count</i>	commander	Ex-Cleric, Mathematician	x	11 November 1813	SG
Jean-Nicholas Déméunier	<i>Count</i>	grand officer	Lawyer, President of Constituent Assembly	x	11 February 1814	SG
Jean Louis Reynier (Lausanne, CH)	<i>Count</i>	grand officer	General		10 March 1814	SG
Claude Ambroise Régnier	<i>Duke of Massa</i>	grand officer	Lawyer, Minister of Justice		28 June 1814	SG - Louis
Frederik Walther	<i>Count</i>	grand eagle	General, Chamberlain		13 July 1814	SG - Louis
Claude Legrand	<i>Count</i>	grand eagle	General, Chevalier of Saint-Louis	x	12 January 1815	SG - Louis
Antoine Thévenard	<i>Count</i>	grand officer	Vice-Admiral, Pair de France	x	February 1815	SG - Louis
Jean Joseph Ange d'Hautpoul	<i>Count</i>	grand eagle	General	x	delayed to 1817	INV

Appendix C Pantheon (Rome), 1809–20

Name	Birth	Death	Region / city	Profession	Commissioner	Sculptor	Year
Antonio da Correggio*	1489	1534	Emilia-Romagna	Painter	Antonio Canova	Albacini	1813
Michelangelo Buonarroti*	1476	1564	Tuscany	Sculptor	Antonio Canova	Al. d'Este	1813
Andrea Palladio*	1508	1580	Padova	Architect	Antonio Canova	Biglioschi	1813
Tiziano Vecellio (Titian)*	1490	1576	Veneto	Painter	Antonio Canova	Al. d'Este	1813
Dante Alighieri	1265	1321	Florence	Poet	Antonio Canova	Al. d'Este	1813
Torquato Tasso	1544	1595	Sorrento	Poet	Antonio Canova	Al. d'Este	1813
Filippo Brunelleschi	1377	1446	Florence	Architect	Antonio Canova	Al. d'Este	1813
Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio	1571	1610	Milan	Painter	Antonio Canova	Albacini	1813
Leonardo da Vinci	1452	1519	Tuscany	Uomo Universale	Antonio Canova	Albacini	1813
Paolo Veronese	1528	1588	Verona	Painter	Antonio Canova	Manera	1813
Francesco De Marchi	1504	1576	Bologna	Engineer	Antonio Canova	Biglioschi	1814
Fra Beato Angelico	1395	1455	Tuscany	Painter	Antonio Canova	Biglioschi	1814
Carlo Goldoni	1707	1793	Venice	Dramatist	Antonio Canova	Biglioschi	1814
Tommaso di Ser Giovanni di Simone (Masaccio)	1401	1428	Tuscany	Painter	Antonio Canova	Finelli	1814
Lorenzo Ghiberti	1378	1455	Tuscany	Sculptor	Antonio Canova	Finelli	1814
Michele Sanmicheli	1484	1559	Verona	Architect	Antonio Canova	Manera	1814
Vittorio Alfieri	1749	1803	Piedmont	Dramatist	Antonio Canova	Manera	1814

* Although the herms of Correggio, Michelangelo, Palladio and Titian were already proposed in 1809, they were only finished in 1813.

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Appendix C Continued

Name	Birth	Death	Region / city	Profession	Commissioner	Sculptor	Year
Ludovico Ariosto	1474	1533	Emilia-Romagna	Poet	Antonio Canova	Finelli	1815
Francesco Petrarca (Petrarch)	1304	1374	Arezzo	Scholar	Antonio Canova	Finelli	1815
Andrea Mantegna	1431	1506	Padova	Painter	Antonio Canova	Rinaldi	1815
Giotto di Bondone	1267	1337	Tuscany	Painter	Antonio Canova	Al. d'Este	1815
Donato di Pascuccio d'Antonio (Bramante)	1444	1514	Urbino	Architect	Antonio Canova	Al. d'Este	1815
Giulio Romano	1499	1546	Rome	Painter	Antonio Canova	Al. d'Este	1815
Nicola Pisano	1215/20	1278/84	Apulia	Sculptor	Antonio Canova	Al. d'Este	1815
Domenico Zampieri (Domenichino)	1581	1641	Bologna	Painter	Antonio Canova	Al. d'Este	1815
Fra Bartolomeo	1472	1517	Prato	Painter	Antonio Canova	Manera	1815
Pietro Perugino	1450	1523	Perugia	Painter	Antonio Canova	Trentanove	1815
Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi (Donatello)	1386	1466	Florence	Sculptor	Antonio Canova	Ceccarini	1816
Andrea del Sarto	1486	1530	Florence	Painter	Antonio Canova	Ant. d'Este	1816
Giambattista Piranesi	1720	1778	Treviso	Engraver	Antonio Canova	Ant. d'Este	1816
Benvenuto Tisi (Il Garofalo)	1481	1559	Ferrara	Painter	Antonio Canova	Laboureur	1816
Domenico Ghirlandaio	1449	1494	Florence	Painter	Antonio Canova	Laboureur	1816
Giovanni da Udine	1487	1564	Udine	Painter	Antonio Canova	Laboureur	1816
Polidoro da Caravaggio	1499/1500	1543	Milan	Painter	Antonio Canova	Laboureur	1816

Sebastiano del Piombo	1485	1547	Venice	Painter	Antonio Canova	Laboureur	1816
Domenico Cimarosa	1749	1801	Campania	Composer	Ercole Consalvi	Canova	1816
Luca Signorelli	1445	1523	Cortona	Painter	Domenico Venuti (Cortona)	Pierantonio	1816
Giambattista Bodoni	1740	1813	Piedmont	Printer	Margherite dall' Aglio (wife)	Al. d'Este	1816
Girolamo Tiraboschi	1731	1794	Bergamo	Scholar	Antonio Canova	Al. d'Este	1817
Marcantonio Raimondi	1480	1534	Bologna	Engraver	Antonio Canova	Laboureur	1817
Christopher Columbus	1451	1506	Genova	Explorer	Antonio Canova	Trentanove	1817
Giovanni Paisiello	1740	1816	Puglia	Composer	Maria Saveria (sister)	Pierantonio	1817
Giovanni Battista Morgagni	1682	1771	Tuscany	Anatomist	Domenico Manzoni	Tadolini	1817
Pietro da Cortona	1596	1669	Cortona	Painter	Domenico Venuti (Cortona)	Pierantonio	1817
Gian Giorgio Trissino	1478	1550	Vicenza	Humanist	Counts of Trissino (descendants)	Fabris	1817
Alessandro Verri	1741	1816	Milan	Author	Gabriela Verri / Vincenza Melzi (sisters)	Ant. d'Este	1817
Galileo Galilei	1564	1642	Pisa	Scientist	Antonio Canova	Manera	1818
Ludovico Antonio Muratori	1672	1750	Modena	Scholar	Antonio Canova	Tadolini	1818
Annibale Caro	1507	1566	Ancona	Poet	Duchess of Devonshire	Ant. d'Este	1818
Andrea di Cione di Arcangelo (Orcagna)	1308	1368	Florence	Painter	Antonio Canova	Laboureur	1819

Appendix D Walhalla (Donaustauf), 1807–42*

Name	Birth	Death	Profession	Sculptor	Date herm
Hermann (Arminius)	± 18 BC	21	Cherusci leader		
Marbod	± 30 BC	± 37	King of the Marcomanni		
Velleda	1st c. AD	1st c. AD	Bructeri priestess		
Julius Civilis (plate: Claudius Civilis)	unknown	± 100	Batavian leader		
Ermanaric	unknown	376	King of the Ostrogoths		
Fritigern	unknown	± 381	Visigoth war leader		
Wulfila	± 311	383	Visigoth bishop		
Alaric I	± 370	410	King of the Visigoths		
Ataulf	unknown	415	King of the Visigoths		
Theodoric	unknown	451	King of the Visigoths		
Horsa	unknown	± 455	English invader		
Genseric	± 390	477	King of the Vandals		
Hengest	unknown	± 488	English invader		
Odoacer	435	493	King of Italian peninsula		
Clovis I	466	511	King of the Franks		
Theoderic the Great	454	526	King of the Ostrogoths		
Totila	unknown	552	King of the Ostrogoths		
Alboin	unknown	572	King of the Longobards		
Theodelinda	± 570	628	Queen of the Longobards		
Peppin of Herstal	± 635	714	Frankish Mayor of the Palace		

* Because it is impossible to retrace the exact date on which every inclusion was first proposed, I have listed them in the way in which they are presented in the Walhalla: by year of death (ascending order).

Saint Emmeram	unknown	± 715	Bishop of Poitiers, missionary to Bavaria		
Saint Bede the Venerable	672	735	Anglo-Saxon Benedictine monk and scholar		
Saint Willibrord	658	739	Anglo-Saxon preacher and Bishop of Utrecht		
Charles Martel	689	741	Frankish Mayor of the Palace		
Bonifacius	± 672	754	Anglo-Saxon preacher and Bishop of Mainz		
Pepin the Short	714	± 768	King of the Franks		
Paul Warnefried	± 720	797	Longobard historian		
Alcuin of York	± 735	804	Anglo-Saxon scholar at Carolingian court		
Wittekind (or Widukund)	unknown	± 807	Leader of the Saxons		
Charlemagne	742	814	Holy Roman Emperor		
Egbert	unknown	839	King of Wessex		
Eginhard	770	840	Carolingian scholar		
Rabanus Maurus	± 776	856	Bishop of Mainz and theologian		
Arnulf	± 850	899	Holy Roman Emperor		
Alfred the Great	849	899	King of Wessex		
Otto I the Illustrious	± 851	912	Duke of Saxony		
Henry the Fowler	876	936	German King	Schadow	1809
Arnulf I	unknown	937	Duke of Bavaria		
Saint Mathilda	unknown	968	Wife of King Henry I, King of the East Franks		
Otto the Great	912	973	Holy Roman Emperor	Schadow	1809
Hrosvit	± 935	± 975	Benedictine canonness and poet		
Saint Bernward	± 960	1022	Bishop of Hildesheim		
Saint Heribert	± 970	1021	Archbishop of Cologne		

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Appendix D Continued

Name	Birth	Death	Profession	Sculptor	Date herm
Conrad II the Salic	± 990	1039	Holy Roman Emperor	Schadow	1809
Henry III	1017	1056	Holy Roman Emperor		
Lambrecht von Aschaffenburg	± 1028	± 1080	Historian		
Saint Otto of Bamberg	± 1063	1139	Bishop of Bamberg		
Otto of Freising	± 1111	1158	Bishop of Freising and historian		
Saint Hildegard	1098	1179	Abbess and scholar		
Otto I of Wittelsbach	± 1120	1183	Duke of Bavaria		
Frederick I (Barbarossa)	1122	1190	Holy Roman Emperor	Schwanthaler	1838
Henry the Lion	1129/30	1195	Duke of Saxony and Bavaria	Schadow	1811
Wolfram von Eschenbach	± 1170	± 1220	Poet		
Saint Engelbert	± 1185	1225	Archbishop of Cologne		
The Poet of the Nibelungenlied	n.a.	n.a.	Early thirteenth-century epos		
Walther von der Vogelweide	1170	± 1230	Lyric poet		
Leopold VI the Glorious	1176	1230	Duke of Austria		
Saint Elisabeth	1207	1231	Princess of Hungary		
Hermann von Salza	1179	1239	Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights		
Frederick II	1194	1250	Holy Roman Emperor	Tieck	1814
The Architect of Cologne Cathedral	13th c. AD	13th c. AD	Dated as a mid-thirteenth- century design		
The Three Men of the Rütlichschwur	13th c. AD	13th c. AD	Fürst, Stauffacher, Mechtal		
Arnold von Thurn	unknown	± 1264	Founder of the Rhenish League		
Albertus Magnus	± 1200	1280	Dominican scholar		
Rudolph of Habsburg	1218	1291	German King	Tieck	1832

Erwin von Steinbach	1244	1318	Architect of Strasbourg's Notre-Dame	Ohmacht	1811
Frederick the Fair	1289	1330	Austrian General		
Bruno von Warendorp	unknown	1369	Mayor of Lübeck, supporter of Hanseatic League		
Arnold von Winkelried	unknown	1386	Swiss mythic figure		
Wilhelm von Köln	14th c. AD	14th c. AD	Painter		
Jan van Eyck	1390	1441	Flemish painter	Tieck	1842
Nicolaus Copernicus	1473	1453	Astronomer	Schadow	1807
Johannes Gutenberg	1397	1468	Inventor of print	Matthiae	1835
Frederick I the Victorious	1425	1476	Electoral Palatine of the Rhine	Lossow	1842
Johannes Müller von Königsberg (Regiomontanus)	1436	1476	Astronomer	Lossow	1842
Adrian von Bubenberg	± 1430	1479	Swiss knight		
Nikolaus von der Flue	1417	1487	Swiss diplomat	Tieck	1812
Hans Memling	1432	1494	Painter	Woltreck	1841
Eberhard	1445	1496	Duke of Württemberg	Wagner	1830
Hans von Hallwyl	1433	1504	Swiss knight	Christen	1812
Berthold von Henneberg	1442	1504	Electoral of Mainz	Mayer	1824
Maximilian I	1459	1519	Holy Roman Emperor	Kauffmann	1811
Johannes von Reuchlin	1455	1522	Humanist	Imhof	1835
Franz von Sickingen	1481	1523	German knight	Bandel	1827
Ulrich von Hutten	1488	1523	Humanist	Kirchmayer	1811
Albrecht Dürer	1471	1528	Painter	Rauch	1808
Georg von Frundsberg	1473	1528	Austrian Marshal	Widmann	1841
Peter Vischer	1460	1529	Sculptor	Müller	1839
Johannes Aventinus	1477	1534	Humanist	Horchler	1827
Wolter von Plettenberg	1450	1535	Master of Livonian Order	Schwanthaler	1832
Desiderius Erasmus	1466	1536	Dutch humanist	Tieck	1813
Philip von Hohenheim (Paracelsus)	1493	1541	Scientist	Wolff	1827

(continued)

Appendix D Continued

Name	Birth	Death	Profession	Sculptor	Date herm
Peter Henlein	± 1480	1542	Locksmith and watchmaker		
Hans Holbein the Younger	1497	1543	Painter	Lossow	1840
Martin Luther (1847)	1483	1546	Reformer	Rietschel	1831
Charles V	1500	1558	Holy Roman Emperor	X.L. Schwanthaler	1842
Christoph	1515	1568	Duke of Wurttemberg	Bissen	1831
Aegidius Tschudi	1505	1572	Swiss historian	Tieck	1815
William of Orange	1533	1584	Dutch Stadtholder	Tieck	1815
August I	1526	1586	Electeur of Saxony	Rietschel	1840
Anthony van Dyck	1599	1599	Flemish painter	Rauch	1812
Julius Echter	1545	1617	Prince Bishop of Würzburg	Scholl	1840
Maurice of Orange	1567	1625	Dutch Stadtholder	Tieck	1815
Johannes Kepler	1571	1630	Astronomer	Schöpf	1842
Albrecht von Wallenstein	1583	1634	Imperial Marshal	Tieck	1812
Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar	1604	1639	General of the Protestant forces	Tieck	1812
Peter Paul Rubens	1577	1640	Flemish painter	Lamine	1809
Hugo de Groot (Grotius)	1583	1645	Dutch humanist	Tieck	1814
Maximilian von und zu Trauttmansdorff	1584	1650	Imperial statesman	Schallen	1824
Maximilian I	1575	1651	Electeur of Bavaria	Imhof	1832
Amalia	1602	1651	Countess of Hessen-Kassel	Tieck	1817
Maarten Tromp	1598	1653	Dutch Admiral	Kessels	1825
Frans Snijders	1579	1657	Flemish painter	Rauch	1814
Charles X Gustav	1622	1660	King of Sweden	Tieck	1816
Paris Lodron	1586	1663	Archbishop of Salzburg	Eberhard	1814
Johann Philipp von Schönborn	1605	1673	Electeur of Mainz	Tieck	1818
Ernst I the Pious	1601	1675	Duke of Saxe-Gotha	Tieck	1815

Michiel de Ruyter	1607	1676	Dutch Admiral	Tieck	1817
Otto von Guericke	1602	1686	Inventor of the air pump	Rathgeber	1811
Friedrich Wilhelm	1620	1688	Great Elector of Brandenburg	Wichmann	1828
Charles V Leopold	1643	1690	Duke of Lorraine	Tieck	1817
William III	1650	1702	King of England (& Dutch Stadtholder)	Haller	1816
Ludwig von Baden	1655	1707	Imperial Marshal	Widnmann	1816
Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz	1646	1716	Philosopher	Schadow	1808
Herman Boerhaave	1668	1738	Dutch scientist	Leeb	1823
Maurice de Saxe	1696	1750	Marshal General of France	Tieck	1813
Georg Frederick Handel	1685	1759	Composer	R. Schadow	1815
Nicolaus von Zinzendorf	1700	1760	Bishop and reformer	Tieck	1818
Burkhard von Münnich	1683	1767	Russian Marshal	Lossow	1841
Johann Joachim Winckelmann	1717	1768	Art theoretician	R. Schadow	1814
Albrecht von Haller	1708	1777	Scientist	Schadow	1808
Wilhelm von Lippe- Schaumburg	1724	1777	Hanoverian General	Schadow	1809
Anton Raphael Mengs	1728	1779	Painter	Rauch	1808
Maria Theresa	1717	1780	Austrian Empress	Eberhard	1811
Gotthold Ephraim Lessing	1729	1781	Philosopher	Tieck	1813
Frederick the Great	1712	1786	King of Prussia	Schadow	1807
Christoph Willibald Gluck	1714	1787	Composer	Dannecker	1812
Ernst von Laudon	1717	1790	Austrian Marshal	Kiessling	1813
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	1756	1791	Composer	X.L. Schwanthaler	1841
Ferdinand von Braunschweig	1721	1792	Prussian General	Schadow	1808
Justus Möser	1720	1794	Jurist	Lounitz	1821
Gottfried August Bürger	1747	1794	Poet	Tieck	1817
Catherine II the Great	1729	1796	Russian Empress	Wredow	1831
Johann von Dalberg	1755	1803	Bishop of Worms	Halbig / Lossow	1826

(continued)

Appendix D Continued

Name	Birth	Death	Profession	Sculptor	Date herm
Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock	1724	1803	Poet	Schadow	1808
Johann Gottfried Herder	1744	1803	Philosopher	Tieck	1815
Wilhelm Heinse	1746	1803	Poet	Haller / Mayer	1826
Immanuel Kant	1724	1804	Philosopher	Schadow	1808
Friedrich Schiller	1759	1805	Poet and dramatist	Dannecker	1810
Joseph Haydn	1732	1809	Composer	Robatz	1810
Johann von Müller	1752	1809	Historian	Schadow	1808
Christoph Martin Wieland	1733	1813	Author	Schadow	1807
Gerhard von Scharnhorst	1755	1813	Prussian General	Rauch	1830
Michael Barclay de Tolly	1761	1818	Russian Marshal	Widnmann	1841
Gebhard von Blücher	1742	1819	Prussian Marshal	Rauch	1817
Karl von Schwarzenberg	1771	1820	Austrian Marshal	Schallen	1821
Frederick William Herschel	1738	1822	Astronomer	Eberhard	1816
Karl vom und zum Stein	1757	1831	Prussian statesman	Leeb	1825
August Neidhardt von Gneisenau	1760	1831	Prussian Marshal	Tieck	1842
Hans von Diebitsch	1785	1831	Russian Marshal	Rauch	1830
Johann Wolfgang Goethe	1749	1832	Man of letters	Tieck	1808
Archduke Charles (1853)	1771	1847	Austrian General	Zauner	±1809
Joseph Radetzky von Radetz (1858)	1766	1858	Austrian Marshal	Harbig	1858
Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling (1860)	1775	1854	Philosopher	Lossow (Tieck)	1859
Ludwig van Beethoven (1866)	1770	1827	Composer	Lossow (Dietrich)	1866

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 142. Boudon, *Napoléon et les Cultes*, p. 49.
 143. Cardinal Jean-Siffrein Maury to Napoleon Bonaparte, 19 March 1811, in ANF/AF/IV/1048; Cardinal Jean-Siffrein Maury to Napoleon Bonaparte, 20 March 1811, in *ibid.*
 144. Félix Bigot de Préameneu to Napoleon Bonaparte, 21 March 1811, in ANF/AF/IV/1048.
 145. Jean Rondelet to Louis Bruyère, 9 February 1813, in ANF/F/13/1141.
 146. Louis-Pierre Baltard to Louis Bruyère, 19 May 1813, in ANF/F/13/1141; Pierre Pinon, *Louis-Pierre et Victor Baltard* (Paris: Monum, 2005), p. 37.
 147. Louis-Pierre Baltard to Louis Bruyère, 17 April 1813, in ANF/F/13/1141; Bergdoll, 'Le Panthéon/Sainte-Geneviève au XIXe Siècle', pp. 192–4.

148. Antoine-Jean Gros and Jean-Pierre de Montalivet, 9 August 1811, in ANF/F/21/578.
149. Jacques-Olivier Boudon, 'Grand Homme ou Demi-Dieu?', *Romantisme* 28:100 (1998): 131–41, at 131–2.
150. Philip G. Dwyer, 'Napoleon Bonaparte as Hero and Saviour. Image, Rhetoric and Behaviour in the Construction of a Legend', *French History* 18:4 (2004): 379–403, at 398.
151. Jourdan, *Mythes et Légendes*, p. 23; Tulard, *L'Histoire de Napoléon*, p. 74.
152. Walter Friedlaender, 'Napoleon as «Roi Thaumaturge»', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 4:3 (1941–2): 139–41, at 140. According to O'Brien, the gesture referred to Christ, Saint Roch, Charles Borromeo or Vincent de Paul. Also Bonaparte's pose, an imitation of the Apollo Belvedere, refers to his capacity to cure the sick. O'Brien, *After the Revolution*, p. 102.
153. Christopher Prendergast, *Napoleon and History Painting. Antoine-Jean Gros's La Bataille d'Eylau* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 13.
154. Another splendid example would be Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres's *Portrait of Napoleon on the Imperial Throne* (1806).
155. Richard Wittmann, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 152–3.
156. Gérard Auguier, 'La Coupole de Baron Gros', in *Catalogue. Le Panthéon. Symbole des Révolutions*, pp. 248–51, at 248.
157. J. B. Delestre, *Gros et ses Ouvrages, ou Mémoires Historiques sur la Vie et les Travaux de ce Célèbre Artiste* (Paris: Jules Labitte, 1845), p. 195.
158. Félix Bigot de Préameneu to Jean-Pierre de Montalivet, 30 June 1810, in ANF/F/13/1c1/113.
159. Ben-Amos, 'The Sacred Center of Power'.
160. Agrippa de Winter to Ernest Constans, 6 August 1889, in ANF/F/13/1c1/Lannes.
161. *La Gazette Nationale ou Le Moniteur Universel*, 17 June 1813; entry, 14 June 1813, in ANF/CC/7.
162. Bernard Journu-Auber, Jean Redon de Beaupréau, and Louis d'Harville des Ursins were not included in the imperial pantheon.
163. *Journal de Paris*, 17 March 1811.
164. Alan Forrest, *The Legacy of the French Revolutionary Wars: The Nation-in-Arms in French Republican Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 92.
165. Chiru? to François de Montesquiou-Fézensac, 25 June 1814, in ANF/F/13/1c1/113/Duc de Massa.
166. Joseph Sevestre to Louis-Pierre Baltard, 1 September 1814, in BAVP Mss 829.
167. John Scott, *A Visit to Paris in 1814* (London: Longman, 1815), p. 63.
168. The five bas-reliefs that the revolutionaries had attached to the façade remained intact. Note, Louis-Pierre Baltard, 20 February 1816, in ANF/F/13/1141; Jacques-Joseph Corbière to Louis-Pierre Baltard, 7 June 1827, in ANF/F/13/1143.
169. Louis Bruyère to François de Montesquiou-Fézensac, 9 August 1814, in ANF/F/21/578.
170. Geoffrey Cubitt, 'Legitimism and the Cult of Bourbon Royalty', in *The Right in France, 1789–1997*, ed. Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997), pp. 51–70, at 54.

171. *Explication des Peintures de la Coupole de Sainte-Geneviève, Exécutées par M. Gros* (Paris: A. le Clère, 1824).
172. Merrick, 'Politics on Pedestals', p. 240.
173. Jourdan, *Mythes et Légendes*, p. 41.
174. Luigi Mascilli Migliorini, *Le Mythe du Héros. France et Italie après la Chute de Napoléon*, trans. Laurent Vallance (Paris: Fondation Napoléon, 2002), p. 34; Sudhir Hazareesingh, *The Legend of Napoleon* (London: Granta Books, 2004), p. 4.
175. 'Translation dans l'Eglise de Ste-Geneviève du corps de J. G. Soufflot, 25 février 1829', in ANF/332AP/1.
176. Anonymous note, 27 August 1830, in ANF/F/13/1936.
177. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1830; Beauregard, *Le Panthéon*, p. 15.
178. Honoré Daumier, 'Mr. De Montalembert Marchant à l'Assaut du Panthéon afin d'en Chasser les Grands Hommes pour y Installer les Capuchins', *Le Charivari*, 21 April 1851.
179. Ben-Amos, *Funerals, Politics, and Memory*, p. 9.
180. Jacques Robert, 'René Cassin au Panthéon', *Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique* 1987 (103): 1425–43, at 1425.

4 A Papal Pantheon? Canova's 'Illustrious Italians' in Rome

1. Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), p. 397.
2. Michele Franceschini, 'La Presidenza del Museo Capitolino (1733–1869) e il suo Archivio', *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma* 1 NS (1987): 63–72.
3. Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, 103 vols (Venice: Dalla Tipografia Emiliana, 1840–61), vol. 12, pp. 139–40, 141.
4. Paolo Bagnoli, *L'Idea dell'Italia 1815–1861* (Reggio: Edizioni Diabasis, 2007), p. 20.
5. Susanna Pasquali, 'Roma, 1520–1820: dal Pantheon degli Artisti al Pantheon degli Uomini Illustri', in *TÓΠΟΣ e Progetto. L'Attesa*, ed. Mario Manieria Elia (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2003), pp. 29–46, at 43.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
7. Adrian Lyttelton, 'Creating a National Past: History, Myth and Image in the Risorgimento', in *Making and Remaking Italy. The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento*, ed. Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg (Oxford: Berg, 2001), pp. 27–74, at 35.
8. Lucy Riall, *The Italian Risorgimento. State, Society and National Unification* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 8.
9. Martin Rosenberg, 'Raphael's Transfiguration and Napoleon's Cultural Politics', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19:2 (1986): 180–205, at 182.
10. Owen Chadwick, *The Pope and European Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 462.
11. Giustino Filippone, *Le Relazioni tra lo Stato Pontificio e la Francia Rivoluzionaria*, 2 vols (Milan: Giuffrè, 1961–7), vol. 1, p. 1.
12. Alberto Mario Banti, *La Nazione del Risorgimento. Parentela, Santità e Onore alle Origini dell'Italia Unità* (Turin: Einaudi, 2000), p. 9; Carlo Capra, *L'Età Rivoluzionaria e Napoleonica in Italia 1796–1815* (Turin: Loescher, 1978), p. 94.

13. Derek Beales, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1971), p. 23.
14. Gaudens Megaro, *Vittorio Alfieri. Forerunner of Italian Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), p. 128.
15. Alberto Mario Banti, *Il Risorgimento Italiano* (Bari: Laterza, 2004), p. 7.
16. Banti, *La Nazione del Risorgimento*, p. 26.
17. Roger Aubert, 'Pius VII', in *Dictionary of Popes and the Papacy*, ed. Bruno Steimer and Michael G. Parker, trans. Brian McNeil and Peter Heinigg (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 2001), pp. 123–4, at 123.
18. Chadwick, *The Pope and European Revolution*, pp. 455–6.
19. Édouard Driault, *Napoléon en Italie (1800–1812)* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1906), p. 174.
20. The other important papal minister was the *camerlengo* (chamberlain), who was responsible for finance, commerce, public works, and agriculture. During an interregnum, the secretary of state, whose loyalty lay with the old pope, would almost always be forced to resign, leaving the *camerlengo* as sole captain on the ship.
21. Roberto Regoli, 'Ercole Consalvi. Le Scelte per la Chiesa' (Ph.D. Dissertation, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2006), p. 19.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 429.
23. Ercole Consalvi, *Memorie*, ed. Mario Nasalli Rocca di Corneliano (Rome: A. Signorelli, 1950), p. 293.
24. Olwen Hufton, 'The Reconstruction of a Church 1796–1801', in *Beyond the Terror. Essays in French Regional and Social History, 1794–1815*, ed. Gwynne Lewis and Colin Lucas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 21–52, at 25.
25. Chadwick, *The Pope and European Revolution*, p. 491.
26. Michael Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814. Cultural Imperialism in a European Context?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 1.
27. Bruno Foucart, '«Mon plus Jeune et mon Meilleur Préfet»', in *Camille de Tournon: Le Préfet de la Rome Napoléonienne* (Rome: Palombi, 2001), p. 11.
28. Antonio Canova, *Eight Conversations Held at the Chateau of the Tuileries in 1810* (London: Treuttel & Wurtz, 1825), p. 17; Franco della Peruta, 'War and Society in Napoleonic Italy. The Armies of the Kingdom of Italy at Home and Abroad', in *Society and Politics in the Age of Risorgimento*, ed. John A. Davis and Paul Ginsborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 26–48, at 27.
29. Harry Hearder, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento 1790–1870* (London: Longman, 1983), p. 101.
30. Massimiliano Pavan, *Scritti su Canova e il Neoclassicismo*, ed. Giuseppe Pavanello (Possagno: Fondazione Canova, 2004), p. 136.
31. Carlo Astolfi, 'I Busti degli Uomini Illustri nel Pantheon', *Roma* 17 (1939), pp. 3–11; Pasquali, 'Roma, 1520–1820'; Pasquali, 'From the Pantheon of Artists'.
32. David O'Brien, 'Antonio Canova's Napoleon as Mars the Peacemaker and the Limits of Imperial Portraiture', *French History* 18:4 (2004): 354–78, at 357; Jean Henry, 'Antonio Canova and Early Italian Nationalism', in *La Scultura nel XIX Secolo. Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte*, ed. Horst W. Janson (Bologna: CLUEB, 1979), pp. 17–26, at 20.

33. Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, *Canova et ses Ouvrages ou Mémoires Historiques sur la Vie et les Travaux de ce Célèbre Artiste* (Paris: Adrien Le Clerc et Cie, 1834), p. 173.
34. Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence*, p. 397.
35. *Giornale Politico del Dipartimento di Roma*, 2 January 1812; ASV Palazzo Ap., Titoli 277.
36. John Martin Robinson, *Cardinal Consalvi, 1757–1824* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1957), p. 151.
37. ASR 114-I Camerale III buste 1878; ASR 113-VI Camerale II Antichità e Belle Arti buste 7; Pierre Pinon, 'Tournon et les Embellissements de Rome', in *Catalogue (Bibliothèque Marmottan, Boulogne-Billancourt). Camille de Tournon. Le Préfet de la Rome Napoléonienne (1809–1814)* (Boulogne-Billancourt: Bibliothèque Marmottan, 2001), pp. 140–75, at 161.
38. Consalvi, *Memorie*, p. 158; Carlo Fea, *Dei Diritti del Principato sugli Antichi Edifizj Publici Sacri e Profani in Occasione del Pantheon di Marco Agrippa* (Rome: Fulgoni, 1806), in ASC Camera Capitolina cred. XVIII, tom. 68, cat. 1590.
39. Pasquali, 'Roma, 1520–1820', p. 44.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 42, n. 61.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 44, n. 77.
42. Philipp Fehl, 'Quiet Grandeur and Pious Simplicity: Canova at St. Peter's', in *Monuments and the Art of Mourning. The Tombs of Popes and Princes in St. Peter's*, ed. Raina Fehl (Rome: Unione Internazionale degli Istituti di Archeologia Storia e Storia dell'Arte in Roma, 2007), pp. 112–27.
43. Melchiorre Missirini, *Della Vita di Antonio Canova* (Prato: Fratelli Giachetti, 1824), p. 127.
44. René Schneider, 'L'Art de Canova et la France Impériale', *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* 1 (1912): 36–57, at 48.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
46. O'Brien, 'Antonio Canova's *Napoleon as Mars the Peacemaker*', p. 357.
47. Christopher M. S. Johns, 'Portrait Mythology: Antonio Canova's Portraits of the Bonapartes', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28:1 (1994): 115–29, at 124. Napoleon noticed other deficiencies. Canova was informed that the emperor found the statue 'too athletic and the attitude somewhat less in line with his calm'. Antonio Canova to Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, 7 May 1811, in *Carteggio Canova*.
48. Fernand Boyer, 'Autour de Canova et de Napoléon', *Revue des Etudes Italiennes* 2 (1937): 202–32, at 230.
49. Antonio Canova to Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, 22 September 1810, in *Carteggio Canova*.
50. Canova, *Eight Conversations*, p. 3.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.
52. Franco della Peruta, 'La Federazione nel Dibattito Politico Risorgimentale: 1814–1847', in *Federalismo, Regionalismo, Autonomismo: Esperienze e Proposte a Confronto*, ed. Ettore A. Albertoni and Massimo Ganci, 2 vols (Enna: Ediprint, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 55–79.
53. The papal art collection had at Tolentino been ceded to, rather than confiscated by, France.
54. Antonio d'Este, *Memorie di Antonio Canova*, ed. Alessandro d'Este (Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1864), p. 199.

55. *Lettere Inedite di Antonio Canova al Cardinale Ercole Consalvi*, ed. Alessandro Ferrajoli (Rome: Forzani & C., 1888), p. vii.
56. Leo von Klenze, 'Memorabilien I', in BSB Klenzeana I/1, fol. 13R.
57. Ercole Consalvi to Antonio Canova, 26 October 1815, in BMCBG Epistolario Canoviano I.48.1449.
58. Donato Tamblé, 'Il Ritorno dei Beni Culturali dalla Francia nello Stato Pontificio e l'Inizio della Politica Culturale della Restaurazione nei Documenti Camerali dell'Archivio di Stato di Roma', in *Ideologie e Patrimonio Storico-Culturale nell'Età Rivoluzionaria e Napoleonica. A Proposito del Trattato di Tolentino*, ed. Fiorenza Gemini (Rome: Saggi, 2000), pp. 457–513, at 466; Antonio Canova to Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, 30 October 1814, in *Carteggio Canoviano*.
59. D'Este, *Memorie di Antonio Canova*, pp. 252–3.
60. Missirini, *Della Vita di Antonio Canova*, p. 225.
61. Oskar Bätschmann, 'Heilige Künstler. Zum Kult um Helden und Märtyrer der Kunst im 19. Jahrhundert', in *Heilige und Profane Bilder. Kunsthistorische Beiträge aus Anlass des 65. Geburtstags von Herwarth Röttgen* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2001), pp. 145–71, at 145.
62. Vincenzo Radicchio, *Descrizione della General Idea, ed in Gran Parte Effettuata all'Eccellentissimo Signore Andrea Memmo sul Materiale del Prato, che Denominavasi della Valle* (Rome: A. Fulgoni, 1786).
63. Arjan de Koomen, 'L'Età dei Lumi e il Sublime. I Monumenti a Niccolò Machiavelli e a Vittorio Alfieri', in Berti, *Il Pantheon di Santa Croce*, pp. 183–220; Gianlorenzo Mellini, 'Per la Scultura Italiana dell'Ottocento', in *Catalogue (Circolo Ufficiali, Turin). Il Lauro e il Bronzo. La Scultura Celebrativa in Italia 1800–1900*, ed. Maurizio Corgnati, Gianlorenzo Mellini, and Francesco Poli (Turin, Ilte S.P.A., 1990), pp. 13–22, at 17.
64. Missirini, *Della Vita di Antonio Canova*, p. 126; Clemens von Metternich to Laure von Metternich, 28 June 1817, in *Mémoires, Documents et Ecrits Divers laissés par le Prince de Metternich*, ed. Richard de Metternich, 6 vols (Paris: E. Plon et Cie, 1883), vol. 3, p. 30.
65. Jean Henry, 'Antonio Canova, the French Imperium, and Nationalism in Italy', *Consortium of Revolutionary Europe 1750–1850. Proceedings 2* (1980): 82–94, 94.
66. Maria Grazia Messina, 'L'Arte di Canova nella Critica di Quatremère de Quincy', in *Studi Canoviani* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1973), pp. 119–51, at 136.
67. Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy to Antonio Canova, 22 June 1789, in *Carteggio Canova*; Antonio Canova to the Earl of Aberdeen, 18 October 1806, in BMCBG Epistolario Canoviano 778.55.
68. Pietro Verrua, *Orazio Nelson nel Pensiero e nell'Arte del Foscolo e del Canova* (Padua: Prem. Soc. Coop. Tipografica, 1919), p. 17; Pavan, *Scritti su Canova*, p. 72.
69. Valentino Martinelli and Carlo Pietrangeli, *La Protomoteca Capitolina* (Rome: La Protomoteca Capitolina, 1955), p. 7.
70. Astolfi, 'I Busti degli Uomini Illustri', pp. 4–5; Martinelli and Pietrangeli, *La Protomoteca Capitolina*, pp. 34–9.
71. Painter Joseph Suvée had been appointed as director of the Académie de France in Rome in the early 1790s. As Jacques-Louis David held a grudge against him, he successfully lobbied for the Academy's suppression. Suvée would later be reinstated in his function by Napoleon.

72. Catalogue (Palazzo Sabarella, Padova; Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden), *Mengs. Die Erfindung des Klassizismus*, ed. Steffi Roetgen (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2001), pp. 116–17, no. 10.
73. Pasquali, 'From the Pantheon of Artists', p. 45.
74. Historians disagree on who formed Canova's first contact. According to Astolfi, Canova addressed Consalvi; Missirini maintained that Naro had first been consulted; Martinelli and Pietrangeli stated that Canova obtained authorisation from the pope. In view of Naro's function, Canova probably approached him first, albeit in accordance with Consalvi. Astolfi, 'I Busti degli Uomini Illustri', p. 5; Missirini, *Della Vita di Antonio Canova*, p. 224; Martinelli and Pietrangeli, *La Protomoteca Capitolina*, p. 9.
75. Benedetto Naro to Ercole Consalvi?, 27 January 1809, in BMCBG Epistolario Canoviano XII.1199.4094.
76. Pasquali, 'Roma: 1520–1820', p. 42.
77. Giuseppe Pavanello, *La Bibliotheca di Antonio Canova* (Possagno: Fondazione Canova, 2007), *passim*.
78. Giuseppe Bossi, *Vite e Ritratti di Italiani Illustri*, 3 vols (Padua: Tipografia Bettoni, 1812), vol. 1, pp. v–vi.
79. Alexander Grab, 'From the French Revolution to Napoleon', in *Italy in the Nineteenth Century 1796–1900*, ed. John A. Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 25–50, at 25; Spencer M. Di Scala, *Italy. From Revolution to Republic. 1700 to the Present* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), p. 34.
80. Piero Gobetti, *La Filosofia Politica di Vittorio Alfieri*, ed. Angela Maria Graziano (Cagliari: Demos, 1998), pp. 63–4.
81. Missirini incorrectly claimed that the Canova pantheon was dedicated to men, who had given glory to the army, sciences, letters, and arts. Missirini, *Della Vita di Antonio Canova*, p. 225.
82. Pasquali, 'Roma: 1520–1820', p. 42.
83. It is likely that the *Caro* had been suggested by Canova and merely paid by the duchess. Elisabeth Duchess of Devonshire to Antonio Canova, 7 October 1816, in *Epistolario 1816–1817*, ed. Hugh Honour and Paolo Mariuz, 2 vols (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2002), vol. 1, p. 458.
84. Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione*, p. 140.
85. Pasquali, 'Roma: 1520–1820', p. 43.
86. Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. A Romaunt* (London: John Murray, 1837), p. 235.
87. Pavanello, *La Bibliotheca di Antonio Canova*, nos. 274–8.
88. Stendhal, *Histoire de la Peinture en Italie* (Paris: Callmann Lévy, 1868), pp. 424–6.
89. Antonio Canova to Giovanni degli Alessandri, 12 April 1816, in *Epistolario 1816–1817*, vol. 1, pp. 195–6.
90. Giovanni degli Alessandri to Antonio Canova, 9 May 1816, in *ibid.*, p. 245.
91. Ernesto Setti to Antonio Canova, 12 May 1816, in *ibid.*, p. 248.
92. Cremona, 'Il Giardino della Memoria', p. 12.
93. John Hobhouse, *Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold: Containing Dissertations on the Ruins of Rome; and an Essay on Italian Literature* (New York: Kirk & Mercein, 1818), p. 186.
94. D'Este, *Memorie di Antonio Canova*, pp. 252–3.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

96. Heinrich Wischermann, 'Canovas Überlegungen zum Tempio Canoviano von Possagno', *Architectura* 10:2 (1980): 134–63, at 159.
97. Antonio Canova to Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, 17 August 1814, in *Carteggio Canoviano*.
98. Antonio Canova to Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, 11 August 1817, in *ibid.*
99. Gérard Hubert, *La Sculpture dans l'Italie Napoléonienne* (Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1964), p. 129; Quatremère, *Canova et Ses Ouvrages*, p. 354.
100. Wischermann, 'Canovas Überlegungen', p. 158.
101. William Dean Howells, *Italian Journeys* (New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1867), p. 282.
102. *Rome, and its Surrounding Scenery; illustrated with engravings by W. B. Cooke, from drawings by eminent artists: accompanied by Literary Sketches, by H. Noel Humphreys* (London: Charles Tilt, 1840), p. 135.
103. Pasquali, 'Roma: 1520–1820', p. 44.
104. Massimiliano Laboureur to Maggiordomo Trossini, 2 September 1822, in ASV Palazzo Ap., Titoli 277, fol. 9.
105. The Protomoteca was located in the eight rooms on the ground floor immediately to the right of the entrance. Martinelli and Pietrangeli, *La Protomoteca Capitolina*, pp. 11–22.
106. *Il Diario di Roma*, 26 April 1820.
107. Ercole Consalvi to Aldermen of Rome, 21 June 1820, in ASC Camera Capitolina, cred. XX, tom. 1, cat. 1726, fol. 3. A copy of the document can be found in ASV Segr. Stato, Interni, busta 397, no. 68960.
108. On behalf of the aldermen, responsibility for maintaining the museum lay with a museum director, Agostino Tofanelli. Arrangement of the busts and herms was professionally and chronologically ordered and followed, probably on the initiative of Canova, with the set-up of the Museum of French Monuments in Paris. Copy of the original contract, signed 18 October 1832, in ASC Camera Capitolina, cred. XX, tom. 1, cat. 1726, fols. 110–11. See also Agostino Tofanelli, *Descrizione delle Sculture, e Pitture che si Trovano al Campidoglio* (Rome: Giunchi, 1825).
109. ASC Camera Capitolina, cred. XX, tom. 1, cat. 1726, fol. 6.
110. Ercole Consalvi to Aldermen of Rome, 29 July 1820, in ASV Segr. Stato, anno 1820, rubr. 49, fasc.1, no. 72008.
111. Ercole Consalvi to Aldermen of Rome, 6 August 1820, in ASC Camera Capitolina, cred. XVIII, tom. 68, cat. 1590, fol. 14.
112. Inclusions other than busts or herms were prohibited; material was limited to Carrara marble; size-wise every bust had to correspond to that of the *Leonardo da Vinci*. Every herm was to match the *Galileo Galilei*.
113. Giulio della Somaglia to Aldermen of Rome, 18 May 1826, in ASC Camera Capitolina, cred. XVII, tom. 19, cat. 1489, fol. 458.
114. Ercole Consalvi to Aldermen of Rome, 14 March 1822, in ASV Segr. Stato, Interni, busta 397, no. 99641; Ercole Consalvi to Conservatori, 20 March 1821, in ASC Camera Capitolina, cred. XX, tom. 1, cat. 1726, fol. 20.
115. Ercole Consalvi to Jean-Baptiste Wicar, 5 March 1822, in ASV Segr. Stato, Interni, busta 397, no. 99927.
116. Ercole Consalvi to Aldermen of Rome, 15 May 1822, in *ibid.*, no. 3380; Ercole Consalvi to Conservatori, 20 May 1822, in ASC Camera Capitolina, cred. XX, tom. 1, cat. 1726, fol. 29.

117. Cincinnato Baruzzi to Aldermen of Rome, 16 May 1826, in ASC Camera Capitolina, cred. XVIII, tom. 68, cat. 1590, fol. 19.
118. Melchiorre Missirini to Luigi del Drago, 10 April 1826, in *ibid.*, fol. 45.
119. Giulio della Somaglia to Aldermen of Rome, 16 May 1826, in *ibid.*, fol. 44.
120. Melchiorre Missirini to Aldermen of Rome, 1 January 1830, in *ibid.*, fol. 59.
121. Carlo Pietrangeli, 'La Protomoteca Capitolina', *Capitolium* 27 (1952): 183–94, 89.
122. Martin Papeenheim, 'Caput Mundi – Caput Mortuorum. Rom als Stadt der Toten in der Neuzeit', in *Macht und Memoria. Begräbniskultur europäischer Obersichten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), pp. 209–36, at 235.
123. Cremona, 'Il Giardino della Memoria', p. 13.
124. Silvio d'Amico, 'I Busti al Pincio', *Capitolium* 16 (1941): 177–84, at 179.
125. Cremona, 'Il Giardino della Memoria', p. 12.
126. Lucy Riall, 'Martyr Cults in Nineteenth-Century Italy', *The Journal of Modern History* 82 (2010): 255–87, at 270.
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5 'National Education' in a Royal Pantheon in Regensburg

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71. Ludwig of Bavaria to Johannes von Müller, 3 August 1807, in *ibid.*, p. iii.
72. Ralph Marks, 'Johannes von Müller und der Patriotismus', in *Catalogue. »Vorwärts, vorwärts sollst du schauen ... «*, pp. 49–70, at 52.
73. Ludwig of Bavaria to Johannes von Müller, 2 October 1808, in *Sämmtliche Werken Johann von Müller*, vol. 5, p. x.
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88. *Ibid.*, p. vii.
89. Karen Hagemann, "Männlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre." *Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preussens* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002).
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91. *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 176.
92. The dating of the selection of the *Genossen* is hazardous. Paul and Puschner based their research on the 'Verzeichnis der für Walhalla bestimmten Büsten' (GHAM Nachlass Ludwig I. – 21). This list includes dates of payment or delivery, which postdate the actual inclusion. Since I attempt to contextualise Ludwig's choices by relating them to either a historical event

- or a specific adviser, it is crucial to find the first date at which a *Genosse* was proposed. To this end, I have also used Ludwig's correspondence.
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 95. Ludwig of Bavaria to Caroline von Heygendorf, 23 March 1844, in *König Ludwig I. von Bayern und Caroline von Heygendorf in ihren Briefen 1830 bis 1848*, ed. Hans Tümmler (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1981), p. 56.
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 97. Weis, 'Die Begründung des modernen bayerischen Staates', p. 30.
 98. Ludwig of Bavaria to Johannes von Müller, 2 October 1808, in *Sämmtliche Werken Johann von Müller*, vol. 5, p. xi.
 99. Ludwig of Bavaria to Georg von Dillis, 24 September 1808, in *Briefwechsel zwischen Ludwig und Dillis*, p. 51; Ludwig of Bavaria to Johannes von Müller, 2 October 1808, in *Sämmtliche Werken Johann von Müller*, vol. 5, p. ix.
 100. Gollwitzer, *Ludwig I. von Bayern*, p. 141.
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 110. Herwig Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and its Germanic Peoples*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), p. 286.
 111. Hans-Werner Goetz, *Europa im frühen Mittelalter 500–1050* (Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer, 2003), p. 36.
 112. Herder, 'Volkslieder', p. 47.
 113. Announcement, 4 February 1814, in GHAM Nachlass Ludwig I. – 88/4/2.
 114. Catalogue (Walhalla, Donaustauf). *Walhalla. Von der Idee zur Gestalt*, ed. Veit Loers (Regensburg: Bernhard Bosse Verlag, 1980), p. 4.
 115. Ludwig of Bavaria to Johannes von Müller, 2 October 1808, in *Sämmtliche Werken Johann von Müller*, vol. 5, p. x.
 116. Ettlinger, 'Denkmal und Romantik', p. 62.
 117. Stolz, 'Die Walhalla', p. 29.
 118. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, p. 8.

119. Norbert Götz, 'Aspekte der Denkmalpflege unter Ludwig I. von Bayern', in *Catalogue (Stadtmuseum, Munich). Romantik und Restauration. Architektur in Bayern zur Zeit Ludwigs I. 1825–1848*, ed. Winfried Nerdinger (Munich: Hugendubbel, 1987), pp. 44–53, at 44.
120. Heinrich Hübsch, *In welchem Style sollen wir bauen?* (Kassel: Verlag der Chr. Fr. Müller'schen Hofbuchhandlung und Hofdruckerey, 1828), p. 1.
121. Hermann Beenken, *Schöpferische Bauideen der deutschen Romantik* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald Verlag, 1952), p. 93.
122. Watkin and Mellinghoff, *German Architecture*, p. 15.
123. Christian Daniel Rauch to Ludwig of Bavaria, 27 October 1815, in ZSMB NL Rauch V.4.b.; Erläuterungen Schinkels 1814/15, in ZSMB NL Schinkel 1–38.
124. Note, Leo von Klenze, in BSB Klenzeana III/5, fol. 16r.
125. Leo von Klenze to Ludwig of Bavaria, 12 September 1817, in *Der Briefwechsel* I/1, pp. 342, 343.
126. Leo von Klenze to Ludwig of Bavaria, 31 December 1820, in *Der Briefwechsel* I/2, p. 292. Winckelmann had called the Greeks mere 'inventors' (*Erfinder*) of their art. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, p. 26.
127. Oswald Hederer, *Leo von Klenze. Persönlichkeit und Werk* (Munich: Callwey, 1981), pp. 16–17.
128. Dirk Klose, *Klassizismus als idealistische Weltanschauung. Leo von Klenze als Kunstphilosoph* (Munich: Kommissionsverlag UNI-Druck, 1999), p. 165.
129. Marina Sczesny, 'Leo von Klenzes «Anweisung zur Architektur des christlichen Cultus»' (Ph.D. Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität, 1967), p. 9.
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131. Leo von Klenze, *Anweisung zur Architectur des christlichen Cultus* (Munich: S. N., 1822), p. 3.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
133. Klose, *Klassizismus als idealistische Weltanschauung*, pp. 123, 120. Klenze had written approvingly of the pantheism of the ancient Greeks. Leo von Klenze to Ludwig of Bavaria (n.d.), in *Der Briefwechsel* I/3, p. 517.
134. Traeger, *Der Weg nach Walhalla*, pp. 58–66.
135. Loers, 'Walhalla zwischen Historie', p. 347.
136. Klenze, 'Memorabilien I', in BSB Klenzeana I/1, fol. 20r; Ludwig of Bavaria to Leo von Klenze, 24 January 1818, in *Der Briefwechsel* I/1, p. 405.
137. Klenze, 'Memorabilien I', in BSB Klenzeana I/1, fol. 11v. Only a handful of drawings have survived. They are currently kept in the collection of the Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität München, Munich.
138. Leo von Klenze to Ludwig of Bavaria, 27 November 1819, in *Der Briefwechsel* I/2, p. 79.
139. Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Academy Editions, 1973), p. 7; Leo von Klenze to Ludwig of Bavaria, 31 December 1820, in *Der Briefwechsel* I/2, p. 288.
140. Ludwig of Bavaria to Leo von Klenze, 2 December 1819, in *ibid.*, p. 84.
141. For a description of the design, see Stolz, 'Die Walhalla', pp. 71–85.
142. Leo von Klenze to Ludwig of Bavaria, 29 June 1834, in *Der Briefwechsel. König Ludwig I. von Bayern und Leo von Klenze. Teil II: Königszeit 1825–1848*, ed. Hubert Glaser, 3 vols (Munich: Kommission für Bayerische

- Landesgeschichte, 2007), vol. II/2, p. 449; *Amtlicher Führer Walhalla* (Regensburg: Bernhard Bosse Verlag, 2003), p. 5.
143. Winfried Nerdinger, '»Das Hellenische mit dem Neuen verknüpft« – Der Architekt Leo von Klenze als neuer Palladio', in *Catalogue (Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität München & Stadtmuseum, Munich). Leo von Klenze. Architekt zwischen Kunst und Hof 1784–1864*, ed. Winfried Nerdinger (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2000), pp. 9–49, at 37.
 144. Ettliger, 'Denkmal und Romantik', p. 64; Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses*, pp. 53, 55; Jörg Traeger, 'Der Geist der Marmorgemeinde. Sakrale Verwandlungen in der Walhalla und ein theologischer Gedanken Johann Michael Sailers', in *Johann Michael Sailer. Theologe, Pädagoge und Bischof zwischen Aufklärung und Romantik*, ed. Hans Bungert (Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druckerei- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1983), pp. 87–113, at 92.
 145. Leo von Klenze to Ludwig of Bavaria, 18 November 1819, in *Der Briefwechsel I/2*, p. 75.
 146. Johann Wolfgang Goethe, 'Italienische Reise', in *Sämtliche Werke*, 18 vols (Zurich: Artemis-Verlags-AG, 1977), vol. 11, p. 10.
 147. Joseph von Schuegraf, *Stauf und Walhalla. Ein geschichtlicher Versuch aus Urkunden und amtlichen Quellen* (Regensburg: S. N., 1834), p. 76.
 148. *Das Inland*, 13 October 1830.
 149. Catalogue, *Walhalla. Von der Idee zur Gestalt*, p. 19.
 150. Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, vol. 3, p. 137.
 151. Loers, 'Walhalla und Salvatorkirche', p. 137.
 152. Traeger, *Der Weg nach Walhalla*, p. 81, no. 50.
 153. Günter Lorenz, '«Walhalla's herrlichste Zierde». Der Walhallafries des Johann Martin von Wagner' (Ph.D. Dissertation, Universität Regensburg, 1988), p. 9.
 154. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
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Conclusions: Public Pantheons: A European History?

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