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# Public Pantheons in Revolutionary Europe

Comparing Cultures of Remembrance,  
c. 1790–1840

Eveline G. Bouwers

*Postdoctoral Research Fellow, University of Bielefeld, Germany*

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Or burst the vanish'd Hero's lofty mound;  
Far on the solitary shore he sleeps:  
He fell, and falling nations mourn'd around;  
But now not one of saddening thousands weeps,  
Nor warlike worshipper his vigil keeps  
Where demi-gods appear'd, as records tell.  
Remove yon skull from out the scatter'd heaps:  
Is that a temple where a God may dwell?  
Why ev'n the worm at last disdains her shatter'd cell!

Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*  
(1812–8)

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# Foreword to the Series

*Rafe Blaufarb, Alan Forrest, and Karen Hagemann*

The century from 1750 to 1850 was a seminal period of change, not just in Europe but across the globe. The political landscape was transformed by a series of revolutions fought in the name of liberty – most notably in the Americas and France, of course, but elsewhere, too: in Holland and Geneva during the eighteenth century and across much of mainland Europe by 1848. Nor was it confined to the European world. New ideas of freedom, equality, and human rights were carried to the furthest outposts of empire, to Egypt, India, and the Caribbean, which saw the creation in 1801 of the first black republic in Haiti, the former French colony of Saint-Domingue. And in the early part of the nineteenth century they continued to inspire anti-colonial and liberation movements throughout Central and Latin America.

If political and social institutions were transformed by revolution in these years, so, too, was warfare. During the quarter-century of the French revolutionary wars, in particular, Europe was faced with the prospect of ‘total’ war, on a scale unprecedented before the twentieth century. Military hardware, it is true, evolved only gradually, and battles were not necessarily any bloodier than they had been during the Seven Years’ War. But in other ways these can legitimately be described as the first modern wars, fought by mass armies mobilized by national and patriotic propaganda, leading to the displacement of millions of people throughout Europe and beyond, as soldiers, prisoners of war, civilians, and refugees. For those who lived through the period, these wars would be a formative experience that shaped the ambitions and the identities of a generation.

The aims of the series are necessarily ambitious. In its various volumes, whether single-authored monographs or themes collections, it seeks to extend the scope of more traditional historiography. It will study warfare during this formative century not just in Europe, but in the Americas, in colonial societies, and across the world. It will analyse the construction of identities and power relations by integrating the principal categories of difference, most notably class and religion, generation and gender, race and ethnicity. It will adopt a multifaceted

approach to the period, and turn to methods of political, cultural, social, military, and gender history, in order to develop a challenging and multidisciplinary analysis. Finally, it will examine elements of comparison and transfer and so tease out the complexities of regional, national, and global history.

# Acknowledgements

The steady habit of correcting and completing his own opinion by collating it with those of others, so far from causing doubt and hesitation in carrying it into practice, is the only stable foundation for a just reliance on it.

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (1859)<sup>1</sup>

John Stuart Mill's observation on the need to contrast personal opinions to the ideas of other people seems an appropriate opening to acknowledge the debts, both professional and personal, that I have incurred over the past years. This book began life as a dissertation that was defended at the European University Institute (Florence, Italy) in 2009. It is a great pleasure for me to thank my two supervisors, Jay Winter and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, for their unstinting support. If this project, which embraces four different countries, occasionally daunted its usually optimistic author, their advice and faith in the outcome have been a constant source of inspiration. In addition, I feel very fortunate to have found in Alan Forrest a dedicated external supervisor, and I would like to thank him for having given me the opportunity to publish the dissertation in the series 'War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850' that he edits with Karen Hagemann and Rafe Blaufarb. I am grateful to the anonymous reader for some very helpful observations that improved the book's structure. For sharing their insights on any aspects of this research, I want to thank Professors John Barrell, Wim Blockmans, Wolfgang Braungart, Geoffrey Cubitt, Willem Frijhoff, Annie Jourdan, Wessel Krul, Martin Papenheim, Roberto Regoli, the late Jörg Traeger, and Hans de Valk.

Additionally, I am much indebted to the staff of all the archives, libraries, museums, and research institutions whose collections I consulted. I particularly thank Elena di Gioia (Musei Capitolini, Rome), Gerhard Immler (Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich), Caroline Jules (Monum, Paris), Tilman Kossatz (Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg), Mark Pomeroy (Royal Academy of Arts, London), and Robert Raith (Walhalla Verwaltung, Donaustauf). I also wish to acknowledge my gratitude to His Royal Highness the Duke in Bavaria for granting me access to the personal archives of his ancestor King Ludwig I of Bavaria. On a more

practical level, thanks are due to the Netherlands Organisation for International Cooperation in Higher Education (The Hague) for the generous scholarship that enabled me to complete both research and writing without any distraction. The research on the Roman Pantheon, for which Hans de Valk offered indispensable help, has been conducted with a scholarship awarded by the Royal Dutch Institute in Rome. Additionally, I am grateful to the following institutions for allowing me to reproduce items from their collections: Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), Dean and Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral (London), London Metropolitan Archives (London), Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg (Würzburg), Museen der Stadt Regensburg (Regensburg), Opera Pia Dotazione del Tempio Canoviano di Possagno (Possagno), and Staatliches Bauamt Regensburg (Regensburg).

Since my arrival at the European University Institute in September 2005, I have felt the benefit of working on a comparative project while being surrounded with scholars from across Europe. The institute has uniquely allowed me to confront the history and historiography of four countries, none of which is my own, from a European bird's eye perspective. Apart from the support of my colleagues, I am grateful to friends, both near and far, for constantly 'correcting and completing' my ideas. Trusting that they will recognise their contributions, I also hope they know how much I cherished their encouragement and curiosity. I am especially grateful to my mother, whose support has far surpassed what a child could wish for, and my father. Their presence 'back home' has been a constant anchor during these last few years. It makes them guaranteed inclusions in my own pantheon.

# Abbreviations

ANF	Archives Nationales de France, Paris
AP	Archives du Panthéon, Paris
ASR	Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City
ASC	Archivio Storico Capitolino, Rome
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
BayHStA	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich
BMCBG	Bibliotheca del Museo Civico di Bassano del Grappa, Bassano del Grappa
BAVP	Bibliothèque Administrative de la Ville de Paris, Paris
BL	British Library, London
GHAM	Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, London
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, London
MWM	Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Würzburg
PRO	The National Archives: Public Record Office, London
NAL	National Art Library, London
RAA	Royal Academy of Arts, London
StReg	Stadtarchiv Regensburg, Regensburg
ZSMB	Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Berlin

# Note on Spelling and Translation

Throughout the book, I have used anglicised names only where these are readily available; in all other cases, I have included the French, German, and Italian originals. For the battles and wars, I have used the names by which they are commonly referred to in Anglophone historiography. A number of (art) historical concepts that are only familiar to specialists have been footnoted; all other references appear as endnotes. Translations of citations are, except when mentioned otherwise, mine. Where the original text includes italics, I have copied these without further reference. Finally, other than book titles, art works are also designated in italics – that is, whereas ‘Luther’ refers to the man, *Luther* denotes the herm for the Walhalla.