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The portrayal of cultural nationalism in the Parisian Panthéon

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How the transformation of a historical building links politics and culture in France,
while religion and cultural nationalism intertwine

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**MA Programme Euroculture
Declaration**

I, Leonie Verkade, hereby declare that this thesis, entitled “The portrayal of cultural nationalism in the Parisian Panthéon”, submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within this text of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the bibliography.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

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Abstract

The entanglement of types and approaches in studies of nationalism accumulated throughout the years and have resulted into the need for illumination. Especially since the political realm of nationalism has been treated to a greater extent, the cultural side has been left out of analysis. Clarification is therefore needed in this sector, and “cultural nationalism” has been chosen to identify the characteristics of its expression in culture in an exploratory way. This way, the start of a well-needed theory to analyse the cultural part of nationalism is made. This thesis investigates how the Parisian Panthéon expresses cultural nationalism in France. Documentary analysis in written form of content analysis offers the structure of this research, in which a combination of the historicist, modernization and sociological approach has been taken in order to incorporate the importance that the cultural and political aspects have taken for the building. The overlap between these two aspects is illuminated by the French Revolution, which started the first transformation of the building. Joep van Leerssen’s three-phase model for the cultivation of culture is centralized, in order to analyse this form of material culture on both the inside and outside. This research shows that the construction and transformation of the building in question coincides with regime change in France, which is a practice that still continues nowadays. The deliberate choice of centralizing the building in, for example, ceremonial festivities accounts for the increasing feeling of unity within the *patrie* and serves as a strong link to cultural nationalism in France. While religious connotations of the Saint-Geneviève church were destroyed and replaced by revolutionary ones in the Parisian Panthéon at the end of the eighteenth century, the building now includes both aspects as its visitors can enjoy its coexistence nowadays.

Keywords: cultural nationalism, Parisian Panthéon, the French Revolution, material culture, the cultivation of culture

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Introduction

Nationalism. A term of which the origins cannot be generally detected yet one which is still applied nowadays. Especially now with the COVID-19 pandemic, news articles are skyrocketing, labelling nationalism is on the lurk.¹ However, as the expression of “nationalism” is an ambiguous one, it cannot be used equivalently in every scene.

Nationalism has been used in several approaches and sectors, including the historical, philosophical and the anthropological ones. These approaches have then led to the evolving of various types of the term over time. Consequently, a clear distinction between the different approaches and types is significant, as it is not reasonable to use just one term for several side branches of the idea throughout the world, where historical matters have played various roles in nation-formation processes. Additionally, the various overlaps between political and cultural elements within these perspectives have added to the vague existence and usage of the term itself.

Likewise, the term “cultural nationalism” includes an entanglement of approaches and meanings that mostly focuses on the socio-political perspective, even when material culture is explicitly referred to in research. Scholars like Hans Kohn have focused their research on the nation with political loyalty,² whereas Ernest Gellner’s emphasis is more of a socio-political nature.³ John Hutchinson’s research does focus on the cultural sphere; however, even here it lies within the realm of sociology of cultural activism and does not centralize culture.⁴ Hitherto, culture has merely been referred to as an accessory of politics and it almost never gets analysed;⁵ it therefore asks for further research.

In order to analyse expressions of cultural nationalism in its entirety, the juxtaposition of political and cultural elements needs to be taken into account. Where the political element contributes to laws and governance (and thereby the *forming*) of a country, it acts in a

¹ Euronews, “‘The future of the European project is at stake’: EU in crosshairs of coronavirus pandemic,” 27 March 2020, accessed 7 May 2020, <https://www.euronews.com/2020/03/27/the-future-of-the-european-project-is-at-stake-eu-in-crosshairs-of-coronavirus-pandemic> & The Guardian, “The EU was created to keep nationalism in check. Coronavirus is a dangerous test,” 15 April 2020, accessed 7 May 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2020/apr/15/the-eu-was-created-to-keep-nationalism-in-check-coronavirus-is-a-dangerous-test>.

² Hans Kohn, “*Prelude to nation-states: the French and German experience, 1789-1815*” (Van Nostrand, 1967).

³ Ernest Gellner, “*Nations and Nationalism*,” (Cornell University Press, 1983).

⁴ John Hutchinson, “*The dynamics of cultural nationalism 1987: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*,” (Allen & Unwin, 1987).

⁵ Joep van Leerssen, “The Cultivation of Culture – Towards a Definition of Romantic Nationalism in Europe,” *University of Amsterdam* (2005).

universalist way, whereas the cultural aspect is the *portrayal* of a country and serves a more nationally focused approach and should therefore not be omitted.⁶

In order to advance research on cultural nationalism, this thesis aims to clarify the complicated term of nationalism in the cultural sphere, find the juxtaposition between cultural and political elements, and thereby contribute to fill the gap of study of the concept of “cultural nationalism”. This research’ focal point is on Western-European cultural nationalism and refers to the French Revolution as the modernization point in which structural changes occurred in the society in France. In order to portray these changes, the Parisian Panthéon has been chosen as a case study building as it has been built and transformed during these revolutionary times and can still be visited today. This relates to the following hypothesis as is discussed in this thesis: I argue that the cultural aspect contributes to the underlying feeling of a *patrie*, a feeling of unity, and that the Parisian Panthéon serves as a reflection of French cultural nationalism, showing the changes the French Revolution made to the country in a case study of material culture. This thesis therefore focuses on the question: “How does the Parisian Panthéon express cultural nationalism?”

In order to answer this question, documentary analysis in written form of content analysis offers the structure of this research. The Parisian Panthéon is identified in the first chapter by using mainly secondary history sources, in order to contextualize the case study building regarding its historical importance for France in the eighteenth century.

In the second chapter, literature reviews of significant scholars in the field are analysed in order to narrow down nationalism research to the type of cultural nationalism after the essence of nationalism itself has been revealed. This is done by using principally primary sources such as nationalism studies’ books and articles, as well as websites, such as the one from the Panthéon in Paris. Here, Eric Taylor Woods’ definition of “cultural nationalism” lies in the centre and reads as the “ideas and practices that relate to the intended revival of a purported national community’s culture”.⁷ His definition has been chosen, as it refers to late eighteenth-century Europe as the starting point for cultural nationalism and labels France as an important contribution to it. Woods includes the most significant scholars in the field, such as Johann Gottfried Herder, John Hutchinson and Miroslav Hroch, and thereby he serves a mixture of

⁶ Frank Buckley and Francesco Parisi, “Political and Cultural Nationalism,” *In: Rowley C.K., Schneider F. (eds) The Encyclopedia of Public Choice*. Springer, Boston, MA (2004), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-306-47828-4_151.

⁷ Eric Taylor Woods, “Cultural nationalism: a review and annotated bibliography,” *Studies on National Movements*, no. 2 (2014), <http://snm.nise.eu/index.php/studies/article/view/0202s>.

approaches in his study, where both the political and cultural side play a part. His definition comprises five focal points of which Joep van Leerssen's study of the cultivation of culture plays a significant role and is in like manner the focal point of this thesis' analysis in chapter three.

In the final chapter, Leerssen breaks down the concept of culture and divides material culture from immaterial culture, which facilitates the constructional view of cultural nationalism, howbeit incorporating political elements. This chapter uses the Parisian Panthéon as an exploratory case study and shows how this building has evolved its expression of cultural nationalism along with the modernism period of the French Revolution. Hereafter, Woods' other four points are connected correspondingly. When all aspects have been analysed, a relation to preservation techniques is briefly made after which the conclusion provides answers to the thesis' research question and presents the overlap of cultural and political aspects to the reader.

The focus on the French Revolution means that, when future research is wished to be carried out, this methodology is limited to case study buildings that correlate to this time period, as it is centralized in the used definition of this type of cultural nationalism. This therefore means that a careful consideration of the corresponding case study to the used definition is encouraged highly. Further limitations of the chosen theoretical works are seen in the broad approach of perspectives within Woods' definition. Notwithstanding, this is deliberately chosen, since in this way, both the political and cultural aspects are analysed and combined into a most well-rounded analysis of the Parisian Panthéon. As this is an exploratory research, the outcome of factors that play a part in the expression of cultural nationalism are uncertain, yet Leerssen's model is used to test in the field of study; something he wishes researchers to use from his research. This thesis is therefore written to develop and grow the direction of studies in cultural nationalism, which could open up research in the portrayal of cultural nationalism of material culture.

Finally, it must be noted that it is not possible to state that the expression of cultural nationalism by the Parisian Panthéon accounts for the rise of nationalistic feelings in France, nor does it add to the increase of European identity difficulties. This research merely shows that cultural nationalism is reflected in the Parisian Panthéon. Further extensive research is therefore necessary in order to identify answers to these precarious questions. Furthermore, the receiving end of the symbolism portrayed in the building itself is not researched, as it is too extensive for this scope of research. This is, however, highly encouraged in order to understand whether the expressed ideals are adhered to and received by the building's visitors. Because in the end: what

would expression of certain values mean when they are not understood in the same way? Amos Rapoport's study on the sematic of signs⁸ would therefore be an excellent starting point.

⁸ Amos Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach* (The University of Arizona Press, 1990).

Chapter 1 – How Saint-Geneviève created the Parisian Panthéon

Introduction

On the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève in Paris, the “masterpiece of the architect Soufflot”,⁹ also known nowadays as the Panthéon, can be visited; an interesting building that holds many stories starting from 1740 and continues into society today. A transition in its name, use and architectural look overtime coincide with historical events of the related stage. The period between 1764 and 1793 will principally be discussed in this research, where we will follow the building from the commissioning of the Saint-Geneviève church to the first years of usage of the Panthéon during the French Revolution. Who was Saint-Geneviève and what was her significance to the building we presently call the Panthéon?

In order to answer this question, this chapter provides an introduction of the case study building by introducing Saint Geneviève and signifying her importance to France. Conjointly, the structural transformation to the Parisian Panthéon will be revealed, for there is an alluring story behind it all.

Saint-Geneviève: was she used for religious or monarchical power in Paris?

Originally, the building we now call the Parisian Panthéon used to serve a different purpose under a different name; namely the church of Saint-Geneviève. As the name already reveals, Geneviève is regarded a saint in France, due to her impressive record of miracles, including presently saving Paris from Attila the Hun in 451 and delivering people from threatening heresies with her relics in the sixteenth century. In total, 120 public invocations have been recorded between 1500 and 1793. Notwithstanding, the original relics have been destroyed in 1793, where they were publicly burnt and then cast into the Seine.¹⁰ But why did the adoration of Saint-Geneviève turn around so abruptly?

In order to answer this, not one but several factors need to be taken into account. Next to ideals the Enlightenment brought in the world, the rising French Revolution brought its share as well. In 1744, the royal family took over Saint Geneviève’s cult and continued this over the course of the eighteenth century. They used her relics for themselves, especially when king Louis XV became sick. When he was relieved from his smallpox after the 1744 invocation, he offered thanks to Saint-Geneviève in the form of an entire building, after having made a

⁹ Panthéon, “History of the Monument,” Centre des Monuments Nationaux, 2020, accessed 13 February 2020, <http://www.paris-pantheon.fr/en/>.

¹⁰ Hannah Williams, “Saint Geneviève’s miracles: art and religion in eighteenth-century Paris,” *French History*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Oxford University Press, 2016): 322.

pilgrimage to the Saint-Geneviève abbey. Here, he promised the monks to rebuild a church in the name of the saint on the crown's expense. The building was not, however, only devoted to the saint itself, as it was an opportunity for the Bourbon dynasty to rebuild their image. Rebuilding the Saint-Geneviève church promoted cohesion within a divided church and reinforced the Bourbon-Clovis association, as rulers of France and founder of the Saint-Geneviève abbey.¹¹ This divided church's convergence was especially significant after the upheaval France went through when reminiscing the Church of the Desert difficulties, which indicated the period of secrecy in reformed faith, in particular regarding to the Protestant church, which was banned by king Louis XV.¹² This relationship between the church and state was very important, as it affirmed symbolically Louis' political legitimacy.¹³

The location of the Saint-Geneviève church was at a sacred place in Paris. In 507AD, king Clovis I was the first in line of Merovingia and wished the construction of a basilica for the Merovingian dynasty, as well as to practice his religious beliefs. This then happened on the highest point in the city of Paris: the *colline de Lutèce*. As Saint Geneviève walked up this hill and prayed there until she died in 512, it was an important location for religious persons. King Clovis, his wife Clotilde and Saint Geneviève herself were buried in the small oratory there, while the hill was renamed the *Mont Sainte-Geneviève*, and became sacred to Parisians.¹⁴

When king Louis XV commissioned the church, funds were ordered in 1754, and in 1755, Jacques-Germain Soufflot became the architect of the building. He worked on this project until his death in 1780, and thus he never saw what the end result of his hard work would be. The church was finished by Brébion in 1790, and later in 1806 the pillars were strengthened by one of Soufflot's pupils Rondelet, who was entrusted by Napoleon to do so.¹⁵ If you had lived during this time, you may think it would be a never-ending architectural structure that mirrors the evolving of political times.

¹¹ Andrew Ayers, "5th arrondissement" *The Architecture of Paris: An Architectural Guide*, (Stuttgart/London: ed. Edition Axel Menges, 2004): 109.

¹² Musée Protestant, "The Church under Louis XV (1724 to 1760)," *Musée virtuel du protestantisme*, accessed 22 May 2020, <https://www.museeprotestant.org/en/notice/the-church-under-louis-xv-1724-to-1760/>.

¹³ Andrew Ayers, "5th arrondissement" *The Architecture of Paris: An Architectural Guide*, (Stuttgart/London: ed. Edition Axel Menges, 2004): 109.

¹⁴ Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites and the Canadian Centre for Architecture, "Le Panthéon, Symbole des révolutions: De l'Église de la Nation au Temple des grands hommes," (Picard Éditeur, 1989): 339, referring to: Watermark Silverchair, "Architecture in France," *In: Book Reviews*: 235, accessed 22 May 2020, <http://online.ucpress.edu/jsah/article-pdf/52/2/235/178821/990795.pdf>. And Wander Stories, *Panthéon in Paris: a travel guide and tour as with the best local guide*, (Wanderstories, 2016).

¹⁵ C. Blasi, E. Coisson, "The importance of historical documents for the study of stability in ancient buildings: the French Panthéon case study," *Asian Journal of Civil Engineering (Building and Housing)*, vol. 7, no. 4, (2006): 362.

The importance of Soufflot's work has been stated by Antoine-Crysostome Quatremère de Quincy; the man who became responsible for the architectural transformation of Soufflot's church into a national pantheon for France. He was also familiar with Greek architecture, as he incorporated it in his literature and became a professor of architecture at the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, which made him influential for future generations.¹⁶ While commenting on the Saint-Geneviève church, he used the words: '*l'intention de l'architecte fut d'élever une espèce de monument à la perpétuité de la religion chrétienne*',¹⁷ where he describes the original Christian purpose of the church what would later become the Panthéon. This is particularly interesting regarding the role Quatremère de Quincy took later when the Panthéon underwent transformations in purpose, name and architectural look.

Even though Saint Geneviève has been portrayed in the church, this new church was even more a celebration of Louis XV than the Saint itself. In example, when the foundation stone ceremony took place in 1764, the spectacle was entirely centred on the king, translating Saint-Geneviève's relics to the glorification of king Louis XV. Was the church of Saint-Geneviève a portrayal of monarchical powers, was it a thank offer to the Saint or was it more regarded as a portrayal of Christianity overall for French citizens? Was "cultural nationalism" already a situation that took place during this time, without having a precise term for it? Even though this might have been the case, it is certain that the purpose of this building changed overtime and therefore also its portrayal utility.

De-Christianization and a rise in revolutionary ideals initiate the church's transformation

Just before the French Revolution was in full motion, the carcass of the Saint-Geneviève church was completed. However, its original plans regarding its décor and carvings could not be completed as in 1791, the church became a pantheon by order of the National Assembly.¹⁸ The idea to establish a Panthéon came from Marquis de Villette, who was in search of a resting place for his friend Voltaire at the time. He declared "...to bring us closer to the Greeks and Romans, ... to set an example for Europe, let us have the courage not to dedicate this temple to a saint. Let it become the FRENCH PANTHEON!".¹⁹ He thereby initiated the idea of the

¹⁶ Margaret M. Miles, "The Reception of Greek Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *In: A Companion to Greek Architecture*, (John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2016): 488-495.

¹⁷ Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *Rapport sur l'édifice dit de Sainte-Geneviève* (Paris, 1791), 6.

¹⁸ Andrew Ayers, "5th arrondissement" *The Architecture of Paris: An Architectural Guide*, (Stuttgart/London: ed. Edition Axel Menges, 2004): 112.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Panthéon becoming a symbol of France's secularist principles and the French Revolution's religious intolerance; something which will be examined in the next chapters of this thesis. But how did this idea commence and grow in Paris?

A counter-revolutionary response was directed towards de-Christianization, which was seeking 'destruction' of Christian beliefs and practices from the French society.²⁰ As a part of desacralization and desecration, access to the relics of Saint Geneviève was denied from the 6th of November 1793 onwards, and then they were destroyed. The reliquary's gold and silver framework were absorbed into national funds, and the wooden chest was broken up and burnt. The acts took place privately, but the effects were publicized, e.g. the publication in *Le Moniteur Universel* and copies of the *procès-verbal* were sent to the Pope. Her body was burnt on Place de Grève; a location for executing heretics.²¹ She was not burnt because the people of France no longer believed, but actually because they did. They now took the power.

Another point of view is from a more Revolutionaries' side, which commits to the perception of the establishment of the Parisian Panthéon as a declaration of war against the Catholic church. And especially after the nationalization of the property of the church, disagreement of the people was in full force. This mainly came into being after the installation of the Civil Constitution, which required French clergy to swear to the new government an oath of allegiance.²² The French Revolution called upon itself the creation of a place to commemorate its national heroes, a place to portray importance to its citizens.

We can see the de-Christianization in France coincided with the rise of revolutionary concepts. A part of the creation of this image was the Parisian Panthéon. But which architectural changes have been made precisely during this time period and to what exactly can this be related? As material culture is the focal point of this thesis, the building's architecture and its transformations will now be introduced, so relations to cultural nationalism can be made in the following chapters.

How the incorporation of ancient structures reflects political significance

Marquis de Marigny was the man who received the task to choose an architect and to oversee the building project of the church of Saint-Geneviève. Normally, the *Premier Architecte du Roi*, which was Ange-Jacques Gabriel at the time, would be automatically chosen for such a project,

²⁰ Hannah Williams, "Saint Geneviève's miracles: art and religion in eighteenth-century Paris," *French History*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Oxford University Press, 2016): 344.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 348-349.

²² J. McManners, *The French Revolution and the Church* (London, 1969): 38.

but his conservative, quiet taste was overruled by Jacques-Germain Soufflot's new fashionable style at that time. Marigny's idea was to reproduce the spirit of Louis XIV's reign in a grand architectural manner, such as Perrault's Louvre colonnade. Soufflot had become known for his "radical" views as one of the first French architects that visited the Paestum temples. Using the spirit of the Enlightenment in a philosophical enquiry of architecture fundament re-examination, the design for the Saint-Geneviève church differed with the French tradition and was seen as the beginning of a new era by many contemporaries.²³



Figure 1: Axonometry of the Panthéon with cross-shaped floor plan and inside, (C. Blasi, E. Coisson, "The importance of historical documents for the study of stability in ancient buildings: the French Panthéon case study," vol. 7, no. 4, (Asian Journal of Civil Engineering (Building and Housing), 2006): 361).

Inspirations for the building were the Saint Peter's in Rome (1505/06), the unexecuted Great Model for London's Saint Paul's by Christopher Wren (designed in 1669; cathedral built in 1675-1711) and the Dôme des Invalides by Hardouin-Mansart (1671). In example, Saint-Paul's influence can be seen in the classicized exterior that hid aisle roofs and the usage of saucer domes, as well as the bigger-styled dome, and the interior which derived from les Invalides. Soufflot's ambition was to outshine these buildings. The Panthéon's architectural style is described as neo-Antique, neo-classicism and an Enlightenment style,²⁴ the latter referring to the result of new architectural ideals within a building.

Soufflot's new style could be seen in the interweaving of Antique styles in the church's architecture. Free-standing columns were placed in a Greek temple manner, which was combined with the lightness of Gothic structures. While many sources refer to this temple-structure as generally "ancient", Henry Wansey provides a more detailed interpretation. According to Wansey, former President of the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society and member of the Society of Antiquaries with studies on French and ancient arts and sciences, it represents a temple of Virtue and Honour, which implies one must pass through the first

²³ Andrew Ayers, "5th arrondissement" *The Architecture of Paris: An Architectural Guide*, (Stuttgart/London: ed. Edition Axel Menges, 2004): 109.

²⁴ Ibid.

before one could arrive at the last.²⁵ It would represent that the only direct path to true glory is through virtue. Even though the temple-structure is referred to as Greek, John Bell's idea of Honour and Virtue refers to both ancient Greeks *and* Romans with the statement that this temple was consecrated in Rome,²⁶ which makes this a thin line of ancient structures that is too complicated for the scope of this research. I will therefore continue referring to it as "ancient". Figure 1 attempts to show this ancient structure on the inside, where columns are continuously placed throughout the building, and its Greek cross plan is reflected. Figures 2 and 3 show the building in 1764 and 1810, where its ancient style can be seen from afar; a majestic building for the people in Paris.



Figure 2: Church of Saint-Geneviève in 1764 at the ceremony of the foundation stone, Hannah Williams, "Saint Geneviève's miracles: art and religion in eighteenth-century Paris," *French History*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Oxford University Press, 2016): 342).

Figure 3: Panthéon in 1810, Hannah Williams, "Saint Geneviève's miracles: art and religion in eighteenth-century Paris," (French History, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Oxford University Press, 2016: 347).

Soufflot's original plans differed from the final outlook of the building. His idea was to combine the ancient temple-structure with structures reminiscent of Gothic cathedrals, in order to open up the church for light by creating height and spaciousness. This was done by coiffing his columns with complex vaulting and a dome. The Greek cross-plan would reach, with its Corinthian entrance portico, to the entire end of the western-facing arm.²⁷ Lightness of the church's interior was accentuated by isolating the piers supporting the dome. In this first design,

²⁵ John Murray, *The Quarterly Review*, Volume 12," (C. Roworth, Bell-yard, Temple-bar, 1815): 50.

²⁶ John Bell, *Bell's New pantheon; or Historical dictionary of the gods, demi-gods, heroes, and fabulous personages of antiquity*, Vol. 1, (British Library, 1790): 403.

²⁷ Andrew Ayers, "5th arrondissement" *The Architecture of Paris: An Architectural Guide*, (Stuttgart/London: ed. Edition Axel Menges, 2004): 111.



Figure 4: Tuscan column in the crypt in 1773, bare of decoration, in: Allan Braham, "Drawings for Soufflot's Sainte Geneviève," In: *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 113, No. 823, (Burlington Magazine Publications Ltd., 1971): 587.

the dome was constructed over a columned drum as a double shell. The ovals of this drum would cast light between these two shells, while the windows below would light the church's crossing. In his articulation of the drum and pairs of columns on four diagonal axes, he takes an unusual approach at that time, being inspired by the dome of Les Invalides. Notwithstanding, while the dome of Les Invalides is recognized with a ribbed cupola, Soufflot's dome would be a smooth hemisphere of a more classical shape, after which the name 'Temple de Sainte-Geneviève' did not derive suddenly.²⁸ The original crypt included columns inspired by the Doric order; they differed from the Greek order mainly because of its low pedestals and base mouldings, and he omitted a transitional stage between the column's shaft and the base on which it rested.²⁹ Notwithstanding, the final columns of its crypt were closer to Tuscan columns as they were unfluted and bare of decoration, which can be seen in figure 4. On the outside and inside of the building, the ancient temple-structured columns are reflected in a Corinthian column-style, as can be seen in figures 5 and 6.

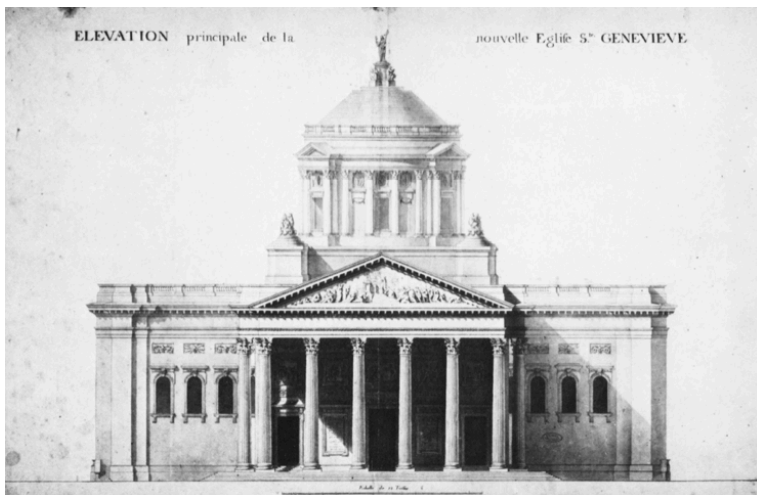


Figure 5: Saint-Geneviève church in 1764, showing Corinthian columns on the outside, drawing by Soufflot, in: Allan Braham, "Drawings for Soufflot's Sainte Geneviève," In: *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 113, No. 823, (Burlington Magazine Publications Ltd., 1971): 591.



Figure 6: Corinthian columns inside the Saint-Geneviève church-Parisian Panthéon, in: Allan Braham, "Drawings for Soufflot's Sainte Geneviève," In: *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 113, No. 823, (Burlington Magazine Publications Ltd., 1971): 592.

²⁸ Allan Braham, *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment*, (Thames and Hudson, 1980): 36.

²⁹ Allan Braham, "Drawings for Soufflot's Sainte Geneviève," In: *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 113, No. 823, (Burlington Magazine Publications Ltd., 1971): 582+584-592.

The fact this building contained ancient influences did not come as a complete surprise. Ancient architecture was highly regarded during this time, as the French Academy and the *École des Beaux-Arts* housed students who went on the Grand Tour to Rome and Greece for inspirations, which started in the eighteenth century. This relates to Marquis de Villette's previously mentioned quote on the Panthéon referring to Greek and Roman structures when his idea for the building arose, and thus calls for recognition in a prestigious manner for Paris, thereby connecting the building to political significance at the time.

Even though Soufflot incorporated ancient architectural styles in a new structure, his original plan was altered after criticism from the clergy. The Greek-cross arrangement stayed but its arms were extended in order to be more in line with traditional French practices. He also added two bell towers at the east end which put a medieval touch to the design of the church. Furthermore, the crypt was added in his design. This is particularly interesting when we look at the contemporary use of this part of the building, where the most influential French persons are commemorated; something that becomes of importance in chapter three of this thesis. The dome's definitive scheme came forth in 1777, when the rest of the building's advanced state could already be seen, which is represented in figures 2 and 3. This interference of top-down approaches shows the politics in architecture itself. And with the alterations Soufflot made to his original plan, the structure of the Saint Geneviève church was laid, not knowing it would become a pantheon not many years later.

[A changing purpose calls for alterations in the building's decorative program](#)

Over the years, the building has known several alterations in its purpose, and therefore also in its structure. After the building served its first period of being a pantheon, Napoléon reclaimed it for being a church again in 1806. This did not last long, since Louis XVIII 'reconsecrated' the Panthéon in 1822. After that, it was reclaimed for '*grands hommes*' in 1830, and returned to be a church in 1851. It was briefly occupied during 1871's Commune and became a church again until 1885, when Victor Hugo's funeral took place here. Overall, between 1790 and 1905, the Panthéon has been a church for fifty-eight years and a secular place for fifty-seven years.³⁰

These modifications also indicated the return of religious influences on both the outside and inside of the building. Catholic faith's glory can nowadays still be found on the inside, where decoration scenes from Saint Geneviève's life are depicted.

³⁰ Hannah Williams, "Saint Geneviève's miracles: art and religion in eighteenth-century Paris," *French History*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Oxford University Press, 2016): 350.

However, its religious influences are overpowered by its revolutionary elements. When the idea arose to construct a pantheon in Paris in 1790, Quatremère de Quincy was entrusted to transform the building from religious iconography to a celebration of revolutionary ideas and symbols of the French nation;³¹ the same man who stated the importance of Soufflot's work and Christian connotations in the beginning of the building of the church now was the architect working on changing the building itself. Examples of these alterations include the replacement of Coustou's *Radiant Cross* by *La Patrie distribuant des couronnes à la Vertu et au Génie, la Liberté terrassant le Despotisme, la Philosophie combattant l'Erreur et le Préjugé* by Jean-Guillaume Moitte, which was later replaced by David d'Angers' *La Patrie distribue aux grands hommes, civils et militaires, des couronnes qui lui tend la Liberté tandis que l'Histoire inscrit leurs noms (1830-37)*³² due to changing regimes. Additionally, Quatremère de Quincy demolished the bell towers on the east-end and blocked the aisle windows to impose a more funerary gloom; however, the bright Panthéon's interior blocked this idea and the building worked against its second 'master'. Moreover, the Latin inscription above the entrance was replaced by: *AUX GRANDS HOMMES. LA PATRIE RECONNAISSANTE*.³³ These alterations are discussed in-depth in chapter three of this thesis, where their relation to cultural nationalism is analysed.

These changes all have in common the portrayal of national pride, either directly expressed by words or symbolically by using symbols. Even though revolutionary changes are expressed in the building, Saint-Geneviève's depiction has survived the French Revolution. Overall, it can be said that Soufflot's work with its ancient architectural influences is still a majestic construction full of history we can visit nowadays.

Political use of culture or cultural expression of politics?

When we look at the events the building encountered from the construction of the Saint-Geneviève church to the alterations into the Panthéon, a link between politics and culture becomes visible; however, it is a nebulous one.

The building shows the relations between church and state when we look at the commission by king Louis XV to build the church of Saint-Geneviève. Not many years later, during the beginning of the French Revolution, Quatremère de Quincy's alterations portrayed the diminishing expression of religion in the building. The overwriting and alternating layers of

³¹ Ibid., 346.

³² Ibid., 341.

³³ Translation: "To the great man. The grateful homeland."

Christian iconography with revolutionary ideals serves as an instrument for the Panthéon's portrayal of France's secularization.³⁴ However, to explain the destruction of Saint Geneviève's relics as an inevitable result of France's secularization would misrepresent the place religion took in Paris during the latter part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It was more seen as the representation of the power of the people of France and will be discussed in chapter three of this thesis. We therefore see representations of factors should be discussed in further detail.

According to Colette Beaune, the representations of power are powerful objects themselves,³⁵ as they are a symbolic representation of the 'nation' as a cultural and political construct, in example monuments, that can be seen as a palpable object. They are regarded as comprehensible to a specific population that wishes to construct an idea of a unified community, including symbolic representations, images and ceremonies.³⁶ Therefore, monuments have a powerful meaning as a symbolic representation of this matter. But what exactly do we regard nationalism or national identity? And would it be possible that the Parisian Panthéon portrays this in France?

Conclusion

In conclusion, the alterations in the outlook of the Saint-Geneviève church and its transformation into the Panthéon coincided with alterations in expression wished by the powerholders of France; religious portrayal decreased while the French Revolution commenced. Now the outlook of the building has been sketched and placed in the historical time frame of France, the question rises if the Parisian Panthéon could display cultural representativeness of nationalistic ideals. And if so, how is it expressed? In order to further analyse this matter, we will now focus on the determination of the term "nationalism"; a term so widely used, yet demandingly comprehended, where after we could see whether the Parisian Panthéon comprises it or not.

³⁴ Hannah Williams, "Saint Geneviève's miracles: art and religion in eighteenth-century Paris," *French History*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Oxford University Press, 2016): 350.

³⁵ Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France*, (Gallimard, 1985).

³⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (Verso: 1991): 1-36.

Chapter 2 – Could the cultural and political elements of nationalism be seen through the lens of cultural nationalism?

Introduction

Before we label material culture as a servant of the portrayal of nationalism or national identity, it is significant to research the terms “nationalism” and “cultural nationalism” in a cultural and political manner, since they both have played a role in the object under study, as can be seen in chapter one of this thesis.

There are several types of and approaches to nationalism. The most substantial ones regarding the Panthéon will be analysed here in the argument that the Parisian Panthéon could be used to portray nationalism. Which factors of nationalism could be attached to material culture? And how does French history interfere in these elements? These are questions that will be answered after analysing the most influential scholars in the field. A clear distinction between the various approaches is necessary to be made, in order to relate a specific type of nationalism to the object under study. But what exactly is meant by terms such as “nation” and “nationalism”? Let us start at the general perspective that could be taken from the Oxford Dictionary:

:: na-tion/*noun*. 1. a country considered as a group of people with the same language, culture and history, who live in a particular area under one government 2. all the people in a country. ::³⁷

:: na-tion-al-ism/*noun*. 1. the desire by a group of people who share the same race, culture, language, etc. to form an independent country 2. (sometimes *disapproving*) a feeling of love for and pride in your country; a feeling that your country is better than any other. ::³⁸

As we can see, these given definitions are very general, which includes non-defined types and approaches to the subject in question. No distinction has been made between approaches or types of nationalism and signifies nationalism should be treated in a global perspective. This definition leaves room for reflection on various parts of the world; Eastern or Western countries, post-colonial or retired colonizer. Of course, I agree the terms should be regarded as a global

³⁷ Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary *Of Current English*, 8th edition, *Oxford University Press* (2010): 1017. The Oxford Dictionary has been chosen as applicable here, as this thesis does not wish to go in-depth regarding definitions given in various approaches of side branches of the definitions in the field, but instead wishes to provide a general definition of the chosen topic.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

phenomenon; the first definition of “nation” is therefore signified as applicable for this thesis. However, when we talk about “nationalism”, we have to examine it a bit further. This is because the history and nation-formation process of countries cannot be discussed in a global manner, and therefore it is necessary to narrow down the definition of “nationalism” to Western-European studies, in order to relate it to the inclusion of France. There is not just one approach available for the delicate term of “nationalism”. Nowadays, a range of disciplines can be found in the historical, anthropological, sociological, philosophical, literal and political sector.³⁹ These approaches to nationalism could also overlap and inspire each other to form new types and theories. The most significant approaches for France are taken into account due to the limited scope of this research.

Approaches to nationalism

As has been briefly mentioned above, nationalism is an overarching term of incomplete unity that includes a diversity of types, theories and approaches.⁴⁰ In this sea of overlapping ideas (and mostly lacking a clearly described definition of nationalism itself), this chapter will try to create order and thereby immediately focus its findings to the main approaches used in Western European nationalism. When we put the French Revolution as the starting point of nationalism or nationalistic movements, we could discuss the term “nationalism” from a sociological, historical and modernization approach that includes both political and cultural aspects.

Sociological perspective

Starting with a sociological perspective, sociology professors Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar could provide applicable answers to what the term “nationalism” entails. Delanty and Kumar refer to the general agreement that nationalism may have had its origin in eighteenth-century Europe, thereby referring to the French Revolution of which its ideology then expanded across the world. This resulted in multiple versions of nationalism by cultures with other traditions from Western ones.⁴¹ Delanty and Kumar linked this to citizenship and integration practices. Being a citizen of a particular nation did not differentiate between historical ethnic reasons or integrational ones. The multiplicity of this idea relates to Oxford’s given definition

³⁹ Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar, “*The SAGE Handbook of NATIONS and NATIONALISM*,” (SAGE Publications L.t.d., 2006): 3.

⁴⁰ Adam Smith, “Theories and types of nationalism,” *In: European journal of Sociology*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Continuity and Re-enactment (1969): 119-132.

⁴¹ Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar, “*The SAGE Handbook of NATIONS and NATIONALISM*,” (SAGE Publications L.t.d., 2006): 1.

above, seeing nationalism as a global phenomenon; however, it is interesting to note that Delanty and Kumar talk about the *origin* of nationalism, which relates to France in the eighteenth century, and not necessarily to the result of it to refer to transnationalism products that would be too broad for this research to dive into. Certainly, the origins of such a delicate term such as “nationalism” differ per country, per perspective and thus, per definition you take on “nationalism”. Therefore, we cannot define the overall origins of this term in its general sense to be in France; notwithstanding, this research follows this idea and regards the French Revolution as the starting point of nationalism in France, as it is related to the mentioned case study building. Delanty and Kumar regard nationalism as a social phenomenon, and mention it is intertwined in political and social communities and events.

Another sociologist that could be mentioned here is Anthony Smith. According to Smith, ‘nationalism’, in terms of a socio-political movement, is seen as the ambition to self-governance and achieving independence for a social group who constitute the potentiality of a ‘nation’. Hereby, he refers that the ‘nation’ does not have to exist before nationalism could occur, only there should be a language, a colonial administrative unit or other promising material for a nation of intent. In his view, there can be nations without movements or ideologies of nationalist character, and there can be nationalisms without nations that pre-existed. For Smith, self-governance and sovereignty ideals for a group is the core of the appeal of nationalism.⁴² In this social approach, nationalism is seen to have risen simultaneously with the rise of political subjectivity and together with modernity. In this sociological perspective, the focus lies most on political concepts, rather than on cultural ones. If we take this standpoint for this thesis, would it be possible to regard nationalism as a definition in itself? Or is it more applicable if we regard it as an intertwined phenomenon, a concept or ideology that appears in various fields in the world? This impartiality asks for research on other approaches.

Modern perspective

Another perspective on the matter of nationalism includes the modernization approach, taken by scholars such as Ernest Gellner and Miroslav Hroch. Modernization is used when one refers to a specific kind of structural change in its society. This could be a diffused consciousness of possibilities in a particular situation or a differentiation and redefinition of roles. The

⁴² Adam Smith, “Theories and types of nationalism,” *In: European journal of Sociology*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Continuity and Re-enactment (1969): 119-132.

modernization process resulted in inspired self-determination and the spirit of freedom,⁴³ which then, in example, inspired the formation of imperial nationalism, which resulted in the formation of nation-states in former colonized areas.

Within the modernization approach, several scholars have made subdivisions. One specific type of this is economic development, which seeks a trend towards higher living standards for the totality of a particular population, as well as a self-sustaining growth economy.⁴⁴ An example of a scholar who takes this perspective is Ernest Gellner who focused his modernist approach to a more economic reality, and regards nationalism as a combination of cultural, political and economic influences. He describes nationalism as an instrumental ideology that eases and reflects modern economies' development. In his view, a modern economy cannot exist when a particular group does not follow the same regulations, does not read the same language and does not use the same technologies. Therefore, his three main arguments in the making of a modern society are (a) the strong centralization of power, (b) a shared culture for unification purposes and (c) an education system,⁴⁵ in order to create modern, efficient economies.⁴⁶ Here, we can see that Gellner combines both the political and cultural aspect within his modernization approach, which could be related to eighteenth-century France, and will be later described in-depth.

Another type of the modernization approach is political development with protest movements. Miroslav Hroch could be seen as an example of this approach, who's influential three-phase model will also be discussed later in the research, as it is intertwined with the model that is used from Leerssen in this study's analysis. The political development of nationalism will be described in the types of nationalism later on in this research, after cultural nationalism has been discussed. More than the sociological approach, the modernization perspective takes both the political and cultural concepts of nationalism into account.

Historical perspective

And finally, historicist theories have given a significant perspective on nationalism studies. Its main belief was the uniqueness of the nation with characteristics such as measurable history, origins, religion, customs and language. Self-expression in cultural individuality, as well as

⁴³ Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar, "*The SAGE Handbook of NATIONS and NATIONALISM*," (SAGE Publications L.t.d., 2006): 3.

⁴⁴ Adam Smith, "Theories and types of nationalism," *In: European journal of Sociology*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Continuity and Re-enactment (1969): 119.

⁴⁵ Ernest Gellner, "Nations and Nationalism," Second Edition (Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006): 85.

⁴⁶ Lloyd Kramer, "Historical Narratives and the Meaning of Nationalism," *In: Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (Jul., 1997): 529-530.

political sovereignty was strived for. Their historical wholes could be found beneath class and dynastic schisms.⁴⁷

An example of the historical analysis is given by Friedrich Meinecke, when she distinguishes political and cultural nations in *Cosmopolitanism and the National State*. Cultural nations were principally based on shared cultural heritage, while political nations were situated on a unifying force of a common constitution based on a common political history. Meinecke regarded France and England to be political nations, whereas Germany was seen as a cultural one.⁴⁸ Could the transformation of the Panthéon play a part in seeing France as a combination of the two concepts? Historicist Joep van Leerssen could provide us with answers here, as he has created a framework to incorporate the cultural part within the ideology of nationalism; a study that will be discussed later in this thesis when the cultural concept is examined.

The dysfunctionality of nationalism terminology needs to be resolved

Nationalism resulted as a product of a world where the nation-state was seen as the primary societal organization principle. Today it is not the only principle of organization of a society. Nowadays, nationalism is regarded as something embroiled in a democratic state's public culture, and in this manner, it is not a subject of itself anymore⁴⁹. Within this entanglement of several aspects, the two main points that will now be discussed in relation to nationalism are politics and culture.

Where the sociological approach is mostly situated in the political realm, the modernization and historical approach incorporate more cultural elements; therefore, the usage of all three approaches in French nationalism results in an inclusion of both the cultural and political aspects. Political aspects are labelled important as the political times of the French Revolution strongly influenced this thesis' case study building, and cultural aspects as the Panthéon is a product of culture.

From these several approaches that have been taken thus far, we could see the dysfunctionality of the term "nationalism". It is easy to label every phenomenon that has any relation to the nation or national matters, instead of distinguishing concepts such as national awareness, national consciousness, national identity, and patriotism. As the term "nationalism"

⁴⁷ Adam Smith, "Theories and types of nationalism," *In: European journal of Sociology*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Continuity and Re-enactment (1969): 120.

⁴⁸ Friedrich Meinecke, "Cosmopolitanism and the National State," translated by Robert B. Kimber, (Princeton University Press, 1970).

⁴⁹ Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar, "The SAGE Handbook of NATIONS and NATIONALISM," (SAGE Publications L.t.d., 2006): 2-3.

derives from the word “nation”, we need to take into account the fact this has various meanings in different cultures and languages. Where the English translation is more related to the struggle for statehood in a political sense, the German connotation to it is a more cultural one.⁵⁰ This could be a contributing factor of historicist Friedrich Meinecke’s particular sections of placing Germany in a more cultural one than the English. Notwithstanding, modernist Hroch regards France to be in the middle with its understanding, including both the political and cultural concepts within its connotation to the concept of nationalism in general.⁵¹ This shows the importance of both the cultural and political aspect of nationalism within France that needs to be further analysed.

While continuing to focus on the sociological, modern and historical approach, it becomes apparent a specific type of nationalism is in order to research for material culture. As it incorporates both cultural and political elements, we now turn to the concept of “cultural nationalism”. Can we regard French nationalism as a juxtaposition or an overlapping of the political and cultural attribution to nationalism when we look at the case study in material culture in France?

Elements of nationalism relevant for the Panthéon

Main debates within nationalism on causal relationships have occurred around political and cultural criteria, but as there are multiple approaches scholars could take, they are not resolvable.

Interesting questions arise when both cultural and political concepts are related to the Parisian Panthéon. What type of nationalism do we talk about when it is related to material culture in France? Could cultural nationalism fill this gap? In order to answer these questions in detail, a clear definition of cultural nationalism should be given here, so the case study building could be analysed accordingly in the next chapter, resulting in either the juxtaposition or overlap between politically and culturally focused elements of nationalism.

Cultural nationalism

As the name already indicates, one type of nationalism that incorporates cultural elements is cultural nationalism and has been researched by many scholars. This thesis focuses on this particular type of nationalism as it incorporates both political and cultural elements of

⁵⁰ T. Metreveli, “Miroslav Hroch and the term nationalism,” *Nationalism Studies*, 21 January 2011, accessed 15 April 2020, <https://nationalismstudies.wordpress.com/2011/01/21/miroslav-hroch-and-the-term-nationalism/>.

⁵¹ Ibid.

nationalism, which will be discussed below. And just like the term “nationalism”, it is difficult to come to a general definition for “cultural nationalism”.

Eric Taylor Woods has combined views by amongst others, John Hutchinson, Gregory Jusdanis, Johann Gottfried Herder, Miroslav Hroch and Anthony Smith, and therefore simultaneously combined several approaches to his definition of cultural nationalism. He agrees on the presence of both culture and politics and states that several developments within them have converged, alongside a growing idea of increasing powers by the people. In his view, the ideas of cultural nationalism started in late eighteenth-century Europe, which then spread to the rest of the world, where individuals developed the belief in the possibility of progress. With an eyewink to the French Revolution he agrees with Gregory Jusdanis, a scholar who focuses on the cultural studies of nationalism,⁵² and regards this revolution as an event that fuelled nationalistic ideas in France. Woods regards this progress as a spread of cultural nationalism throughout Europe and beyond, thereby relating to the definition given by Oxford Dictionary above, and created a definition for cultural nationalism, including a wide range of scholars and refers to it as “ideas and practices that relate to the intended revival of a purported national community’s culture”⁵³. Still, this would be a too general definition incorporate in this thesis. In-depth, his vision refers to:

- (i) the vision of a nation’s history, identity and destiny;
- (ii) intellectuals and artists are seen as key agents of cultural nationalism, since they seek to convey messages to the wider community;
- (iii) modernity times of political, cultural and social upheavals are seen as the need to express this vision;
- (iv) it often occurs in the beginning phase of a national movement, sometimes before the appearance of political nationalism, but can also sometimes recur in national states which are long-established;
- (v) the focal point of the cultivation of a nation with a moral community.⁵⁴

In order to fully understand Woods’ definition of cultural nationalism, these five points will be discussed briefly, correlating to the corresponding scholars in the field. These steps will be analysed using the Panthéon in chapter three of this thesis. Therefore, it must be noted that

⁵² Thomas J. Kitson, “Research in African Literatures”. Review of *The Necessary Nation*, by Gregory Jusdanis. Vol. 32, No. 3, *Nationalism* (2001): 243-244, accessed 15 April 2020.

⁵³ Eric Taylor Woods, “Cultural nationalism: a review and annotated bibliography,” *Studies on National Movements*, no. 2 (2014):1, <http://snm.nise.eu/index.php/studies/article/view/0202s>.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

questions that will rise in the following section will be answered in the analysis of the building later in this research.

His first point is supported by philosopher and historicist Johann Gottfried Herder, who also sees the importance of a nation's history, identity and destiny. Being responsible for enlightening the practice and overall ideology of cultural nationalism in the historical scene in the eighteenth century, Herder presented the nation as a primal scene that required its cultivation through recovery and celebration of a nation's history and culture.⁵⁵ This vision is applicable as it indicates the importance of the eighteenth century for cultural nationalism, which was the start of the French Revolution and simultaneously the time period the case study building was constructed and transformed in. How could the Parisian Panthéon portray the nation's changing identity?

Secondly, the importance of intellectuals and artists is confirmed by Joep van Leerssen and Miroslav Hroch. Historicist Leerssen refers to a more transnational approach of nationalistic diffusion and lays attention to artistic and intellectual developments, who are responsible for the emergence of new cultural forms with a national content in an international form. An example here is the approach to the historic novel by Sir Walter Scott, which was accustomed to authors working in social settings and used this mechanism in constructing national symbols and myths throughout the nineteenth century in Europe.⁵⁶ The importance of the relation to the nineteenth century is important to note here, as it is reflected in Leerssen's three-phase model, which will be discussed in greater detail later in the research.

In my view, a relation to historicist Benedict Anderson should be made here. He formulated the concept of "print-capitalism" in his study of *Imagined Communities*,⁵⁷ a revolutionary inclusion in the world of nationalism studies. The emphasis of this study lies on communication influences, when he discusses the effect of communicative processes on the development of nationalism's cultural contexts, which is transferred through newspapers and novels to create an "imagined community" and thereby it simultaneously lays the foundation for a national unity and identity.⁵⁸ This relation to Anderson's communication influences shows the literal representation, relating to language in traditional communication concepts such as newspapers and novels. People could now feel a stronger common identity as they were reading it

⁵⁵ Eric Taylor Woods, "Cultural nationalism: a review and annotated bibliography," *Studies on National Movements*, no. 2 (2014):2, <http://snm.nise.eu/index.php/studies/article/view/0202s>.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (Verso: 1991): 1-36.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

simultaneously. With different dialects, people within a nation could still read the same literature. Notwithstanding, another way language is represented is in or on material culture. A figurative representation of this communication could be seen in the symbolism of a building and its representativeness of, in this case, nationalism in France. How did the transformation of the case study building change this figurative representativeness of communication?

Additionally, modernist Hroch encloses cultural nationalism within a model that describes the route of the institutionalization of national movements in nations in Europe and is seen as a significant contributor to cultural nationalism debates. In his three-phase model, he takes a comparative approach between Eastern and Western national movements and states cultural preoccupations generally come before political events, and they therefore do not represent a mere reflection of them. Is this the case in France as well? In order to see how this model fits Woods' definition of cultural nationalism, Hroch's three phases entail relations that will be characterised briefly. Phase A describes learned observations of what is (supposed to be) the nation with its past, its language, its way of life, its mentality, etc. Phase B stands for the characterization of an increase in the number of patriots, who seek as many contributors of their ethnic group to create the nation. Phase C refers to the mass movement that emerges from its previous phases and differentiates Eastern from Western national movements; the latter having started under conditions of a civil society and a constitutional regime.⁵⁹ This model has been used in a simplified manner due to the limited scope of this research. The relation to Woods' second point of his definition of cultural nationalism can be seen in the involvement of ideas and practices that are associated with the national community that are conceived and dispersed by intellectuals and artists.⁶⁰ The expression of the learned observations of the nation connects to Anderson's concept of "print-capitalism". It is important to keep this model in mind, as this paper will refer to Hroch's three-phase model later, since the French Revolution implies several aspects of it.

Woods' third point is in relation with sociologist Anthony Smith's view of modernity times as an empowering image for cultural nationalism. He mentions that all nationalism has a cultural dimension; thereby not indicating the question of what precedes the other, unlike Hroch. A pattern of memories, myths, symbols and values structures a nation's path towards

⁵⁹ Miroslav Hroch, *Self-Determination from a Historical Perspective*, vol. 37 (Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 1995): 284.

⁶⁰ Eric Taylor Woods, "Cultural nationalism: a review and annotated bibliography," *Studies on National Movements*, no. 2 (2014):3, <http://snm.nise.eu/index.php/studies/article/view/0202s>, referring to: Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of national Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, translated by Ben Fowkes (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

modernization. Within social change, these cultural aspects could undergo change as well, and for him, national cultures shape themselves by rediscovery and reinterpretation.⁶¹ So, which modernity time could indicate a change in cultural aspects in this thesis' case study building that relates to France at the same time?

Woods' fourth point in his definition regards cultural nationalism as being either the beginning phase or a recurring event in long-established nation states; thereby keeping Hroch's and Smith's view open for discussion. Where modernist Miroslav Hroch mentions the importance of cultural nationalism diminishes when the political movement takes off,⁶² John Hutchinson agrees with Smith's previously mentioned statement. He regards cultural nationalism as an episodic phenomenon and thus it could recur after a nation state has been established.⁶³ He thereby argues Hroch's argument on whether political or cultural aspects of a nation would be established first; an argument which is of the same calibre as the "egg or the chicken" question and which refers to the standpoint you take in the matter, not having a clear argument why the other is not true. How is this reflected in eighteenth-century France? Could a starting point of cultural nationalism expression be detected?

Woods' final point as the cultivation of a nation refers to Joep van Leerssen's study of *The Cultivation of Culture*, where Leerssen dives into cultural history and states the culturally oriented nationalist movements are a historical topic. Being influenced by Miroslav Hroch's three-phase model, he indicates that cultural nationalism is always a part of nationalism in general. Leerssen states self-expression, cultural survival and national self-determination exist *alongside* and is not derived *from* political stability, and therefore it shows the importance of the inclusion of both political and cultural elements in the definition of nationalism. His study on cultural nationalism regards this term as a development in the long nineteenth century in Europe,⁶⁴ thereby referring to the beginning of the French Revolution and simultaneously making it an interesting study to link to this thesis. Taking a historical approach on this cultural matter, Leerssen states the cultivation of culture expresses itself in cultural nationalism. Where the aforementioned scholars have indicated overlying political and cultural aspects of

⁶¹ Eric Taylor Woods, "Cultural nationalism: a review and annotated bibliography," *Studies on National Movements*, no. 2 (2014):4, <http://snm.nise.eu/index.php/studies/article/view/0202s>, referring to: Adam Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*, (Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁶² Eric Taylor Woods, "Cultural nationalism: a review and annotated bibliography," *Studies on National Movements*, no. 2 (2014):4, <http://snm.nise.eu/index.php/studies/article/view/0202s>.

⁶³ Eric Taylor Woods, "Cultural nationalism: a review and annotated bibliography," *Studies on National Movements*, no. 2 (2014):4, <http://snm.nise.eu/index.php/studies/article/view/0202s>, referring to: John Hutchinson, *The dynamics of cultural nationalism 1987: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*, (Allen & Unwin, 1987).

⁶⁴ Joep van Leerssen, "The Cultivation of Culture – Towards a Definition of Romantic Nationalism in Europe," *University of Amsterdam* (2005): 4.

nationalism, Leerssen tries to show that both elements are present, yet they can be broken down in detail, so focused research could portray understandings of more in-depth aspects of the cultural sector. Building on Hroch's 'Phase A' of learned observations of the nation with its past, language, way of life and mentality, Leerssen argues this involves a cultivation of culture. But what exactly implies "culture" and "cultivation" in his idea?

The first point of "culture" refers to one of Herder's and Anderson's essential points and includes language, thereby creating a nation's identity and position in the world. The second point is literature, including theatre and novels written by poets and critics. Material culture is considered as the third point, where artefacts and objects such as sculptures, antiquities, paintings, monuments, architecture, public buildings and symbols, such as heraldry and flags, are significant contributors. And finally, the non-verbal immaterial culture involves cultural practices, such as music, folkdances, manners and customs, pastimes and sports. Overlaps in this field are, of course, endless, as theatre plays already involve a public building with its architecture, while written scripts are used to perform on nationally inspired music.⁶⁵

"Cultivation" is the second point of Leerssen's model and involves three aims. It relates to cultural-nationalist activists and their intention to instrumentalize their national culture. Type A is inventorization of the four fields mentioned in the section of culture (language, literature, cultural artefacts or immaterial practices). An example here is linking folk music and folktales to a particular lifestyle.⁶⁶ He continues the discussion by mentioning his worry of receding antiquity in monuments, ancient buildings and historical sites, but also superstitions and performative traditions, caused by modernization. The inventorization type therefore relates to salvage of national culture.

Type B includes the inspiration of fresh cultural productivity. In the field of literature, this indicates literary national history-writing, using literature as a way to pursue national gains. Within material culture, this idea expresses through establishing national museums and restoring ancient buildings,⁶⁷ so a foundation is created for the next phase of conveying these messages.

Thirdly, Type C is found in propagandist proclamation, after the salvation and perpetuation of the nation's culture. The purpose is the creation of a sense of national identity in a collective manner. This is done through education, in order to educate the vernacular language, as well as national history. Furthermore, pantheons and historical monuments are used to demonstrate the

⁶⁵ Ibid., 23-25.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 25-26.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 26.

nation's history in the present time. Here, historicist architecture, historical memories and great names from the past are used. Additionally, public manifestations and awards are held to honour the past.⁶⁸ These cultivation types signify the way culture is manifested in a nation. Even though these factors mostly focus on cultural factors, the political significance could be felt in the background, especially when these cultural practices are expressed. Since Leerssen's model signifies the importance of research on material culture within nationalism, this factor will be analysed in chapter three by using the Parisian Panthéon.

Does the Parisian Panthéon specifically portray political elements?

As the given aspects of cultural nationalism indicate the importance of political expressions, they will be briefly mentioned here and placed directly in relation to France and French nationalism, while keeping the Parisian Panthéon as the focal point of research. Due to the scope of this research, this thesis will only mention political aspects of nationalism in general and relate them to cultural nationalism. Therefore, the most prominent scholars of political studies regarding nationalism are taken into account here.

Next to the cultural aspect of nationalism, we are directed to take a look at the political aspect when determining the main contributing factors of nationalism. When we continue Eric Taylor Woods' study, he states political nationalism is "focused on the achievement of political autonomy".⁶⁹ This is congruent with historian David Bell as he focuses his research particularly on French nationalism and demonstrates the French Revolution had an impact on the formation of nationalism in France. He did this by making three statements. First, he states that around 1700, French elites saw the 'nation' or '*patrie*' as a fundamental unit of coexistence between humans. Secondly, pre-revolution France realized they are not a nation, and should be a spiritual community with shared values, laws, cultural practices and the same language. And finally, during the most radical phase of the French Revolution (1793-1794), the true nationalist programme took shape.⁷⁰ The second and third statement correspond to Leerssen's model as it indicates the *shaping* of the nation of France, and it exists alongside the building phase of the Saint-Geneviève church and its transformation into the Panthéon. As we can see from his research on nationalism in France, this "political perspective" does include several cultural

⁶⁸ Ibid., 26-27.

⁶⁹ Eric Taylor Woods, "Cultural nationalism: a review and annotated bibliography," *Studies on National Movements*, no. 2 (2014):1, <http://snm.nise.eu/index.php/studies/article/view/0202s>.

⁷⁰ David A. Bell, "Revolutionary France and the Origins of Nationalism: An Old Problem Revisited" in *The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815*, edited by Lotte Jensen, (Amsterdam University Press, 2016): 70.

elements, including the teaching of common values, civic habits and language, as they are taught by educational programs.⁷¹ He mentions the nation has rights to rebuild, reconstruct and recover its historical glory and he thereby refers to the French Revolution as a turning point in times of nationalistic ideals. Bell's statements correspond highly to previously mentioned models and shows the importance and overlaps of both cultural and political elements within the study of material culture's expression relating to the French Revolution.

Both Woods' definition of cultural nationalism and Bell's indication of political elements show the overlaps of both cultural and political elements. As the relation between the two is considerable and Woods' definition is extensive, the focus of this thesis' approach lies on Woods' definition for cultural nationalism, where the Parisian Panthéon will be analysed in the next chapter correspondingly.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can see that cultural nationalism includes both political and cultural elements. It gradually becomes clear that a certain juxtaposition between the political and cultural realm is not completely possible within studies on nationalism. Therefore, it is better to regard the term "cultural nationalism" as an *overlapping* of political and cultural elements; notably, within studies on French nationalism. As the French Revolution has had its impacts on the building and transformation of the Parisian Panthéon, Woods' definition of cultural nationalism could provide us with measurable criteria for an analysis of the building, focusing on Leerssen's cultivation of culture model. In the next chapter, the overlapping concepts of culture and politics within Woods' definition will be further analysed, using the Parisian Panthéon, analysing its pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary expressions, in order to show how this building portrays cultural nationalism. Results of this analysis will show whether the Panthéon includes more political or cultural aspects of nationalism within its building, as well as the determination of which approach would be more applicable regarding this case study.

⁷¹ Ibid., 71.

Chapter 3: How does the Parisian Panthéon portray cultural nationalism?

Introduction

As Eric Taylor Woods' definition of "cultural nationalism" shows in the previous chapter, "cultural nationalism" is the set of "ideas and practices that relate to the intended revival of a purported national community's culture",⁷² and portrays that political and cultural elements coexist within this terminology. But how do they show in material culture? And to be more precise, how are these elements expressed by the Parisian Panthéon?

As has been mentioned in chapter two of this thesis, the analysis of Woods' definition of cultural nationalism is primarily focused on Leerssen's idea of the cultivation of a nation with a moral community. Likewise, it is the focus of this thesis' analysis, after which the remaining four points of Woods' definition are linked. In this way, the transformations that the Saint-Geneviève church underwent in order to become the Parisian Panthéon and vice versa, could show how cultural nationalism is expressed in this building, referring to the French Revolution as the starting point of this phenomenon, in both the past and in contemporary times.

Cultivation of a nation with moral community

Joep van Leerssen's study of a "cultivation of culture" makes a division between "culture" and "cultivation", which has been briefly discussed in the previous chapter. In this section, we go in-depth into this idea and relate it to the Parisian Panthéon.

According to Leerssen, culture entails language, literature, immaterial culture and material culture. Since this thesis focuses on material culture, Leerssen's latter point will be centralized and includes artefacts and objects such as antiquities, paintings, sculptures, monuments, public buildings, architecture, symbols and flags. Notwithstanding, since Leerssen has stated that the "culture" section overlaps, the remaining three culture categories will contribute to this research as well, so a complete picture can be formed. When we portray this idea of material culture onto the Panthéon, four categories can be distinguished, using the principal points indicated on the building's website, which are (i) architecture, (ii) decorative programme, (iii) Foucault's pendulum and (iv) the crypt. Analyses are made incorporating cultural and political elements of portrayal on the inside and outside of the Parisian Panthéon with a focus on the change of

⁷² Eric Taylor Woods, "Cultural nationalism: a review and annotated bibliography," *Studies on National Movements*, no. 2 (2014):1, <http://snm.nise.eu/index.php/studies/article/view/0202s>.

pre-Revolution and post-Revolution aspects of the building. As has been briefly discussed in the previous chapter, the cultivation of Leerssen's idea is made up of three phases. In the coming sections, these three phases will structure the analysis of the Panthéon, incorporating the aforementioned sections of culture.

Phase A: inventorization of culture

In his first phase, Leerssen mentions the fact modernization recedes antiquity in monuments and ancient buildings, so how could this be related to this thesis' case study building? Was there a specific modern period and did the antiquity in the Parisian Panthéon recede because of it? In order to determine whether we could speak of a specific modern period that could recede antiquity in the case study building, a brief sketch of the situation in France regarding its time period should be made.

If we follow the Oxford Dictionary, modernization accounts for the revitalizing of a specific system, either in behaving, thinking or in styles of art and architecture, and aligning it with the present time.⁷³ We could see a shift in behaving and thinking happened in late eighteenth-century France, when the Saint-Geneviève church almost finished its construction and the Third Estate was starting to believe in their own power potentials. But how is this expressed by the Parisian Panthéon?

The reflection of France's monarchy and religion in the Saint-Geneviève church

As the foundation stone of the Saint-Geneviève church was laid in 1764, France was in the end of its Old Regime period, with its powerholders being the Church and the monarchy. During this regime, there was no distinction between the constitutional order and the regime of property.⁷⁴ This therefore means that king Louis XV was the decision-maker of the construction of buildings in this time and he could then create his vision of Paris. In this eighteenth-century French society, religion played a big part, as the church's power reflected in the class structures and the French social hierarchy was defined by the Church. When you abided by the rules of the Church, you were regarded in a higher position, and thus churches were favoured in the society.⁷⁵ Accordingly, it was no surprise that king Louis XV commissioned the Saint-Geneviève church in 1744 after being relieved from his illness.

⁷³ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary *Of Current English*, 8th edition, Oxford University Press (2010): 987.

⁷⁴ Rafe Blaufarb, *The Great Demarcation: The French Revolution and the Invention of Modern Property*, (Oxford University Press, 2016): 1.

⁷⁵ Elinor G. Barber, *The Bourgeoisie in 18th-Century France*, (Princeton University Press, 1955): 8.

Despite the fact the Saint-Geneviève church did not serve its usage as church for long before it turned into a pantheon, it reflected the power of both the monarchy and the Christian religion in several aspects. And even though the building does not necessarily mirror the looks of a standard church in France, it did respond to the architectural style that was used around this time to increase its reputation standard. The architecture of the building displays overall prestige, as its ancient architectural style was of high stature in the eighteenth century. Since translations of *De architectura* by ancient Roman engineer Marcus Vitruvius Pollio appeared in France at the end of the seventeenth century, it opened neoclassical links for France. This happened especially after inspirations of artefacts discoveries that were excavated from ancient Italian ruins of Pompeii (first excavation in 1748) and Herculaneum (first excavation in 1709), and neoclassicism derived in the middle of the eighteenth century. Contributions to the classic revival could be seen in countries throughout Western Europe, but mainly England and France were producing a rich volume of neoclassical art and architecture.

The classical revival in France was linked to the political concerns that resulted from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution of 1789. It is seen as a mirroring of ancient Greece and Rome as admirable civilizations;⁷⁶ hence the previously mentioned quote by Marquis de Villette referring to the significance of ancient cultures when the church was ordered to become a pantheon. Architecture was seen as the highest expression of art that established order, function and measure, where beauty was combined with convenience;⁷⁷ therefore, incorporating ancient influences within the architectural style of Paris accounted for the status Paris took in the eighteenth century. Coinciding with the increasing reputation of ancient architecture, was the love for this particular style by king Louis XV. His *premier architecte du roi*, Ange-Jacques Gabriel, incorporated ancient architecture in his work while flattering the Crown's reign, as can be seen in his Place Louis XV (Place de la Concorde). So, with king Louis XV admiring ancient architecture and being the regime of property, it is hardly surprising that an increasing number of buildings appeared in Paris incorporating this particular style.

However, when Louis XV's director-general Marigny appointed an architect for the Saint-Geneviève church, it was not Gabriel, but Jacques-Germain Soufflot that was ordered to construct the building, as he worked with newer styles. Even though Gabriel's style was seen as a *goût national*, architects of the 1750s and 1760s criticised his latest Parisian works for it

⁷⁶ James Smalls, "European Art: Neoclassicism," *glbtq, Inc.* 2015, http://www.glbqtarchive.com/arts/eur_art5_neoclassicism_A.pdf.

⁷⁷ Silvestra Bietoletti, Giunti Editore, *Neoclassicism and Romanticism 1770-1840*, (S.p.A, Florence-Milano, 2005).

was not inventive enough in the time when France was moving forward, so its architecture should do so too. Simultaneously, Marigny became friends with Soufflot, who worked on several personal projects for Marigny.⁷⁸ This way, Marigny could directly see how Soufflot incorporated newer styles than Gabriel and this served as the deciding factor that led to Soufflot becoming the architect for the Saint-Geneviève church.

Soufflot's style was welcomed as it was regarded as the start of an internationally revolutionary style that could bring France forward in its prestigious outlook.⁷⁹ The French tradition of a Gothic structure as standardized feature in the classical French construction of churches could be seen in the Saint-Louis-en-L'Ile, Saint-Roch and Saint-Sulpice churches, in example. Soufflot, however, denounced this style, since he regarded the massive usage of Gothic structures as inelegant. In an Enlightenment spirit, he re-examined architectural fundamentals and broke this French tradition when he linked Gothic with ancient structures, which derived from his visit to the Paestum temples, as he was one of the first French architects to do so. The main spaces of the church were constructed exclusively from free-standing columns in an ancient temple-manner, which created a lightness inside the building. Furthermore, his lighting system and articulation of patterns on the inside revealed Soufflot's modernist approach to the construction of the building.⁸⁰

It was no shock that Soufflot incorporated Greek architectural influences in his work. He was an active member of the Académie and was supervised by Jean-Baptiste Rondelet, who taught at the École des Beaux-Arts for more than twenty-five years, and finished Soufflot's work on the Saint-Geneviève church.⁸¹ The Academy was the epicentre of art in Europe from rococo through neoclassicism and was funded by the Crown.⁸² So, the Crown's funding ensured the construction of buildings of ancient architecture, including the Saint-Geneviève church, in order to achieve prestige for Paris.

Next to the use of an architectural style for Paris' stature, there were more underlying relations that incorporated the monarchy's influence within the construction of buildings in Paris. The Saint-Geneviève church is an excellent example of this, as the Bourbon dynasty saw the building of the Saint-Geneviève church as an opportunity to rebuild their image, when it

⁷⁸ Allan Braham, "Soufflot and his contemporaries," In: *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment*, (Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980): 38-50.

⁷⁹ Daniel Rabreau, *Soufflot et l'église Sainte-Geneviève [compte-rendu]*, (Bulletin Monumental, 1972): 359-362.

⁸⁰ Andrew Ayers, "5th arrondissement" *The Architecture of Paris: An Architectural Guide*, (Stuttgart/London: ed. Edition Axel Menges, 2004): 110-111.

⁸¹ Jean-Pierre Mouilleseaux, *Soufflot et son temps*, (Catalogue de l'exposition présentée à Lyon et à Paris, 1980 [compte-rendu], 1981): 546.

⁸² Allison Lee Palmer, *Historical Dictionary of Neoclassical Art and Architecture*, (Scarecrow Press, 2011): 5.

symbolically affirmed Louis XV's political legitimacy, as has been mentioned in chapter one of this thesis. This was especially influential when the underlying change in modernizing thinking happened simultaneously that built up to the French Revolution later in the eighteenth century.

Moreover, the regime's influence could be felt in the change in Soufflot's first architectural plans that was demanded by king Louis XV. It required more traditional French practices and immediately indicated the strength of the top-down approach in the design of the church. This was further tightened when the foundation stone ceremony of 1764 was entirely centred on the king. Saint-Geneviève's relics were hereby translated into the glorification of king Louis XV, and the masses were obliged to attend the ceremony, as the Church's social hierarchy structures were an underlying subdivision of the people of France. Due to the purpose of the building, no direct relations to the monarchy could be seen in the building itself; apart from the entrance text *'IN HONOREM STAE GENOVAFAE D.O.M. A FUNDAMENTS EXCITAVIT LUDOVICUS XV'*,⁸³ stating Louis' name as the first thing one sees when entering the building.

Not only the monarchy's presence could be felt as an underlying pressure, a more revealing presence was shown in the religious appearance of the building. Since history painting in the French Academy was considered to be of the highest genre due to its religious images and the glorification of the monarchy,⁸⁴ this was also expressed in the Saint-Geneviève church. Next to the architectural structure of the church and its bas-relief, the decoration scenes showed reference to the Old Testament in the four vaults inside. Additionally, the relics of Saint-Geneviève herself showed the religious aspect in the church before they were destroyed in 1793.

How the church lost its powers and revolutionary ideals were pursued and reflected by the Parisian Panthéon

The end of the Old Regime coexisted with the start of the French Revolution. With increasing Enlightenment thinking, the wish of rights for the Third Estate (or: the common people) arose as well. On the eve of the Revolution, France perceived they were not a nation;⁸⁵ therefore, the idea arose it was time for changes to be made. The French society now declined allegiance to sacred authority and stimulated the search for freedom of the individual. The feeling of being a

⁸³ English translation: 'In honor of Saint Geneviève, to God the best and greatest, Louis XV built this from the foundations.'

⁸⁴ Allison Lee Palmer, *Historical Dictionary of Neoclassical Art and Architecture*, (Scarecrow Press, 2011): 150.

⁸⁵ David A. Bell, "Revolutionary France and the Origins of Nationalism An Old Problem Revisited" in *The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815*, edited by Lotte Jensen, (Amsterdam University Press, 2016): 79.

patrie became very strong; however, during the French Revolution it became clear it was more a feeling, rather than knowing what it meant exactly. As author Giacomo Casanova wrote in 1797, while referring to people in France: “This people has become a worshipper of its *patrie*, without ever having known, before the Revolution, what a *patrie* was, or even the word itself”.⁸⁶ The French Revolution thus marked the start of rivalry within the political class system of France, even though it cannot be said with full confidence whether it was the start of nationalism itself. Nevertheless, the idea of the *patrie* lived on when Maximilien Robespierre said, “Louis must die because la *patrie* must live!”.⁸⁷

The claim arose that the Third Estate should constitute the nation in 1789, with Rousseau and Robespierre as two of its main figures.⁸⁸ This commenced when on 14 July 1789, the Bastille state prison fortress was stormed. The Bastille was seen as a state symbol of old France,⁸⁹ and thus storming it would signify the end of the Old Regime and the start of the French Revolution. Causes of this storming were the discontent with the monarchy in France, including king Louis XVI’s poor economic policies and the right to vote; overall, *liberté, égalité et fraternité* were pursued.⁹⁰ This marked the decreasing powers of both the monarchy and religion in France, which had been in power for what everyone believed to be normal and now the Third Estate obtained their own rights for a say.

At the end of the Old Regime, the Roman Catholic Church in France lost many of its powers. Mainly since 1789 with a decreasing number of bishops, they had to be loyal to the laws that were extending the common people’s rights. The cult of *sensibilité* that derived at the end of the Old Regime changed the perspective that people took on Christianity. Hope resulted in the improvement of human beings by using education, science and a reforming government, instead of relying on the divine grace to overcome sin.⁹¹ On 2 October 1789, a separation of secular legislation from churchly moral standards happened when debates occurred on the idea of cheaper and easier to obtain loans after Achard de Bonvouloir spoke up to the National

⁸⁶ Ibid., 9.

⁸⁷ Denis Guénoun, “Part two: On National Revolution” in *About Europe: Philosophical Hypothesis*, translated by Christine Irizarry, (Stanford University Press, 2013): 91.

⁸⁸ David A. Bell, “Revolutionary France and the Origins of Nationalism An Old Problem Revisited” in *The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815*, edited by Lotte Jensen, (Amsterdam University Press, 2016): 76.

⁸⁹ Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt, *The Bastille: a history of a symbol of despotism and freedom*, (Duke University Press, 1997): 7.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 38-39.

⁹¹ John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-century France: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion*, Vol. 2, (Oxford University Press, 1998): 243.

Assembly.⁹² It was the start of adjustments into laws after practices that went against the clergy and religion were recorded the years before.⁹³

Nationalism in France arose simultaneously in opposition to Christian belief systems.⁹⁴ During the French Revolution, “the nation” was now regarded as religion, as the provided collective faith now came from the modern state.⁹⁵ And yet only the Catholic church with the trial to impose new culture with morality matched modern nationalist ambitions,⁹⁶ so did the church create a vicious cycle by imposing a revolutionary idea on itself?

Carlton J.H. Hayes mentions the significance of religion within nationalism in his studies. According to Hayes, the Enlightenment rationality already weakened the faith in Christianity as traditional; however, this did not mean religious ideas were discharged.⁹⁷ So, did the transformation into the Parisian Panthéon mean all religious decorations were destroyed or could a part of it still be used in the new purpose of the building?

The decrease of the church’s powers coincides with the reflection of an increase of revolutionary ideals in the Parisian Panthéon

On 4 April 1791, the idea to change the Saint-Geneviève church into a national necropolis was suggested by an old friend of Voltaire, Charles de Villette. This way, the Catholic religion would be overthrown by commemoration of the fatherland,⁹⁸ which coincided with the political struggles that evolved during the years prior to the French Revolution.

Quatremère de Quincy was entrusted to transform the building from religious iconography to a commemoration of revolutionary ideas and symbols of the French nation.⁹⁹ Overall, after the transformation of the building, Soufflot’s grandeur could still be felt, in example with the remaining dome fresco by Antoine-Jean Gros (1811-24) which depicts the Apostheosis of Saint Geneviève.¹⁰⁰ Notwithstanding, Soufflot’s religious and gracious sculptural decorations were

⁹² Ibid., 276.

⁹³ Elinor G. Barber, *The Bourgeoisie in 18th-Century France*, (Princeton University Press, 1955): 8.

⁹⁴ David A. Bell, “Revolutionary France and the Origins of Nationalism: An Old Problem Revisited” in *The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815*, edited by Lotte Jensen, (Amsterdam University Press, 2016): 72.

⁹⁵ Lloyd Kramer, “Historical Narratives and the Meaning of Nationalism,” *In: Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (Jul., 1997): 533.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Carlton J.H. Hayes, “The Rise of Nationalism,” *In: Essays on Nationalism*, Vol. 20, Issue 4, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926): 46-48.

⁹⁸ E. Bouwers, “Public Pantheons in Revolutionary Europe: Comparing Cultures of Remembrance, c. 1790-1840,” (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 94.

⁹⁹ Hannah Williams, “Saint Geneviève’s miracles: art and religion in eighteenth-century Paris,” *French History*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Oxford University Press, 2016): 346.

¹⁰⁰ Centre des Monuments Nationaux, “Document de visite Panthéon,” accessed 2 May 2020.

destroyed and walls were built over the building's luminous windows to create a more ideal scene for funerary ceremonies for a pantheon.

When Hayes' vision of the significance of religion within nationalism is used upon the Panthéon, we can see the receding power of the Church in France showed simultaneously the upcoming revolutionary ideas. According to Hayes, nationalisms appropriated traditions of religious style with the use of (i) sacred symbols (flags), (ii) sacred places (national monuments, cemeteries), (iii) sacred figures (founding fathers, heroes), (iv) sacred texts (constitutions, declarations of independence), (v) a sense of mission (responsibility in promoting national ideals), (vi) public rituals (national holidays and parades), (vii) mobilizing crusades (conflicts with persons who are against the nation's mission) and (viii) a sense of sacrifice (nation has been saved by them so it may live).¹⁰¹

We could see the Panthéon expressed this idea in various ways. First, this could be seen by the placement of the French *Tricolore* flag on top of the building, which was created during the French Revolution. It symbolizes liberty, equality, fraternity; and democracy, modernization and secularism,¹⁰² and thus served as a symbol for the French Revolution, which mirrored the same ideals. The representation of modernization was therefore literally put in the translation of the symbolic meaning of the new flag of France that could be seen from afar and united the people of France in an invisible way. Second, the lowest part of the building was now a crypt for the burial of French people who helped shape its national identity for the Young Republic.¹⁰³ As this relates to Leerssen's Phase B regarding the idea of newly created myths and inventions, it will be discussed later in the following section of this thesis. Additionally, Rousseau and Robespierre became heroes for the people of France when they spoke up for their country and the beliefs of the Third Estate. Religious traditions were now used in a nationalistic manner. References to Hayes' last points regarding promoting national ideals, the nation's mission and public rituals will be mentioned in Phase C.

To come back to the alterations Quatremère de Quincy made to the Saint-Geneviève church, one could be seen on the outside of the building. This was the replacement of the Latin inscription by a French one, which now read: "AUX GRANDS HOMMES. LA PATRIE RECONNAISSANTE".¹⁰⁴ This showed the portrayal of national pride when entering of the

¹⁰¹ Carlton J.H. Hayes, "The Rise of Nationalism," *In: Essays on Nationalism*, Vol. 20, Issue 4, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926): 46-48.

¹⁰² Whitney Smith, "Flag of France," *Britannica*, accessed 19 March 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/flag-of-France>.

¹⁰³ French Moments, "Panthéon, Paris," accessed 1 May 2020 <https://frenchmoments.eu/pantheon-paris/>.

¹⁰⁴ English translation: "To the great man. The grateful homeland."

building, rather than the glorification of king Louis XV, and added to the creation of a united feeling of the people of Paris, and of France.

This change from Latin to French coincided with the idea to transfer nationalistic myths and ideas amongst the common people. Narratives require language, interpreters and literature who tell the story.¹⁰⁵ Even though France had always been a multilingual country, the French language was connected to the nation's identity.¹⁰⁶ In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Third Estate spoke a variety of non-standard languages, as well as dialects, while Latin was the language used in religion, government and the law. During the French Revolution, these dialects and non-standard languages became one¹⁰⁷ and can be seen in the reflection of the entrance inscription by the Panthéon itself, which is discussed later in the research in further detail.

Many alterations have occurred over the years, as the building changed its purpose between church and pantheon several times. Sculptures and paintings reflected France's history, which coincided the changing purpose of the building. Its reflections can be seen both inside and outside the building. Inside, the sculpture *La Convention Nationale* by Francois-Léon Sicard is built in ca. 1924 and shows Marianne (the symbol of a free France) surrounded by revolutionary parliamentarians and soldiers from the French Revolution.¹⁰⁸ As it takes a prominent place in the building on the place where visitors would imagine to be an altar if it would still have been a church, its iconography's presence can still be felt in the pantheon. It commemorates the government of the National Convention in 1792 that formally declared France a Republic, commissioned during the Third Republic,¹⁰⁹ and thus serves as a reminder of these political struggles for its visitors.

Sculptures with themes relating to the French Revolution are alternated with paintings of religious nature. It reflects France's history as a combination of the Catholic church and secular temple it has been. When Quatremère de Quincy blocked the windows from Soufflot's original church, there were walls that needed covering, which was commissioned in the 1870s. This eventually happened by painting both the religious and revolutionary aspects of France's history. In 1874, paintings on the plaques inside the building paid homage to famous persons in France, which were mainly writers, and was supervised by Marquis de Chennevières, director

¹⁰⁵ Lloyd Kramer, "Historical Narratives and the Meaning of Nationalism," *In: Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (Jul., 1997): 533-534.

¹⁰⁶ Sophia Rosenfeld, *A Revolution in Language: The Problem of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France*, (Stanford University Press): 5.

¹⁰⁷ R. Anthony Lodge, *French, from Dialect to Standard*, (Routledge, 1993): 94.

¹⁰⁸ Centre des Monuments Nationaux, "Document de visite Panthéon," accessed 2 May 2020.

¹⁰⁹ David Buttery, "Walks along the Seine," *In: Napoleon's Paris*, (Pen & Sword Books Ltd, 2020).

of Beaux-Arts. Furthermore, major events of France's history were depicted on the walls in the middle of the building, which were considered steps into the nation-construction process; namely the Tolbiac Battle, Charlemagne's Coronation, Saint Louis' Reform of Justice and the Hundred Years' War, including Joan of Arc; thereby directly indicating an aspect of (cultural) nationalism. Religious features were thus regarded of importance for the construction of the nation, even though the building was not used for religious purposes anymore. Another example that shows religious importance in the Panthéon's paintings is the cycle of Saint-Genève's life. Her childhood has been depicted by Puvis de Chavannes and her death by Jean-Paul Laurens. It highlights the concept of resistance and sacrifice.¹¹⁰

This is a great example to show that Saint Geneviève is still seen as a part of France's history. Even when they destroyed her relics and devoted time and space towards non-secular objects within the Panthéon, the people in France did not see themselves as a *patrie*. The destroying of her relics could therefore be seen as an idea of nation-construction; to finally not being controlled by religious dominance. However, years after the transformation of the building, they returned to parts of its original religious portrayal, only this time they were seen in another light. This time, they were seen in the light of the history of France, and not as the secular domination of the people.

How the irresolute pediment is an example of the underlying change in France

With the brief description of transformations inside the building, the transitions of the building's outside should not be omitted. Even though the architectural structure of a church remained fairly the same, apart from the removal of the bell towers, its pediment underwent several transformations. It has been re-carved four times before it became Piere-Jean David d'Angers' version in 1837, which can still be seen today.¹¹¹ As the focus of this research reaches until 1793, not all decorative aspects of the case study building we can see today are analysed. Therefore, the transformation of the pediment is chosen as the focal point to analyse and show how modifications were made relating to France's corresponding political struggles, which are illustrated in figure 7.

¹¹⁰ Centre des Monuments Nationaux, "Document de visite Panthéon," accessed 2 May 2020.

¹¹¹ David A. Hanser, *Architecture of France*, (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006): 160.

The first pediment of the Saint-Geneviève church has been created in 1774 by Nicolas Coustou, which was called the *L'Adoration de la Croix*. It showed a cross surrounded by angels, and thus it clearly stated the religious purpose of the building. Its Latin inscription, '*IN HONOREM STAE GENOVAFAE D.O.M. A FUNDAMENTS EXCITAVIT LUDOVICUS XV*',¹¹² referring to king Louis XV, combined religion and monarchy which experienced many more transformations in the following years, reflecting the correspondingly turbulent political times in France.

In 1791, the assembly ordered the new French inscription "*Aux grands Hommes la Patrie Reconnaissante*"¹¹³ that related to the new bas-relief with more revolutionary ideals, created by Jean-Guillaume Moitte, and thus simultaneously indicated the transformation of the building's purpose into a pantheon. Even though the architecture of the building remained the same, the changing pediment now had the chance to show its revolutionary usage. When Napoleon decided to turn a part of the building back to honour Catholicism in 1806, a veil cloaked the revolutionary pediment for almost ten years before Louis XIII renamed the building the Saint-Geneviève church in 1815, and thus also the pediment was altered. It now received the text "*D.O.M. sub invocat. S. Genovefae. Lud. XV dicavit. Lud. XVIII restituit*"¹¹⁴ that went together with Louis-Pierre Baltard's new work representing a large radiating cross.¹¹⁵

1830 marked the year David d'Angers started the construction of a new pediment, named *La Patrie distribue aux grands hommes, civils et militaires, des couronnes qui lui tend la Liberté tandis que l'Histoire inscrit leurs noms*. And this is the pediment we can still see on the

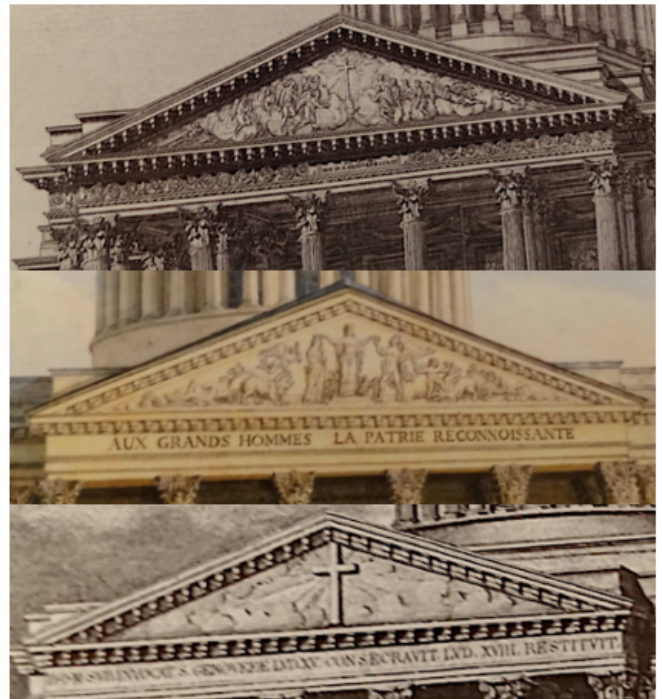


Figure 7: From top to bottom: pediments for the Saint-Geneviève church and Parisian Panthéon of 1774, 1791 and 1815, in: "*L'aventure rocambolesque du fronton du Panthéon*," by Un Jour de Plus A Paris, <https://www.unjourdeplusaparis.com/paris-culture/histoire-fronton-pantheon>.

¹¹² Stating 'In honor of Saint Geneviève, to God the best and greatest, Louis XV built this from the foundations,' In: Hannah Williams, *Saint Geneviève's miracles: art and religion in eighteenth-century Paris, French History*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Oxford University Press, 2016): 343.

¹¹³ Translation: "To the great man. The grateful homeland."

¹¹⁴ Translation: "To the very good and very great God under the invocation of Saint Geneviève, Louis XV dedicated it, Louis XVIII restored it".

¹¹⁵ Centre des Monuments Nationaux, "Le fronton," In: *Fiche de visite – Le Panthéon*, accessed 23 May 2020, http://www.paris-pantheon.fr/var/cmn_inter/storage/original/application/a8dc078f6bce60fa9867ae49ef72562b.pdf.

pantheon nowadays. David d'Angers' affinity with ancient architecture ensured the building remained its ancient outlook. As he had won the *prix de Rome* in 1811, the state had entrusted him to sculpture many important pieces, such as the Grand Condé (for what is now the Pont de la Concorde) and the tomb for General Bonchamps.¹¹⁶ In 1826, he had been appointed to the faculty of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and in 1827, he had been elected to the Académie. Now in 1837, he had completed the pediment for the Parisian Panthéon.



Figure 8: Pierre-Jean David d'Angers' pediment for the Parisian Panthéon from 1837, in: "L'aventure rocambolesque du fronton du Panthéon," by Un Jour de Plus A Paris, <https://www.unjourdeplusaparis.com/paris-culture/histoire-fronton-pantheon>.

David d'Angers recognizes the importance of bas-reliefs to be placed at eye-level so that citizens could easily read its sculptural language, and according to him, all details should contribute to create one comprehensive form. Talking about the Parisian Panthéon exclusively, David d'Angers stated the significance of reading it immediately before entering the building of civic virtues of France.¹¹⁷ He designed it to represent the French Revolution's leaders. The Justice-like figure of La Patrie, which

is portrayed in the middle, has representations of History and Liberty at her feet and stretches her arms in order to crown Napoleon Bonaparte's revolutionary soldiers on the right and a group of artists, statesmen, philosophers and overall heroes of the Republic, such as Voltaire and Rousseau, on the left side. This relation to Napoleon Bonaparte then relates to the pantheon's importance to portray the developing history of France and to not only represent the 1789 French Revolution and thus to include further evolutions of the nation, as is reflected on the inside with its crypt as well. This leaves us with the question when the next pediment will be created by whom, as well as what it would represent. The reference of usage of laurel hints to the Temple of Honour and Virtue, as has been discussed in chapter 1, which is given to important people in ancient Greece and ancient Rome, such as to winners of the Olympics. This thereby incorporates the buildings' importance of ancient inclusion in its iconography as well.

¹¹⁶ National Gallery of Art, "Pierre-Jean David d'Angers," <https://www.nga.gov/collection/artist-info.2079.html>.

¹¹⁷ Suzanne Nash, "Casting Hugo into History" In: *Nineteenth-Century French Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Sculpture et poétique: Sculpture and Literature in France, 1789-1859, (University of Nebraska Press, 2006): 189-205.

The pediment was commissioned by king Louis-Philippe, who sought to enrich national pride at the dawn of his constitutional monarchy,¹¹⁸ a political move by the monarchy performed by a politically active artist. David d'Angers wished to portray his political ideas in his sculptural works, yet it did call for controversial reactions. Even though it took the form of the Christian Last Judgement scene, the pediment of 1837 was filled with political messages, especially after the 1830 Revolution in France, which was focused on the disorder between the bourgeoisie and Charles X, which brought Louis-Philippe to the French throne.¹¹⁹ The newest pediment reopened discussions about the 1789 Revolution and the 1830 Revolution that had ebbed in the years prior to its creation, especially with themes as science, arts, weapons, the revolution and youth. The entirety of the pediment reads as an apology of the 1830 Revolution as a message to the Parisians, due to the Saint-Geneviève-Panthéon discussions that occurred in France. The final part of this chapter will focus more on this issue, where journalists covered the discussion of David d'Angers' controversial pediment in their newspapers, delivered throughout France, after which it finally got accepted.¹²⁰

When David d'Angers discussed the pediment's iconography with politician and writer Hippolyte Fourtoul, he mentioned: "The pediment was the veritable forehead of the building, just as the forehead is, on the face of a man, where one reads his thoughts. The thought that directs him, the sentiment which animates his being, so on the front of a temple one should be able to read the soul that animates its life."¹²¹ With his pediment, David d'Angers held *Patria* prominently on his mind, while the historical figures could be seen as her children that portray France's future. So, by including revolutionary expressions on the 'forehead' of the building, he created a vision of what the pantheon would hold inside: history and freedom fighters for the *patrie*, in a variety of professions, while portraying the *patrie* would take care of its own future. And by demonstrating this pediment just seven years after the 1830 Revolution, David d'Angers took the possibility to convey iconographic messages in a nationalistic manner, supported by the nation's journalists, continuing to show the power of the nation.

¹¹⁸ Allison Lee Palmer, *Historical Dictionary of Neoclassical Art and Architecture*, (Scarecrow Press, 2011): 25-26.

¹¹⁹ Britannica, "July Revolution," accessed 24 May 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/event/July-Revolution>.

¹²⁰ Suzanne Nash, "Casting Hugo into History" In: *Nineteenth-Century French Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Sculpture et poétique: Sculpture and Literature in France, 1789-1859, (University of Nebraska Press, 2006): 189-205.

¹²¹ Meredith Bergmann, "David d'Angers and the Making of the Modern Monument," (Newington-Cropsey Cultural Studies Center): 60-72, accessed 24 May 2020, <http://www.nccsc.net/essays/david-dangers-and-making-modern-monument>.

Now the French language could be used to give messages to the common people, the literal representation by intellectuals and narratives was therefore necessary to convey them. But how was this done regarding the Panthéon?

Phase B: inspiration of fresh cultural productivity

The common people in power

In Leerssen's second phase, he talks about the inspiration of fresh cultural productivity, where its relation to material culture could be seen in the establishment of national museums and restoring ancient buildings. As we have seen in Phase A, the Saint-Geneviève church is now transformed into the Parisian Panthéon, but how is this building used for its revolutionary ideals?

After storming the Bastille, the Third Estate did not stop its Revolution and continued its pursuit. Where once the monarchy made decisions for the construction of buildings, it was now the National Assembly that asked for the Parisian Panthéon, of which the political decision-making group underwent several changes between 1789 and finally became the Legislative Assembly on 20 September 1792. The monarchy's powers became limited as the people increased their power through the assemblies. The absolute end of the monarchy was brutal yet final, when king Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette were murdered on 21 January 1793 in a public guillotine.¹²² Hereby, Robespierre's aspiration to kill the king came true.

The feeling of being a *patrie* slowly started to become real with the French Revolution that brought amongst others the sovereignty of a nation, a drafted constitution, the establishment of national education and dissemination of national propaganda.¹²³ Here, it can already be seen that politics and culture are intertwined in France, even though at the time the main objectives were of political nature.

How the uniting French language developed its education system

On the other side of the Seine, not far from the guillotine, stood the Panthéon. And with its newly acquired attitude to take, modifications were in order to be made within its cultural components in order to portray France's revolutionary ideals. Not only Quatremère de Quincy's alterations were of importance, but according to Leerssen, also cultural components such as

¹²² Camil Francisc Roman, "Liminality, the Execution of Louis XVI, and the Rise of Terror during the French Revolution" In: *Breaking Boundaries: Varieties of Liminality*, by Agnes Horvath, Bjorn Thomassen, Harald Wydra, (Berghahn Books, 2015): 141.

¹²³ Carlton J.H. Hayes, "The Rise of Nationalism," In: *Essays on Nationalism*, Vol. 20, Issue 4, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926): 46-48.

language, historiography, literature, museums, ceremonies, exhibitions and parades are significant in a nation.¹²⁴ If we take a closer look to the use of the Panthéon, these elements can be found as well.

First, the use of the French language was now starting to be of more use to the common people, but how were messages obtained? The most well-known approach comes from Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, whose emphasis lies on communication influences, as has been briefly described in the previous chapter. He discusses the effect of communicative processes on the development of nationalism's cultural contexts, which is transferred through newspapers and novels in a shared language to create an "imagined community" and thereby this simultaneously lays the foundation for a national unity and identity.¹²⁵ The spread of revolutionary ideas and communication techniques development went hand in hand by the joining of the Third Estate with the principle of similitude, the feeling of being the same people of a nation. Anderson names this "print-capitalism" and states the importance of a *feeling* of connectedness. *L'Ami du peuple* by Jean-Paul Marat was one of the most significant newspapers of the French Revolution.¹²⁶ Being established in September 1789, it talked about the revolutionary ideals. Interestingly, Marat was against the decision of the creation of a Panthéon and had little confidence in what the building would mean for the people of France, especially regarding future generations.¹²⁷ The fact that he was not in favour of the Panthéon could indicate as a bad influence for the Panthéon in his writings; however, evidence for this cannot be found and thus, this claim cannot be made in certainty. Regardless of what was said about the building, the Panthéon did serve France's revolutionary ideals by commemorating its heroes.

Now the French Revolution was proceeding, the education system changed as well, as this was seen as another way to transfer social communication. Now languages and French values could be learned, and circulation of specific literary sources amongst "the French" could be stimulated by the head of state.¹²⁸ France's history was now studied at schools and thus it was

¹²⁴ Lotte Jensen, "Historisch Erfgoed: Een nieuw monument voor Tollens. Cultureel nationalisme, letterkundig erfgoed en nationale identiteit," accessed 27 April 2020, 85, <http://docplayer.nl/26253246-Historisch-erfgoed-lotte-jensen-een-nieuw-monument-voor-tollens-cultureel-nationalisme-letterkundig-erfgoed-en-nationale-identiteit.html>.

¹²⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso: 1991, 1-36.

¹²⁶ Ouizi Elyada, "La représentation de l'opinion publique Populaire dans la presse Parisienne révolutionnaire," *In: Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, No. 303 (January-March 1996): 37-47.

¹²⁷ J.P. Marat, *L'Ami du peuple*, 5 April 1791, cited in *The Panthéon: The Ecole Normale of the Deaf*, by M. Ozouf, (New York, 1998): 342.

¹²⁸ Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar, "The SAGE Handbook of NATIONS and NATIONALISM," (SAGE Publications L.t.d., 2006): 29.

important to determine which scholars would be regarded as applicable in the education system to express the nationalistic ideals of France. In example, Jules Michelet, as folklorist and nationalist,¹²⁹ showed ‘the people’ as the real hero of French history in nineteen volumes that made him a well-known historian.¹³⁰ The popularity of his work resulted into the circulation among French people, which directly could relate to the way the French see themselves as being a part of the nation. The education system helped communities evolve from being imaginary to being real. Students now learned pledges of allegiance, anthems, patriotic songs, rituals of commemoration of national heroes and leaders. It evolved in the course of the nineteenth century when religious education was replaced by subjects such as historiography, geography, literature and civic education. Things now developed into ‘in the name of the nation’¹³¹ and the Parisian Panthéon was not left out on this view.

Changing ceremonial powers

This development coincided with a change in ceremonial powers, as they were now in the name of the nation as well. Back in the day, physical punishment symbolized control in an absolute way, until it transformed into control over the mind.¹³² Therefore, rituals and ceremonies are seen as promoters of official, authoritative, public images of a certain society.¹³³ In relation to the Panthéon, this could first be found in the control of the monarchy and the Church, including their rules the Third Estate had to follow. With the French Revolution, this control went to the leaders of the common people. Political symbolic meanings could be found in the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizens and the death of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, as these represented the end of the Old Regime and the beginning of the power of the common people. When the Church and monarchy could use rituals and ceremonies to promote images to the people living in France, the upcoming Third Estate could do this as well, using the Parisian Panthéon as one of their most significant buildings.

¹²⁹ Charles Rearick, *Symbol, Legend, and History: Michelet as Folklorist-Historian*, Vol. 7, no. 1, (Duke University Press, 1971): 72-92.

¹³⁰ Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Vol. 1, edited by Claude Mettra, (Lausanne: Éditions Rencontre, 1966).

¹³¹ Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar, “*The SAGE Handbook of NATIONS and NATIONALISM*,” (SAGE Publications L.t.d., 2006): 29.

¹³² Joseph Gusfield and Jerzy Michalowicz, *Secular symbolism: Studies of Ritual, Ceremony, and the Symbolic Order in Modern Life*, Vol. 10, (Annual Review of Sociology, 1984): 425.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 426.

Phase C: propagandist proclamation

An undeniable national museum: commemorating heroes

Leerssen's last phase involves the sense of national identity in a collective manner. This is achieved through education in the vernacular language focusing on history, and the use of pantheons and historical monuments to demonstrate the nation's history in the present time. Hereby, historicist architecture, historical memories and great names from the past are used. So how does the Panthéon portray these elements?

With the increasing wish of the portrayal of revolutionary ideals, the Parisian Panthéon was used as a place of commemoration, in the form of exhibitions, parades, ceremonies and the celebration of national holidays of France. Inside the Panthéon, a permanent exhibition can be visited, namely Jean-Bernard-Léon Foucault's pendulum. Its magnificent power can be felt in the dome of the building, but why is a scientific invention on display here, in a pantheon? And how can this be linked to cultural nationalism?

The pendulum, which showed the world's rotation in 1851, was placed in the Panthéon with emperor Napoléon III's support.¹³⁴ Foucault's significance to France can be seen in his awarded *Officier Légion d'Honneur* in 1862 before he was elected as a *Bureau des Longitudes* member the same year. The United Kingdom also admired his work, as he received the Copley Medal by London's Royal Society in 1855,¹³⁵ which is the oldest and most prestigious award of the Society,

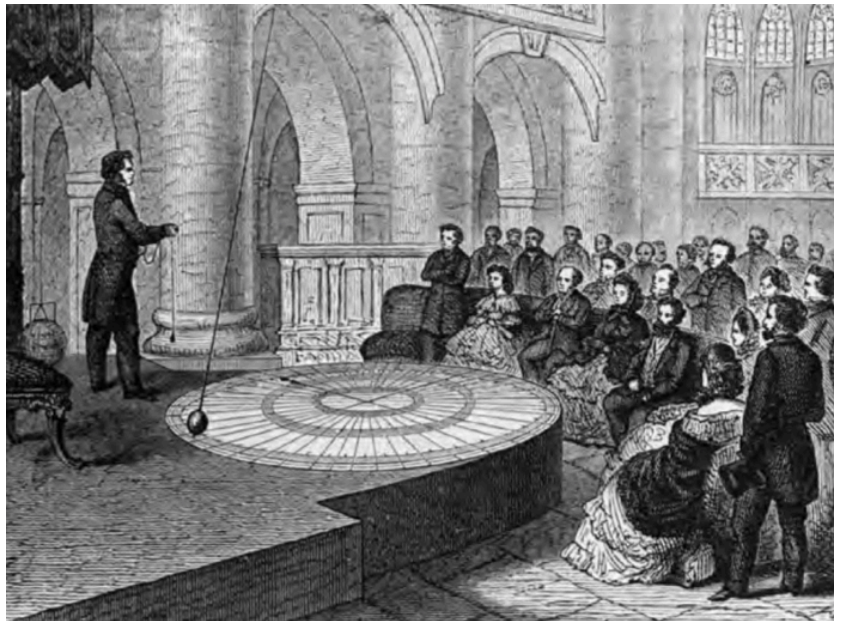


Figure 9: Foucault's Pendulum, 1851 - 'Experiment to Prove the Axial Movement of the Earth' (William Tobin, Léon Foucault, Vol. 279, No. 1, (Scientific American, 1998): 215).

awarded for outstanding achievements in any branch of science research.¹³⁶ Next to this, he became a member of the Royal Society of London in 1864.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Stefan Hughes, *Catchers of the Light: The Forgotten Lives of the Men and Women Who First Photographed the Heavens*, Vol. 1, (Independent Publisher, 2013): 214.

¹³⁵ William Tobin, *Léon Foucault*, Vol. 279, No. 1, (Scientific American, 1998): 77.

¹³⁶ The Royal Society, "Copley Medal", accessed 10 April 2020, <https://royalsociety.org/grants-schemes-awards/awards/copley-medal/>.

¹³⁷ Stefan Hughes, *Catchers of the Light: The Forgotten Lives of the Men and Women Who First Photographed the Heavens*, Vol. 1, (Independent Publisher, 2013): 218-219.

Even though the pendulum that is shown in the building is a remake of the real one, it is still placed in the Panthéon, unlike Foucault himself, who is buried in the *Cimetière de Montmartre*.¹³⁸ Foucault signified prestige for France, as the attention was laid on the swinging pendulum that was being copied all over the world, but the original was at the centre of the dome of the Parisian Panthéon at the time. The recognition he received in other parts of the world, including its prizes, shows the significance of the man himself, and most likely also accounts as an attraction for tourists to visit the Panthéon. Temporary exhibitions are also found in the building, which focus on the people that are buried in the crypt, such as Marie Curie in 2017-2018¹³⁹ and momentarily of Victor Hugo.¹⁴⁰

Furthermore, festivities related to the French Revolution are hidden in the celebration of national holidays and ceremonies, which are also expressed by the Panthéon. In example, the storming of the Bastille on 14 July turned into a national holiday in France in general. On this date, entrance to the Panthéon is free and concerts are given with a tribute to the men and women who have placed their mark on the history of France.¹⁴¹ So even nowadays, the Panthéon in Paris continues to show the results that the modernization period of the French Revolution had for the people of France, uniting them in an imagined.

The crypt

Next to the commemorations on the ground floor, the Panthéon includes a crypt to memorialize men and women that are honoured by France. In total, 78 persons are buried here. The Panthéon itself names the following persons in its guide and it therefore simultaneously serves as the discussed section here. Depending on the President of the French Republic's desires, French men and women are honoured in the Panthéon.

The defender of tolerance (François Marie Arouet de Voltaire) and the father of equality (Jean-Jacques Rousseau) receive a burial place in the vestibule of the crypt. They are adjoined by authors of the French State's founding texts and institutions such as the authors of the Civil Code (François Denis Tronchet and Jean-Étienne-Marie Portalis) and the founder of the French Bank (Jean-Frédéric Perrégaux). Other major authors (Émile Zola, Alexandre Dumas and

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Panthéon, "Marie Curie, une femme au Panthéon programme", accessed 29 April 2020, <http://www.pantheon.fr/Programme-des-visites-autour-de-l-exposition#book/>.

¹⁴⁰ Panthéon, "Visites de l'exposition," accessed 29 April 2020, <http://www.pantheon.fr/Actualites/VISITES-DE-L-EXPOSITION>.

¹⁴¹ Paris, Official website of the Convention and Visitors Bureau, "Places to go on July 13th, 14th and 15th - Concerts at the Panthéon", accessed 29 April 2020, <https://en.parisinfo.com/discovering-paris/major-events/bastille-day-in-paris/ideas-for-bastille-day-days-out/what-to-do-in-paris-on-13-and-14-july>.

Victor Hugo) are placed here because of their defending of the values of republican tolerance and justice. Additionally, powerful contributors to civic values and democracy that led to the French Revolution (Abbé Grégoire, Condorcet and Monge) are honoured here. Moreover, the contributor against the abolition of slavery (Victor Schoelcher), the father of Socialism in France (Jean Jaurès) and the “*Poet of Négritude*” (Aimé Césaire) can be found neighbouring scientists like Nobel Prize recipients Pierre and Marie Curie, who are located in this crypt for their radium discoveries. And finally, there is a special place for the courageous who helped Jews to hide during the Second World War and the resistance fighters who fought in the name of *liberté, égalité* and *fraternité*. Furthermore, the heart of the founder of the Third Republic, Léon Gambetta, is buried by the access stairs in 1920.¹⁴²

As we can see from this list, the crypt includes a variety of influential persons that created the France we know today. From scientists to freedom fighters, it appears as though any person who makes a significant contribution to France could be added to the list, but this is not the case per se. In example, Foucault, the man who definitely made a big contribution to science in the name of France, cannot be found in this crypt, even though a model of his pendulum is still found under the dome. We therefore have to look at the process of incorporating specific persons to this burial place, rather than to the *Cimetière de Montmartre* or the *Cimetière du Père-Lachaise*, in example, and come back to the original idea that arose during the French Revolution. Marquis de Pastoret suggested to place bodies of great men in the Panthéon “beginning with the era of liberty”, hereby referring to men that could be related to the Revolution. However, during the Revolution, the Panthéon was seen as a “dead site of the national imagination”, according to Mona Ozouf, despite the successful commemorations. The Third Republic’s legion added the memory factor to being encrypted. It therefore marked the shift towards the great variety of persons in the crypt.¹⁴³

Over the past 229 years, these 78 burials coincided with ceremonial purposes. During the Third Republic, the Panthéon received great attention with its ceremonies, which were principally focused around burials of great men of the regime, as well as the celebration of anniversaries. Its importance as burial site diminished during the interwar period, when Les Invalides and the Arc de Triomphe’s importance increased;¹⁴⁴ however, its encrypting practices still continue.

¹⁴² Centre des Monuments Nationaux, “Document de visite Panthéon,” accessed 2 May 2020.

¹⁴³ Avner Ben-Amos, “Monuments and Memory in French Nationalism,” *In: History and Memory*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (Indiana University Press, 1993): 62.

¹⁴⁴ Avner Ben-Amos, “The Sacred Center of Power: Paris and Republican State Funerals,” *In: The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (The MIT Press, 1991): 35-36.

Mirabeau, politician of the National Assembly, was the first one to be buried in the Panthéon, yet he was also the first one to be removed after proof of his relations with the court was found.¹⁴⁵ The last inclusion in the crypt is Simone Veil, minister of Health, first female President of the European Parliament and always working towards commemoration of the Holocaust, thereby being the fourth woman encrypted in the Panthéon.¹⁴⁶

Relocations of burials can be demanded by the French President and bring much attention to the Panthéon when this happens. In example, when Jean Jaurès' (Socialist leader) pantheonization took place, the official funeral started at the Place de la Revolution and ended at the Panthéon, as a sort of "revolutionary pilgrimage",¹⁴⁷ thereby returning to Hayes' point of linking religious practices to nationalistic ones. Moreover, when Victor Hugo's funeral took place at the Panthéon, it was narrated inside the manual of primary schools,¹⁴⁸ so that students were shown the way to step into eternity if they would follow their footsteps.

Where newspapers used to be the expressing thoughts of pantheonization practices, nowadays social media outlets continue this, and it is not limited to France only. The ceremony of a (re)burial is a big event that is discussed all over the world and is yet another way of France to create a focus on its nation. Additionally, it brings up discussions on the number of women that are encrypted, dealt with by local and foreign media outlets.¹⁴⁹ Even though this is a very interesting topic to dive into, it is too broad for the scope of this research and it is therefore highly requested for further research.

Culture is learned

Next to visiting the building during festivities, it is open to visitors almost all year, and since it portrays the history of France, what better way for education systems to visit and study it from up close?

Along with the renewed education system came the creation of visits to tombs and national museums, like the Panthéon.¹⁵⁰ Since the starting point of these education visits cannot be

¹⁴⁵ Britannica, "Intrigue With The Court," accessed 10 May 2020,

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Honore-Gabriel-Riqueti-comte-de-Mirabeau/Intrigue-with-the-court>.

¹⁴⁶ NOS-nieuws, "Simone Veil bijgezet tussen grote namen in Panthéon," 1 July 2018, accessed 2 May 2020, <https://nos.nl/artikel/2239306-simone-veil-bijgezet-tussen-grote-namen-in-pantheon.html>.

¹⁴⁷ Avner Ben-Amos, "Monuments and Memory in French Nationalism," *In: History and Memory*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (Indiana University Press, 1993): 75.

¹⁴⁸ Avner Ben-Amos, "The Other World of Memory: State Funerals of the French Third Republic as Rites of Commemoration," *In History and Memory*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (Indiana University Press, 1989): 94.

¹⁴⁹ New York Times, "Why So Few Women in the Panthéon?," accessed 28 May 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/26/opinion/international/why-so-few-women-in-the-pantheon.html>.

¹⁵⁰ Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar, "*The SAGE Handbook of NATIONS and NATIONALISM*," (SAGE Publications L.t.d., 2006): 72.

detected, this point is related to contemporary visits that are done by schools. They have obtained a special section on the Panthéon’s website for school groups starting from the fifth grade, middle schools, high schools and universities. This shows the education scene is very welcome as various tours are offered for different groups in French, but also in English and Spanish, and indicates that nowadays not only French students are appreciated, but also students of other origins, and thereby expands the reach of the Panthéon that teaches the history of France.

Notwithstanding, not only the physical form of the building itself has the opportunity to express this history. Contemporary measures in commemorating France’s history are taken in several forms. The aforementioned principle of “print-capitalism” does then not only relate to education systems themselves, but also as the usage as propaganda tools.¹⁵¹ Where newspapers such as *L’Ami du peuple* were used during the French Revolution, this approach has now

evolved into modern realizations, in example via social media outlets, as a new facilitator of communication.¹⁵² Mass media now celebrate national commemorations and holidays that link individual connotations to the (imagined) community of a nation. Figure 10 shows an example of such a modern social media outlet. It is interesting here that king Louis XV’s birthday was mentioned in a 2020-post on the internet, which referred to his commission to build the Panthéon.



Figure 10. Social media Twitter post on the celebration of Louis XV’s birthday on 15 February 2020 (LeCMM, Twitter post, 15 February 2020, 12:02 p.m., accessed 20 April 2020, <https://twitter.com/leCMN/status/1228635574774501376>).

Notwithstanding, it is not mentioned that he instructed the building of the Saint-Geneviève church, the carcass of what we now call the Parisian Panthéon, and thus the connotation to this post leaves out the secular meaning of the building in totality. Is this done deliberately? Without further research this cannot be stated with certitude; however, it is certain that it portrays the possibility to twist propaganda which is led by the building. Yes, the history of France includes

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Avner Ben-Amos, “The Sacred Center of Power: Paris and Republican State Funerals,” In: *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (The MIT Press, 1991): 27.

king Louis XV; notwithstanding, it also includes the Saint-Geneviève church, yet the secular aspect is completely left out of the picture.

Relation to Woods' other four points of cultural nationalism

Now the Parisian Panthéon's cultivation of culture has been analysed using the three phases by Leerssen which has portrayed the French Revolution as the modernization period that transformed the church into a pantheon, the other four points of Woods' definition of cultural nationalism will be briefly mentioned and related to the Panthéon as well. This way, a well-rounded conclusion to the question on whether the Parisian Panthéon reflects cultural nationalism can be given.

The vision of a nation's history, identity and destiny

Another perspective of the cultivation of a culture is taken by Johann Gottfried Herder, who is regarded as a pioneer scholar in the field of cultural nationalism, since he already did research on it in the eighteenth century. He mentions that the nation requires its cultivation through recovery and the celebration of a nation's history and culture.¹⁵³ His focus also lied on the French Revolution and he aligns his thoughts with Rousseau when he states happiness comes from the individual, instead of from the state. The individual good originates from tradition, practice and custom.¹⁵⁴ But where does the French nation start in the history of time? Which traditions should be brought upon future generations in order to mark them as "French"? Herder does not have a concrete answer to this, but the French Revolution did inspire him during the spring of 1792, when he stated that the course of nature were evolutions, rather than revolutions. He regarded the French to have found their destiny without pressure from outside the country. Law, language, religion, poetry, custom and art were seen as natural products of human life in collectivist forms, and education was regarded as a work that must be evolved as a way to move forward,¹⁵⁵ agreeing with several points in Leerssen's phases.

When this idea is portrayed to the Parisian Panthéon, we see many overlaps with the analysis of Leerssen's three phases. In example, it can be seen in the changing laws by the French Revolution which altered the importance and portrayal of religion within art in the building. Additionally, the idea of the importance of language also coincides with Anderson's

¹⁵³ Eric Taylor Woods, "Cultural nationalism: a review and annotated bibliography," *Studies on National Movements*, no. 2 (2014): 2, <http://snm.nise.eu/index.php/studies/article/view/0202s>.

¹⁵⁴ Royal J. Schmidt, "Cultural Nationalism in Herder," *In: Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 17, No. 3, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956): 407-417.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

“imagined communities” that served as a way to unite the people in France by the building itself; first in the entrance text, the nation’s newspapers and historical novels, and later in the development of its education systems and social media platforms. Additionally, as Leerssen has mentioned in Phase B and Phase C, intellectuals and artists are regarded as key agents in conveying messages of revolutionary nature to the public, and thus this already incorporates Woods’ point stating the importance of them.

Notwithstanding, it must be noted that Herder mainly focused on the thinking of an entire people, of the nationalism of culture itself, and did not divide between immaterial and material culture, which was the case in Leerssen’s later study. Therefore, his ideas are used in a subcategory of Woods’ definition for “cultural nationalism”, rather than using it to analyse the Parisian Panthéon itself.

When did cultural nationalism occur?

In the analysis given above, the occurrence of cultural nationalism in France happens during the French Revolution, especially when it is related to the Parisian Panthéon, thereby including Woods’ point made on modernity times. I comply with Hutchinson’s statement that regards cultural nationalism as an episodic phenomenon,¹⁵⁶ as has been briefly discussed in chapter two of this thesis, since we can see this occurred in eighteenth-century France. Of course, we cannot think for the church and monarchy in this time period, but we can say that they most likely would have thought the nation would remain as it was; in their control. However, this did change under severe circumstances of the French Revolution which brought the Third Estate to power. The nation state was thus already established before the French Revolution took place, but the increasing cultural elements that arose counted up for a renewed form of the nation state in France.

Transformations and restorations correspond to a stronger nationalistic agenda

As we have seen during the 1789 French Revolution, a regime change does correlate to transformations in this portrayal of material culture. The in-depth analysis of the building’s pediment for the Saint-Genève church and the Parisian Panthéon has shown that the continuous change in regimes matched alterations in the building’s purpose and thus, its iconography. But how does the public respond to these later transformations?

¹⁵⁶ Eric Taylor Woods, “Cultural nationalism: a review and annotated bibliography,” *Studies on National Movements*, no. 2 (2014): 4, <http://snm.nise.eu/index.php/studies/article/view/0202s>.

Because the French Revolution of 1789 transformed the church into the Parisian Panthéon as a symbolic monument, its restoration ensured the expulsion of religious themes of this period and simultaneously returned to the significance of the French nation. Choosing to stop these transformations could be seen as equal in choosing the side of the church or the Revolution. Due to the scope of this research, it has not been possible to discuss all the symbolic representations in the building, either destroyed in the meantime or still existing, and thus we continue on the reflection of David d'Angers' pediment from 1837.

As has been stated previously in this research, David d'Angers was supported by journalists when he incorporated revolutionary figures in his pediment. Examples included the newspapers *Le National* et *La Paix*. However, the controversiality of the topic ensured the upcoming voice of the church which became heard by newspapers such as *La Gazette* and *La Quotidienne*. They were against the government's decision to return the Parisian Panthéon to the great men of France and wished for the stay of the Saint-Geneviève church.¹⁵⁷ So, holding ceremonies, such as pantheonization, not only shows the role of the pantheon, but also underlines the decrease of its use as a church and an increase in the importance of the pantheon and the French nation.

This discussion that arose in the French society, represented by newspapers, could be linked to Anderson's concept of 'print-capitalism', as the people of France could now read several opinions of the inclusion of David d'Angers' pediment and the transformation of the building from church to pantheon and vice versa. An interesting question would be to reflect on whether the people of France created their opinions *before* they read newspapers or *because* they read a certain newspaper, which correlated to a certain popularity. The influential result of articles focusing on the Saint-Geneviève-Panthéon discussion is, unfortunately, out of scope of this research and thus asks for further research.

These ceremonies and festivities around the Parisian Panthéon that still continue nowadays therefore carry a more symbolic value, where scholar Mark Thatcher's study could be used to explain this idea. He has studied the role of the state in preserving historic buildings in order to promote national identity. While stating political and cultural nationalisms are separate, he mentions there exists a strong link between them. This therefore accounts for a relation to this research in putting the political and cultural element next to each other and finding the juxtaposition or overlap between them.

When following Thatcher's approach, the role of the state thus becomes highlighted in producing cultural nationalism, especially regarding a country's 'heritage'. And as the Parisian

¹⁵⁷ Denis Bocquet, "Panthéon ou église Sainte-Geneviève? Les ambiguïtés d'un monument (1830-1885)," (Mémoire de maîtrise d'histoire, 1992), hal-00817287.

Panthéon falls under this category, restoration and preservation of this building could indicate promotion of its national identity. However, not all preservation is led by the state or driven by nationalistic aims. In recent years, the creation of national identity is combined with economic objectives, where cooperation with organizations as UNESCO has occurred. Is this merely for economic achievement or could it be more related to Gellner's modernist approach of reaching for cultural nationalistic aims?

Thatcher mentions four factors that influence a state's role in restoration and preservation, which are (a) regime change, (b) institutional inheritance, (c) the relationship between the current regime and non-state actors (such as the Catholic Church, writers, architects, etc.) and (d) internal and external threats.¹⁵⁸ As I only wish to portray the significance of research in this area here, solely the first element of regime change will be mentioned briefly. Further research is encouraged in order to incorporate the remaining categories and focus them on the Parisian Panthéon to create a brighter picture.

In his study, Thatcher mentions France as an example when he states that new political regimes initiate the creation or strengthening of protection initiatives as strategies of a nation. The regime changes in 1789, 1830, 1870, 1940 and 1958 all show accelerated policies to protect historic buildings that are used 'in the name of the nation'. These political changes were followed by new establishments of a Ministry of Culture and combined with extensive legislation and accounted for an increase in protection initiatives.¹⁵⁹

When this idea is transferred to the Parisian Panthéon, the regime changes in France were reflected in the decorative program of the building, in example in its pediment, and it is seen in a project during a time of continuous political and religious debate in France in 1874. After the Revolution had made France a secular state, controversy continued over the proper use of the building as a pantheon. The decorative program was seen as an uncomfortable mixture of political monarchical figures and Roman Catholic religion. Republicans fought to stop funding for this program in 1876 and 1881; however, it was unsuccessful at the time. Finally, the inclusion of anti-Catholics above the paintings of Clovis was introduced, as well as the fact that artists were given more independence in interpreting their themes.¹⁶⁰ Until this day, the decorative program is still a combination of both religious and political elements. And with

¹⁵⁸ Mark Thatcher, "Introduction: The state and historic buildings: preserving 'the national past,'" *In: Nations and Nationalism*, (John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2017): 22-42.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Steven Gjertson Galleries, "Alexandre Cabanel: The Tradition of Beauty," accessed 25 May 2020, <https://stephengjertsongalleries.com/alexandre-cabanel-the-tradition-of-beauty/>.

every pantheonization or national ceremony, attention will lie on the overlap of the two main elements, showing politics and culture exist next to each other.

More recently in 2013, while being the President of France, Francois Hollande sent a letter to the President of the national monuments in France in order to mention the importance of the conservation and accessibility of the pantheon as it is the symbol of the French nation that diffuses universal values that is carried by France. Hollande's statement included the wish to use the pantheon for republican ceremonies, which can be nicely linked to Leerssen's last phase in using ceremonies for attraction purposes. This letter is attached to this research for those who wish to read it in its entirety and obtain a broader view of the matter.

Following this letter, the centre for national monuments then created a program to place the Parisian Panthéon at the heart of the Republic. Overall, the main objectives were to (i) make it attractive, by increasing working conditions, performing restorations and maintaining the history layer in its decorative program, (ii) make more use of the building in Republican life, by doing ceremonies on the *Fête Nationale* on the 14th of July, by pantheonization and state visits, and finally (iii) continue honours to important personalities, by including women and striving for equality.¹⁶¹ The letter from the President of France in 2013 clearly states the wish for restoration and preservation of the Parisian Panthéon, as it is seen as a symbol for the nation of France. Especially now the building is surrounded by universities, and thus youngsters, it is of importance to make it as attractive as possible to portray its national values and attract visitors from a young age onwards. Interesting here is the wish to preserve its history layer, as it includes Saint-Geneviève, which would mean she could now be used for the portrayal of national identity. Notwithstanding, this is a peculiar revision of the original nationalistic idea, since objectives have altered over time, and thus the term “(cultural) nationalism” is developing too. The former President's idea of incorporating more festivities and ceremonies relates to Leerssen's three-phase model, especially to Phase C, where it is used as propaganda tool. However, the question whether the expression of national values equals the active pursue of the portrayal of cultural nationalism is to be researched further, yet a beginning relation to Thatcher's study can be made here, since a change of regimes in France does show, to a certain extent, a change in its preservation approach. Notwithstanding, the fine line between political and economic importance of a historical building for a nation, and in this case for France, is difficult to determine. We can say, however, that analyses of specific material culture are in order to be performed in future research.

¹⁶¹ Philippe Bélaival, “Pour faire entrer le peuple au Panthéon: Rapport à Monsieur le Président de la République – Conférence de presse du jeudi 10 octobre 2013 –,” (Centre des monuments nationaux, 2013).

Conclusion

As we have seen in this final chapter, the transformation of the Saint-Geneviève church into the Parisian Panthéon coincided with the “modernization” period Leerssen has mentioned in Phase A of his three-phase model, which was expressed by the French Revolution. Religious ideals now comprised of nationalistic expressions in all four culture elements: language, literal expression, material culture and immaterial culture. Even though revolutionary ideas were portrayed on the inside and outside of the pantheon, religious paintings continued its depiction in the building and can still be seen nowadays, where the question on the possible nationalistic usage remains, unfortunately, unanswered. The shift from the Latin language towards the uniting French one ensured the conveying of messages through newspapers and history books, which could then be read and learned by the people of France. A uniting feeling of a *patrie* started to emerge with the materializing factors of, in example, Foucault’s pendulum and the crypt, as well as the immaterial concepts of ceremonies and festivities that still contributes to the way the Parisian Panthéon expresses itself, as has been demonstrated by the cooperation between Francois Hollande and the centre of national monuments and the building’s social media posts. Moreover, the present wish to create plans for the restoration and preservation of the building extends this view. The irresolute pediment accounted for a material form of expression of France’s regime changes at the time, of which its final version by David d’Angers refers back to the architectural structure of the ancient temple of Honour and Virtue, when looking at the laurels used in the bas-relief. And thereby this form of material culture continuously reflects the shift in political structures within France.

The analysis of the case study building using Leerssen’s three-phase model thus shows the way the Parisian Panthéon does portray the cultivation of culture in France. And when this is combined with the remaining four factors of Woods’ definition of cultural nationalism, it can be said that the Saint-Geneviève church started with being a religious building, expressing the prestige neoclassical architecture of the eighteenth century, into the Parisian Panthéon, which started by portraying revolutionary ideals and is nowadays used to show the history of France, where the religious factor is not omitted.

Conclusion

By analysing the Parisian Panthéon, this thesis has shown how both the political and cultural factors of cultural nationalism can be portrayed within material culture. Chapter one provided the introduction of the case study building after which it was put in context to the French Revolution. It was followed by chapter two, which delved into the concepts and characteristics of nationalism and cultural nationalism and simultaneously showed the importance of the inclusion of both cultural and political aspects within the latter termination. Chapter three embodied the analysis of these given aspects while relating it to the case study building, starting with the period of the Saint-Geneviève church and flowing into the Parisian Panthéon we know nowadays. In line with this thesis' hypothesis, the results claim there certainly exists a relation between cultural nationalism and the Parisian Panthéon.

Eric Taylor Woods' definition for cultural nationalism was used in this research as it included a combination of the sociological, modernist and historical approach, which was needed to include both the cultural and political aspect of the matter in the analysis of the building. Leerssen's three-phase model for the cultivation of culture was used in order to structure the divisions between several cultural aspects, including the material culture in the form of architecture, so the case study building could be analysed accordingly.

The political change in powerholders of France, from being the Church and the monarchy in the Old Regime to the common people, coincided with the commencement of the French Revolution. The storming of the Bastille initiated the modernization period Leerssen refers to in Phase A of his model, as this phase indicates the inventorization of artefacts and the starting point of the cultivation of culture that is expressed through the modernization period of France. The revolutionary ideals of the French Revolution discarded religious values and embraced revolutionary ones. This political modernization was reflected in the cultural transformation of the building, as it went from the usage of a church into the usage of a pantheon.

Even though, apart from the destruction of its bell towers, the outlook of the building remained the same with its architectural structure, and thereby still shows its religious aspect. At the same time, France's revolutionary idea is also present with its pediment, the French tricoloured flag and the French inscription above the entrance, referring to the country's great men. On the inside, many religious sculptures were destroyed when Quatremère de Quincy made alterations to Soufflot's structure, yet the portrayal of Saint Geneviève's life cycle can still be found in several paintings that show the building's religious aspect. They are placed in between paintings of a more revolutionary character, which makes Saint-Geneviève an

attribution of France's national identity nowadays. Examples are paintings that depicted major events in French history and ones that paid homage to famous persons in France. Other examples here are the *La Convention Nationale* sculpture, that is located on the place of the original altar of the church, and the crypt. In line with Leerssen's Phase A, the destruction of religious sculptures, the adding of revolutionary symbols and the changing use of a church to make place for a national museum show the receding antiquity of the building, even though the carcass of it still stands today, including several references to its Christian roots.

Now the national museum was starting to evolve, the education system with the connecting French language helped in the promotion of France's history in schools, which exchanged religious subjects for classes with more national value regarding geography and history. Thereby, Phase B of Leerssen's cultivation of a culture referring to the inventorization of national museums matches the route the Panthéon took since the start of the French Revolution. If Anderson's theory would be incorporated here, we could say a certain "imagined community" arose with the increasing portrayal of national symbols which was made more alive using newspapers and history books to enhance the feeling of a *patrie*.

All these revolutionary messages, either literal via history books or newspapers, or symbolic through statues, were conveyed by the use of a uniting vernacular language that was first spread through print-capitalism and nowadays principally through social media outlets and commemoration festivities. Following Hayes' concept, this analysis has shown that nationalistic ideals that came forward during the French Revolution are of religious nature, which showed the correlation in sacred symbols, places and traditions. This is where Leerssen's final phase corresponds to the case study analysis of using propaganda for national aims. Nowadays we can still perceive its effects with (re)burials and celebration ceremonies, focusing on the French nation's great men. The nation's changing identity is portrayed by the Panthéon, based on how a certain regime wished it to be. However, stopping transformations would signify choosing the church or the importance of the French nation, and thereby this did not go by unnoticed by the people in France, who initiated newspaper discussions throughout the country. The pantheonization by the President of France is a continuing practice, yet the wish for alterations in the building itself or restoration and preservation techniques vary with every head of state. The reasoning of these wishes is not certain, since other aspects, such as the wish for economic achievements for the nation, could also play a role. Notwithstanding, it is clear that a certain image of the French nation is wished to be portrayed with every changing regime.

The analysis performed in this research shows there is an *overlap*, rather than a *juxtaposition* between political and cultural aspects of cultural nationalism, with it being an

episodic phenomenon that occurred with the commencement of the French Revolution. The overlaps can be mainly seen in the usage of the French language in historical novels and newspapers to convey messages with political connotations to the common people. It was then included in a new education system that taught about the French values and geography, rather than religious subjects. And with the organization of festivities, ceremonies and exhibitions, attracting factors to the pantheon are added to its value of national identity.

This analysis of the Parisian Panthéon using Woods' definition, and thereby focusing on Leerssen's three phases centralizing material culture, makes a significant starting point to the development of the analysis of material culture within cultural nationalism itself. The inclusion of and relation to scholars such as Herder, Smith, Hutchinson and Hroch account for a well-rounded approach of the study of cultural nationalism and serve as a clarifying contribution in the entangled field of nationalism studies. However, I must note that my claims must be modest since I have only researched one particular building in Paris as case study in one specific time period.

Nevertheless, as this research in the particular scope of material culture within cultural nationalism is exploratory in nature, further research is wished to be fulfilled, based on this thesis' approach. In example, to better understand the symbolism behind the messages that are expressed by the Parisian Panthéon, future studies could address the receiving end of these conveyed messages. Thereby, it could be researched whether visitors are attracted to the history of France and the building itself, that could either mean the portrayal of the greatness of France, or whether the pantheon serves as an attraction of tourists, or even a bit of both, referring back to Gellner's economic development statement. Furthermore, a narrower focus on the effects of the expression of cultural nationalism for the European identity and the European Union could act as a significant approach to today's leading headlines on the lurk of nationalism within Europe. Further research is needed to determine whether there is a relation between the expression of cultural nationalism and a possible increase in nationalism throughout Europe. Moreover, to better understand this idea, further research is also needed to see whether these statements serve to a decrease in European identity loss, or whether national and European identities could coexist. Based on these conclusions, practitioners should consider analysing other case studies; either of constructions in the same time period in France or other pantheons in Western Europe. It is of importance to consider the used definitional approach of the term cultural nationalism, as other definitions may be based on one single approach and could therefore eliminate the French Revolution as a modernization period reference. When this is successfully done, the approach to what is now exploratory research could be tested towards

developing a theory that could serve as an instrument to analyse cultural nationalism in material culture.

This thesis has provided the reader with the base for such a theory, as it has clarified the need for a combination of the historicist, modernization and sociological approach in order to incorporate both the cultural and political aspects that arise when analysing material culture. In closing, where previous research has focused on the political aspects of nationalism, this research has tried to identify the importance of the inclusion of the cultural side of the matter, where the overlap of both aspects has come together in material culture expressions, and in particular: in the Parisian Panthéon.

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Lettre de mission du Président de la République

Le Président de la République

Centre des monuments nationaux
5^{ème} présidence
1516
23 MAI 2013

Paris, le 22 MAI 2013

Monsieur le Président,

Chef-d'œuvre de l'architecture du XVIII^e siècle, le Panthéon est définitivement devenu, avec les obsèques de Victor Hugo en 1885, l'un des monuments les plus emblématiques de la République.

Confié, sous l'égide du ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, au Centre des monuments nationaux, qui en assure la conservation et l'ouverture au public, le Panthéon est le symbole de l'hommage que la Nation rend à de grandes figures par l'accueil de leur sépulture, l'érection d'une statue ou d'une stèle ou encore l'apposition d'une inscription.

Ce rayonnement que le Panthéon exerce me paraît devoir en faire l'un des lieux privilégiés du renforcement du pacte républicain, dont il m'incombe, en tant que Chef de l'Etat, de rechercher et de promouvoir toutes les voies.

C'est pourquoi je souhaite vous confier une mission de réflexion sur la manière de renforcer le rôle que le Panthéon est susceptible de jouer dans l'affirmation et la diffusion des valeurs universelles portées par la France.

Vos propositions devront porter sur le contenu des actions de toute nature qui pourraient être conduites à partir de ce monument ou autour de lui, pour en faire un lieu actif et innovant d'élaboration et de promotion des principes de la République.


Vous vous attacherez ensuite, en liaison avec l'ensemble des autorités compétentes et en particulier le ministère de la défense et des anciens combattants, à définir la manière dont, au-delà des hommages traditionnels rendus à des personnalités illustres, le Panthéon pourrait être utilisé pour la tenue de cérémonies républicaines.

S'agissant enfin des hommages proprement dits, vous me ferez des suggestions sur les personnalités qui pourraient en faire l'objet dans les années qui viennent, en vous attachant, dans cette sélection, à tenir compte le plus largement possible de la parité et de la diversité, propres à rendre sensible au plus grand nombre la portée de ces entrées.

Cette mission devra s'appuyer sur une large consultation de toutes les personnalités, de toutes les institutions, de tous les courants d'opinion, de toutes les instances susceptibles d'y concourir.

Je souhaite disposer de vos propositions pour le 30 septembre prochain. Je vous en remercie par avance.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Président, l'expression de mes sentiments distingués.

Bien à vous,

François HOLLANDE