



EXHIBITION BOOKLET

ENGLISH

Though “Napoleon is no more”, he is still very much present. What are the circumstances of his death on the other side of the world? How did his death influence posterity? This booklet is meant to provide information throughout your visit, offering short explanations on the exhibits, either one by one or by groups.

NAPOLEON FOR ETERNITY

001 Napoleon before the Tomb of Frederick the Great

Circa 1808

Château de Fontainebleau, inv. 2306 and inv. 2625 (alternating)

002 The Emperor Visiting the Tomb of Frederick the Great

Lithography by JEAN-BAPTISTE JORAND
based on a drawing by ALEXANDRE-ÉVARISTE FRAGONARD, 1811

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2005.1.41

003 Vision de Napoléon à la veille des désastres (*Vision of Napoleon on the Eve of the Disasters*)

EDMOND-LOUIS DUPAIN, 1904

This painting is presented to the public for the first time since the outstanding restauration work made possible thanks to the international subscription appeal launched on 5 May 2019 by the Musée de l'Armée and the Fondation Napoléon.

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 02393, donated by the artist in 1921

004 Tableau allégorique du retour des Cendres de Napoléon, le 15 décembre 1840 (*Allegorical Painting of the Transfer of Napoleon's Ashes, on 15 December 1840*)

FRANÇOIS TRICHOT, 1846

In a dynamic composition inspired by biblical scenes, Napoleon's coffin is reaching its final stage: the Invalides. Every element and character depicted in this painting has a strong symbolic meaning, contributing to a grandiloquent discourse which places Napoleon at the heart of French heritage.

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2018.0.139

005 Allegory at the Tomb on Saint Helena: Napoleon's Army Mourning His Death

JEAN ALAUX, 1837

Designed for the Musée de l'Histoire de France (Museum of French History) created by Louis Philippe at the Versailles Palace, this painting chooses to only remember the beginning and the end of Napoleon's career: the Revolution's General, and the “great man” in Saint Helena. The lower part represents a

romantic version of the tomb with its willows in Saint Helena, which was a direct inspiration from the work painted by François Gérard under the Restoration. The upper part, without depicting Napoleon directly, takes the form of a tribute to the heroic figures of the Revolution.

Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et du Trianon, inv. MV 1782

006 Transfer of the Ashes of Napoleon I to “La Belle-Poule,” October 15, 1840

EUGÈNE ISABEY, 1842

On 15 October 1840, before the eyes of the French sailors and the inhabitants of the island of Saint Helena, Napoleon's coffin rose before landing on the deck of the frigate *La Belle-Poule*. At the heart of the composition, this black coffin, highlighted by the white smoke of the artillery salvos, looks like it is reaching for the sky, giving this fleeting moment the impression of an apotheosis.

Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et du Trianon, inv. MV 5124

007 Napoléon, allégorie (*Napoleon, Allegory*)

JEAN-BAPTISTE MAUZAISSE, 1833

The Emperor, with the focussed expression of a man fully devoted to the task at hand, full-faced and adorned with all the attributes that identify him – hat, uniform of the Foot Grenadier of the Imperial Guard, Legion of Honour – is sitting on a cloud. Underneath him, an opening towards a distant landscape: the outline of the rock of Saint Helena is set against the red, infernal looking sky. The artist positioned triumph in the continuity of exile. In order for Napoleon's glory to be revived, it has to rely on his civil work, sanctioned by the passing of years and soaked in the fire of martyrdom.

Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau, inv. M.M.40.47.8401

008 Le tombeau de Napoléon Ier et l'état-major de l'Hôtel des Invalides (*The Tomb of Napoleon I and the General Staff of the Hôtel des Invalides*)

LOUIS BÉROUD, 1888

In France, from the 1870 defeat to the First World War, Napoleon's strategy was passionately revisited. Beyond military art, the body resting under the Dôme des Invalides brought a broader and long-lasting inspiration, and has become the object of a tribute to France and its historical heritage.

This painting is presented to the public for the very first time since the outstanding restauration work made possible thanks to the international subscription appeal launched on 5 May 2019 by the Musée de l'Armée and the Fondation Napoléon.

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 5389bis.13 (Ed 56)

009 Napoleon Awakening to Immortality

FRANÇOIS RUDE, CIRCA 1846

This model was a project for one of the first monuments dedicated to Napoleon since his fall. We owe it to Claude Noisot, former Grenadier of the Imperial Guard, who was shocked by the lack of representation of Napoleon in the public space. The return of the ashes of the Emperor gave him the opportunity to carry out this initiative. He was joined by François Rude, a great admirer of Napoleon. Lying down, lifting his shroud, the fallen Emperor is ready to rise back up, supported by a number of symbolic elements, namely the broken chains, the dying eagle, and the laurel wreath. The inauguration of this bronze statue took place in 1847, in Fixin (Côte-d'Or).

Paris, Musée de Louvre, Department of Sculptures, inv. RF 904

DEATH

010 Table clock belonging to Napoleon I in Saint Helena

PIERRE-BASILE, known AS SULLY LEPAUTE, circa 1809–1812

In his will, Napoleon described this alarm clock as “the small gold clock which is now in my bed-chamber”. As was customary, all the clocks of the house were stopped at the time of death: at 5:49, on the afternoon of 5 May 1821. Paris, Musée de la Légion d’Honneur et des Ordres de Chevalerie, inv. 06850

011 Cahiers de Sainte-Hélène (*Notebooks from Saint Helena*)

HENRI GATIEN BERTRAND, 1821

Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Archives Nationales, 390 AP 25, file 30 April–25 May, folio 55, 1 May

012 Manuscrits de Sainte-Hélène (*Manuscripts from Saint Helena*)

LOUIS-ÉTIENNE SAINT-DENIS, known as “MAMELUKE ALI”, between 1846 and 1850
Jacques Jourquin Collection

The last followers were keen to transcribe Napoleon’s final moments. Almost all of them kept diaries of their lives on the island. Bertrand’s *Cahiers* lead us into the room of Longwood and describe Napoleon’s slow and painful death with precision. The Grand Marshall, a devoted servant, comforted his master in his final moments.

013 Napoleon on His Deathbed

CARL VON STEUBEN, circa 1828

Arenenberg, Napoleonmuseum Thurgau, inv. 8542

014 Croquis explicatif de la mort de Napoléon (*Explanatory sketch of Napoleon’s death*)

JEAN-PIERRE-MARIE JAZET, after CARL VON STEUBEN, PELLERIN (pr.), circa 1830–1831
Paris, Musée de l’Armée, inv. 5441-2

The question surrounding the people who were with Napoleon at the time of his death is crucial, as these were the last followers and the first witnesses of a scene which immediately went down in History. Steuben gathered extensive information on both the decor and participants. Although this reconstitution was produced in a workshop, it was based on close collaboration with the main witnesses and was so precise that it was considered a primary source for the contemporaries. The engraving made by Jazet contributed significantly to the distribution of the composition.

015 Napoleon on His Deathbed, One Hour before His Funeral

JEAN-BAPTISTE MAUZAISSE, 1843

At the Salon, the painter Mauzaisse first presented a version featuring the corpse on its own, as it had been exhibited in Longwood. His uncompromising vision was not well received by critics, who spoke of a “gravedigger’s painting”. The subsequent addition of the figures of Marchand and Vignali transformed the composition, and it became a genre painting, thereby sparing the viewer from a direct confrontation with the image of death. The advice given by Marchand probably explains the presence, along with the crosses of the Legion of Honour and of the Iron Crown, of the Order of the Reunion, as he was the only witness to mention it.

Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau, inv. M.M.40.47.2995

016 Le comte Marchand, premier valet de chambre de Napoléon I^{er} de 1814 à 1821 (*Count Marchand, Napoleon’s First Valet from 1814 to 1821*)

JEAN-BAPTISTE MAUZAISSE, 1841

Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau, inv. M.M.40.47.3326

- 017 Box of mementos from the exile and the return of the ashes gathered by Marchand**
 Inscriptions: *Precious remains / 5 May 1821* and black wax seals from the library of Saint Helena
 Mementos from the period of exile were religiously kept by the companions and servants of Longwood. Every single account of Napoleon's daily life was incredibly valuable in what we now know were his final years. Collecting was therefore quite common among the people who knew him. Marchand, who was especially close to the Emperor, filled this box, which is made up of a variety of mementos, from the manuscript of the 9th codicil to his will to a tobacco pouch.
 Private Collection

THE FACE AND BODY

- 018 *Napoleone***
 Engraving by LUIGI CALAMATTA, 1834
 Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 09173
- 019 *Napoleone* (profile)**
 Engraving by LUIGI CALAMATTA, printed in 1840
 Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Eb 46
- The mask, popularised by plaster and bronze editions, as well as engraving, became "the face of Napoleon". Here, the work of the engraver elevates the sculpture, blurring the lines between the mask and the portrait, the portrait and the icon.

- 020 Death mask of Napoleon I**
 1834
 Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. 1179
- 021 Death mask of Napoleon I with a laurel wreath**
 UNDATED
 Bruno Ledoux Collection / NBC

- 022 Death mask of Napoleon I, known as the "Bertrand mask"**
 1821
 Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau, inv. M.M.40.47.7284
- The question surrounding the true mask must not obscure the fact that Napoleon's face became an "object". Reproductions were purchased as such, and different variants on the subject flourished. Variations in the composition were appreciated, either through the addition of an element, such as the cushion for the mask 023, or the change of material, such as the bronze for the mask 022.

- 023 Relic jewellery evoking the memory of Joseph, Charlotte and Napoleon-Louis Bonaparte**
 Between 1830 and 1840, altered during the 20th century
 Widely replicated, the death mask became "the" figure of Napoleon, a symbol, the face of the Emperor, the embodiment of what was human about him. It is therefore only natural to find it, in miniature form, in this very intimate reliquary set made with locks of hair from the imperial family.
 Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau, inv. M.M.63.4.2.1-3

- 024 Stomach diseases: ulcers**
 JEAN CRUVEILHIER
 Plates extracted from the book *Pathological Anatomy of the Human Body*, Paris, Jean-Baptiste Baillière, 1828–1842
 The 19th century experienced strong developments in medical research and practice. These plates depict different ailments resulting from stomach ulcers, the cause of Napoleon's death according to Dr Antommarchi's autopsy report.
 Paris, Library of the Faculty of Medicine, 642

**025 *Portrait du docteur Antommarchi*
(*Doctor Antommarchi's Portrait*)**

VITTORE PEDRETTI, photoprint from
an engraving made in 1823
Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison
et de Bois-Préau, inv. 2718

**026 *The Last Days of the Emperor
Napoleon. By Doctor F.
Antommarchi, His Physician***

FRANCESCO ANTOMMARCHI, 1825
Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. B 9116, B9117

Doctor Antommarchi was better qualified
to perform an autopsy than to treat a
patient. He did nothing to change the
poor image Napoleon had of doctors: "It
will not be said that it was the doctors
who healed me; but rather that they held
me back." (Bertrand's *Cahiers de Sainte-
Hélène*, 21 April 1821)

This didn't stop Antommarchi from
showing himself in the best light, or
even make things up, in his memoirs.
Antommarchi didn't hesitate to publish
different conclusions from those drawn in
his own official report, emphasizing the
chronic nature of Napoleon's illness.

**027 *Reliquary: fragment taken during
the autopsy and lock of the
Emperor's hair***

Doctor Antommarchi, in the front seat
during Napoleon's autopsy, extracted his
heart which was intended for his wife,
Marie-Louise. According to Saint-Denis,
he did more than this: "before sewing up
the body, Antommarchi, taking advantage
of a moment when the eyes of the English
were not fixed on the body, had taken
two little pieces from a rib which he had
given to M. Vignali and Coursot."

Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison
et de Bois-Préau, inv. M.M.73.2.13

**028 *Pillowcase from the autopsy bed
of Napoleon I***

The objects which were in close contact

with the body of the Emperor, particularly
during the autopsy, became an
inexhaustible source of relics. Saint-Denis
spoke about the sharing of the blood-
soaked sheet which covered the autopsy
table. This blood-stained pillowcase, kept
intact, was probably taken by one of the
members of the Emperor's suite.

Bruno Ledoux Collection / NBC

**029 *Report of Appearances on
Dissection of the Body of Napoleon
Bonaparte***

Signed by Drs Shortt, Arnott, Mitchell
and Burton, and by the civilian physician
Livingstone

Longwood, 6 May 1821

In the climate of Longwood, the body
degraded very quickly. The autopsy, which
Napoleon himself had requested, was
therefore carried out before the customary
24 hours had expired. Eighteen French and
British people, including eight doctors,
attended. Dr Antommarchi, the only
French person skilled in the art, who also
happened to be a specialist in forensic
medicine, was in charge. An initial report
was quickly drawn up in English and
was immediately sent to Europe. Counts
Bertrand and Montholon, on the grounds
that the report referred to "Napoleon
Bonaparte" rather than "Emperor
Napoleon", asked Antommarchi not to sign
it. The French drew up a separate official
report, the content of which was very
similar to the English one.

Paris, BnF, Manuscript Department, English 12,
fol. 131-133

**030 *Doctor's case belonging to
Antommarchi who had used it for
the autopsy of Napoleon***

In 1836, Dr Antommarchi, following the
success of the subscription launched
for the reproduction of the mask, gifted
the instruments used at Longwood on
6 May 1821 to the Dean of the Faculty

of Medicine. This is both an invaluable relic, which most intimately touched the body of the great man, and a memento of the physician who once served him. This gift follows an irrefutable logic: as in capillary action, Napoleon's aura affected everyone who approached him.

Paris, Musée d'Histoire de la Médecine, inv. 89.75.1

THE FAREWELL

031 Bed on which Napoleon I passed away in Saint Helena, known as the "Murat bed"

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 3675 DEP

032 Bicorné hat worn by Napoleon I in Saint Helena

POUPARD AND DELAUNAY, Emperor's hatters

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 5022 I

033 Colonel uniform of the Mounted Chasseurs of the Imperial Guard and badge of the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour which belonged to Napoleon I

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 4893 DEP

034 Ordinary time stole and chasuble which belonged to Abbot Vignali

Bruno Ledoux Collection / NBC

During the afternoon of 6 May, after the autopsy, the body was prepared for its last visitors. "The Emperor in his full uniform of the Chasseurs of the Imperial Guard, with his hat on his head for a crown, was on one of his camp beds [...] while his pall was the cloak he had worn at Marengo. [...] At the head of the bed at the altar, the priest in a surplice prayed." The presentation proposes a reproduction of the viewing of the body. The outfit and decorations worn by Napoleon were buried with him, although the outfit presented here and its embroidered badge, taken to Saint Helena, were entrusted to Marchand.

035 Napoleon on His Deathbed

FREDERICK MARRYAT

This is probably a copy of the original sketch from nature made by Marryat.

Bruno Ledoux Collection / NBC

036 Napoleon on His Deathbed

DENZIL IBBETSON, circa 1821

An inscription on the back indicates that this painting was made by Ibbetson who, the day after Napoleon's death in Saint Helena, had made a sketch from nature. Ajaccio, Palais Fesch-Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. MNA 2016.1.231

Once the death was confirmed by the British authorities, a few draughtsmen were allowed in to draw the portrait of Napoleon from nature. "At 10 o'clock Mr Ibbetson and frigate captain Mariette [Marryat] came to draw the Emperor on his deathbed. Mr Mariette would appear to have made a fairly good likeness of the profile." (*Cahiers de Sainte-Hélène*, Bertrand). These portraits were widely distributed through engravings, which then were a huge success. The one made by Marryat was the most widespread, possibly due to the resemblance highlighted by Bertrand, and the distance from the corpse induced by a wider framing.

037 Napoleon on His Deathbed

"CHINESE" workshop of Saint Helena

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. PAR 17

038 Death of Napoleon the Great

PELLERIN, Imagerie d'Épinal, 1833

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. 1173.27

039 Derniers moments de Napoléon (*Last Moments of Napoleon*)

CAMUS (PARIS), circa 1830

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Qb-1 (1821)-FOL 109538

Napoleon's death, a historical episode rooted in a particular reality, has become a symbolic event which escapes the representation of specific circumstances

(decor, characters) to become an image in itself. Widely distributed through engraving, these cheap productions were sometimes based on image reports brought back from Saint Helena. In other cases, they adapted generic models, used again and again by printers from one event to the other.

040 Napoléon à ses derniers moments presse sur son cœur cette croix d'honneur, qu'il a instituée !
(Napoleon in His Last Moments Presses on His Heart This Cross of Honour, Which He Instituted!)

GEORGES ROUGET, 1846

This work was presented for the first time at the 1846 Salon. This original composition depicts Napoleon straightened up on his pillows and surrounded by the meticulously represented imperial attributes (the sword of Austerlitz, the Legion of Honour and the Chasseur uniform. Napoleon's face was directly inspired by Antommarchi's death mask, widely distributed at the time. This staging, in a composition centred on a drapery opening towards a *sfumato* landscape, is borrowed from the art of classic portraiture.

Private Collection

041 Napoleon on His Deathbed

HORACE VERNET, 1825

In this painting, both realistic and symbolic, the artist (who was awarded the Legion of Honour by Napoleon in 1814) appears to present some sort of Bonapartist manifesto, as was also the case in other works made shortly after 1821. The facial features, extremely close to the death mask, suggest the artist had access to it before the 1833 subscription. Paris, Musée de la Légion d'Honneur et des Ordres de Chevalerie, inv. 2402

042 Sir Hudson Lowe (1769–1844)

Engraving published in William Forsyth, *History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena: From the Letters and Journals of the Late Lieut.-Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe, and Official Documents Not Before Made Public*, London, J. Murray, 1853, t. 1, in-8° Paris.

The book in which this portrait features tried to prove that “neither the British government nor Lowe were in fault as regards the treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena”. By contrast, the *Souvenirs* of Noël Santini, the usher expelled from Longwood by Lowe, describe a man with “the face of a weasel and a wild cat”. These caricatural features were more in line with the “jailer’s” appalling reputation, who, with his pernickety and oversensitive personality, easily assumed the role of Nemesis facing the fallen Emperor. Fondation Napoléon, inv. B8280

043 Henri Gatien, Count Bertrand

HORACE VERNET, AFTER 1825

Châteauroux, Musée Bertrand, inv. D4384

044 General Count Bertrand's Major General full uniform

Salon-de-Provence, Musée de l'Empéri, inv. 120B, 49B

045 Étiquette du palais impérial aux armes de Napoléon I^{er}

(Imperial Palace Etiquette Bearing Napoleon I's Arms)

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. B 5337

Napoleon, although fallen and exiled, maintained the regulations of his House, under the authority of the Grand Marshal of the Palace, a post held by Bertrand since 1813. The latter was therefore in charge of organising the funeral honours, final ceremony of the Imperial Court. The Governor was the biggest challenge when it came to complying with the protocol. As far as Hudson Lowe was concerned, there was no “Emperor Napoleon”, and the treatment he had

in store for his prisoner was that of a “General Officer of the highest rank”.

046 First draft of the announcement of Napoleon's death to the Governor

CHARLES-TRISTAN DE MONTHOLON, 1821

Napoleon, feeling his end was near, established the terms in which his death would be communicated to the English, as evidenced by this draft in which the date and time were left blank. It mentioned the title of Emperor and the demand – which Lowe could not meet – that his body be transferred to France. In a way, this text represents his final skirmish with the Governor.

Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Archives Nationales, Montholon and Sémonville Collection: 1115AP

047 20th Regiment of Foot surgeon outfit which belonged to Dr Arnott

Bury, The Fusilier Museum, inv. RD.120

048 Letter from Dr Archibald Arnott to Sir Hudson Lowe, 2 May 1821, at 9:00 pm

London, The British Library, Add MS 20133 ff 102 (Napoleon, letter 1)

Dr Arnott, who arrived in 1819, earned the trust of Bertrand and Montholon, who suggested Napoleon call him in to support Antommarchi. He was the first to diagnose the Emperor's stomach disease, rather than liver, although he downplayed the severity of the illness in his reports to Governor Lowe. His extremely detailed reports were issued several times a day and described the “prisoner's” deteriorating health condition. The report times demonstrate the intensity of this monitoring as well as how important the issue of the Emperor's health was for the English.

049 Funeral Procession of Napoleon Bonaparte at Saint Helena, 9 May 1821

Lithography after FREDERICK MARRYAT, circa 1832

Bertrand's *Cahiers* provide a factual account of the funeral, which followed the custom for a high-ranking British officer. After the mass, at 11:00 am, the procession, comprising the French and English officials, left Longwood under the gaze of the regiments and the militia. The burial, in the Geranium Valley, attracted “a large gathering; the whole of the island was there.”

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2006.147

050 View of Napoleon's Tomb, St. Helena

ROBERT CARTER OAKLEY, 1822

The following inscription appears in English on the back of this sketch: “Sketch of the Emperor Napoleon's tomb / taken in the month of February, 1822”, accompanied by a quotation in Latin from the Old Testament. In this sketch, the tomb appears in its final configuration, surrounded by an iron railing in a wooden enclosure. The sentry can be seen near the sentry box: Napoleon, even dead, is always under high surveillance.

Bury, The Fusilier Museum, BUYLF:2019.2

051 La Tombe, le 9 mai 1821 (*The Tomb, 9 May 1821*)

LOUIS-JOSEPH-NARCISSE MARCHAND

Marchand returned to the Geranium Valley right after the funeral, and drew a sketch of the grave, featuring the workers' tents. This composition served as a basis for an engraving depicting the burial.

Private Collection

052 View of Geranium Valley Drawn from Nature: Saint Helena, 9 May 1821

Based on a drawing by MICHELI, 1822

Those who knew how to draw made sketches which would be used to report the news. Their distribution followed the direct channels, through engraving, and indirect channels, as they were used by

artists as a source of information. They thereby helped the grieving process for those who could not say, "I was there".

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Qb 1 (May 1821), 109586

053 Score for the funeral march played at the Emperor's funeral in May 1821

CHARLES MCCARTHY

"Dirge composed especially for the funeral of Emperor Napoleon by Ch. McCarthy, member of the former Saint Helena brass band, May 1821." We have some information regarding someone named McCarthy, who was introduced to Napoleon in 1817, and is thought to have caused an imbroglio with Governor Lowe in 1818. His very brief journal mentions the death of "Napoleon Bonaparte on Saturday, 5 May at 6 o'clock in the evening" and states that McCarthy stood guard over the imperial tomb on 20 May 1821. However, strangely enough, he does not mention the music, the Saint Helena brass band or his score for the funeral. On the other hand, this score does not mention McCarthy's rank or regiment. Were there two Charles McCarthy, a soldier and a musician? Fondation de Chambrun, 5 ROM/25/118

054 Napoleon's hypogeum in Saint Helena

The grave was set up by Major Emmett's English soldiers. "Over the slab that covered the coffin, two layers of strongly cemented masonry, even fortified by clamps, had been installed." (Lowe to Bathurst, 14 May 1821) These precautions ensured the security of the body as well as – incidentally – its preservation. In 1840, when the exhumation took place, Captain Alexander's men worked throughout the night to open the tomb. Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2015.0.58

A WILL FOR POSTERITY

055 Napoleon's holographic will and codicils

1821

Aware of the terminal nature of his illness, Napoleon started drafting his final wishes on 11 April 1821. The first handwritten copy of the document which he made on 15 April was followed by several other texts which complemented his wishes. The testamentary files are presented here in full. A multimedia device enables you to access more details about the history and content of this document.

Paris, Archives Nationales, AE/1/13/21

056 9th codicil to Napoleon's will

LOUIS-JOSEPH-NARCISSE MARCHAND, 1821

Shortly before his death, Napoleon asked Marchand to take note on the future of his Corsican assets (which he actually no longer owned for a very long time). In darkness and without any paper within reach, Marchand picked up a pencil and a playing card. Through hasty writing, he captured the Emperor's very final thoughts on the fly, and these were all turned towards his son. The card, which had no legal value, was carefully preserved by Marchand.

Private Collection

057 Napoleon I's inkstand in Saint Helena

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 20325 (Ca 221)

058 Collar clasp belonging to Napoleon, brought to Saint Helena

AUGUSTIN-MARIE FRANCHET

The clasp, like the other pieces of "linen" bequeathed by the Emperor to his son, never reached him. During the distribution of 1836, after the heir's death, it fell to his aunt Caroline Bonaparte.

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. 76

059 “My French telescope”: single-draw telescope

PETER DOLLOND

During the distribution of 1836, the “French telescope” was no longer mentioned, but Jérôme Bonaparte received the Emperor’s “field-telescope”, which probably corresponded to the same object.

Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau, inv. N.124

060 *Histoire de l’anarchie de Pologne et du démembrement de cette République* (History of the Anarchy of Poland and of the Dismemberment of This Republic)

CLAUDE CARLOMAN DE RULHIÈRE, 1807

In 1832, after the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, his books were divided in six sets amongst the surviving members of the Bonaparte family: this book fell to Louis Bonaparte.

Private Collection

061 Cutlery including knife bearing the imperial armsMARTIN-GUILLAUME BIENNAIS and
PIERRE-BENOÎT LORILLON

The bequests of pieces of silverware, including a cutlery set with a knife to each of the members of the imperial family, was included in the 7th codicil. This set fell to Joseph Bonaparte, who then gave it to his English physician in 1840. Besides the silverware, the sets left by the Emperor to the Bonaparte family were quite modest in value: carpet, candleholder, sabre handle...

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. 295

The lack of significant bequests to the Bonaparte family members in the will has always been a surprise. Napoleon left them no money, but instead personal objects with high sentimental value. The lapsed bequest intended for Napoleon’s son, which consisted of most of his father’s possessions in Saint Helena, fell to the members of the imperial family and increased their inheritance.

062 Portrait of Lady Holland with Her Son

LOUIS GAUFFIER, 1794

Montpellier, Musée Fabre, inv. 62.1.1

063 Snuffbox bequeathed to Lady Holland

ADRIEN-JEAN-MAXIMILIEN VACHETTE,

MARIE-ÉTIENNE NITOT

London, The British Museum, inv. 1846,0124.1

Lady Holland was the only woman, excluding the imperial family, to be included in the will. Elizabeth Webster (née Vassal) was married secondly to Baron Holland, a very committed Whig politician. A great admirer of Napoleon, he strongly criticised the fallen Emperor’s banishment to Saint Helena. Lady Holland did her best to soften his captivity during his five years in exile by sending him boxes filled with books and gifts. Napoleon, as a sign of his gratitude, bequeathed this exquisite snuffbox to her, which had been gifted to him by Pope Pius VI, accompanied by a handwritten note.

064 Dagger belonging to Jean Parisot de La Valette

Sheath by MARTIN-GUILLAUME BIENNAIS

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Department of Decorative Arts, inv. MS90, MS90bis

065 Hunting dagger

This hunting dagger is deemed to have been worn by the Emperor in the forest of Fontainebleau on 25 November 1804, which is the day Napoleon welcomed Pope Pius VII, in a cavalier manner, on the way to his coronation at Notre-Dame de Paris.

Château de Fontainebleau, Musée Napoléon I^{er}, gifted by the imperial family in 1988, inv. 3115

066 “My two pairs of Versailles pistols”IMPERIAL ARMS FACTORY OF VERSAILLES,
NICOLAS-NOËL BOUTET, circa 1805

Paris, Musée de l’Armée, inv. 535 (Ca 19) and 535/1 (Ca 19-1)

067 Dental set belonging to Napoleon I

INSTRUMENTS BY PIERRE-

FRANÇOIS GRANGERET, box attributed to
MARTIN-GUILLAUME BIENNAIS

Inventory B of the personal belongings left in France in the care of the Count de Turenne mentions a “golden dressing-case for the teeth, which is in the hands of the dentist”, which was to be handed over to his son. This case, made of precious wood and designed with two mahogany trays, may well be this exceptional piece. The instruments were intended for what was considered delicate dental care at the time, such as scaling.

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, Nathaniel de Rothschild then Martial Lapeyre Collection, inv. 286

068 Plates from the Emperor's personal serviceIMPERIAL PORCELAIN FACTORY OF SÈVRES,
1808–1810

Napoleon, in his exile luggage, was authorised to bring sixty plates from the grand service known as the “Quartiers Généraux” service, as well as cups which were admired by all in Saint Helena. He happily distributed some of these pieces to distinguished visitors and to the House members as New Year gifts. In 1821, fifty-four plates remained, which Montholon was responsible for.

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. 792.1, 792.3, 792.7

069 First Consul swordIMPERIAL ARMS FACTORY OF VERSAILLES,
circa 1800

Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau, donated by the Prince and Princess Napoleon in 1979, inv. N.202

070 Sabre worn by Bonaparte during the Battle of the Nile in 1798

Châteauroux, Musée Bertrand, inv. 794.1 et 794.2

071 Sabre gifted to the First Consul BonaparteGUARD BY ABRAHAM TILLBERG, circa
1800–1804

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 5027 I (Ca 12)

072 Sabre attributed to John III Sobieski, King of Poland

Given to Napoleon I by Vincent Krasinski in 1807, after Danzig was taken. In 1815, the sabre of Sobieski was in the imperial wardrobe, it then fell to Jérôme Bonaparte during the distribution of 1836.

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2013.0.557 (Ca 107)

Napoleon's will, among the mementos intended for his son, mentioned several luxury weapons, insignia relics from the imperial glory. Some, such as the sword of Austerlitz, travelled with him to Saint Helena. These are indicated in list A.

The others, which remained in France, were included in list B. Unfortunately, these inventories were mere lists, without descriptions, which caused some confusions of which the Emperor himself appears to have been a victim.

073 Jewel of the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour

MARTIN-GUILLAUME BIENNAIS

Lucien Bonaparte, due to his tumultuous relationship with his brother Napoleon, was only awarded the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour on 8 May 1815, during the Hundred Days War. A few years later, in 1836, during the distribution of the Emperor's possessions, Lucien inherited the jewel of the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour which Napoleon took with him to Saint Helena, and which is presented here.

Private Collection

074 Insignia of the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour belonging to Joseph Bonaparte

The great decoration, named “Grand Cordon” then “Grand Eagle”, was

instituted by Napoleon I in 1805. It was intended for great dignitaries, princes of the imperial family, as well as, for diplomatic purposes, a few foreigners. Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. Ca 06 (Ka 7/2)

075 Golden Eagle of the Legion of Honour belonging to Napoleon Bonaparte

Circa 1809–1815

The Emperor was accustomed to wearing small versions of the insignia of the Legion of Honour and of the Iron Crown, which were completed with the ribbon and badge of the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour. This jewel, taken to Saint Helena by Napoleon, is the only “little cross” of the Legion of Honour mentioned in his will to have been identified to this day. During the distribution of 1836, it was attributed to Lucien Bonaparte, together with the Emperor's jewel of the Grand Eagle. Transformed into an imperial relic, it was set in a medallion surmounted by the inscription “*Napoléon le Grand 5 Mai 1821*” (Napoleon the Great 5 May 1821).

Alexandre Moura Collection, repository ALMA F.R.C. SAPHIR at the Musée de la Légion d'Honneur, inv. ?

076 Collar of the Legion of Honour belonging to Napoleon I

MARTIN-GUILLAUME BIENNAIS, between 1805 and 1808

The Collar of the Legion of Honour, apart from the Emperor, was conferred to the princes of the imperial family and to a few great dignitaries, such as Berthier and Cambacérès. It is only since the Second Empire that it has become the prerogative of the French Head of State. A symbol of the universality of the Order, it is a unique insignia in the history of phaleristics. During the distribution of 1836, this collar fell to Joseph Bonaparte. In 1843, it was deposited at the Invalides following Joseph's wish to “pay tribute to France”.

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2018.0.250 (Ca 04 ; Ka 7)

077 Box with the initial of Napoleon I

LÉGER-FORTUNÉ-ALEXANDRE RICART, first half of the 19th century

Alexandre Moura Collection, repository ALMA F.R.C. SAPHIR at the Musée de la Légion d'Honneur, inv. ?

078 Oval snuffbox adorned with the medals of Demetrius I Poliorcetes and Antiochus III the Great

MARTIN-GUILLAUME BIENNAIS and PIERRE-ANDRÉ MONTAUBAN, 1804–1815

Château de Fontainebleau, Musée Napoléon I^{er}, inv. 112

079 Oblong snuffbox adorned with the medals of Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Domitian

Château de Fontainebleau, Musée Napoléon I^{er}, inv. 115

080 Comfit box with the profiles of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, and Madame Élisabeth

It was attributed to Jérôme Bonaparte during the distribution of the material inheritance in 1836.

Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau, inv. 113

Napoleon's will comprised a great number and variety of boxes, snuffboxes and comfit boxes which were sometimes difficult to positively identify. The gold boxes “adorned with an N” were a customary present from Napoleon and there were many of them. The imperial family received some of them, others have been lost.

081 Eau-de-vie decanter

MARTIN-GUILLAUME BIENNAIS

Inscription: “This flask which Emperor Napoleon / used during all of his campaigns was / given to Prince Napoleon Bonaparte by his / aunt Queen Julie, in memory of King / Joseph, after his death, on 8 August 1844 in Florence.”

Château de Fontainebleau, Musée Napoléon I^{er}, inv. N.84.1 (PN 453)

082 Letter to Laffitte dated 25 April 1821

NAPOLEON I

Paris, Archives Nationales, AE/I/13/21

083 Letter to La Bouillerie dated 25 April 1821

NAPOLEON I

Paris, Archives Nationales, AE/I/13/21

084 1826 agreement between Napoleon's executors Montholon, Bertrand and Marchand, and the banker Laffitte

Bruno Ledoux Collection / NBC

085 Project for the distribution status of the sum of 1,576,756.50 Francs available in Mr Laffitte's account

Paris, Bibliothèque Thiers, Ms Masson 14, fol. 126128

The letters Napoleon addressed to his two main administrators, Jacques Laffitte for his personal account and the Treasurer General of the Crown Baron de La Bouillerie, can be found in the testamentary files. To Laffitte, Napoleon wrote: "in 1815 I gave you, at the time of my departure from Paris, a sum of nearly six million", forgetting that part of it had already been spent. He asked La Bouillerie to hand over the reserves of his private estate to Count Montholon. This was an impossible task, as these reserves had already been deposited in the public treasury.

086 Two medals from Saint Helena with box

JEAN-AUGUSTE BARRE (engr.), MONNAIE DE PARIS (ED.), circa 1857

Inscription on the obverse: "NAPOLEON I EMPEREUR" (Napoleon I Emperor); on the reverse: "CAMPAGNES DE 1792 A 1815" (Campaigns of 1792 to 1815) and "A SES COMPAGNONS DE GLOIRE SA DERNIÈRE PENSÉE S^{TE} HÉLÈNE 5 MAI 1821" (To his glorious companions his last thought, Saint Helena, 5 May 1821).
Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 997.993 et 9557

088 Diploma of the Saint Helena medal awarded to Pierre Coupery, soldier in the 103rd Line Infantry Regiment

Circa 1857

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 15260

089 Portraits of veterans of the Grande Armée wearing the Saint Helena medal

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. ?

The impossibility to carry out the provisions of the will was particularly apparent with the bequests to the soldiers of the Napoleonic campaigns. In 1857, Napoleon III signed a decree announcing that a "commemorative medal [will be] given to all French and foreign military of land and sea forces who fought under our flags from 1792 to 1815". Approximately 395,000 pieces of the "medal of Saint Helena" were produced. Although it was proudly carried by the veterans, this "chocolate medal" was also mocked by others.

090 Charles-Tristan de Montholon-Sémonville

ÉDOUARD-HENRI-THÉOPHILE PINGRET, circa 1840

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, donated by the Marquis de Montholon in 1900, inv. 3074 (Ea 195)

091 La Mort du duc d'Enghien
(The Death of the Duke of Enghien)

JEAN-PAUL LAURENS (1838–1921), 1872

Alençon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Dentelle, inv. 2013.1.14

092 Cantillon, Marinet, accused of the attempted murder of the Duke of Wellington

AARON MARTINET (pr.), 1818

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (160)

093 Flintlock hunting rifle belonging to Napoleon I

JEAN LE PAGE, 1808

Lausanne, Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (MCAH), inv. 06580

094 Ceremonial bridle belonging to Napoleon I

Circa 1800–1815

Lausanne, Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (MCAH), inv. 06575

095 Ceremonial saddle given by Napoleon I to Sheikh

Circa 1800–1815

Lausanne, Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (MCAH), inv. 06570

Some of the pieces kept at the Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (Cantonal Museum of Archaeology and History) in Lausanne are an interesting museological curiosity. They illustrate the vicissitudes known by some of the bequests to the King of Rome. In 1821, the Vaudois Jean-Abram Noverraz, Napoleon's "faithful bear", received the custody of three harnesses and four hunting rifles which he was unable to pass on to his master's son. In 1848, after returning to the Canton of Vaud, he entrusted these items to the authorities, waiting for a legitimate heir to be found. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte didn't have the heart to remove them from the Canton of Vaud and the government donated them in 1857.

THE TOMB AND THE GHOST

096 Napoleon's Tomb

HORACE VERNET, 1821

In July 1821, as soon as he found out the news about Napoleon's death, Horace Vernet made a small painting which was considered as a memorial. It no doubt helped with his own grieving process, but also that of the community of former soldiers of the Empire, which he had ties with. Montholon and the Bertrand family are met by the celestial vision of the Emperor's notorious former comrades-in-arms. The reference to Napoleon does not appear in a figure but in the light that strikes the rock of martyrdom of Saint Helena, as well as his traditional attributes: the "little hat" and the sword of Austerlitz.

London, The Wallace Collection, inv. P575

097 Open letter from Doctor Barry O'Meara to the daily newspaper *The Morning Chronicle* to defend himself from the accusations of Sir Hudson Lowe

London, 12 March 1823, published in *The Morning Chronicle* on 17 March 1823

Doctor Barry O'Meara, Napoleon's surgeon in Saint Helena from 1815 to 1818, had declared that his patient was suffering from chronic hepatitis, which was rife on the island. Sir Hudson Lowe, who refused any diagnostic calling into question his responsibility, obtained his dismissal. The doctor was also the first "evangelist" of Saint Helena, according to Heinrich Heine's expression: his memories appear as early as 1822 under the title *Napoleon in Exile; or, A Voice from Saint Helena*.

O'Meara used a letter from Bertrand to Lowe: "The Emperor cannot go out. He considers [...] this determination as a desire [...] to cause his death. He is

entirely in your hands. You are making him die of sickness, you can starve him to death. There would be a benefit in killing him with a bullet.”

Paris, BnF, Department of Manuscripts, English 21(1), fol. 3 recto

098 Letter from Henri-Gatien Bertrand to his brother Louis

Longwood, 6 May 1821

Longwood, 6 May 1821

Brother, after a painful illness the Emperor took his last breath yesterday at 5 hours and 49 minutes in the afternoon. He apparently died from the same illness as his father, from a scirrhus of the pilorus (sic). We will soon be back in Europe. My wife's health is in a deplorable state. Our 4 children are well.

I send you all my love,

Bertrand

Châteauroux, Musée Bertrand, Médiathèque Équinoxe, inv. MS 206

099 Telegram addressed to Sir Charles Stuart, British Ambassador in London, Calais, 5 July 1821

On 7 May 1821, Captain Crokat was sent to London to announce the news of Napoleon's death. He arrived on the morning of 4 July and the news soon spread through newspapers (*The Statesman*, then *The Courier*, and all the others). The French Embassy was notified, and the dispatch sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs crossed the Channel. On 5 July, in Calais, it was entrusted to the optical telegraph which delivered it – via Lille – in Paris, late in the afternoon.

Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Archives Nationales, F90/518 (act. 19860703/189)

100 Sur un rocher !... (On a Rock!...)

PIERRE LANGLUMÉ, PUBLISHER, circa 1821

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Qb-1 (1821) – M 109695

101 Ancien soldat en deuil à la mort de Napoléon (*Former Soldier Grieving after Napoleon's Death*)

H. BRUNET, PUBLISHER, circa 1821

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Qb-1 (1821) – M 109690

102 Il est mort ! (*He Is Dead!*)

PIERRE LANGLUMÉ, publisher, 1821

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Qb-1 (1821) – M 109608

103 La Mort (*Death*)

PIERRE LANGLUMÉ, publisher, 1821

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Qb-1 (1821)-FOL M 109572

In 1821, the restored monarchy, which had been built on the erasure of the history of the Revolution and of the Empire, was concerned about potential unrest and watched the reactions after Napoleon's death. Some publishers, such as Pierre Langlumé, managed to circumvent censorship by publishing pictures with vague or absent titles, while still being able to express the sadness related to the mourning of Napoleon by mentioning the tomb of Saint Helena, the Old Guard figures and other symbolic elements.

104 Magnanimité du roi (*Magnanimity of the King*)

PIERRE LANGLUMÉ, lith.;

ANTOINE BARRU BLAISOT, ed., 1821

The news of the death of Napoleon spread through the Court. This engraving depicts the King's meeting with General Rapp who, although he had become First Chamberlain, remained nevertheless a hero of the wars of the Empire:

“Your former master is now in the tomb, you will no doubt be in mourning.”

“I do not need to be,” replied Rapp. “It is in my heart and I shall never forget a man to whom I owe all my fortune.”

The King's conciliatory attitude, respectful of Rapp's loyalty, was relayed by newspapers to encourage the moderation of the most extreme royalists,

and to ease tensions with the Bonapartist opposition.

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Qb-1 (1821), M 109689

- 105 Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, sous Napoléon : écrits à Sainte-Hélène par les généraux qui ont partagé sa captivité [...]** (Memoirs to Serve for a History of France, under Napoleon: Written at St. Helena by the Generals Who Shared His Captivity [...])

CHARLES-TRISTAN, COUNT DE MONTHOLON, 1823

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. 2373

- 106 Collection of 34 books, brochures and booklets dedicated to Napoleon**

The library of Marie-Louise (second wife of Napoleon and Duchess of Parma after his abdication) contained a collection of brochures and booklets, in which the second volume, dedicated to Saint Helena, compiled articles and documents relating to Napoleon's exile and death. It predominantly includes documents published around 1821, as well as other more unusual and undated pieces, such as *Bonaparte n'est pas mort d'un cancer* (Bonaparte Did Not Die of Cancer) ("From the Doublet printing house", 16 p.).

Château de Fontainebleau, Musée Napoléon I^{er}, inv. F 2008.5.1

- 107 Repas de corps. Époque mémorable de 1821 (*Meal of Body. The Memorable Times of 1821*)**

ANONYMOUS, 1821

Apart from the mourning pictures, the caricatures which had depicted Napoleon since he appeared on the political scene did not stop with his death. His former enemies flock around Napoleon's body, watched by a Minerva carrying the great victories of the deceased. The title of

this engraving, *Repas de corps* (Meal of Body), refers to both the festive dinner which brings together the members of a same military unit and a cannibal feast.

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Qb-1 (1821)

- 108 Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène, ou Journal où se trouve consigné, jour par jour, ce qu'a dit et fait Napoléon durant dix-huit mois** (Memorial of Saint Helena, or Journal in Which Is Recorded, Day by Day, What Napoleon Did and Said during a Period of Eighteen Months)

EMMANUEL-AUGUSTE-DIEUDONNÉ, COUNT OF LAS CASES, 1824

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. BRA 27 in rotation with inv. B 6589

- 109 The Count of Las Cases**

ANONYMOUS ENGRAVING, 1821

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. B 2186

In Saint Helena, Napoleon frequently called on Las Cases to dictate his *Memoirs* and did so until his departure in December 1816. After the death of Napoleon, Las Cases was able to access his confiscated papers. He reworked the manuscript, and in 1823 he published it in eight volumes, immediately reissued in 1824. *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène* (Memorial of Saint Helena) became one of the bestsellers during the first half of the 19th century in France. The return of the ashes boosted the sales of the book which, taking advantage of technical progress, was adorned with engravings, like those by Bonapartist draughtsman Charlet found in the Bourdin edition, thus creating a lasting impact.

- 110 Photography of the Valley of the Tomb**

1889

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 993.520 and 9533

112 Reliquary of Vivant Denon

This unusual reliquary was put together by Vivant Denon, Director of the Louvre, and contains a wide variety of fragments relating to historical and literary characters. Bones of the Cid and Chimene, Abelard and Heloise, next to hairs of the beard of Henri IV, a tooth belonging to Voltaire, or locks of hair of Agnès Sorel, a favourite of King Charles VII. The small side units contain the Napoleonic fragments, all with ties to Saint Helena. The cult of relics embraced Napoleon's environment in a broad way, with a particular fascination for those linked to the death and the tomb of Saint Helena.

Châteauroux, Musée Bertrand, inv. 4978.1 and 2

113 Fragment of the metal barrier surrounding Napoleon's tomb

Private Collection

114 Dried flowers and stones from the tomb of Saint Helena

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 05673-3

115 À mon second voyage à Sainte-Hélène (On My Second Trip to Saint Helena)

Workshop or artist known as "THE CHINESE OF SAINT HELENA"

Châteauroux, Musée Bertrand, inv. 3980

116 Letters and mementos from Saint Helena sent by Gauthier de Rougemont with dried immortelles

On the envelop: "The immortelles from the wreath resting on the coffin and the spring of boxwood from the crown of blessed wood which encircles it. In addition to the copper plate bearing the name."

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. 1442.2

The tomb of Saint Helena, set at the heart of a luxuriant valley, and the reverie it inspired were relayed with a romantic imagery which created an almost sacred halo around them. The interest in relics around Napoleon expanded to include the tomb and all the

surrounding landscape. Even after the transfer of Napoleon's mortal remains and the return of the ashes, the tomb of Geranium Valley remained the place of an emotional memory of the Emperor. The flow of visitors who had come to pay their respects has created a full-fledged trade in relics, which resulted in the degradation of the site. At the end of the 20th century, extensive restoration work was required to give it back the appearance it had around 1821.

117 Napoleon Emerging from His Tomb

Enamelled micro-mosaic after HORACE VERNET, circa 1869

This is a rework of Horace Vernet's well-known work of art, on the unusual support of a micro-mosaic. It was commissioned by Princess Charlotte Bonaparte, Countess Primoli and granddaughter of Lucien, to commemorate the centenary of Napoleon's birth. The work represents Napoleon emerging from his tomb, using an inalterable material and an ancient technique. Here, death is the last step towards immortality. The inscription "It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I have loved so well" from the Emperor's will makes the connection with the place of his eternal rest.

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2020.38

118 Tombe de Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène, ou Résurrection de Napoléon (Tomb of Napoleon in Saint Helena, or Resurrection of Napoleon)

After 1835

Napoleon's tomb in Saint Helena, even after his body had been moved, retained all of its aura. It became a symbolic element, removed from the physical reality of the place, and was depicted on

various supports, a tapestry in this case. Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau, inv. M.M.40.47.4785

119 Vue du tombeau de Rousseau à Ermenonville (*View of Rousseau's Tomb at Ermenonville*)

NICOLAS-ANTOINE TAUNAY

Montmorency, Musée Jean-Jacques Rousseau, inv. IR.2002.890.1; 37.1.14.2

120 Box: allegory of Napoleon's tomb

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. CM 65

121 Box: the tomb and profile of Napoleon

Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau, inv. M.M.40.47.8655

122 Box: Jean-Jacques Rousseau's tomb

JEAN-MICHEL MOREAU, artist; AIGNAN-THOMAS DESFRICHES, engraver

Montmorency, Musée Jean-Jacques Rousseau, inv. 2001.6.1

Located on an island surrounded by nature – one among willows and the other among poplars – Napoleon's tomb in Saint Helena and Rousseau's tomb in Ermenonville appear to want to bring together two men with rather unusual destinies. They both requested autopsies to be carried out, and physicians returned verdicts of natural deaths in both cases. Yet their cause of death led to heated debates. The similarities continued after their deaths, with the exhumations and the transfers to national monuments. Both tombs concentrate the (pre)romantic spirit of the time, which glorified the victory of natural temporality over that of mankind and poeticized ruin literally or figuratively. The image of the two tombs was also widely distributed, in the form of imaged, allegorical, or naturalistic works of art.

123 Tombeau de Napoléon à Sainte Hélène (*Napoleon's Tomb in Saint Helena*)

FRANÇOIS-EDME RICOIS, 1829

Ajaccio, Palais Fesch-Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. MNA 2017.3.1

124 L'Ombre de Napoléon visitant son tombeau (*The Shadow of Napoleon Visiting His Tomb*)

1821

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Qb-1 (1821), M 109629

125 Deux vues de la tombe de la vallée du Géranium à Sainte-Hélène (*Two Views of the Geranium Valley Tomb in Saint Helena*)

Workshop or artist known as "THE CHINESE OF SAINT HELENA", circa 1821

The East India Company, which owned the island, employed five hundred workers of Chinese origin in Saint Helena. They were contracted to carry out the hard labour and formed a separate community. The artist (or workshop) witnessed the events depicted: Longwood, the Briars, the exposed body, the tomb. As far as we know, this notebook with an Asian binding is the only one to combine a series of views.

Private Collection

THE RETURN OF MORTAL REMAINS

126 Bonaparte est mort comme vous et moi c'est un prétexte de M. M. les Jacobins pour le faire revenir (*Bonaparte Is as Dead as You or Me, It Is a Plot by the Jacobins to Prepare His Comeback*)

HENRY MONNIER, 1830

After the July Revolution, Napoleon's figure was again allowed to be represented. Theatres and engravers fully took advantage of this new freedom. From 1830 to 1839, twenty-nine petitions were submitted to request the return of his "ashes". However, this idea became a long-running issue due to concerns regarding opposition unrest (notably from the Jacobins and the Bonapartists), as well as a cautious attitude towards

England. The famous Mr Prudhomme, a Deputy here, represents the political balance pouring into conspiracy due to self-centred fears.

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, DC-202 (B,7)-FOL, est. num. 25366

127 François d'Orléans, Prince of Joinville

AFTER FRANZ XAVER WINTERHALTER
Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 9099

128 General Baron Gaspard Gourgaud

GRÉGOIRE AND DENEUX, printed in 1908
Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. B1037

It was a great honour to be part of the return of the ashes expedition. *La Belle-Poule*, the ship in charge of bringing back the Emperor's remains, was placed under the command of the Prince of Joinville, the King's third son himself. The mission to Saint Helena, led by Count de Rohan-Chabot, included nine members of the former Imperial Palace of Longwood: two officers (Bertrand and Gourgaud), the sons of Bertrand and Las Cases as well as five servants (Marchand, Saint-Denis, Pierron, Noverraz, Archambault). Gourgaud, who had arrived on the island in 1815, was dismissed in 1818. Frustrated, he confided in the English about the life at Longwood but later repented. A Louis Philippe's aide-de-camp, he campaigned for Napoleon's body to be returned to France in 1830.

129 Remise du corps de l'Empereur au prince de Joinville (*Handover of the Emperor's Body to the Prince of Joinville*)

AFTER ALPHONSE CHEDEVILLE, circa 1939
Private Collection

130 "Funeral march played in Saint Helena by the music of the island's militia in the transfer of the Emperor's body from the Valley of the Tomb to the city"

Private Collection

131 Môle de Jamestown. Vue prise du jardin de l'hôtel du Gouverneur et au moment de la cérémonie (*Jamestown Pier. View Taken from the Garden of the Hôtel du Gouverneur and at the Time of the Ceremony*)

JEAN-BAPTISTE-HENRI DURAND-BRAGER, printed in 1843–1844

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 28520

The departure from Saint Helena officially marked the passage of the Emperor's remains from England to France through a ceremony. The funeral procession arrived in Jamestown late in the afternoon of 15 October, and the local militia of Saint Helena played the funeral march as it entered the city. "Everyone on the island is at the windows [...]. We march slowly, the cannons [...] can be heard without interruption. The carriage arrives at the jetty, or to be more precise near the iron crane [which] has to be used to carry the coffin on board the boat. The Prince, the officers and the sailors are ashore, they wait." (Louis-Étienne Saint-Denis, *Journal inédit du retour des Cendres* (Original Journal of the Return of the Ashes))

132 Opening of Napoleon's Coffin on Saint Helena Island, 16 October 1840

JEAN-VICTOR ADAM, 1841

The scene, composed using witness accounts, gives a realistic vision of the exhumation by including many details: the workers, the hoist, the willows, the English soldiers... But the coffins have been imagined. Astonishment, curiosity, contemplation, transport, the scene represents a wide range of emotions, just as Dr Guillard moves the satin lining aside. Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 21342/10

133 Dr Guillard's medallion

Tradition has it that the small whitish fragment collected by Dr Guillard is a

sample of the Emperor's skin from his forehead which is meant to have become loose during the 1840 exhumation.

However, biomedical analysis carried out in 2020 helped shed light on the object and provided an entirely different lead...

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 05673-4

134 Notes on the Saint Helena Journey

HENRI-GATIEN BERTRAND

"We cut the tin and then appeared a whitish surface which we considered to be the satin mattress. All eyes were very silently on the coffin, impatient to know if the body was well preserved. [...] a sort of contentment was noticeable to find [...] his body preserved well enough to be recognised."

Jean B. Renucci Collection

135 Memory from Saint Helena: View of the Island with a Fragment of the Mahogany Coffin

JEAN-BAPTISTE-HENRI DURAND-BRAGER, 1840

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 13319

136 Lead fragment taken from the coffin of Napoleon I during the exhumation

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 05673-2

137 Reliquary of Saint Helena

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. 848

138 Last pilgrimage to Napoleon's tomb

After a drawing by ALPHONSE CHEDEVILLE, 1840

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 994.52

The visits of the tomb led to the collection of an abundance of relics: "Once the first moments of contemplation had passed," added Abbot Coquereau, "eager for historical memorabilia, we snatched a sprig of grass, a stone, a root from the soil, or a few leaves from the cypress," down to the last dead willow and to the three tombstones. During the exhumation, small pieces of the outer mahogany coffin were shared. Some of the privileged people obtained rare fragments, such as a joint from one of the lead coffins.

139 Night View of the Exhumation 1840

The engraving offers a different perspective of the scene, positioning itself on the English side, on the outside of the tomb enclosure. Whereas the authorised witnesses lingered over the solemnity of the event, this view – owed to a sergeant from the Royal Artillery Rgt, according to the British Library copy annotated by J. Lockwood – is full of rare details, just like the story itself, which was published on subscription in Saint Helena and the author of which served as Hudson Lowe's secretary.

Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. B 4355

140 Model of La Belle-Poule

La Belle-Poule, fitted out in 1839, was a 60-gun frigate and one of the last French warships to be entirely made of wood. On 7 July 1840, under the command of the Prince of Joinville and with the hull painted in black, it left the port of Toulon, in concert with the corvette *La Favorite*, under the command of Captain Guyet, on board of which Marchand travelled.

Paris, Musée National de la Marine, inv. 21 MG 16

141 Travel diary

PHILIPPE-VICTOR TOUCHARD, circa 1840

It was not uncommon for naval officers to keep a record of their missions through drawing. An orderly of the Prince and a talented draughtsman, Lieutenant (future Vice-Admiral) Touchard kept a detailed diary pleasant to read, with sketches of the landscapes and expedition members.

Bruno Ledoux Collection / NBC

142 Le cercueil de Napoléon sur le pont de la Belle-Poule (*Napoleon's Coffin on the Deck of La Belle-Poule*)

PHILIPPE-FERDINAND-AUGUSTE DE ROHAN-CHABOT, COUNT DE JARNAC

Count de Rohan-Chabot, Commissioner put in charge of the Saint Helena mission

by the King, was also responsible for its diplomatic success. In his sketch we can see the deck of *La Belle-Poule* in its layout of 16 October. After mass, at 10:00 am, the coffin was lowered into the steerage where a chapel of rest had been built. Paris, Fondation Josée et René de Chambrun

143 Telegraph from Count de Rohan-Chabot to the President of the French Council of Ministers

Cherbourg, 30 November 1840, five-thirty in the morning

The King's Commissioner informed the government of the success of the mission as soon as *La Belle-Poule* had arrived in Cherbourg. However, Adolphe Thiers, who had put a great deal of effort to arrange for the return of Napoleon's body to France, was dismissed as President of the Council in October 1840. The news was therefore delivered to Marshal Soult, the new Chief Executive. The political context had somewhat changed since the previous summer, and in Paris nothing was quite ready for the ceremony.

Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Archives Nationales, F90/424

144 Monseigneur Félix Coquereau

TITO MARZOCCHI DE BELLUCCI

The manipulation of the body involved religious considerations. Abbot Coquereau was chosen, on the recommendation of the Queen, as the chaplains of Longwood (Buonavita and Vignali) had died. On his return, he published *Souvenirs du voyage à Sainte Hélène* (Memories of the Journey to Saint Helena), which was highly emphatic, although somewhat poetic.

This painting was restored as a result of the subscription appeal launched by the Musée de l'Armée and the Fondation Napoléon on 5 May 2019.

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 01121

145 Napoleon's Funeral Carriage Crossing the Place de la Concorde

JACQUES GUIAUD, 1841

Oil on canvas

Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et du Trianon, inv. MV 5125

146 Emperor's service sword, known as the sword of Austerlitz

MARTIN-GUILLAUME BIENNAIS, circa 1803

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2018.0.249 (Ca 03)

147 Hat worn by Emperor Napoleon at the Battle of Eylau

POUPARD, EMPEROR'S HATTER, circa 1807

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. Ca 02

The sword of Austerlitz, which Napoleon referred to as "my sword", isn't just a weapon: it represents all the glory attached to his name and was the first object he listed among the mementos he wished to pass on to his son. This sword accompanied him to Saint Helena and was kept after his death by Bertrand, the Grand Marshal of the Palace. During the official handover of the body ceremony, it was deposited on the coffin. While the coffin was exhibited in the Saint Jerome chapel of the Dôme des Invalides, it was accompanied by a "little hat". This presentation erased the image of the Emperor, replacing it by that of the "General with the frock coat and the little hat". Far from devaluing him, this representation reinforced the image of a unique Napoleon: all kings have crown; the sword and little hat belonged only to him.

148 Outfit that belonged to Marshal Moncey, Duke of Conegliano

Marshal Moncey, Inspector General of the Gendarmerie, had carried out missions of trust for the Emperor. As the oldest marshal, he became Governor of the Invalides in 1833. Although in very poor health, he insisted on attending the ceremony on 15 December. After kissing the Emperor's sword, he is thought to

have said: "Now, let's go home to die."
Private Collection

**149 Translation du corps de Napoléon
(*Transfer of Napoleon's Body*)**

CHARLES-NICOLAS LEMERCIER, circa 1841
Paris, Fondation Napoléon, inv. B 593

**150 Landing of the Ashes of
Napoleon I in Courbevoie,
15 December 1840**

After the drawing of EUGÈNE CHARLES
FRANÇOIS GUÉRARD
Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 07249-10

**151 Napoleon's Funeral Carriage,
15 December 1840**

JEAN-BAPTISTE ARNOUT, draughtsman;
JEAN-VICTOR VINCENT ADAM, lithographer
Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 21342.6

A sumptuous ceremony was organised for the return of the ashes to welcome the huge procession and the many participants. At the Esplanade des Invalides, the grandstands were packed from very early in the morning, a regiment in full dress, with music and *cantinières*, watched the monumental imperial carriage go pass. Flanked by its escort and the three hundred sailors from *La Belle-Poule*, it was about to go through the Gate of Honour that was draped in mourning.

**152 Arrivée du corps de Napoléon
dans la cour des Invalides, le
15 décembre 1840 (*Arrival of
Napoleon's Body in the Courtyard
of the Invalides, 15 December 1840*)**

ALPHONSE BICHEBOIS AND PIERRE-
FRÉDÉRIC LEHNERT, CIRCA 1840
Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2015.0.63

**153 Catafalque in the Temporary
Chapel in the Eglise des Invalides
in Paris Housing the Remains
of Napoleon Bonaparte during
the Funeral Ceremonies, on 15
December 1840**

JEAN-BAPTISTE ARNOUT, draughtsman;
JEAN-VICTOR VINCENT ADAM, lithographer
Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 21342.11

The Prince of Joinville led the coffin into the Court of Honour, which had been decorated with banners, to join the King, who waited in front of the Saint Louis Church. After the ceremony, the coffin was exhibited in the choir under the monumental catafalque drawn by Henri Labrousse. It remained there for one and a half month. Each day, thousands of people crowded into the church, which remained open to the public until Christmas.

**154 Infantry Officer. Legion – Mounted
155 Chasseur**

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2010.0.302 and
2010.0.303

**156 Telegram from François Guizot,
French Minister of Foreign Affairs,
to Baron de Bourqueney, French
Chargé d'Affaires in London**

16 December 1840

Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Archives Nationales,
F90/1085 (act. 19860703/417)

**157 Funérailles de l'empereur.
Mort de Balzac (*Funeral of the
Emperor. Death of Balzac*)**

Circa 1840–1850

VICTOR HUGO

Paris, BnF, Manuscript Department, NAF 13409

The return of the ashes was a popular event and the whole of Paris gathered at the Invalides hoping to catch a glimpse of the Emperor's coffin. "Old wavering invalids [...] with their swords drawn" were to be seen in the front row. Victor Hugo dedicated an important part of *Things Seen to Napoleon's funeral* which took place on 15 December 1840. He described the procession in itself, as well as the thousands of Parisians who had gathered for the event. Despite his clear contempt for the official ceremonies which he deemed grotesque, Hugo shared the popular excitement of the motley crowd and of the veterans. This popular fervour worried the regime in place as they wanted to avoid any excesses at all costs. They were therefore delighted that the ceremony was a success.

NAPOLEON AT THE INVALIDES

158 Restoring the Abbey Church of St. Denis

ADRIEN DAUZATS, 1833

Sceaux, Domaine Départemental de Sceaux, inv. 66.10.1 (E 3264)

159 Plan de l'abbatiale de Saint-Denis et des caveaux des Bourbons (*Plan of the Saint-Denis Abbey and the Bourbons' Vaults*)

JACQUES-GUILLAUME LEGRAND, 1806

Sceaux, Domaine Départemental de Sceaux, inv. 71.23.242

In 1805, Napoleon put Jacques-Guillaume Legrand in charge of the restoration works of the Abbey of Saint-Denis, the scene of violent revolutionary events in 1793. The annotated plan corresponds to the architect's preparatory work. Napoleon's project was not selfless: he fully intended on creating a space for the Bonaparte dynasty within this historical monument, thereby legitimising it. The works lasted until the end of the 19th century, which explains the scaffolding depicted by Dauzats in his painting of 1833.

160 Momie de Turenne d'après nature «le samedi 12 octobre 1793, époque de son exhumation» (*Mummy of Turenne from nature "on Saturday 12 October 1793, time of his exhumation"*)

ALEXANDRE LENOIR

Most of the sovereigns whose tombs had been opened during the revolutionary period of 1793 in Saint-Denis ended up in mass graves. The extraordinarily well-preserved body of Marshal Turenne was rescued by Alexandre Lenoir. In 1800, Napoleon ordered the transfer of Marshal Turenne's remains to

the Invalides, thereby marking the inauguration of the "Temple of Mars".

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Department of Graphic Arts, inv. RF 5282 folio 17

161 Sword known as "Frederick the Great's sword"

18th century, Prussia

On 25 October 1806, during the Prussian campaign, Napoleon stopped in Potsdam and seized a sword that belonged to the Prussian King Frederick II in the castle of Sans-Souci. The official ceremony held on 17 May 1807 at the Invalides was the occasion to present the flags taken from the enemy during the campaign and to deposit Frederick the Great's relics, which included this weapon.

Deposited by the Musée du Louvre (P. 13), 1981. Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 4200 DEP

162 The First Distribution of the Crosses of the Legion of Honour, on 15 July 1804

JEAN-BAPTISTE DEBRET, 1812

The Legion of Honour, instituted on 29 May 1802, originally had no distinctive insignia under the Consulate. A design was only agreed on after the proclamation of the Empire, by decree of 11 July 1804. Napoleon was eager to demonstrate the prestige of this new distinction and therefore arranged for the first award of the insignia to take place at Saint-Louis des Invalides, in great pomp. Originally due to take place on 14 July, it was postponed to the following day, a Sunday, to enable the Parisians to be part of the ceremony, the first one since the proclamation of the Empire.

Paris, Musée de la Légion d'Honneur, inv. 0665

163 Projet d'un tombeau, qui serait élevé à Napoléon, sur les hauteurs de Chaillot en face du Champ-de-Mars (*Project for a Tomb That Would*

Be Raised to Napoleon from the Height of Chaillot Facing the Champ de Mars)

CAMILLE MORET, 1839

Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et du Trianon, inv. Grav 3555

164 Projet de tombeau pour Napoléon (*Project for a Tomb of Napoleon*)

Engraving by AUGUSTIN FRANÇOIS LEMAÎTRE after a drawing by HECTOR HOREAU, 1840
Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Va 271, Topog. of France, Seine, Paris 7th, V – The Invalides, H 51600

165 Projet de concours pour le tombeau de l'empereur Napoléon I^{er} dans l'église des Invalides à Paris (*Competition Project for Emperor Napoleon I's Tomb in the Church of the Invalides in Paris*)

HENRI LABROUSTE, 1841

Donated by Mme Labrouste, 1889. Paris, Musée d'Orsay, inv. RF 4198

166 Projet pour la statue équestre du monument imaginé en l'honneur de Napoléon par L. T. Visconti (*Equestrian Statue Project for the Monument Imagined by L. T. Visconti in Honour of Napoleon*)

CARLO MAROCHETTI, 1844

Paris, Fondation Dosne-Thiers (Frédéric Masson Collection), Masson Collection, inv. ?

167 Projet pour le tombeau de l'Empereur (*Project for the Emperor's Tomb*)

JEAN-BAPTISTE PHILIPPE CANNISSIÉ, 1841

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 22021 (Fd 816 / A 5113)

168 Premier projet pour le tombeau de Napoléon I^{er} (*First Project for Napoleon I's Tomb*)

LOUIS TULLIUS JOACHIM VISCONTI

Paris, Archives Nationales, F/21/728

169 Projet pour un tombeau de Napoléon I^{er} (*Project for a Tomb of Napoleon I*)

THÉODORE CHASSÉRIAU, CIRCA 1840

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Department of Graphic Arts, inv. RF 25797 recto

Artists started considering a tomb for

Napoleon from as early as 1830. In 1839, the architect Camille Moret introduced a mausoleum project overlooking Paris, in Chaillot. In May 1840, the return of the ashes was announced and the location of the Dôme des Invalides was chosen. However, the Thiers government's decision not to hold a competition sparked such an outcry that a contest was organised. Many artists participated. Not all the nominations for inclusion within an existing space were successful. Most utilised prevalent, sometimes long-winded, symbolism, with the relics of the legend. During the competition in 1842, Louis Tullius Joachim Visconti, who was clearly favoured by the authorities, was declared the winner. The overwhelming number of proposals from the artists of the time are included in the multimedia terminal.

170 Monument to Napoleon!

GEORGE CRUIKSHANK, PRINTED IN 1842

British caricaturists, including Cruikshank, really stretched their imagination to mock the Emperor during his reign. However, in an all-British restraint, it appears that none of them mentioned his death. Twenty years later, the tomb and the polemics it provoked in France rekindled the flame. "On the removal of Napoleon's remains, I prepared [this design]," explained the artist. "But it was not sent, because it was not wanted. There is this disadvantage about a design for *his* monument—it will suit nobody else..."

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Tf 128-4

171 Model of the column of Place Vendôme

Between 1833 and 1863

The column was completed in 1810. It was made using the bronze from the cannons of Austerlitz and was originally

crowned with a sculpture of Napoleon by Chaudet, which was replaced with a flag bearing Heraldic lilies in 1814. The July Monarchy restored a Napoleon on its summit, by Charles Émile Seurre, which didn't so much represent the Emperor, but rather the "Little Corporal" of the army and the people. From then on, with great pomp, people would go and lay crowns of immortelles at the monument every 5 May. Between 1830 and 1840, it was therefore only natural for the people who dreamt of the return of his ashes to think that this could be where he would be laid to rest. The Invalides, however, had a number of advantages over the column. The official argument: the Hôtel des Invalides, positioned "on the banks of the Seine river", complied with the Emperor's will word for word. On an informal level, it was militarily guarded and difficult to access, a good guaranty against seditious gatherings. Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 14

172 Model of the Dôme des Invalides

PHILIPPE VELU, 1997

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 997.761

173 Mausoleum containing the remains of Napoleon Bonaparte in Paris in the Chapel of St. Jerome

JEAN-BAPTISTE ARNOUT, 1840–1841

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Va 271, Topog. of France, Seine, Paris 7th, V – The Invalides, H 51617

174 Le Monument de l'Empereur.

«Ah ! ça ! tas de paresseux, vous déciderez-vous enfin à me terminer mon tombeau !»

(The Monument of the Emperor. "Ah! There! You, Lazy Bunch, Will You Finally Decide to Finish My Tomb!)

AMÉDÉE DE NOÉ, KNOWN AS CHAM, 1850

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, DC 247 (1) PET FOL

175 Translation des restes de Napoléon Ier dans la crypte du Dôme des Invalides (*Transfer of the Remains of Napoleon I in the Crypt of the Dôme des Invalides*)

PHARAMOND BLANCHARD, 1861

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Va 271 Topog. of Fce Seine Paris 7th V - The Invalides – H 51724

Technical and political difficulties slow down the construction of the tomb.

In 1853, newspapers even announced that the inauguration of the tomb would be taking place on 4 May and visit guides appeared, but everything was cancelled. The new Emperor Napoleon III was not fond of the project and revived the idea of a dynastic burial in Saint-Denis. Visconti died shortly after. The transfer of Napoleon's remains to the tomb as we know it today only took place on 2 April 1861: the "temporary" configuration in the Chapel of Saint Jerome lasted 20 years.

176 Translation des cendres de l'empereur Napoléon Ier de la chapelle Saint-Jérôme au tombeau construit sous le Dôme des Invalides, le 2 avril [1861] (*Transfer of the Ashes of Emperor Napoleon I from the Chapel of Saint Jerome to the Tomb Built under the Dôme des Invalides, on 2 April [1861]*)

A. JACOB, 1861

Wood engraving illustrating

Charles Yriarte, "Inhumation définitive des restes de l'empereur Napoléon I^{er}, Église des Invalides" (Final burial of the remains of Emperor Napoleon I, Church of the Invalides), *Le Monde illustré*, 13 April 1861, p. 233

The view shows Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Eugenie in the grandstand, but the inclined plane is not visible.

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Va 271, Topog. of France, Seine, Paris 7th, V – The Invalides, H 51650

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- 177 Le Baldaquin et l'entrée de la crypte dans l'église Saint-Louis-des-Invalides (*The Baldaquin and the Entrance to the Crypt in the Church of Saint-Louis des Invalides*)**
 Attributed to EUGÈNE LAMI, circa 1862–1863
 Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2004.9.1
- 179 Projet de vitrine pour le reliquaire (*Display Cabinet Project for the Reliquary*)**
 ALPHONSE-NICOLAS CRÉPINET
 Paris, Archives Nationales, 67AJ
- 178 Intérieur du Dôme des Invalides (*Inside the Dôme des Invalides*)**
 LOUIS TULLIUS JOACHIM VISCONTI,
 between 1842 and 1844
 Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2016.8.1
- The mementos (sword of Austerlitz, the hat of Eylau and the Grand Collar of the Legion of Honour) were initially placed on a pedestal at the foot of the coffin. Crépinet then drew the glass shrine above the quartzite pedestal to protect them.
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- 180 Plan of the crypt containing Napoleon's tomb**
 ALFRED-LOUIS BRUNET-DEBAINES,
 circa 1860–1861
 Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2010.0.2354
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- 181 Reliquary coffin**
 Circa 1840
 Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois-Préau, inv. M.M.85.1.6
- 182 1/5th scale model of Napoleon's coffin at the Invalides**
 LOUIS-ÉDOUARD LEMARCHAND, circa 1840
 Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 5586 I (Ca 106)
- 183 Miniature representing Napoleon's coffin**
 MAISON QUESNEL, circa 1840–1860
 Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2020.12.22
- For the return of the ashes and at the request of the funeral services of the city of Paris, an ebony coffin weighing nearly 750 kg was made by the cabinetmaker Lemarchand and the smelter Quesnel. The desire for mementos meant the smallest offcuts from Lemarchand's workshop were transformed into vases or other decorative objects. The smelter Quesnel, who was well informed on the witness accounts from the 1840 exhumation, made this miniature. It was acquired by the Musée de l'Armée in 2020.
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- 184 Sealed box containing the keys to Napoleon's coffin**
 Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. Ca 07
- 185 X-ray of the box containing the keys to Napoleon's coffin**
 Dr Mazetier's imaging service, Clinique du Louvre, 2020
- 186 Box containing a spare of the keys to Napoleon's coffin**
 LOUIS-ÉDOUARD LEMARCHAND, circa 1840
 Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv.
- The keys to the ebony coffin, handed over by Rohan-Chabot to the Invalides, are now kept by the Director of the Musée de l'Armée, who is the official "guardian of the Emperor's tomb". In 2020, the contents of the box were X-rayed, which revealed that it contained five keys rather than one! The smallest one, sealed on the outside, opens the box. There are then two ceremonial keys with a ring adorned with a laurel-wreathed "N"; a simpler key with an identical pennon, which is probably customary; and a last key, entirely different, which could be for the lead coffin. Unless there is a second lock...

MONUMENTAL

187 Queen Victoria at the Tomb of Napoleon

EDWARD MATTHEW WARD, 1855

The tomb offers a magnificent setting for diplomatic meetings during the Second Empire. In 1855, Queen Victoria's visit from the United Kingdom for the Exposition Universelle consecrated the former enemies' reconciliation between the granddaughter of George III and the nephew of Napoleon I.

Château de Compiègne, inv. C.2016.005

188 Visite des troupes sénégalaises au tombeau de Napoléon, le 16 juillet 1913 (*Visit of the Senegalese Troops at Napoleon's Tomb, on 16 July 1913*)

PAUL LOUIS LAVALLEY, CIRCA 1915–1918

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 9197

189 Le Salut du poilu (*The Poilu's Salute*)

HENRI GERVEX, circa 1915–1918

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 06751 C1

In 1913, as the upcoming conflict was approaching, Napoleon's tomb under the Dôme des Invalides became a symbolic space of gathering and national unity. Military visits continue to this day: at the tomb patriotic heritage and military genius are superimposed.

190 Views of the tomb protected from bombings

26 February 1918

At the beginning of 1918, as Paris was threatened by bombing, the tomb that had become a powerful national symbol was protected accordingly: if the Dôme were to be ripped open, the body, in its quartzite sarcophagus, would hopefully be spared.

Paris, BnF, Department of Prints and Photography, Va 271 Topog. of Fce Seine Paris 7th V - The Invalides H 51704

191 Pariser Album. Invalidendom (Parisian Album. The Dôme des Invalides)

JOCHEN STÜCKE, 2008

All the force of attraction exerted in the past and still exerted nowadays by the tomb of Napoleon is concentrated in this composition. The monument, open to tourists, has not, however, been desacralized and Napoleon remains a giant to the rushing crowds, eager to reach the top, open the lid, look inside and to find, to know... what exactly?

Paris, Musée de l'Armée, inv. 2017.27.1

192 Letter from Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970) to his children

Circa 1936

To be a great man is first to be an adventurer pushing ever further the boundaries of your own temerity, challenging the codes, and defying the traditions that make the impossible become unthinkable. [...] How not to mention Napoleon when speaking of these men with extraordinary destinies? [...] My childhood was rocked by the legend of the Eagle, [...] before anything else, my father made me discover the tomb of the Emperor, at the foot of which I was told of his actions and exploits time and time again [...].

History only remembers the names of those who know how to violate their own destiny, this is what the Emperor and my father taught me, one by explaining it and the other by demonstrating it.

Few French statesmen can boast of having aroused as many emotions during their lifetime as after their death. Beyond the national acclaim, Napoleon I and Charles de Gaulle have both become universal figures.

Bruno Ledoux Collection / NBC

193 N° Persistence

LA MÉDUSE, NOKINOMO, 2021

Installation interactive



LONGWOOD

PLAN

