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VENERATING POETS AND WRITERS IN EUROPE

FROM HERO CULTS TO NINETEENTH-CENTURY NATIONALIST COMMEMORATION

In recent years, considerable attention has been given to the nationally motivated veneration of poets, writers, composers and intellectuals in post-1789 Europe.[1] The rise and spread of such practices, especially as of the 1840s, has proven to be a vital part of the nation-building process, all the more so in those smaller cultural communities who drew their sense of identity primarily from language and literature. Moreover, many researchers have noted the close proximity of this commemoration and veneration to religious practices: it seems that para-religious elements that characterise national movements as forms of 'secular religion' were instrumental in this process.[2] In this respect, the expanded concept of *canonisation*, the metaphor of *sanctitude* and the notion of a *cultural saint* have already been introduced into this research.[3] For a number of reasons, the most powerful cults have developed in relation to the legacies of 'literary greats'.[4] Thus, the present attempt at a historical overview will focus on this particular subcategory of objects of – to use Thomas Carlyle's expression – *hero worship*.[5]

In this survey, I observe the *longue durée* of veneration of poets and writers in order to identify the crucial shifts in this ancient practice. After

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considering briefly the early commemorative cults of poets from classical antiquity to the early modern period, I go on to review in more detail the essential developments during the so-called long nineteenth century. This period is absolutely central, as it brought commemoration to the forefront like no period before or after. In analysing this turnabout, I pay particular attention to its most distinctive features, such as the cult of centenary and the statuary fever, and trace in more detail the ritual aspects of commemorations that closely bind this practice with the veneration of religious saints. I also discuss the connections of commemoration culture with nation-building and analyse the rise of *national poets*, those curious figures whose (mostly) posthumous careers turned them into paradigmatic cultural saints, and conclude with some conjectures on the general role that the veneration of this particular species of *heroes* has had from the viewpoint of nation-building.

Ancient Greece and Rome: from poets' hero cults to the concept of canonicity

Early records of the veneration of literary authors lead to Ancient Greece and are connected to a practice commonly known as hero cults. As a distinctive feature of Greek religion, hero cults developed from earlier forms of ancestor worship; however in contrast to these, hero cults were a civic affair rather than a familial one. More than human and less than gods, heroes were usually venerated at their tombs or other designated shrines because their fame in their lifetime or the unusual manner of their death gave them power to support and protect the living. The earliest documented hero cults in mainland Greece were not dedicated to poets: they include shrines to Helen and Menelaus, to Agamemnon at Mycenae, to Odysseus on Ithaca, etc. In the late seventh century B.C., the custom of honouring local heroes (besides deities) was firmly established, and a single hero might have been venerated in more than one locality. As the practice evolved, several poets have also become objects of posthumous hero cults. Numerous elements of these cults – e.g. the role of rituals, relics and shrines – indicate historical continuity with later developments.

In Greece, typical venues of the veneration of deceased heroes were their tombs, which often included sanctuaries. Hero cults shared many structural features with the cults of deities and were based on comparable sets of rituals.[6] From the Archaic to the early Hellenistic period, hero cults typically involved sacrifices: during the main ritual, *thysia*, worshippers consumed the meat of an animal victim.[7] These cults also involved relics: cities or sanctuaries claimed to possess the corporeal remains of a venerated hero (without necessarily displaying them) as well as other relics (spears, shields and other weapons, chariots, furniture and clothing). Heroes' corporeal remains were treated with the deepest veneration as they were believed to protect cities from enemy attacks (like Eurystheus in Athens or Amphiaraus in Thebes). Because the possession of relics was a matter of prestige, they were often subject to theft (as in the cases of Orestes and Theseus). Not unlike the saintly relics of the medieval period, heroes' bones in particular were regarded as a military or political advantage for the city or sanctuary that possessed them. In this respect, the case of the mythological poet-prophet Orpheus is indicative.[8]

Although the documentation is gravely incomplete, there is evidence that poets' hero cults were quite widespread in ancient Greek cities. The cults of Hesiod in Locris, Orchomenes and Helicon, the cult of Archilochus on Paros and several cults of Homer can be regarded as examples of such practice. Among the Homer cults, perhaps best known is the one from Ios, the island where the poet was allegedly buried: 'An inscription dated to the third century B.C. is the most incontestable evidence of Homer's cult on Ios. By prescribing a sacrifice to the poet on the sixteenth day of the month of Homer, it reveals his divine status on the island.'[9] Coins minted in Ios from the mid-fourth century B.C. onwards attest to this cult as well. The skilful portrait of the poet appears on the obverse of the image; in contrast to the Hellenistic depictions (bald, aged and blind), Homer resembles the Olympian Zeus. In addition to Ios, the alleged burial site, Chios, Alexandria, Smyrna, Delos, Delphi and Argos claimed that they were Homer's birthplace or a place of similar importance, and venerated the poet.

The existence of several cults of Hesiod, Homer's poetic 'rival', is testified by various sources as well. The cult of Hesiod prospered at Mount Helicon,

where the principal relic was the tripod which – according to Hesiod's own poetic report – was received by the poet for his victory at the Chalcis contest. People of nearby Thespiae probably honoured Hesiod at the spring of Hippocrene with a cult focusing on this victory. Another important locus of the cult of Hesiod was a shrine in West Locris, the presumed place of poet's death, where an unhewn rock housed his bones. These bones were later allegedly translated from Locris to Orchomenus, where they were held by a solid stone construction called the *tholos*. The rituals of hero worship at the Locris shrine included animal sacrifice and the libation of wine, and were quite similar to those performed for deities.[10]

Another well-documented hero cult is that of the iambic poet Archilochus (ca. 680-645 B.C.). As a local hero, he had become an object of a cult by his fellow islanders on Paros who venerated him along with deities such as Apollo or Dionysus. Although the exact chronology of the cult's development is still discussed, the existence of a sanctuary devoted to Archilochus (the *Archilocheion*), where his admirers offered him sacrifices, is undisputed.[11]

Deficient and often unreliable information about the hero cults of Greek poets hardly allows for any far-reaching generalisations regarding their role beyond their local communities. Evidently, these cults (as an integral part of a complex religious system) first figured as homegrown phenomena, a matter of cities' prestige. Linking with a particular poet became a matter of rivalry, and the appropriation of cults from the viewpoint of cities' inhabitants was a matter of promoting their own allegedly superior identity – a mechanism that would remain common for centuries to come. However, multiple venues of veneration of the same figure, authenticity disputes, relic thefts and the like suggest that the importance of these poets was more than just local. This assumption is certainly backed by the fact that the growing interest in the biographies of poets – a tradition which went hand in hand with the development of cults – developed quite early and was not limited to individual communities. As Maarit Kivilo argues, the early biographies of poets that circulated widely had heterogeneous and often highly ambiguous sources. Usually they relied on an (oral) biographical tradition that antedated the first written

sources, which explains the abundant presence of 'formulaic' patterns. Moreover, they were often derived from the (uncertain) biographic data that the poets provided about themselves in their works.[12] From this perspective, the construction of Greek poets as hero-figures seems to have something in common with the hagiographic discourse that shaped the medieval saintly landscapes.

In contrast to Ancient Greece, it seems that in Roman culture, which was otherwise imbued with the veneration of divinities and emperors, (dead) poets were not treated in such a cultic way. To be sure, poets might have been highly influential and venerated in their lifetimes, and their tombs, for instance, were given certain attention: the alleged tomb of Virgil near Naples has survived as a site of interest up to modern times, whereas Ovid's mysterious resting place has remained a source of speculations and inventions through the centuries. Reports mention a marble bust of Quintus Ennius in the Scipio family tomb near Rome, yet there is no indication of cultic adoration of him – or any other departed Roman poet, for that matter.[13] Thus, at this stage it seems quite plausible that the role of the mechanism for securing the 'afterlives' of literary authors (in Greece mostly performed by the hero cults of poets, coupled with oral biographic tradition) was gradually taken over by the evolving literary culture – particularly through the concept of canonical texts and authors as it was developed within the Hellenistic tradition. From the third century B.C. on, the *Mouseion* in Alexandria with its famous library not only stimulated systematic bibliographic indexing (e.g. Callimachus' *Pinakes*), but also brought to life textual criticism, interpretation, biographical research and, most notably, the practice of selecting exemplary great texts and authors.[14]

Callimachus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus of Samothrace, major Hellenistic scholars of the third and second century B.C. who are traditionally credited for establishing the concept of canonicity, did not use the term *kanon* to denote their selections. Instead, they usually operated with the term *hoi enkrithentes* ('the admitted'). Nevertheless, as Mario Citroni convincingly argues, the concept of the canon was to become fundamental for the organisation of literary production in Roman culture:

> [T]he idea of belonging to an exclusive canon of exemplary excellence is a sort of obsession that continually emerges in Latin literary culture, at the level of production of texts (texts are written with the explicit intention of becoming canonical), at the level of their reception by the public and by critics (new texts are compared with the canonical texts), and at the level of literary historiography and the perception of the production of the past (literary tradition is organized into series of excellent authors and texts in the different genres: into series of canonical authors or texts).[15]

From the late second century B.C. onwards, the Roman critical tradition has been constructing canons for Latin literature that imitated the practice of Greek grammarians. These canons of excellence tended to be parallel to the Greek ones, so one can think about preexisting sets of stable canonical positions: 'It is possible to enter the canon either by occupying a position considered vacant among those established by the structure of the Greek canon, or by taking the place of an [Roman] author previously recognized as canonical.'[16] Such a structure – generating a quest for a Roman Homer, Roman Hesiod or Roman Callimachus – is already indicated in the first Latin canonical overview, Volcacius Sedigitus' *De poetis* (*On Poets*), which was written around 100 B.C. According to Citroni, the obsession with canon and canonicity remained typical not only for Roman scholars but also for Roman authors: '[T]he aim and the ambition of every self-confident Latin writer is to become canonical, or in modern terms, to become a classic.'[17] Quite often, this concern is wittily inscribed in literary texts, for instance in the concluding lines of Horace's first ode: 'But if you will insert me amongst the lyric bards / I will strike the stars with my lofty head.'[18] Moreover, Horace's famous ode 'Exegi monumentum aere perennius' ('I have raised a monument more permanent than bronze'), while self-confidently celebrating the poet's transposition of the spirit of 'Aeolium carmen' to Latin culture, also presupposes the existence of a (new) mechanism capable of disseminating the poet's memory and fame across long periods and vast spaces.

From today's perspective, Horace was right: his memory and his poems survived, and the mechanisms of canonisation, first established by

Alexandrine grammarians, continued to play a major role in modern Europe.

Medieval and Early Modern Europe: from 'Poets Laureate' to the Petrarch cult

Both the cult (with its relics and rituals) and the written discourse (with its canonising effects) proved to remain among the key mechanisms of the dissemination of poets' posthumous fame, thus securing their communal 'afterlives'. One should not, however, overlook the fact that poets were also honoured publicly in their lifetime, and that such events might have played a considerable role in their posthumous careers. The rituals often included the coronation with a (laurel) wreath, which can again be followed (at least) to Classical antiquity.[19]

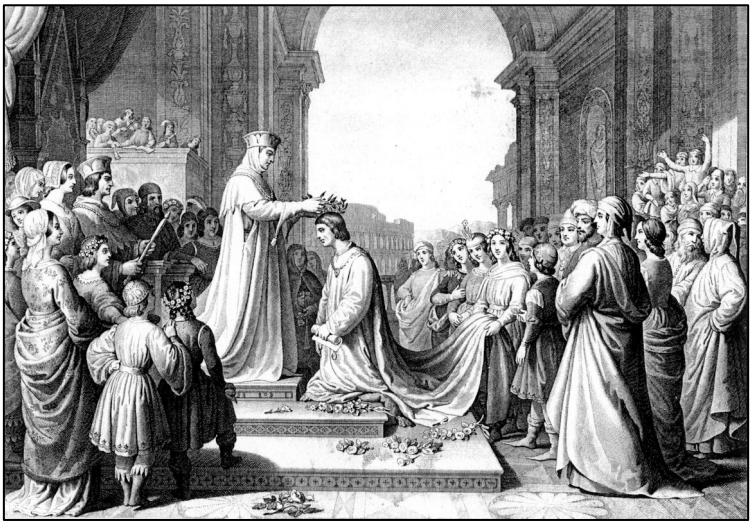
Although this area of literary history seems to be quite neglected, the practice of crowning poets was not unfamiliar to medieval vernacular traditions of western Europe. In the Middle Ages, Europe was, to be sure, a culture strongly dominated by Christian saints and their cults. However, public celebrations of literature and poets, often designed to magnify the glory of their noble patrons, emperors and kings, remained part of the culture of upper social strata. From the early fourteenth century on, Provençal culture developed the tradition of *Jeux Floraux*, Floral Games in Toulouse, which included a range of poetic contests and floral prizes. A similar model was characteristic for the German *Meistersinger* tradition, which was utilising the act of coronation as well.

Another widespread tradition that originated in the Middle Ages was the Poets Laureate. In contrast to contest-based awards at Jeux Floraux and Meistersinger, Poets Laureate were appointed by emperors, kings and other dignitaries as a mark of distinction. The prelude to this practice was the coronation of Albertino Mussato (1261-1329) in Padua in 1315, when this famous poet and statesman was crowned with a wreath made of myrtle, ivy and laurel. However, it was especially the coronation of Francis Petrarch (1304-1374) in Rome in 1341 that set the ball rolling:

> Petrarch's coronation provided the stimulus for many other coronations. Such events took place not only in Italy but also in England, occasionally in France and Denmark, but most particularly in Germany and Austria. Indeed it was above all the Holy Roman Emperors who fostered the practice. Once it had become established in the Empire it rapidly developed to such proportions that it eventually got so totally out of control that it is now impossible to establish how many Poets Laureate were created.[20]

The rate of coronations, usually performed by emperors or their deputies, kept growing during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, peaked in the second half of the seventeenth century and died away towards the end of the eighteenth century. In an astonishing bio- and bibliographical handbook consisting of four large volumes, John Flood has collected available information about more than 1,300 poets who were laureated by or in the name of Holy Roman Emperors in the period 1355-1804. What seems to be most striking besides the high number of honourees is the fact that most of the bearers of the title of *Imperial Poet Laureate* are obscure or even completely forgotten today. Obviously, this type of royal patronising might have had certain benefits either for the poets themselves or for their patrons, who were hungry for prestige. But the surprising amnesia of this widespread phenomenon clearly signals that its mechanism was not capable of securing the long-term veneration of poets distinguished in such a way.[21]

However, one should take a closer look at the coronation of Petrarch, arguably the most influential event of this kind during the Middle Ages. After being examined by the king of Naples, Robert of Anjou, Petrarch travelled to Rome and entered the city in triumph on Easter Sunday (8 April) of 1341. After some of his Latin poetry was recited, Petrarch held a lengthy oration, which was followed by the coronation, during which the king's deputy and Roman senator count Orso dell' Anguillaria placed a *laurea* on Petrarch's head. After the coronation, as Flood writes, 'the poet was given a gown and a scroll, accorded the title *Magister* and declared a citizen of Rome. Later Petrarch presented his laurel wreath at the altar of St Peter's'.[22]



Domenico Gandini (after a drawing by Andrea Pierini),
The coronation of Petrarch on Capitoline Hill *(1846)* | *GEMME D'ARTI ITALIANE*

Evidently, Petrarch's active engagement in the coronation ritual was conceived of as a re-enactment of the Classical model as imagined by the already famous poet. In his oration, Petrarch explained that he had insisted on a laurel wreath, 'the due reward of Caesars and of poets', because he 'believed that the Roman poets had been crowned with it by the Emperors on the Capitol'.[23] The selection of the highly symbolic setting of Capitoline Hill in Rome is no coincidence either, especially given the fact that Petrarch was also invited to receive the same kind of honour in Paris, but opted for Rome – even though he 'hesitated for a time because of the present fame of that university'.[24]

There are several highly interesting aspects of Petrarch's speech, which is occasionally labelled the first manifesto of the Renaissance: his pondering upon the poet's difficult task of climbing the 'lonely steeps of Parnassus' and reaching 'the inaccessible grove of the Muses'; his thoughts on the divine sources of the poet's inspiration; his refashioning of the (Ovidian) topos of the past golden age of poetry and poets; and his speculations on the 'immortality of one's name', which is 'itself twofold, for it includes both

the immortality of the poet's own name and the immortality of the names of those whom he celebrates'.[25] In order to raise the value of his profession, Petrarch emphasises the role of capable poets for the second type of immortality.[26] However, he does not really say much about the 'immortality of the poet's own name'. Most interesting in this respect might be a conceptual association of space and memory that Petrarch makes on the basis of Cicero's thoughts on remembering famous people in places where they actually lived. In 1343, Petrarch even paid homage to 'glorious Virgil' by visiting the places associated with his great predecessor as a kind of a ritual pilgrimage. Partly to the laureate's own surprise, the idea was soon applied to spaces associated with him – which was the first sign that the case of Petrarch was to become a prototype of the early modern cult of writers. This can be clearly illustrated by the developments at the key memorial sites connected to Petrarch: Arezzo (Petrarch's birthplace), Florence, Fontaine-de-Vaucluse near Avignon (the location of his romance with Laura) and Arquà near Padua (the place of Petrarch's death).

The story of Petrarch's 'spatial afterlife' began in Arezzo, at the time when the learned poet was still alive. Although Petrarch never considered Arezzo to be his hometown, upon visiting the city in 1350 he was 'received with great honours' and 'taken to the house where he had been born'.[27] The house was put under special protection by the local government in order to remain exactly the same as it had been at the time of the poet's birth. The poet's reactions were allegedly ambivalent, the feeling of pride being mixed with scepticism towards such cults of places. Nevertheless, it was not the Tuscan Arezzo but the Venetian and Provençal sites that acquired major importance in the course of time. The cults that developed in Arquà and Fontaine-de-Vaucluse are, according to Harald Hendrix, 'the most ancient ones in the Western world', and their amazing endurance allows us to 'document the shifts in the practices of what came to be called literary pilgrimages'.[28]

The small village of Arquà was the poet's residence in his final five years. Petrarch died in his house on 19 July 1374 and was buried five days later in the parish church. In 1380, his family – his daughter and son-in-law – erected a monumental tomb in front of the church and had his body

reburied. The presence of this large outdoor monument has helped preserve the memorial legacy ever since, even in the periods when the interest in Petrarch was less intense. During the fifteenth century, for instance, the memory of Petrarch was restricted in spatial terms to visits to his tomb. However, in the 1520s the interest in Petrarch was restored as he was promoted both as a model for modern vernacular poetry and as a 'universal lover'. It was especially Petrarch's Provençal years and his relationship with Laura that roused massive biographical interest.

At that time, Petrarch's presence at the French site, Fontaine-de-Vaucluse, was completely forgotten, even at the local level. But rapidly, the Petrarchan tour of Avignon and Fontaine-de-Vaucluse became highly fashionable. Besides visiting the (alleged) Petrarch house, the tour strongly focused on locations associated with Laura. For Italian intellectuals, visiting Provence became a 'significant ritual, a profane pilgrimage which would earn them some kind of indulgence, exactly as it was the case in religious pilgrimages', as Hendrix writes.[29] To satisfy the needs of the new kind of tourism, relics were exhibited (or forged), such as the poet's pens and Laura's toothbrush.

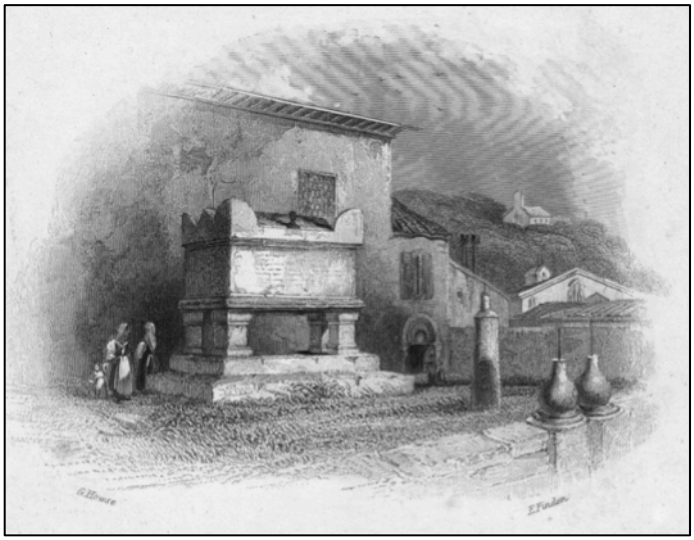
In the mid-sixteenth century, the village of Arquà, which already boasted the poet's tomb, was also becoming an international tourist attraction. The new owner of Petrarch's house, Paolo Valdezocco, consciously turned it 'into the commemorative place of worship, making it the oldest still existing museum dedicated to a poet we know of in Western culture'.[30] Towards the end of the century, a visit to the village was integrated into the emerging cosmopolitan Grand Tour. Besides the tomb, the tourists were able to see the privately ran museum with Petrarch's chambers, especially the poet's study, and a number of relics such as the poet's chair and even the mummy of the poet's alleged cat. The cat itself became a cultic object and continued to be a major attraction of the museum while at the same time prompting a great deal of criticism and mockery.

In Canto IV of his famous *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Lord Byron gives a refined poetic description of his 1817 visit to Arquà; it seems that the selection available to the literary pilgrims had not changed much in the course of time. A few years later, in his 'Visit to Petrarch's tomb in Arqua',

Byron's bibliographer Samuel Egerton Brydges notices another peculiar detail. He observes that it is

> not only the mansion and the tomb of this truly great man, that the 'honest pride' of the inhabitant of Arqua offers to the stranger's gaze; the very spring which supplied him with water, is an object of veneration, and on the rude well of the parish are engraved these lines: Fonti Numen inest, hospes, venerare liquorem, / Unde bibens cecinit digna Petrarcha deis.[31]

Moreover, if it is not this holy water that would transform a pilgrim into a divine verse-maker, perhaps consuming the 'Petrarch wine', which Brydges mentions in a footnote, might be helpful? By all means, a varied and fully developed writer's cult had been cultivated in Arquà for several centuries by the time the village was officially renamed Arquà Petrarca in 1870.



Edward F. Finden, Petrarch's tomb in Arquà (1380) | STEEL ENGRAVING AFTER A DRAWING BY G. HOWSE, 1841

The nineteenth-century development of this venerable cult is quite interesting for a number of reasons. An overview of commemorations of Petrarch between 1804 and 1904 demonstrates that the practice of (individual) pilgrimage was complemented and even overridden, by mass commemorations and leisure culture. According to Hendrix, the attention paid to the poet (especially in Provence) seems to have been 'a pretext for what had become a hugely popular tourist excursion, facilitated by a large-scale tourist infrastructure'.[32] Indeed, the impressive 1874 festivities honouring the quincentenary of Petrarch's death in Avignon had to accommodate some sixty thousand international tourists, and they were obviously designed in such a way as to entertain this large-scale audience. However, it shall be seen that the Provençal festivities were not really exceptional: the participation of masses, spectacular rituals and a growing importance of tourism were quite characteristic for nineteenth-century commemorative culture.

On the other hand, the factors that fuelled the nineteenth-century commemorations of Petrarch were fairly diverse. From the very outset, the Petrarch cult has been fundamentally cosmopolitan, as the poet has always been viewed as an intellectual great whose legacy transcends national boundaries. In Italy, commemorations were often used to promote specific municipal identities; particularly the cities of Padua (with Arquà) and Arezzo competed against each other for prestige related to the poet's memory. In Provence, where the major commemorations were appropriated by *félibres* (members of the cultural associations promoting Occitan language and literature) in a highly complex cultural and political situation, they mostly advocated the regional identity and the *idée latine*.

Shifting frameworks of commemoration stimulated Hendrix to critically assess the 'assumption that 19th-century commemorative literary culture was primarily inspired and driven by ideals of nation building'; in his view, the features of the Petrarch cult 'transcend the framework of nation-building and denote links with more traditional cultural practices, inspired by cosmopolitanism on the one hand and local competition on the other'.[33] Hendrix's remark is certainly to the point: there is abundant evidence that nation-building has never been the only motivation for the

commemoration culture. The cases in point would be Homer, Petrarch, Shakespeare and other cultural greats who became international canonical icons before the modern nation-building truly started. However, it is impossible to overlook the fact that during the European commemorative epidemic, national (and to some degree pan-national, e.g. Pan-Slavic or Pan-Scandinavian) movements with their media and associations were the major driving force behind the scene, their key representatives acting as postulators of memory. Through the diligent work of their intellectual elites, national movements singled out their favourites (poets, writers, painters, composers and other intellectuals) and actively promoted their mass veneration, commemoration and canonisation. Virtually all large-scale commemoration in nineteenth-century Europe was involved in strengthening collective identities and communal bonds. Especially after the 1840s, the commemorative boom was increasingly motivated by the ideals of nation-building.[34]

The long nineteenth century: the cult of centenary and *Denkmalwut*

One of the most fascinating features of the nineteenth-century commemorative culture is the shift from the small-scale veneration by (individual) intellectuals – lonely pilgrims eager to sense and touch the legacy of cultural greats – to mass commemorative cults attracting incredible numbers of people who may have had little or no intimate knowledge of the venerated person's life, opus or ideas. Although one should not always trust reports on the number of attendants, the figures for many centennial celebrations or monument unveilings are beyond a doubt astonishing. Thousands, tens of thousands, even hundreds of thousands of people may have gathered to commemorate one individual.[35] By the mid-nineteenth century, the commemorative cults of poets and writers – by then strongly centred on centenaries, large monuments or other memorials, and minutely designed ritual spectacles – reached gigantic proportions. This megalomania is what definitely makes commemorations one of the most intricate cultural and social phenomena

of the era. In the analysis below I argue that thorough research in commemorations can refine the common understanding of nineteenth-century nation-building. Along with literature and the media crucial for the shaping of what Benedict Anderson famously termed 'imagined communities', commemorative cults of cultural saints were of utmost importance in terms of consolidating new collective identities.[36]

Gatherings dedicated to the commemoration of individuals organised at specific times and places were not an invention of the nineteenth century. Ann Rigney and Joep Leerssen have pointed out that

> [o]lder (pre-1790) forms of commemorative celebrations were usually dynastic, municipal or, ultimately, religious in nature. The feast days of martyrs and saints had been marked by the Church from its early days onwards, and had in the course of the Middle Ages become the feast days of institutions (cities, guilds) under the patronage of such saints.[37]

Commemoration practices which functioned as secular cults of local heroes or 'illustrious men' were established in early modern Europe mostly at the municipal level, where they co-existed and sometimes competed with religious cults. An example of such a celebration was the 1640 bicentenary of Gutenberg's invention of the moveable type printing, organised in the city of Leipzig by the printers' guild. Mainly at a municipal initiative, commemorations gradually became 'part of civic-collective culture, precisely at the time when this collectivity itself was also beginning to call itself by the appellation "national"'.[38]

It seems that large-scale commemorations of artists were first organised in England. The 1764 commemorations of George F. Handel (1685-1759) in London were followed by the William Shakespeare jubilee in Stratford-upon-Avon in 1769 – an event that indicated the direction the European commemorative culture was about to take. Three-day celebrations organised by the famous actor David Garrick included cannon salutes, the ringing of church bells, a celebratory pageant, oration and the anthem, and were accompanied by an outburst of new creativity in various arts. Among other things, the crowd was able to attend the inauguration of the

Shakespeare sculpture contributed by Garrick, watch horse-racing and a tug of war between characters from Shakespeare's plays, and listen to a performance of Thomas Arne's oratorio *Judith*. The aim was to attract the intelligentsia from London and other cities to the countryside to venerate 'the god of our idolatry', to quote a poem Garrick wrote and performed as the effigy of the Bard was unveiled. Unfortunately, rain and flooding marred the celebration.[39]

The procession of Shakespeare's characters at Stratford upon Avon*, engraving (London 1769)* | LEWIS WALPOLE LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

The Stratford events were an early indication of the approaching continental commemorative epidemic. Comparing the phenomenon with the snowball effect, Roland Quinault explains:

> In modern Europe centenary commemorations were rare before 1800 and uncommon before the mid-nineteenth century. Thereafter, however, the number and scope of centenary commemorations grew rapidly and by the late nineteenth century, a 'cult of the centenary' had become established throughout Europe and the western world.[40]

By the end of the century, large-scale centennial (but also bicentennial, tercentennial, etc.) commemorations became a routine tool for

communities to celebrate their major heroes and historical events all over Europe and the US. It can be estimated that it is not the entire (long) nineteenth century but rather the century from the late 1830s to World War II that might be called the 'commemorative century'. Among the most intriguing features of this euphoric period is the clear shift from politics to culture, and symptomatically 'it was above all literature which stole the commemorative limelight'.[41] In most cases, the appropriation of the legacy of individuals took place in complex, even controversial contexts, and each case requires in-depth treatment. On the other hand, regardless of such contexts the commemorative practices followed certain common patterns, often self-reflectively referring to past events elsewhere.

With reference to Itamar Even-Zohar's distinction between culture-as-goods and culture-as-tools, it is possible to look at commemorations as consisting of two intertwined aspects: *material* and *ritual.* In contrast to the ritual dimension (which will be discussed later), the material aspect is unmistakably manifest in the form of commemorations' durable remnants. Countless statues and other memorials in cities all over Europe are typical memory sites of the modern era. Almost as a rule, major commemorative events in nineteenth-century Europe included the production of a memorial and its installation in public space. A comparative overview of European capitals and major cities offers an impressive panorama of this kind of demarcation. By following the spread of the so-called statuary fever, it can be seen how and when cultural saints came to rival other types of immortal individuals.[42]

Large public monuments dedicated to important individuals were, of course, produced in more distant periods as well. However, this was quite limited in early modern Europe. Before the eighteenth century, only a handful of kings and military leaders were honoured in such a way; among the very few exceptions were the 1622 statue to Erasmus (1466-1536) in Rotterdam and the 1697 colossal thirty-five-metre monument of the bishop-saint Charles Borromeo (1538-1584) in Arona on Lago Maggiore (which later served as the model for the Statue of Liberty). During the eighteenth century, the practice spread over all of Europe while remaining restricted to several dozen kings and noblemen; among the few exceptions were the Haarlem 1722 full-length statue of Laurens Janszoon Coster

(1370-1440), the Gutenberg-rival inventor of print, the 1750 busts of the poets Luis de Camões (1524/25-1580) and Torquatto Tasso (1544-1595) in Oeiras near Lisbon and the 1788 sculpture of William Shakespeare (1564-1616) in London.

Whereas the turn of the century saw the first attempts to design large national 'pantheons', halls of fame that would house the effigies or even the corpses of national greats from both the political and cultural spheres (such a development was in part inspired by the secularised *Panthéon* in post-revolutionary Paris), an increasing number of large cast statues on elaborate pedestals (which were sometimes part of sculptural complexes) also started to conquer the open-air public space in major European cities.[43] As truly dominant markers of public space, these monuments no longer decorated the interiors, façades and remote backyards and parks, but were instead installed in the most exposed and vivid urban locations. The new trend soon reached such euphoric proportions that it is quite adequately described by the German term *Denkmalwut*.

In the first decades of the century, rulers and military leaders remained almost exclusive objects of such monuments; they were soon, however, joined by artists and intellectuals. As the average rate of unveilings steadily grew, so did the share of monuments dedicated to composers, painters and especially writers and poets.[44] The early-nineteenth-century open-air monuments paying homage to cultural greats in the form of full-length statues included the 1821 monument to Martin Luther (1483-1536) in Wittenberg, the 1829 monument to Jacob Cats (1577-1660) in Brouwershaven, the 1830 monument to Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543) in Warsaw, the 1834 monument to Pierre Corneille (1606-1684) in Rouen, and the 1837 monument to Johannes Gutenberg (1398-1468) in Mainz. While they all portrayed individuals from a relatively distant past, this was the case neither with the 1837 monument to Walter Scott (1771-1832) in Glasgow nor with the 1839 monument to Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) in Stuttgart; these were erected only a few years or decades after the two artists' deaths.

In terms of design, the 1839 monument to Schiller by Bertel Thorvaldsen can be described as quite a typical representative of the nineteenth-

century monument to a cultural saint: a larger-than-life bronze full-length statue standing (sometimes sitting) up on a pedestal, positioned in the middle of a square. The location of the monument can, in the course of time, take the name of its 'patron' – which in this particular case happened in 1934 when the square was officially renamed to Schillerplatz. However, there are monuments that do not follow this standard setup. In terms of dominating the urban landscape, the colossal Walter Scott monument in Edinburgh (erected 1840-1844) is truly exceptional and may even be considered the most megalomaniac memorial to a writer in Europe. The double life-size statue of Scott seems somewhat lost beneath the sixty-metre neo-Gothic construction, containing sixty-four niches with statues of Scott's fictional and historical characters. According to Ann Rigney, this monument 'is not only remarkable for its size, but also as a relatively early example of the nineteenth-century celebration of artistic heroes, which would end up by dotting the capitals of Europe with statues to national writers and artists'.[45]

The Walter Scott memorial in Edinburgh, 1844 | PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE WASHINGTON WILSON. 1860S

Such 'dotting' can be particularly well illustrated with numerous Schiller memorials erected during the second half of the century. In 1857, the 1839 monument in Stuttgart was complemented with the famous dual Goethe-Schiller statue in Weimar. Soon, Schiller monument mania galvanised by the 1859 centenary of the poet's birth erupted with extreme force. Monuments were unveiled in Jena (1859), Mannheim (1861), Mainz (1862), Hanover (1863), Frankfurt am Main (1864), Hamburg (1866), Berlin (1871), Ludwigsburg, Marbach (Schiller's birth city) and the Habsburg capital Vienna (all three in 1876). Initially, the geographical distribution of memorials was limited to the locations with special relevance for Schiller's biography (such as Stuttgart, Mannheim, Weimar and Jena). However, the mania soon expanded to places without any such relevance, continuing at a slightly slower pace after 1900.[46] Moreover, it was not only German cities that competed in erecting their own Schiller monument; on the other side of the Atlantic, the 1859 monument in Manhattan's Central Park opened up an impressive series. By 1914, the large German-speaking community in the US produced at least thirteen Schiller statues, some of which were copies either of the dual Goethe-Schiller-Goethe monument in Weimar or of the Marbach statue.[47]

Beyond any doubt, from around 1830 to 1914, the fashion of erecting memorials to cultural and literary greats reached practically all major cities in Europe and even further.[48] However, it is necessary to move beyond the mapping of memorials. As material 'relics of a period in which the celebration of the memory of *cultural* heroes was at the heart of constructions of collective identity', monuments are silent about the social forces behind their construction.[49] They do not tell us, for instance, whether they were installed as a top-down project of ruling elites or perhaps by a grass-roots movement supported by many individuals. Moreover, they say nothing about the controversies that might have been connected to their construction, the events that took place at their inaugurations or the various gatherings around them at different points in time. From the perspective of this overview, these questions are far more interesting than the monuments themselves.

Ritual and cult as the core of commemorative culture

Contemporary research on commemoration and canonisation has demonstrated that memorials of writers and national poets in particular have regularly functioned as *sacred places* where various forms of *rituals* – pilgrimage, centenaries, annual festivities, processions, wreaths, proclamations … – were performed. In other words, these memorials provided a spatial framework for the evolving cult of cultural saints, enabling many people to express their loyalties by participating in collective rites – at various occasions and in the name of various ideas. In order to illustrate this point, attention can be directed to commemorations of Schiller, especially those of 1859, as they were celebrated in over one hundred cities in Germany and abroad. According to Leerssen, the 'Schiller statue of 1839 and his centenary of 1859 have an almost paradigmatic status in German, and indeed in European, commemoration culture', as they 'provided an inspiring example for other countries' and 'became a prototype for the rituals and protocol of such events'.[50] The ritual 'protocol' was not only reproduced in numerous German municipalities but also influenced other (Central) European national movements – even those that otherwise overtly resisted German cultural hegemony.

Leerssen lists the elements of the pattern as follows: 'festive processions, honouring (laurel-wreathing) of a bust, statue portrait, or other effigy; the reading of a eulogy and/or a poetic ode in the poet's honour; choral singing; and/or a festive banquet'.[51] In reference to case studies from other countries, the list might be expanded with *tableaux vivants*, pageants, cannon salutes, bonfires, fireworks, concerts and theatre performances. These additions, however, do not change the inevitable conclusion that the ritual nature of the pattern is so overtly inscribed into its very core that it is simply impossible not to notice its close proximity to religious rituals. This is why even contemporaries often described commemorative rites for – to recycle Garrick – the *gods of our idolatry* by using the religious vocabulary. Referring to the 1839 unveiling of Schiller's monument in Stuttgart, Leerssen, for instance, states that 'in a gesture redolent of religious liturgy, the statue was then inaugurated and blessed by the classics professor Gustav Schwab'.[52]

Indeed, there are many elements of the nineteenth-century commemorative culture that are redolent both of liturgy and, more specifically, of the veneration of Christian saints. Processions with flags or torches, the abundant use of choral singing, sermon-like orations and especially the emphasised *iconolatry* are some of the elements connecting both liturgy and the veneration of saints. There is always an icon of a cultural saint at the heart of a ritual – a monument, a bust, a portrait – and the honouring of such an icon is the utmost sacred moment often followed by outbursts of enthusiasm that sometimes evades control. This similarity in the orchestration of the ritual is what binds the cult of cultural saints and the cult of religious saints, rendering them their impressive power. However, it should be noted that ritual patterns did not only mark large-scale events such as monument unveilings. Even minor events in distant villages, such as the unveilings of marble plaques in local contexts, school commemorations and intimate banquets, had their own ritual dynamics redolent of liturgy.

'Glory to Prešeren!', a postcard showing a tableau vivant (Ljubljana, 1899) | MGML, MESTNI MUZEJ LJUBLJANA, INV. NR. 17877

The religious connotations of posthumous cults were perhaps the most exposed in cases of poets, especially those that managed to attain the status of *national poets*. Even though the denomination 'national poet' is not equally established in all European literary cultures, the phenomenon itself is quite widespread. A continental glance at a gallery of poets that at some point have been labelled 'national' is quite impressive, leading from Alexander Pushkin and Taras Shevchenko in the European East to Jónas Hallgrímsson in distant Iceland and Rosalía de Castro, one of the very few females in this company, in Spanish Galicia. However, the region where national poets might have reached the utmost degree of sanctification is East Central Europe. As John Neubauer has observed, the national poets of this region share a number of features: their work was marked by prophetism and the evocation of national history, their life was constantly interpreted in terms of sacrifice, even martyrdom, and posthumously, they all became subjects of quasi-religious cultic admiration. This admiration manifested in various commemorative rituals as well as in abundant

Tomasz Lisiewicz, Apoteoza wieszcza *(The apotheosis of a prophet)* | ADAM MICKIEWICZ MUZEUM, ŚMIEŁOW

memorials and baptisms of streets and institutions. Moreover, their legacy was constantly subject to appropriations by various cultural and political groups; in the Communist era, for instance, virtually all of them were (re)interpreted as proto-communists.[53]

In East and Central Europe, the typical pattern was to pick up a male (Romantic) poet from the first half or mid-nineteenth century and canonise him in the following decades.[54] The canonisation of Adam Mickiewicz, the Polish national poet-prophet ('wieszcz narodowy'), might be seen as paradigmatic in several respects.[55] In more general terms, the mentioned strategy proved to be typical for smaller nations and semi-peripheral literary cultures, while literary cultures with established traditions were able to pick up literary greats from more distant epochs (Dante, Shakespeare, Camões, Cervantes …) to be presented to the altars of commemoration.[56]

Conclusion

It might be useful to stress at least two features of nineteenth-century commemorations of poets and writers that deserve attention from the viewpoint of nationalism studies. The first regards the fact that they were – quite like the early cults of medieval Christian saints – most often initiated *bottom-up*. Granted, at times commemorations were usurped by the upper classes, but truly successful in terms of mass mobilisation were the grass-root ones. The number of major *promoters* of the cults – who were often new bourgeois parvenus eager to become leading cultural and political figures – was usually quite limited.[57] However, the path to the triumph included getting as many people as possible personally involved. Relying on the steady support of the media, this goal could be achieved especially through the network of historical, literary, choral, sports, educational and other kinds of societies. We know that this network has most profoundly characterised European cultural nationalism. In Schiller's case, for instance, the driving forces were gymnastic societies, student clubs and particularly male choirs: they helped organise numerous support events and gather donations. From Scotland to the lands of the

Habsburg Empire and further to the east, the paramount role of these societies is unquestionable: they were actively publishing appeals, organising support events, readings, banquets and dances, and gathering donations (sometimes even with door-to-door fundraising, for example by selling engravings or postcards of the canonised person or the impending memorial). In the case of monuments, the final consequence was that the number of their stakeholders was not only large but also distributed through various social classes – which obviously distinguished them from, for instance, sculptures of monarchs and generals, as these were usually installed top-down. The astonishing numbers of people who gathered at individual commemorative events can in great part be explained by this growing social network which was increasingly organised along national lines.

Centenary celebration of Schiller's death in Stuttgart, by the 1839 monument (1905) | WWW.GOETHEZEITPORTAL.DE

This certainly leads us to another major issue. The fact that the commemorative fever was increasingly nationalised also had less

desirable consequences. In contrast to the heavenly communion of Christian saints which, in theory at least, remained universal in its appeal to any virtuous human being, the cults of cultural saints generally addressed only a particular group of people that defined (or was about to define) itself as a nation. Inevitably, then, commemorative feasts with national(ist) overtones led to frictions and conflicts – especially in ethnically heterogeneous cities and regions where two or more competing sets of cults were cultivated at the same time. The issue became especially delicate in those parts of Europe that were under foreign, semi-colonial rule. This was, for instance, the case in most of East Central Europe, but also in other stateless literary cultures in which cultural nationalism was on the rise, such as Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque country in Spain, Provence and Brittany in France, and the Danish-ruled Iceland and the Faroe Islands.

Neubauer succinctly comments that the 'differences become clear if we recall the commemoration year 1859: Burns and Schiller were commemorated freely and abundantly, but it was forbidden to celebrate Petőfi in Pest or Mickiewicz in Warsaw.'[58] Neubauer's analysis of (un)wanted statues explains the specific dynamics of both the commemorative fever and the monument-building in the region. Bearing in mind this complex cultural and political context, one should analyse the successful (as well as thwarted and failed) attempts to organise large gatherings and install monuments *against* the dominant political classes and ethnicities. In the Habsburg monarchy, for instance, the erection of memorials became one of the major nationalist battlefields where the political power of new national elites was able to be displayed by extending their control over public space. As in other multinational empires of the time, the ruling classes tried to prevent the disintegration along the national lines, sometimes by radically withholding all kinds of 'national' manifestations. It seems that through the commemoration and cult-like veneration of cultural saints – magnified into iconic representations of the 'national spirit' – it was easier not only to promote ethnic ideas by capturing people's emotions and imagination, but also to obscure the immense political charge of this seemingly benign practice. As several cases demonstrate, this might be one of the reasons why in many

minor literary cultures cults of cultural saints grew to such outstanding proportions.[59]

In this respect, it seems reasonable to conclude with a suggestion that the research of national movements should reappraise the role of veneration of 'great men' of literature and culture – regardless of how one denominates them: national poets, heroes, icons, prophets or saints. So far, the research of (cultural) nationalism has strongly focused on the nation-building efforts of the emerging army of philologists, working on the indispensable intermediary structures of fully-fledged national cultures. Certainly, these efforts do represent the (rational) backbone of national 'revivals'. On the other hand, the veneration of writers (and in general, cultural saints) has often been underestimated, even outright ignored – perhaps because it took forms that seem so unpleasantly awkward from a contemporary perspective. However, it is precisely this peculiar kind of 'hero worship' that one can observe as a reverse, *emotional* side of the matrix of cultural nationalism. As a potent means of mobilising masses for the aims of national movements and securing social cohesion of the emerging communities, cultural saints have played a crucial role in the course of European nationalism. Unlike religious saints, they were not expected to perform proper miracles – yet they in fact managed to incite a large-scale social transformation. In a metaphorical sense, their posthumous powers manifested themselves in a gradual shaping of the 'Europe of nations' as we know it today.

Endnotes

[1] This article is part of the Slovenian research project 'National poets and cultural saints: commemorative cults, canonization, and cultural memory', financed by the ARRS.

[2] Veneration of artists in terms of proximity to religious cults was inventively explored at the workshop 'Canonization of "cultural saints": commemorative cults

of artists and nation-building in Europe' (co-organised by SPIN and ZRC SAZU in Amsterdam, 26-28 October 2015).

[3] Cf. M. Dović, 'The canonization of cultural saints: an introduction', in: S. Stojmenska-Elzeser & V. Martinovski (eds.), *Literary dislocations* (Skopje, 2012) 557-569; J.K. Helgason, 'The role of cultural saints in European nation states', in: R. Sela-Sheffy & G. Toury (eds.), *Culture contacts and the making of cultures* (Tel Aviv, 2011) 245-254.

[4] Cf. the outstanding collection of essays by J. Leerssen & A. Rigney (eds.), *Commemorating writers in nineteenth-century Europe: nation-building and centenary fever* (Basingstoke, 2014).

[5] Cf. T. Carlyle, *On heroes, hero worship, & the heroic in history* (London, 1841). Carlyle was among the first to identify the subtle connections of poetry, canonisation, and sainthood.

[6] C.M. Antonaccio, 'Contesting the past: hero cult, tomb cult, and epic in early Greece', in: *American Journal of Archaeology*, 98/3 (1994) 389-410 (398).

[7] Also cf. G. Ekroth, *The sacrificial rituals of Greek hero-cults in the Archaic to the early Hellenistic period* (Liège, 2002).

[8] Cf. also J.F. Nagy, 'Hierarchy, heroes, and heads: Indo-European structures in Greek myth', in: L. Edmunds (ed.), *Approaches to Greek myth* (Baltimore, 1990) 199-238; W.K.C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek religion: a study of the Orphic movement* (Princeton, 1993).

[9] E.M. Angliker, 'The cult of Homer on Ios', in: *Bulletin 2012* (Basel, 2012) 62-66 (63–64).

[10] N. Bershadsky, 'A picnic, a tomb and a crow: Hesiod's cult in the works and days', in: *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 106 (2012) 1-45 (22-23).

[11] D. Clay, *Archilochos Heros: the cult of poets in the Greek polis* (Cambridge, 2004).

[12] M. Kivilo, *Early Greek poets' lives: the shaping of the tradition* (Leiden, 2010).

[13] The belief relies on fragmentary information provided by Cicero and Livy, but the issue remains fairly unclear to this day. Cf. W.C. Lawton, 'Ennius', in: C.D.

Warner (ed.), *The library of the world's best literature* (New York, 2008) vol. XIV, 5475-5483 (5483).

[14] Cf. also R. Pfeiffer, *History of classical scholarship: from the beginnings to the end of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford, 1968).

[15] M. Citroni, 'The concept of the classical and the canons of model authors in Roman literature', in: J.I. Porter (ed.), *Classical pasts: the classical traditions of Greece and Rome* (Princeton, 2006) 204-236 (211-212).

[16] Citroni, 'The concept of the classical', 219.

[17] Citroni, 'The concept of the classical', 220.

[18] Translated by M. Leigh, 'The Garland of Maecenas (Horace, Odes 1.1.35)', in: *The Classical Quarterly*, 60 (2010) 268-271 (268).

[19] J.L. Flood, 'Poets Laureate of the Holy Roman Empire', in: *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies*, 3/2 (1997) 5-23 (5).

[20] Flood, 'Poets Laureate', 7.

[21] J.L. Flood, *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire*: *a bio-bibliographical handbook* (Berlin, 2006) 4 vol.

[22] Flood, 'Poets Laureate', 7.

[23] Flood, 'Poets Laureate', 6.

[24] Quoted by E.H. Wilkins, 'Petrarch's coronation oration', in: *PMLA*, 68/5 (1953) 1241-1250 (1245).

[25] Wilkins, 'Petrarch's coronation oration', 1247.

[26] Wilkins, 'Petrarch's coronation oration', 1247.

[27] H. Hendrix, 'The early modern invention of literary tourism: Petrarch's houses in France and Italy', in: Idem (ed.), *Writers' houses and the making of memory* (New York, 2008) 15-29 (15).

[28] Hendrix, 'The early modern invention', 16.

[29] Hendrix, 'The early modern invention', 21.

[30] Hendrix, 'The early modern invention', 23.

[31] S.E. Brydges, 'Visit to Petrarch's tomb in Arqua', in: *Res Literariæ* (Geneva, 1822) vol. 3, 38-42 (42). The Latin inscription on the fountain in English reads: 'There is a divinity in the fountain, stranger: honour the water | of which Petrarch drank and sang verses worthy of the gods' (translated by Nada Grošelj).

[32] H. Hendrix, 'Petrarch 1804-1904: nation-building and glocal identities', in: Leerssen & Rigney, *Commemorating writers*, 117-133 (128).

[33] Hendrix, 'Petrarch 1804-1904', 117.

[34] In the Italian case, it was Dante who was singled out to play a major role in the nation-building process. Cf. M. Yousufzadeh, 'Dante 1865: the politics and limits of aesthetic education', in: Leerssen & Rigney, *Commemorating writers*, 102-116.

[35] The 1880 unveiling of the Pushkin statue in Moscow, for instance, was reported to have gathered around a hundred thousand people. Even in the tiny Slovenian community, the 1905 unveiling of the Prešeren statue in Ljubljana attracted some twenty thousand people.

[36] Interestingly, the massive commemorations often occur simultaneously with the transition of the national movements from the Hrochean Phase B to Phase C – which is not a coincidence. Cf. Hroch, 'From national movement to the fully-formed nation. The nation building process in Europe', in: *New Left Review*, I/198 (1993) 3-20.

[37] J. Leerssen & A. Rigney, 'Introduction: fanning out from Shakespeare', in: Leerssen & Rigney, *Commemorating writers*, 1-23 (7).

[38] Leerssen & Rigney, 'Introduction', 8.

[39] Cf. C. Deelman, *The Great Shakespeare jubilee* (London, 1964) 6 and 270.

[40] R. Quinault, 'The cult of the centenary, c. 1784-1914', in: *Historical Research*, 71/176 (1998) 303-323 (303). Among the early commemorations there were the 1792 tercentenary celebrations of Columbus' landing, the first anniversary of the Leipzig battle (1814) and the tercentenary of Luther's posting of theses (1817).

[41] Leerssen & Rigney, 'Introduction', 9.

[42] Cf. the European database of monuments at the *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* <http://romanticnationalism.net> [accessed 4/2016].

[43] Regarding the pantheons, consider the developments in Westminster Abbey in London, the secular *Panthéon* in Paris, and the 1807 initiation of the Walhalla complex near Regensburg (inaugurated as late as 1842). The idea of the 'national pantheon' or 'national shrine' was later emulated by virtually each national movement in Europe.

[44] When it comes to painters, the 1840 monument to Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) in Nuremberg, the 1843 monument to Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) in Antwerp and the 1852 monument to Rembrandt (1606-1669) in Amsterdam were among the first to be erected. As for composers, their first monuments were the 1842 monument to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) in Salzburg and the 1845 monument to Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) in Bonn.

[45] A. Rigney, *The afterlives of Walter Scott: memory on the move* (Oxford, 2012) 160.

[46] These include Sankt Veit an der Glan in Austria (1905), Wiesbaden (1906), Nuremberg (1909), Königsberg (1910) and Dresden (1914). The data on the Schiller monuments were compiled from various complementary sources and are still incomplete.

[47] The 1859 erection of the monument in New York was followed by Chicago and Philadelphia (1881), St. Louis (1898), Columbus (1891), San Francisco (1901), Omaha (1905), Cleveland, Rochester and Saint Paul (1907), Detroit and Milwaukee (1908) and Syracuse (1911). As in Europe, unveilings attracted immense crowds: for instance, in San Francisco some thirty thousand spectators attended, and in Cleveland this number allegedly more than doubled, reaching around sixty-five thousand.

[48] Monument-raising outside Europe was often fuelled by competing 'national' initiatives of immigrant communities and can thus be treated as an extension of the European developments. In Central Park, for instance, the 1859 bust of Schiller was followed by monuments to Shakespeare and Scott (1872), busts to Giuseppe Mazzini (1878) and Thomas Moore (1880), full-length monuments to Robert Burns (1880) and Beethoven (1884), a large Christopher Columbus

(1892), etc. Comparative large-scale mapping of monument-raising – a task for future empirical research – would offer new insights into its global dynamics.

[49] Rigney, *The afterlives*, 160.

[50] J. Leerssen, 'Schiller 1859: literary historicism and readership mobilization', in: Leerssen & Rigney, *Commemorating writers*, 24-39 (26).

[51] Leerssen, 'Schiller 1859', 28.

[52] Leerssen, 'Schiller 1859', 27.

[53] J. Neubauer, 'Figures of national poets: introduction', in: J. Neubauer & M. Cornis-Pope (eds.), *History of the literary cultures of East-Central Europe* (Amsterdam, 2010) vol. 4, 11-18 (16-18).

[54] With a partial exception of the Estonian poetess Lydia Koidula (1843-1886), all selected candidates for this prestigious position were males. Outside the region, an exception is the already mentioned Rosalía de Castro (1837-1885) in Spanish Galicia.

[55] Cf. R. Koropeckyj, 'Adam Mickiewicz as a Polish national icon', in: Neubauer & Cornis-Pope, *History of the literary cultures*, vol. 4, 19-39.

[56] Cf. V. Nemoianu, '"National poets" in the Romantic Age: emergence and importance', in: A. Esterhammer (ed.), *Romantic poetry* (Amsterdam, 2002) 249-255; M. Juvan, 'Romanticism and national poets on the margins of Europe: Prešeren and Hallgrímsson', in: Stojmenska-Elzeser & Martinovski, *Literary dislocations*, 592-600.

[57] In analogy with the Catholic canonisation procedures, the term 'postulator' can be suggested. Cf. M. Dović & J. K. Helgason, *National poets, cultural saints* (Leiden, forthcoming).

[58] J. Neubauer, 'Mácha, Petőfi, Mickiewicz: (un)wanted statues in East-Central Europe', in: Leerssen & Rigney, *Commemorating writers*, 250-261 (250).

[59] Such an example is definitely the case of France Prešeren, the Slovenian national poet. Cf. M. Dović, 'Prešeren 1905: ritual afterlives and Slovenian nationalism', in: Leerssen & Rigney, *Commemorating writers*, 224-249.