Père-Lachaise in 1815

A New Method in the Study of Ephemeral Funerary Monuments

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Figure 1. View of Père-Lachaise (4th Division), 2017, Paris, France. Photo by author.

Introduction

Recently, the topic of monuments, and specifically their removal, has been the subject of frequent debate within the context of the United States. However, the trouble with monuments has never been exclusively American, nor is it a twenty-first-century matter. In the following, I take the Père-Lachaise Cemetery in Paris as a case study and introduce a methodology for studying a site where the vast majority of monuments have been removed or are subject to future removal. It is my goal to demonstrate how monuments that have been removed or are likely to be removed can—even in their physical absence—be used as profound sources of information for cultural analysis.[1]

The visitor to Père-Lachaise today is confronted with rows of chapel-style sepulchers, bronze and marble portraits, and monumental sculptures dedicated to the dead (fig. 1). Notable for its impressive graves of great cultural heroes, from Honoré de Balzac to Jim Morrison, the Parisian cemetery has often been treated as an open-air museum, a sculpture

garden where one can encounter works of great nineteenth-century French artists.[2] Walking in Père-Lachaise today, one almost forgets that the site is a cemetery, yet this nearly 110-acre park contains the burials of over one million people.

In this paper, I first demonstrate how (1) nineteenth-century funerary monuments encountered in situ today inaccurately represent the French cemetery over the course of its development; and (2) that as a result, previous studies of these cemeteries have been heavily predisposed to survival bias. The purpose of this article, then, will be to explain a new methodology for examining the cemetery in the aggregate so to generate a more precise historical representation of funerary monuments in this period. To begin, I will provide a brief overview of French burial regulations and the founding of Père-Lachaise Cemetery. From there I will focus on the methods of my ongoing research and will share some preliminary observations that will guide the future development of this research.

Historical Context

By the end of the eighteenth century, the churchyards of Paris were perceived as a mounting threat to public health. Overcrowding had resulted in improper burials, and the stench emanating from these central sites was seen as a leading cause of disease. In the 1780s, the government responded by issuing a number of new regulations including, in 1786, the suppression of churchyard cemeteries and the transferal of remains to what would eventually become the Catacombs of Paris. Although change began under the ancien régime, the most significant transformation of burial practice in France took place under Napoleon. The Cemetery of Mont-Louis,

located two kilometers east of what were then the city limits of Paris, was inaugurated on May 21, 1804. Constructed over the former estate of François d'Aix de la Chaise, Mont-Louis soon became known as the Cemetery of Père-Lachaise.[3]

Following the inauguration of Père-Lachaise, the Imperial Decree of 23 prairial an XII (June 12, 1804) was issued from the Palace of Saint-Cloud. The articles of the decree pertaining specifically to burial set into law across France what Père-Lachaise had ultimately accomplished for Paris: they established a heavily regulated, efficient, and salubrious system of burial across the empire. Among the regulations introduced was the proscription against burials within public spaces or buildings utilized by the living.[4] Additionally, all cities and towns were required to establish new public burial sites, which would be located at least thirty-five meters from their borders, and all future burials were now to take place within separate plots (at least one and a half meters deep and eighty centimeters wide) with a minimum of thirty centimeters between each plot on all sides.[5] Even more important than these spatial policies, however, were those regarding time. Article 6 of title I stated:

> To avoid the danger posed by renewing burial pits too early, the opening of burial pits for new burials shall take place only in five-year increments; consequently, the terrain intended to form burial sites will be extended five times more than the space necessary to deposit the presumed number of dead that could be interred there each year.[6]

This meant that, while all citizens had the right to an individual burial plot within one of these new cemeteries regardless of class or religion, they were only entitled to that plot for five years, after which it could be reopened and reused. This was the case for

both communal burial territory, which was provided free of charge, and *concessions temporaires* (temporary concessions), which were private land concessions that could be renewed to avoid recuperation by the state. Another way to avoid this was to purchase a *concession à la perpétuité* (concessions for life), which was intended to grant the concession in perpetuity.[7] It is because of this system that French cemeteries have been subject to a constantly changing landscape, which is a rather uncomfortable concept, particularly for Americans who tend to own rather than rent their final resting places.

In light of what we know about temporary burial concessions in France, an interesting detail appears at the lower right of an 1815 engraving of Père-Lachaise Cemetery (fig. 2). A pile of recently removed headstones has been piled rather recklessly in front of what was likely a marble worker's warehouse and studio. This detail is indicative of the frankness of this temporary concession system, and the inevitable removal of funeral monuments. This is underscored by the people strolling past the heap, seemingly indifferent to the short lifespans of their loved-ones' monuments (and their own future monuments). Despite this apparent ephemerality, the willingness to pay for such monuments remained rather high.

This highly transient system of commemoration has important repercussions for the ways in which the cemetery should be studied. What is at stake for scholars seeking to study nineteenth-century funerary monuments in France is essentially the issue of survival bias. Survival bias is the logical error that results from concentrating on people or things that have passed some selection process and, consequently, overlooking those people or things that did

Figure 2. *3ème vue du Cimetière du Père Lachaise prise de l'entrée* (detail) in *Vues de Paris et des environs, dessinées par Courvoisier, L. Garnerey, La Gardette* (Paris: Basset, 1815), vol. 1, n.p., pl. 6. Collection of the Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

not. This selection bias can result in a number of false conclusions, such as the belief that sculpture played a conspicuous role in nineteenth-century burials at Père-Lachaise.

Looking ahead a decade, records from the year 1824 (table 1) show that, among the over-thirteen-thousand Christian burials that took place in the Cemetery of Père-Lachaise that year, only 11 percent of the total monuments erected were produced at a cost over one hundred francs. Further, of the total spent on funerary monuments in Père-Lachaise in 1824, less than 4 percent of the total cost went toward the production of sculptural elements.

The abundance of sculptural works in Père-Lachaise today has lead to a distorted study of the cemetery, in which scholars tend to overemphasize the importance of sculpture and ignore the cultural significance of popular monuments to the point of erasure beyond that of the purely material. The high concentration of sculptural works is, however, more a reflection of our contemporary society, which seeks to preserve these objects while others are suppressed due to the strict regulatory environment surrounding burials in France. In the nineteenth century, these more conspicuous works, however, accounted for a rather insignificant share of the cemetery's contents. Thus, to study Père-Lachaise from the position of sculptural works is, I argue, inaccurate. This inaccuracy is responsible for the recurring narrative that, through the cemetery's monuments, one could have easily read all the class divisions of the city.[8] My research shows, however, that the cemetery was not as legible in the nineteenth century as the surviving monuments might lead us to believe.

Data Source

The purpose of this project was to pinpoint a methodology that would circumvent the issue of survival bias by examining all of the monuments known to have been in Père-Lachaise Cemetery at a given time, rather than only those that remain in situ today. The rationale was that a study of the cemetery in the aggregate might yield a more nuanced picture of how this site may have read to nineteenth-century residents and visitors. Although the parameters were set around nineteenth-century Paris, these methods may be aptly used to address other geographical and chronological contexts.

Again, the primary issue in investigating these kinds of monuments was the high turnover rate for non-perpetual concessions. Much of this material simply no longer exists. There-fore a usable proxy needed to be identified; this turned out to be an 1816 publication, *Le Champ du Repos.* Compiled by an editor identified only as M. Roger, and his son over the course of two years, this two-volume work contains the epitaphs for over two thousand monuments that were in Père-Lachaise by the end of 1815.[9]

Already in 1815 it was proving difficult to capture the state of the cemetery. In the forward to *Le Champ du Repos*, the reader is cautioned that the constant construction of new monuments and the moving of others has challenged the editors' ability to capture the cemetery with complete information.[10] Further, and the editors do not mention this detail, the volumes do not include any of the monuments from the Jewish section of the cemetery, which had opened in 1810 and was included on the accompanying map (see figs. 5, 6).

Methodology

Roger's text proved to be a valuable source of demographic data for those who had been buried in Père-Lachaise during the first ten years of the cemetery's operation. Organized by concession number, the editors not only transcribed all of the inscriptions for each monument but also included notes about the materials used to construct it. For instance, the entry for concession 1343 appeared as follows:

N. 1343, *plate* XXVII.
Here lies
Armande-Julie-Rosalie LEFEVRE, wife of Pierre LAMBERT, surgeon, born in Paris the 8th
of April, 1751, died the 3rd of October, 1813.
De profundis.
Nota. This inscription is in gold letters on slate marble.[11]

From this we are able to glean not only the name of the deceased and her life dates but also the name and occupation of her husband, which can provide an indication of her social class and means. Additionally, Roger's editorial note provides us with an idea of what the tomb monument for this woman would have looked like, but an even better idea of this is given in a series of illustrated plates. These plates illustrated each monument by concession number and were drawn to scale (fig. 3).[12] *Le Champ du Repos* was further divided into six series that corresponded to the section within the cemetery where each monument was located. As a result we know, for example, that concession 1343 would have been located in section D, toward the front of the cemetery. In total, the volumes account for 2121 individual monuments for which substantial information has been collected. While *Le Champ du Repos* is by no means unknown, it has never been used to conduct an aggregate study of the cemetery.
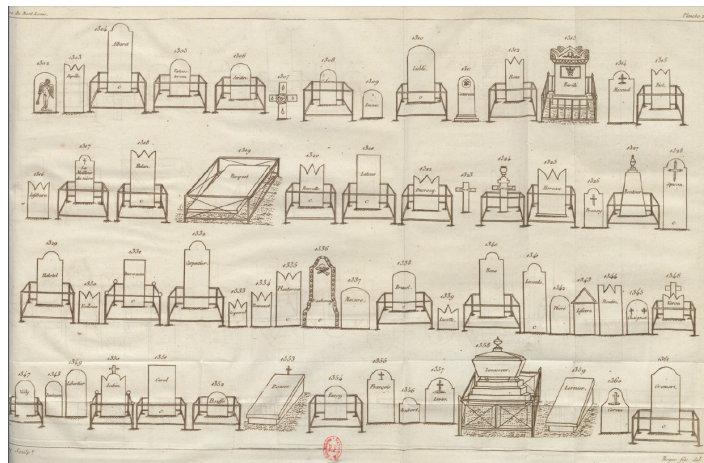

Figure 3. Roger et fils, Plate showing a selection of tombs from section D of Père-Lachaise Cemetery, *Le Champ du Repos*, vol. 1, n.p., pl. 27.

To begin to organize this material, using FileMaker Pro I constructed the Père-Lachaise in 1815 database in which each inscription was transcribed and paired with the corresponding illustration. Whereas the original text separated inscription from image, this database allowed both elements to be examined simultaneously. This resulted in a unique opportunity to compare stylistic elements of the monuments with the demographics of the deceased. The completed database ultimately contained twenty-five fields that organized demographic information gleaned from the inscriptions and basic information about the monuments that was included in either the editor's note or drawn from observations of the images. The database was then exported to Microsoft Excel and cleaned using OpenRefine. The data cleaning process allowed for (1) the creation of additional variables, such as

categories for occupational groups; (2) the recoding of nineteenth-century birthplaces to modern-day locations that could be mapped; (3) the standardization of text and translations for consistency in future analysis; and (4) the creation of a series of dummy variables for monument characteristics in which 1 signaled the presence and 0 signaled the absence of a given characteristic.

To begin to work through this information, the dataset was analyzed in two parts: first, information that came directly from the text of the inscription; and second, a series of variables that were created to enrich the analysis (table 2). Of course, one of the primary issues encountered in this type of study is that of incomplete data. For that reason, it was critical to take note of the percent complete for each variable. The most complete variable was gender, which could be discerned 97 percent of the time, if not by the name of the deceased than by the pronouns and grammatical gender in the original French. The second most complete variable was the year of death, which was indicated 91 percent of the time and used to date the monument.

For the age at death and the year of birth, the information was less frequently mentioned (44.5 percent and 38 percent, respectively). However, these two variables could be easily calculated when the death date and age or both life dates were mentioned. This calculation brought the percentages up to 78 percent and 76.5 percent, respectively. This data was then used to calculate the median age of death for the period of 1804 to 1815, which was found to be fifty-two for all those who lived above the age of twelve (fifty-seven for men and forty-six for women).

Next, as all perpetual concessions were inscribed as such, I was able to ascertain that less than 2 percent of monuments present at the start of 1816 were perpetual. However, even within that 2 percent, the likelihood of all of these monuments being present today is slim, as all perpetual concessions deemed to be in a state of abandon have been authorized for state recuperation since 1924.[13] Thus, only a handful of monuments included in the book could conceivably be found and studied in the cemetery today.

Preliminary Analysis and Results

As was previously mentioned, all nineteenth-century locations mentioned as birthplaces were linked to modern-day locations in the data-cleaning process. Specifically, French cities were categorized according to their position in the current *départements* of France. This information was used to generate a map representing all of the locations within France that were mentioned as the place of birth on the deceased's monument (fig. 4). Ranging from light blue to dark blue, the map shows the number of people originating from cities in each *département*. As one might expect, Paris was mentioned most frequently by far, at 121 times. This was followed by Côte-d'Or, which was mentioned seventeen times. The period of the 1820s and 1830s is often described as one of mass migration into Paris from the provinces, and it is possible that the cemetery's usefulness in studying such migration patterns will become clearer over the course of this research, particularly as data from additional cemeteries and years are added to the existing database. The occupation of the deceased (or the deceased's husband or father in the case of women and children) was extracted and categorized into seventeen occupational groups that made the

variable more manageable. While occupations were only discernable 31 percent of the time, it was not only the most elite classes that were represented. In fact, artisans were among the most frequently mentioned occupations, followed by merchants, government administrators, and members of the military (table 3).
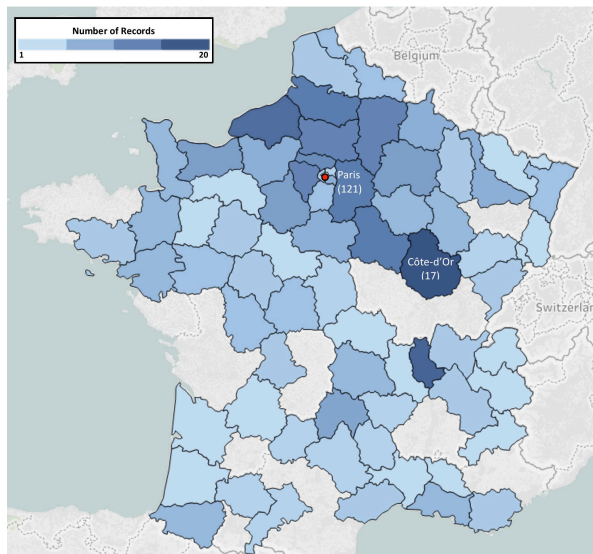

Figure 4. Cities of birth by modern-day *département*, based on tomb inscriptions in Roger et fils, *Le Champ du repos* (n = 455). Source: Alexander, Père-Lachaise in 1815 Database.

Next, using the sections that Roger used to construct his text, the distribution of monuments over cemetery was mapped. Figure 5 shows the number of monuments per section, wherein the darkest shade of red (section D, with 709 monuments) represents the highest number of monuments in 1815. While this gives a sense of the most highly populated areas of the cemetery at that time, the size variation across sections provides a slightly distorted view. For this reason, the area of available burial space was calculated per section in order to see the density of monuments across the cemetery. In figure 6, the darker green

represents the densest regions, with 1 monument per every 18 square meters in section D, while the yellow represents the least dense with 1 monument per every 173 square meters in section B. In the next phase of this ongoing research, this section map will be used to guide an analysis of monument types present in each section of the cemetery. Therefore, the next step was to determine the characteristics of these monuments.

Of primary importance was the character count of the epitaph. An 1837 architectural plan for a tomb by Henri Labrouste, currently housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, includes an itemized list of production costs (fig. 7). Here the prices range from ten to forty centimes per letter. For reference, the average wage for an artisan in Paris during the first half of the nineteenth century was just under two francs per day.[14] Looking at the period from 1804 to 1815 in Père-Lachaise, we see that the median character count overall was 170 characters. Thus we can assume that an inscription of this length would have been equal to eleven full days' labor for an artisan.
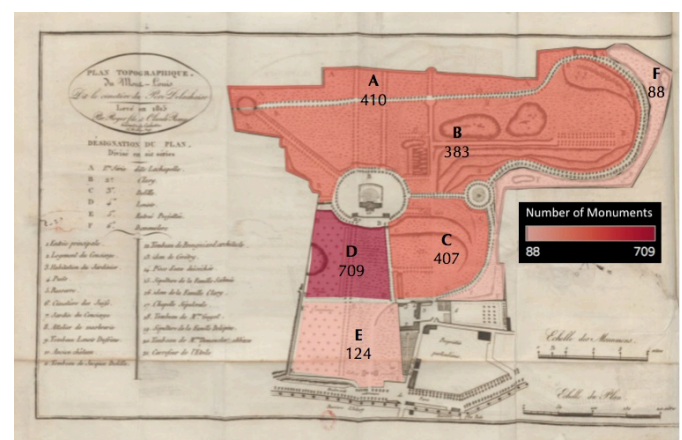

Figure 5. Number of monuments per section in Père-Lachaise in 1815 (n = 2,121). Source: Alexander, Père-Lachaise in 1815 Database.

Figure 6. Density of monuments per section in Père-Lachaise in 1815 (n = 2,121). Source: Alexander, Père-Lachaise in 1815 Database.

The final characteristic that should be mentioned at this stage in the research is iron grillwork. Returning to Labrouste's plan, one sees that the grill, at seventy-nine francs, is the most costly feature. With this in mind, dummy variables were employed in the dataset to signal the presence or absence of iron grillwork. I found that more than half of monuments present in 1815 had this feature.

Figure 7. Henri Labrouste, *Paris, cimetière du Montparnasse, tombe du baron André de Ridèle: Plan, coupes, élévations, détail des ornements sculptés sur la stèle* (detail), 1837. Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Photo by author.

Although it was one of the most costly and commonly included elements of the monument, grillwork such as this does not often survive, even for those monuments that exist. Thus, even for those monuments that have survived to the present day, the missing ironwork accounts for yet another level of survival bias, yet another distorted view of the cemetery that results from studying only what remains. Specifically, what is lost is valuable information about the variation of grillwork. It would seem, for example, that there was a grill for every budget, ranging from the simplest enclosure for a wooden cross to an elaborate fence surrounding a bronze portrait bust (fig 8).

Figure 8. Roger et fils, selection of monument illustrations showing a variety of iron grills (from left to right: concession nos. 1118, 972, 1588, and 1026). Source: Roger et fils, *Le Champ du Repos*, (1118) vol. 2, n.p., pl. 23; (972) vol. 1, n.p., pl. 20; (1588) vol. 2, n.p., pl. 32; (1026) vol. 1, n.p., pl. 20.

Conclusion

In this introduction to an ongoing research project, I have argued that the study of nineteenth-century funerary monuments and cemeteries is in need of revision and that the study of these objects from the position of what remains can lead to misconceptions of the cemetery over the course of its development. In surveying the methods of my ongoing research, I have taken a snapshot of Père-Lachaise in 1815 to demonstrate an alternative method for

approaching missing material on an aggregate level, and using that seemingly lost information to better understand the social contexts in which these lost objects were created. Additionally, I have begun to look at the ways in which objects that had continuously been conceived of as temporary on an institutional level represented powerful permanent memorials to those who built them. The Cemetery of Père-Lachaise today may be observed as comprising a permanent collection of nineteenth-century French funerary sculpture. However, it is equally important to consider those monuments that have been and continue to be subject to removal, perhaps without us even noticing.

[2] For more on French funerary sculpture see, for example: Michel Ragon, *The Space of Death: A Study of Funerary Architecture, Decoration, and Urbanism*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983); Suzanne Glover Lindsay, *Funerary Arts and Tomb Cult: Living with the Dead in France, 1750–1870* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012); Philippe Ariès, *Images de l'homme devant la mort* (Paris: Seuil, 1983); and Antoinette Le Normand-Roman, *Mémoire de marbre: La Sculpture funéraire en France, 1804–1914* (Paris: Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, 1995).

[3] For more on the development of modern cemeteries in France, see, for example: Régis Bertrand and Guénola Groud, eds., *Patrimoine funéraire français, cimetières et tombeaux* (Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, 2016); Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death: The Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984); Thomas A. Kselman, *Death and the Afterlife in Modern France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Madeleine Lassère, *Villes et cimetières en France de l'Ancien Régime à nos jours: Le territoire des morts* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997); and Jonathan Strauss, *Human Remains: Medicine, Death, and Desire in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012).

[4] Two exceptions to the proscription against burials within public buildings were the Church of Saint-Denis, which was to become the resting place of emperors, and the Church of Sainte-Geneviève (the Panthéon), which was to act as the resting place of great officers of the empire. The choice of these two exceptions is significant as Saint-Denis had been the burial site of the French kings since the tenth century, and Sainte-Geneviève had been transformed in 1791 from a church into a mausoleum for illustrious Frenchmen.

[5] For further discussion of the origins and legacies of the Decree of 23 prairial an XII, see: Bertrand and Groud, 23–43.

[6] "Pour éviter le danger qu'entraîne le renouvellement trop rapproché des fosses, l'ouverture des fosses pour de nouvelles sépultures n'aura lieu que de cinq années en cinq années; en conséquence, les terrains destinés à former les lieux de sépulture seront cinq fois plus étendus que l'espace nécessaire pour y déposer le nombre présumé des morts qui peuvent y être enterrés chaque année." Napoléon Bonaparte et al., "Décret impérial sur les Sépultures au palais de Saint-Cloud, le 23 prairial an XII," in *Collection des Lois, Sénatus-Consultes, Décrets impériaux et Avis du Conseil d'Etat relatifs aux Cultes: Publiés depuis le Concordat jusqu'au 1er janvier 1813 inclusivement; Suivie des Bulles et Brefs d'institution de nouveaux Evêques, d'Indult concernant la réduction des Fêtes, et de la Convention passée entre le Gouvernement et Sa Sainteté Pie VII* (Paris: Chez Rivals, 1813), 180.

[7] Since 1843 there have been three types of burial concessions available to individuals in France: *temporaire, pérenne* or *perpétuelle*. Temporary concessions last from five years to a maximum of fifteen years. (It is not required to purchase a concession; all citizens are entitled to one free plot for the first five years.) Perennial concessions last either thirty or fifty years, depending on the location and the availability of space, and can be renewed. Perpetual concessions do not have an expiration, provided the grave is maintained by a direct descendant of the initial concession holder. Any perpetual or perennial concession that has not been maintained for thirty or more years is subject to state recuperation if, within three years of being declared abandoned, no direct relative of the deceased is identified or willing to maintain the concession.

[8] In addition to Kselman, Strauss, and Ragon, see also: Erin-Marie Legacey, "Cities of the Dead: The Catacombs and Père Lachaise Cemetery in Post-Revolutionary Paris," in *The Urban Uncanny: A Collection of Interdisciplinary Studies*, ed. Lucy Huskinson (New York: Routledge, 2016), 75–89; and Nadine Pantano, "Liberal Politics and the Parisian Cemetery: David d'Angers and Léon Vaudoyer's Monument to General Foy, 1825–1831," *Oxford Art Journal* 20, no. 1 (1997): 23–34.

[9] Roger et fils, *Le Champ du Repos, ou le Cimetière Mont-Louis, dit du Père Delachaise*, 2 vols. (Paris: Lebègue, 1816).

[10] See "Avis de l'éditeur," in Roger et fils, vol. 1, xv–xvi.

[11] "N. 1343, planche XXVII. / Ici repose Armande-Julie-Rosalie LEFEVRE, épouse de Pierre LAMBERT, chirurgien, née à Paris le 8 avril 1751, décédée le 3 octobre 1813. De profundis. / Nota. Cette inscription est en lettres d'or sur un marbre ardoise." Roger et fils, vol. 1, 135.

[12] A scale for the monuments is included with the scale for the map at the beginning of volume 1.

[13] The Law of January 3, 1924, granted French townships the authority to recuperate any perpetual or *cinquantenaire* (fifty-year) concession that was in a state of abandonment. This law is upheld today by Article L.2223-17 of the *Code général des collectivités territoriales* (CGCT), and Article L361-17 of the "*Code des communes*" stipulates the procedures for such acts of recuperation.

[14] According to a dataset compiled at the University of California, Davis, the average daily wage for a Parisian craftsman in the period from 1800 to 1849 was 8.54 grams of silver per day. In 1815, 8.54 grams of silver was approximately equal to 1.84 French francs. (Converted using the Historical currency converter available on www.historicalstatistics.org). The median character count for monuments in Père-Lachaise present in 1815 was 170 characters. If we assume that the cost per letter was twelve centimes, then the cost of producing 170 characters was approximately equal to eleven full days of labor for a craftsman. For more information, see "Craftsmen's Relative Wages (Allen)," Global Price and Income History Group, University of California, Davis, http://gpih.ucdavis.edu/Datafilelist.htm#Europe, accessed March 1, 2018.

Table 1. Monuments erected for remarkable versus unremarkable Christian burials in the Cemetery of the East (Père-Lachaise) in 1824. Price recorded in francs (n = 13,415).

	All Christian burials	All 'remarkable' monuments (>100 francs)	Sculptural elements
No. of monuments	13,415	1,425	--
% of total monuments	--	10.63	--
Total expense (francs)	4,536,350	3,346,550	178,500
% of total expenses	--	73.77	3.93

Source: *Recherches statistiques sur la Ville de Paris et le Département de la Seine: Recueil de tableaux dressés et réunis d'après les ordres de Monsieur le Comte de Chabrol, Conseiller d'État, Préfet du Département*, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1826), table 61.

Table 2. Summary of variables taken from the monuments' inscriptions and of percent data completeness (n = 2121)

Variable	Count (n) given	Total given (%)	Count (n) calculated	Total calculated (%)
Gender	2058	97	--	--
Female	*991*	*47*	--	--
Male	*1067*	*50*	--	--
Year of death	1928	91	--	--
Age at death	943	44.5	1660	78
Year of birth	801	38	1622	76.5
Place of birth	537	25	--	--
Place of death	377	18	--	--
Occupation[*]	658	31	--	--
Perpetual concession[†]	--	--	36	1.7
Iron grill[‡]	--	--	1113	52.5
Character count[§]	--	--	2074	97.8

Source: Kaylee P. Alexander, Père-Lachaise in 1815 Database, constructed from Roger et fils, *Le Champ du Repos, ou le Cimetière Mont-Louis, dit du Père Delachaise* (Paris: Lebégue, 1816).

[*] Profession or official title of the deceased, or of the deceased's husband or father

[†] Each monument was given a dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no) to indicate if the monument was inscribed as being a perpetual concession; the count here indicates the number of monuments that received a 1.

[‡] Each monument was given a dummy variable (1 = yes, 0 = no) to indicate whether or not the illustration included an iron grill; the count here indicates the number of monuments that received a 1.

[§] The number of characters (excluding spaces) was calculated per complete inscription; all incomplete or illegible inscriptions have been excluded.

Table 3. Summary of occupational groups represented in the dataset (n = 658)

Occupation	Count (n)	Total (%)
Liberal profession	107	16.26
Artisan	83	12.61
Merchant	69	10.49
Government administrator	63	9.57
Military officer	58	8.81
Shopkeeper	51	7.75
Nobility	46	6.99
Government councilor	45	6.84
Clergy	30	4.56
Landowner	21	3.19
Knight	14	2.13
Banking profession	12	1.82
Professor	12	1.82
Laborer	8	1.22
Manufacturer	7	1.06
Student	6	0.91
Other	26	3.95

Source: Alexander, Père-Lachaise in 1815 Database.