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A SUMMARY OF TALKS AND ARTICLES October/November, 2019

A Tale of Two Lands: A Comparative Perspective on Grounds for Rebellion in the Tyrol and Norway during the Napoleonic Wars

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Having virtually been brought to his knees by his main foe shortly before Christmas, the subsequent peace forced the imperial monarch to cede one of his most treasured lands, known for its mountains and scenery, its deep-seated dynastic allegiance, the special privileges and liberties enjoyed by its inhabitants and its autonomy within the empire of which it was part, and its long traditions for popular military activity. A union that had lasted since the fourteenth century was thus brought to an abrupt end. The land in question was ceded to the kingdom adjacent to it, which had made numerous attempts to conquer it in the past and now saw a long-standing ambition fulfilled. Yet for the inhabitants this switch of rulers needed not bring far-reaching changes. They already had widespread economic relations with the kingdom to which they were now ceded and also shared language, religious confession and many other customs and cultural features. Indeed the similarities were such that the neighbouring kingdom had long argued that they were basically one and the same nation. The new ruler

also went far in guaranteeing that all existing liberties and privileges in the conquered land would be respected and upheld, including the constitutional charter, the right to popular participation in provincial assemblies, and to raise and organize their armed forces in much the same way as they had before. However, despite such guarantees, there was a general feeling in the conquered land that it would somehow be deprived of the privileged position and autonomy they had enjoyed in the empire to which they had hitherto belonged. Perhaps above all, the inhabitants feared the introduction of conscription into the conqueror's army, which they suspected would mean endless wars in foreign lands – as opposed to only defending their own homeland, the only military duty required from them by their previous monarch.

As a crude overview, the above paragraph stands as a fairly accurate depiction of the situation in Scandinavia in the winter of 1813-1814 and the circumstances surrounding Denmark's cession of Norway to Sweden in January 1814. Yet, what it does describe – however crudely – is what happened in Central Europe in late 1805, when Emperor Francis I of Austria had to cede the Tyrol to Bavaria after having been decisively defeated by Napoleon at Austerlitz. Not only were the contexts in which Norway was ceded to Sweden and the Tyrol to Bavaria quite similar; the Tyrol and Norway also had very much in common politically, socially and geographically. As such, these two cases do offer plenty of ground for comparison.



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Napoleon II: L'aiglon or „Little Franz“?

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Understandable summary made by Napoleon II about his life when he uttered these words in his last breath. However, from a contemporary viewpoint, other assessments given by the development of research and the gathering of various sources, both visual and literary, show us that his existence, although short, was truly intense and interesting.

This research shows a series of reflections on the position of Napoleon II before his passage from French imperial heir to German prince. From the analysis of everyday scenes established by the bibliography and the visual information provided by paintings and engravings related to his person, are exposed some significant elements about the essence of this contradictory existence of the eaglet, having been the product of an alliance and victim of a rupture. The first years of life of little Napoleon in France were of such intensity that even being so few, they would remain in his memory and determine many of his future attitudes until his death. But if at the same time it is logical to think about the high level of mental sensitivity that human beings have as children when observing, imitating and experimenting; it is of great relevance this process of apprehension and learning not in any child, but in one that was going to be one of the most powerful heirs of the world. The reflections of the hybridity given by his bicultural origin were inevitable, for example we could mention the difficulties he had as a child with the pronunciation of French, having as referents the Corsican accent of his father and the German one of his mother. However, everything was aimed at the prevalence of the French idiosyncrasy in his training as future emperor.

Under the care of the imperial governess, Madame de Montesquiou or like little Napoleon called her: Mamma Quiou, and the staff at his disposal at the Maison des Enfants de France; he had an intense educational process in order to introduce him not only to all the possible knowledge related to the intellectual development of a king, but also to the sensitivity and



The King of Rome
Thomas Lawrence (1818-1819)

Victory and Marriage and the heroification of Napoleons son, the Duke of Reichstadt

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Had there been no Wagram – there would have been no King of Rome as he was. After the defeat at Wagram, Austria was on the brink of bankruptcy. Another war – and the emperor Francis would probably have been for one – and the Habsburg monarchy could have collapsed, especially that Napoleon would probably have no more patience for its ruler. In such circumstances Metternich came up with an idea of salvation: an Austrian archduchess for the second wife of Napoleon, who shortly after the victory announced

the divorce with the empress Josephine. The situation had not been very easy for the Austrian chancellor at the beginning: Napoleon intended to bind his house with the Russian one, and had it not been for the reluctance of the tsar's mother, negotiations for a marriage with Alexander's sister, Anna Pavlovna, could have resulted in a success. However, on hearing that the decision keeps being postponed, Metternich came up with a new proposal: the Austrian emperor's eldest daughter, the archduchess Marie-Louise. Napoleon, who was well aware of Alexander's fickleness, jumped for this offer. (Interestingly, in his memoirs, written after Napoleon's fall, Metternich diminishes his role in this intrigue, as if he was reluctant to admit that he had orchestrated the marriage.)

Had Napoleon married the tsarevna, or a princess of any other ruling house the heir to the throne could still be styled King of Rome, but one of the reasons for the title's choice



*Roman motifs
in iconography*



Madame de Montesquiou prevented the kidnapping of the King of Rome from Schönbrunn.

(Private property)

commitment he should have as an heir. The responsibility that this destiny took upon him was taken in a pleasant way: he showed himself reciprocal to the ideals that were taught to him and with his great intelligence retained the great amount of academic information that he was required to carry. He had a prodigal memory he demonstrated by memorizing at the age of 2 years no less than 30 La Fontaine fables. He was reciprocal and open to the daily mental activity required to him not only explicitly during lessons but also in his leisure time and meals, which included didactic games to keep pace and input knowledge. The decoration of the walls of his rooms, the tapestry of the chairs and even the special tableware for him, entrusted to the manufacture of Sevres porcelain; had scenes related to what was being taught in lessons such as, for example, Geography references with the Niagara Falls or the Tibet; and above all, they had images of Ancient History and the French Empire including Rome and excerpts from the Napoleonic Code. These means of education were combined with an instructor and reference of greater influence that would fall on his developed premature intellect without struggles: his father and emperor of the French. Napoleon astonished many, during his

would have been absent. One of these was the recent annexation of Rome and the Papal States to the French Empire, as Italian departments. This was a major political achievement, and the symbolic meaning of Rome could have been considered for the prince's title. However, a more important reason for this choice was the long tradition of the title "King of the Romans" associated with the heirs to the imperial throne of the Holy Roman Empire – by adopting it Napoleon was assessing his superiority over the former power, dissolved after Austerlitz. It is hard to judge whether Napoleon would have felt compelled to use this title in case he allied himself with another European house.

Thus, the first period of heroization of Napoleon's son is only indirectly connected with the victory at Wagram. Actually, the policies of the imperial house of France were such that all traces of former hostilities with Austria (including the historical ones) were carefully erased from the imperial palaces on the wake of the arrival of the archduchess to France, together with warlike subjects in decoration altogether. Ho-



The First Steps of the King of Rome
Jules Girardet. Colored chalcography.

days as a father. The strong intransigent political and military manager was transformed in the presence of his son. There were no formalities or rules when it came to spending time with him. His office of masculine limited entrance and planned only for meetings and affairs of state, opened its doors to Montesquiou and the little one when he wished it. Numerous are the funny and tender anecdotes that show this affection, as Maria Luisa said "of mother", of Napoleon for his son: dipped his fingers in the sauce and made him get splashed with it; he would put him on his bicorne and hold his sword in his waist to disguise him as Napoleon himself; he would have him play with the small statuettes of his army that he used to make his military strategies. All this series of daily behaviors when father and son were together, created in the little king the admiration towards a loving and dedicated man. The gestures, conversations, decoration, toys, costumes, were essential elements in the setting of these moments that, although banal in terms of direct learning in lessons, had as much or greater intensity in the little boy's training. In this way he created aspirations that were not imposed, but already his own: to "become a soldier to be a warrior king just like father". Exile and separation arrived and suddenly the royal destiny of Bonaparte's successor takes a new direction. The fall of Napoleon was materialized with his departure to Elba and even after his attempt to rearrange everything with the Government of the Hundred Days, the end of his political career and his perfect family domestic life was imminent. Everything the boy had lived and learned in France, the moments with his admired father, the longing to remain as "the little king" and the accomplishments in raising awareness and political identification with himself as a young leader of France was interrupted by the imposition of a new family atmosphere and of new expectations that adjudged him for his future. From the very entrance to the Schonbrunn palace, the little boy felt the great pressure of the different. The anecdotes about the first days of Napoleon II in Vienna clarify how overwhelming and aggressive the public opinion that fell on him was, both, because of the joy of the Austrians for recovering a descendant of the Habsburgs, and the disdain towards the arrival of the son of the Corsican enemy of all the allied peoples. To this convulsive atmosphere were added the

wever, the naturally predominant iconography of the little King of Rome, loaded with allusions to Roman legends, especially that of the she-wolf who nourished Romulus and Remus, was a clear allusion to the Holy Empire legacy, which of course ran deeper, to Charlemagne, who was one of Napoleon's models in shaping his own public image.

The Austrian marriage itself was a bone of contention in France while it had been being planned, and during her stay in France Marie-Louise had not enjoyed an unanimously positive reception. The French remembered her great-aunt, Marie-Antoinette, to the point that predictions had been being made that such a union would be the beginning of Napoleon's fall. Combined with the appearance of opposite superstitions, that Josephine had been the Emperor's guiding star, they added to Marie-Louise's black legend, even though as long as the marriage lasted, it was apparently a prosperous one. Napoleon's reluctance to crown his wife and son before leaving on the 1812 campaign, and then in 1813, added to such mood.

Paradoxically, even in 1813 the dissolution of Napoleonic power was not to the best interest of Austria, and this could have been the topic of Metternich's meeting with Napoleon in Dresden, several months before the fatal battle of Leipzig. This is, however, one of the most mysterious episodes of the whole period, we know literally nothing about the subject of these talks, only that they were not successful, and resulted in Austria joining the coalition. We also know that even after that Austria could have supported the Napoleonic succession in the persons of the archduchess and her minor son – two persons who could be easily manipulated from Vienna. However, the obstinacy of the British, and the tsar's eventual support of their case, made this scenario impossible, and the emperor Francis called his daughter and grandson to Vienna, where the latter was to remain for the rest of his life, even if in 1814 he was still formally the hereditary prince of Parma. Soon, in 1817/1818, in the face of Italian rebellions, his status was changed to the titular Duke of Reichstadt (a hastily created duchy in northern Bohemia), and it was decided that Parma would be returned to the Bourbons after Marie-Louise's death.

As for the French bonapartist attitudes, however, everything changed, ironically, after 1814. It was popularly known that after arriving to Vienna during the Congress, Marie-Louise took little interest in her son and husband. At first she announced her will to join Napoleon on Elba, but this desire (arising from her very strong need of being proper and behave properly) was quickly quenched when she met Adam Albert von Neipperg, who accompanied her to Aix-les-Bains and soon became her lover. This union lasted until his death; before Napoleon's death Marie-Louise gave Neipperg two





The Duke of Reichstadt,
Johann Peter Krafft (1823).

strategies of his grandfather, the Emperor Francis II and the court, to distance him from the traditions and feelings related to France and his father. Many were willing to raise awareness of his position as a descendant of Austrian royalty. One of the first comments related to him was the tone of the courtier Bausset when he raised him to the painting of Joseph II and expressed his opinion on the great similarity that he attributed to the child with the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. However, Marie Louise was willing not to forget his paternal filiation and responded: "I agree that he's got the Habsburg lip, but the features are his father's." His maximum protectors, his mother and grandfather had to deal with disdainful visions when confronted with his French ancestry. Many commentaries and daily scenes within the court exemplify the Austrian reaction before the presence of the son of Napoleon Bonaparte. Although amazed by his beauty, at the end some people would say: "it is a pity that he has Napoleon as his father". The Emperor's own wife, Marie Ludovica, was reluctant to give protection to a Bonaparte: "If I were in your place," she said to her husband, "do you know what I would do with the son of that Corsican scoundrel? I'd make a monk of him. A monk, I say! I'd shut him up in a monastery. Then he'd never have any children, and we'd be rid of the accursed race for ever."

children, and in August 1821 married him morganatically. This was not broadcast, of course, but the lack of major interest in the son's life was a well-known factor. However, Marie-Louise became a positive character in bonapartist seditious iconography, as can be seen in a large number of prints and engravings from the years 1815-1830.

Her popularity waned under the July Monarchy, when Napoleonic topics ceased to be prohibited and persecuted, and – especially after the Duke's death in 1832 – the main theme in iconography became the apotheosis of the "Aiglon" (a nickname given to Napoleon's son in a 1832 article by Jules Janin, but popularized by Victor Hugo) and his reunion with his father.

Interestingly, the father was entirely absent from the official documents and announcements concerning the Duke during the Austrian period of his life. In the highly conservative, Catholic Austria, at a court which cared about appearances like few courts in Europe, the Duke of Reichstadt had been only the "son of the archduchess", whose husband was never being named.

Thus, throughout the lifetime of the King of Rome/Duke of Reichstadt, Wagram somehow loomed, even if it was never evoked or named. The King of Rome was a reminder of Austria's defeat, the Duke of Reichstadt was officially devoid of that inheritance. Ironically, he died in the same room of the Schönbrunn palace that his father had occupied during the signing of the Schönbrunn treaty which ended the war of 1809. Schönbrunn became so strongly associated with his person, even though he spent much of his time in his apartments in Hofburg, that when his person was being evoked in later literature, he was usually the "prisoner of Schönbrunn" (a nickname invented by the authors of "Le fils de l'homme", a widely circulating and read – and translated – poetical piece by Barthélemy and Méry, which was a foundation stone of the Duke's legend).

Quite unexpectedly Wagram makes a major appearance in another literary (theatrical) piece which boosted the Duke's popularity at the beginning of the 20th century – Edmond Rostand's "L'Aiglon". The piece premiered in 1900 in Paris, featuring Sarah Bernhardt, a 50+ years old diva in the role of the 20+ years old boy. It was an immediate success, and the universal appeal is attested by the performances worldwide: from America to New Zealand, and pre-revolutionary Russia. Both Rostand, and later Bernhardt visited Schönbrunn in order to prepare for the writing and performing of the text; the actress was denied, however, the permission to spend a night in the Duke's room.

The piece continued the tradition of the "prisoner of Schön-



Franz himself, now called in this way to replace the Francois or Little King with which his father used to call him, was discriminated against. One of the playmates who came to visit him was one of his uncles, the young Archduke Francis Charles, nine years older than him. He burned the dolls that represented Napoleon I and Maria Luisa and exclaimed: "I won't play with a French!" Emperor Francis watched over the protection of his grandson and saw the conversion of himself from French king to German prince not only as a mere political positioning of his offspring adjusted to the new context of breaking relations with France, but also to make the society that hated him and at the same time feared his father, accept him. Therefore, the purification of the titles obtained since his birth and the new appointments as Duke of Reichstadt and Count of Parma were not enough. It was necessary to instill in him the German traditions and education to achieve an emotional uprooting from the French and to create an appropriate image that would meet the expectations of the Austrian court and the victorious alliance-winning antibonapartist powers of the restoration of which Austria was a part. Given the need to put pressure on his ideals, the first decision taken would be to change education under the French system carried by his caregivers to place him under the education taught by men and aimed at the formation of a German prince and military. Mamma Quiou, Madame de Montesquiou; Chanchan, Madame Marchand and Toto, Madame Soufflot; his mothers, his most beloved caregivers were separated from him, leaving the Austrian Madame Mitrowski, Countess Skarampi. Metternich knew about how these French ladies spoke to him about his father, about Paris, the Tuileries and Saint Cloud and how in games they proclaimed him emperor. It was necessary to deprive him of any memory, of his French wooden soldiers, his ribbon of the Legion of Honor, which was replaced by the Order of St. Stephen, his illustrated book entitled *The Glories of France*, which showed engravings that attested the victories and the achievements of Napoleon, and his special carriage pulled by sheep that his aunt and godmother Caroline Murat had given him for his walks in the gardens of the Chateau de Saint-Cloud.

Reluctantly his new destiny was imposed on him. He was surrounded by men who would direct his education to lines other than the French ones: the prelate of the court, Bishop Wagner offered him his religious education, developing in him qualities and native Austrian virtues; Captain Foresti guided him in military art and Mathieu Collin instructed him in the German language, history, law and literature, getting him to like the writings of Goethe and Schiller whose readings he shared with his French favorites La Bruyere, Corneille and Racine. But his most important tutor was the Count Maurice Dietrichstein. At 40 he belonged to one of the main families of Austria. He was a former officer and a cultivated-minded man, Beethoven's patron. When appointed as a tutor, carried out in the young man's apartment in Hofburg, Dietrichstein writes to Marie Louise: "It seems to me that the prince with whose education I have been honored should be considered as being of Austrian descent and be brought up on German lines. His education will require much attention." Marie Louise

brunn", but focused on the Dukes search for identity, his fears – amplified by Metternich – that he is more of a Habsburg than a Bonaparte, his Hamletic behaviour, his lust for freedom, and finally his ultimate defeat. The latter is stressed by the last line of the piece, the words of Metternich right after the Duke's death. In French the text is subtle and sophisticated: "Vous lui remettrez son uniforme blanc" ("give him back his white uniform"), but the official English translation makes things clear "clothe him in his Austrian uniform". (In Polish and Hungarian it's "white", I don't have the German text.) Interestingly, ever since the premiere the stage uniform had been uniformly white, in discord with the actual uniform of the Gustav Vasa regiment, in which the Duke served in the last years of his life. An exception was made in the 1931 movie by Victor Tourjansky, with Jean Weber.

How does Wagram come into the play? The easiest answer



is: because of its proximity to Vienna. The main plot is focused around a fictional attempt at the Duke's escape from his grandfather's court (there were rumours of alleged plots like this in European press, but to the best of our knowledge, none of these plans ever saw any kind of accomplishment). After a failed attempt of Metternich to crush the Duke with his Habsburg heritage (shown to him in an impressive, fantastic scene of a parade of ancestors in a mirror), and the appearance in the palace of a French veteran, the Duke agrees to escape Vienna. The first – and actually last – stage of this escape is the battlefield of Wagram, where the veteran Flambeau evokes the ghosts of the past and shows the Duke his father's glory. However, he hesitates to long – concerned with the safety of his cousin, the countess Elisa Camerata (daughter of Napoleon's sister, Elisa Baciocchi, the former grand duchess of Toscania) who remained in Vienna impersonating him – and is taken by Austrian soldiers back to the city; Flambeau dies in an attempt to save the Duke. (Nb. Elisa was the only relative on his father's side who ever managed to get in touch with the Duke, and indeed she intended to take him away from Vienna – he was, nonetheless, so much afraid of the secret police that he took the meeting for a provocation...)

Wagram, however, has also an unexpected meaning in the play. The vision evoked by the veteran ends in having an entirely different effect on the Duke from the one intended. In one of the earlier scenes – Wagram is the Act V, i.e. the one but last, preceding the Duke's death – the Duke plays wargames with his friend and mentor, the count Anton von Prokesch-Osten, and he revokes the battles of Wagram, Eylau, Aspern. Later the name appears on the glory list when

agrees: "I want him to be turned into a completely German prince...It must be his own talents, his own brains, his own worth which make a name for him; for the name which he bears by birth is unhappily the reverse of a fine one." Despite Dietrichstein's commitment to the academic and ideological formation towards the German lines, his greater popularity in the eyes of Emperor Francis and Metternich was won over his opinion of not forcing him to forget his father. The strong resistance shown by the child to impositions, separation from his belongings and the French caregivers proved to be futile efforts. Given the impossible oblivion of his father, the new tutor proposed the reaffirmation of the memory of his father but turned towards the awareness of the bad example that it meant. The story of Napoleon would serve as a lesson and reflection before the end of defeat and ruin he obtained. Not only the daily anecdotes and essential aspects of the life of Napoleon II in France and Austria exemplify his abrupt change of political, cultural and family positioning in the before and after of the exile and defeat of his father. In addition to the bibliography, the artistic testimonies of the time also reflect with its visual information this transition from the differences of artistic projection in the two stages of his life that have been analyzed. These testimonies were created in large part thanks to the commissions made by Napoleon during his presence in France, then by Marie Louise to send them to his exiled husband and then by Emperor Francis II to exalt the figure of his grandson now under the aegis of the Habsburg. Everyone had their own interests and tried to show the child according to the expectations they had for him. Thus, these works, in addition to having different objectives such as leaving a memory of their physical appearance, contain certain details and convey certain messages that marked the vision of his social position to which he should correspond.

During his first stage in France, the main people in charge of shaping his real image were Francois Gerard, par excellence portraitist of the imperial family and Jean-Baptiste Isabey, a prestigious miniaturist. In the various engravings made, which highlighted the titles of King of Rome or Imperial Prince, beyond the achievement of a physical resemblance, the works emphasized on the presence not of Napoléon François Charles Joseph Bonaparte, but of the son of Napoleon I, the continuator of the feats of the Emperor. As a reincarnation of his father, they present him, though with his stature and infantile features, with an adult posture and with similarities in dress and physiognomy.

Once in Vienna, like all his life, the perspective of his image changes, determined above all by the demands of his grandfather in terms of his new projection to the world as a German prince. The titles of the works changed from imperial prince to Duke of Reichstadt; French authors will become Germans, Austrians or English and his physical appearance will be determined by distinctive elements very different from those previously adopted in France. This last aspect is exemplified by the works of Thomas Lawrence, an English painter who visited the Austrian emperor and made three portraits of little Franz when he was 8 years old. Beyond the inevitable physical growth of the child, other characteristics that

the Duke meets for the first time Flambeau, dressed as a lackey, in the presence of marshal Marmont, who historically was given the task of teaching the Duke about his father. The veteran makes a list of his campaigns and wounds, and inevitably Wagram is on that list.

The most important evocation of the battle before the Duke comes to the battlefield, is, however, in the conversation with the emperor Francis. In the heated quarrel, which be-



*France (J. Wéber), 1931
Movie by J. Tourjansky
Wéber played the role in various
French theatres
in the 1930s and 1950s*

gins from the Duke's anger at Metternich and Francis who never gave him the keepsakes left to him by Napoleon in his testament, the emperor in anger calls Napoleon "upstart", and this leads to the Duke shouting at his grandfather: "My birth is proof that you were beaten! I No! you can only hate me; for I am Wagram personified before your eyes!"

At first the visit at the battlefield gives the Duke wings: "The heroic savour, rising from this field, I Gives me a foretaste of my home; I Wagram!". When the plot is compromised, and the feared chief of the Austrian secret police, von Sedlnitzky himself appears on the battlefield, the Duke still challenges him by crying "on the field of Wagram I am at home!" It is Flambeau's death on a battlefield where he had survived a battle that makes the Duke hesitate about his right to call for more deaths in his own or his father's name. The dying veteran somehow produces the visions from the

distinguish this change of physical and moral projection with respect to the French are denoted. He is no longer represented with the pomposity of the military imperial clothing, with the insignia of the legion of honor, the feathers and all the regal position he had had, but with a tunic of disciplined academician, who is in formation and is directed towards a new destination. The hydrocephalic features of similar appearance to his father or the distinctive golden curls of Isabey's paintings, will now be replaced by short hair as demanded by military education and the prominence of the "Habsburg lip" as distinctive features that mark his German ancestry. Son of the eagle or little Franz? French imperial heir or German prince? This discord was one of the most complicated challenges that ruled his life. The affection received within the French people and within his imperial family were creating in him a sense and aspiration of his own beyond the commitment for which he was conceived: to be the heir and continuator of Napoleon I.

The inclemencies of the defeat and exile of his father and the exchange of powers in the international context towards monarchical restoration, caused him many deprivations and the imposition of new ideals, culture and expectations, however, the memory of his father and his French feeling was never erased. This is exemplified with these words that he would say to his friend Sophie when he was 18 years old:

"... Even in this country, at every step do not the sky, the stones, the trees talk to me about him? What about the score of victories he won on the battlefields of Austria? What about Austerlitz? What about Wagram? What about Lobau? Napoleon's shade still dwells in Schonbrunn, and it is ready to answer my summons... So they think they can turn me into an Austrian colonel, do they? Ah, what a disillusionment awaits them! They have done everything to stop me remembering; but I remember despite them. My father's picture is in my heart. If they want to get rid of it, they will have to tear out my heart with it..." ■



Franz Xaver Stöber
Duke of Reichstadt on the death bed

battle, and what the Duke had regarded as glory before, turns into a horror, and eventually he decides to give himself in as the expiatory offering for all the sufferings of the wars. However, he is persuaded to take command of the army of ghosts, but in the moment when he calls them to attack the "white uniforms", a real detachment of Austrian soldiers appears.

Thus Wagram has an ambiguous meaning in the play: from the battle that gave the Duke his life, it becomes the place which is the beginning of his agony – for in Rostand's version it is not a random horse ride which gives the Duke the cold and later the attack of tuberculosis, but this very attempt at escape. Somehow this echoes the most famous quotation from the Duke of Reichstadt, repeated by all his biographies in slightly different versions: "Ma naissance et ma mort, voilà toute mon histoire. Entre mon berceau et ma tombe, il y a un grand zéro" ("My birth and my death, this is all my history. Between my cradle and my tomb there is a great null"). ■

Delegazione Nord Italia del Le Souvenir Napoléonien

Programma della attività organizzate o patrocinate per i prossimi mesi del 2019/2020.

Sabato 19 ottobre vi è la possibilità di partecipare alla giornata densa di interessanti appuntamenti napoleonici a Campoformido, vi segnalo in particolare quelli del pomeriggio ove si concentra la parte più culturale della giornata, con conferenze e presentazioni di libri, tra i quali anche il primo numero della Rivista Italiana del Souvenir Napoléonien, riservata ai soci.

A novembre vi sarò la rievocazione storica ad Arcole, della quale riceverete il programma appena disponibile, e vi anticipo l'importante evento che avrà luogo a Villesse ove nel 2020 sarà inaugurato un monumento alla battaglia napoleonica del passaggio dell'Isonzo.

Con questa circolare la Delegazione ufficializza la sua nuova competenza territoriale, che permetterà di intensificare iniziative e contatti con i soci nel nord est Italia, regioni Veneto, Friuli Venezia Giulia e Trentino Alto Adige.

Con i più cordiali saluti

dott. Paolo Foramitti

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A Tale of two Lands *Continuation of page 1*

That being said, there was a major difference in the way the Tyroleans and the Norwegians reacted to the switch of rulers. The former rebelled ferociously and went on to wage a guerrilla war, whereas the Norwegians never went as far as that in their resistance. Yet, many Swedes feared the Norwegians would and their fears were not entirely unfounded. As far as this, the possibility of a Tyrolean war – or a Spanish war, which was the preferred contemporary analogy – in Norway seemed real enough, as several Swedish troops and commanders noted in letters, diaries and reports upon entering Norway in 1814. So why did the Tyroleans revolt against their new Bavarian masters while the Norwegians did not? This paper will argue that for all the similarities between the Tyrol and Norway and their fates in the age of Napoleon, Scandinavian advances in state-building in the previous century and a degree of Swedish tact prevented open rebellion from erupting in Norway, as opposed to the Tyrol where ruthless Bavarian state-building served to provoke a guerrilla war. ■

Severoli

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Filippo Giacomo Severoli was born on November 16th, 1762 in Faenza, Papal States. He was the second male son of count Giacomo Severoli and countess Livia Rondinelli. Being the second, in origin he seemed destined to the Church. Thus, he attended the Noblemen's College of Ravenna, managed by the Jesuits, and in 1783 entered the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy of Rome, the reknown school of Papal diplomacy, where one of Filippo Severoli's classmates was Annibale della Genga, later pope Leo XII. Anyway Severoli left the Academy and seems to have

gone back home, also if nothing is known about his life since when he left the Academy till 1796.

In 1796 he joined the incoming Revolution along with his brothers Pietro and Girolamo, but was arrested by the Papal police. He soon escaped to Florence and came back to Faenza in early 1797. Protected by the French occupiers, Filippo, together with his brother Pietro, became a member of Faenza French-supported municipality and, in a while, a member of the Central Administration of Romagna organized by the French

On February 15th, 1797 he was appointed Battalion Chief – major – of the Cohors of Emilia, a 600 men strong corps commanded by marquess Alessandro Belmonte Cima, and fought during Bonaparte's campaign in Friuli that Spring. Very soon Severoli replaced Belmonte Cima. When in Summer 1797 the Cispadane Republic was melted to Lombardy and other "Sister Republics" into the Cisalpine Republic, the Cohors of Emilia joined the Cisalpine Army. by November the Cohors became the 3rd Infantry Legion – "Legione d'Infanteria" – composed of two battalions and commanded by Severoli.

On January 17th, 1798, Severoli was appointed Brigade Chief – equal to colonel – but on March 25th, 1799 he became the commander of the 1st "Mezza Brigata d'infanteria" – Infantry Half-Brigade, composed of three battalions.

When the Allied offensive came, the 1st "Mezza Brigata d'Infanteria" fought in Tuscany. Then retreated north-west along with the French. On August 15th, 1799 the Legion bravely fought at Novi, and was one of the vey few corps on the French side not to collapse.

Severoli followed the French in their withdrawal across the Alps. In Lyon he joined the Italic Legion, commanded by general Giuseppe Lechi, and got the command of one of the two surviving Infantry Half Brigades. In 1800 the Legion followed Napoleon in his Italian campaign, and was on his extreme left wing. After Marengo Severoli went back to Tuscany once more, to fight against the advancing Neapolitan troops. On September 22nd, 1800 Severoli was appointed Brigade General: now he was one of the seven Brigade Generals of the Cisalpine Republic. The Cisalpine Army had at that time four divisions: Italic, Polish, Cisalpine

and Interior Division, and a "Detached Corps", and Severoli's brigade belonged to the Italic Division, commanded by Giuseppe Lechi.

On December 24th, 1800 Severoli and his Brigade followed Polish general Dombrowski, who was one of the four division generals of the Republic, on the Mincio, protecting the back of the French Army on the Po.

From 1801 to 1806 Severoli's troops had garrison duties, whilst his family increased her influence on the opposite side of the front, for, ironically, Severoli had a cousin, Antonio Gabriele, who was five years older than he was, belonged to the papal diplomacy, and just in 1801 became the papal nuncius in Vienna, to be later appointed cardinal in 1816, run for pope in 1823 and failing due to having been vetoed by emperor Francis of Austria.

In 1802 Filippo Severoli's Brigade belonged to Lechi Division in Milan. Later he garrisoned Romagna. In 1806 he was awarded with the rank of commander of the Iron Crown, and took part in the invasion of the Kingdom of Naples. serving under Massena. Once the quick conquer of the Kingdom of Naples achieved, Severoli was in charge of fighting against the Bourbonian supporters, defined "brigands" by the French, in Apulia. It lasted a few months, for he was recalled north due to the preparation of 1807 campaign in Germany.

In March 1807 the viceroy gave him the command of a Brigade to be sent to Northern Germany to reinforce general Teulie's Italian division, committed against Kolberg. After Teulie's death on June 18th, Severoli took the command of the Division and on October 7th was formally appointed Division General. After the peace of Tilsit, in August 1807 he took part to the siege of Stralsund against the Swedes. Back to Italy, he commanded a division and, when the War of the Fifth Coalition began, he marched against the Austrians. On April 16th, 1809 he fought at Sacile with the only Italian Division involved on that day, and had an arm severely wounded. As it is well known, the battle was fought within the pentagon limited by the roads to Sacile, from Fontanafredda to Tamai, from Tamai to Brugnera, and from Brugnera to Sacile.

At dawn the Viceroy's Army,



including troops commanded by generals Seras, Severoli, Broussier, Berthier, Grenier, Barbou and Sahuc, seized Paise and moved to Porcia. Frimont reacted and his cavalry charged Severoli's troops. The Italian division retreated along with the French of Seras, who counterattacked and seized Porcia back. As soon as Seras' troops entered the town, were attacked by the Austrian Brigade Colloredo, coming from Rorai Piccolo. Grenier moved a Brigade against Colloredo and the Austrians were forced to withdrawal. The Austrian reserve advanced. Grenier and Seras advanced too, and there was a hand to hand clash in Porcia. Then Archduke John committed his I Corps toward Fontanafredda and halted Broussier, who was advancing to support Grenier in Porcia. The I Corps put in crisis the Viceroy's left, and Eugene ordered to withdrawal. The movement was protected by Seras and Severoli toward Brugnera, whilst Broussier and Grenier, pressed by the Austrians, reached Sacile not in good conditions. the Austrian success was cancelled very soon. The events in Germany let the Archduke retire toward Austria, and the Viceroy pursued him with the Army of Italy till the plain around Wagram. On June 14th, 1809 Severoli fought at

Raab, was wounded twice and had two horses killed under him. His Division acted against the Austrian right wing, rejected Jelačić's troops and seized a part of the village of Szabadhegy. After that clash, Severoli besieged 18,000 Austrians in Presburg/Bratislava, and prevented them to join the Archduke in Wagram on the day of the battle. After that campaign Severoli, on August 15th, 1809 was awarded with the Legion d'honneur. Later he was committed to Tyrol and fought against the local patriots. Back to Italy, in January 1810 he was ordered to go to Spain to replace general Pino at the head of an Italian Division, officially from March to November. He fought at the siege of Hostalrich, near Barcelona, and around Tarragona. In Summer Severoli made many counter guerrilla actions. In that same 1810 he was ennobled by Napoleon as a Count of the Empire, with a 10,000 liras annual income, to be paid by the Tyrolean public estate. Back to Italy, he organized a division to be sent to Spain. On July 4th, 1811 he was still in Milan. Next August he arrived in Spain with 9,000 men. At the beginning of September he reached Pamplona and established his headquarter there, and was

ordered to garrison an area from Navarra to Aragona. At the end of December he moved his division to Valencia to support the French troops besieging that city. Valencia surrendered on January 9th, 1812 and Severoli was ordered to besiege Peñíscola. In June 1813 Severoli's division successfully rejected a British landing attempt against Tarragona. That same year all the surviving Italian troops in Spain were concentrated into a sole division under Severoli's orders, and Napoleon was so happy with his behavior that promoted him to officer of the Legion d'honneur. Anyway the Napoleonic collapse in Germany against the Sixth Coalition that year, and the related Allied offensive in Italy let viceroy Eugene call Severoli and his troops back. Severoli

arrived in Italy in January 1814 and was ordered by Eugene to defend Piacenza and reconquer Parma. He did what he could but was heavily outnumbered; moreover in early March Murat passed on the Allied side. Thus on March 7th, 1814 Severoli's troopers were attacked by 18,000 Austrians and Murat's Neapolitans near Reggio Emilia. Severoli had roughly 3,000 men. He decided to hold, but at the beginning of the clash a cannonball crashed him a leg, and he was forced to give up the command. The battle was lost and his leg was cut. The Italic Kingdom collapsed. On March 16th, 1815 the Austrian Government let Severoli retire with the rank of Lieutenant Marshall, but on December 17th, 1820 he was recalled to active, although sedentary, duty and was appointed governor of Piacenza, now ruled by and duchess – and former empress – Marie Louise of Habsburg. He held that post till 1822, when on April 16th, he was allowed to definitely retire and awarded with the Austrian order of the Iron Cross. He died that same year, six months later, on October 6th 1822 in Fusignano, at the age of 59, and was buried there. His name was inscribed on the Arc de Triomphe, his body lies in the chapel of the Guardian Angel. ■

Sommer 1809.

Lager, Schlacht, Gräber.

Archäologische Untersuchungen bei Wagram

Slawomir Konik

Einleitung

Von März 2017 bis Oktober 2018 fanden auf dem 14 ha großen Gebiet der Gemeinden Parbasdorf und Deutsch Wagram, entlang der Trasse der künftigen Schnellstraße S8, archäologische Grabungen statt. Sie wurden von der Asfinag in Auftrag gegeben und sollen die Überreste jenes Feldlagers untersuchen, in welchem die österreichische Armee in der Zeit von Mai bis Juni 1809 stationiert war. Die Bauarbeiten geben Archäologen eine besondere Gelegenheit zur Untersuchung dieses Feldlagers sowie Überreste des zwei Tage dauernden Kampfes zwischen der Armee des Habsburgerreichs und jener des französischen Kaiserreichs.

SCHLACHT: Oberflächeuntersuchungen auf dem Schlachtfeld

Von Beginn des Projektes an wurden mithilfe von Metalldetektoren weitläufige Untersuchungen der Oberfläche durchgeführt. Dabei sollten bewegliche Funde, die sich in der oberen Erdschicht befinden, gesammelt und mithilfe von GPS-Geräten eingemessen werden. Schon am ersten Tag wurden erste Gegenstände gefunden. Jeden Tag wurden zahlreiche Musketen- und Kartätschenkugeln, Bruchstücke einer Kanonenbombe, Uniformknöpfe, Schnallen und Waffenteile entdeckt. All dies kann in Verbindung mit dem Schlacht oder dem Betrieb des Feldlagers gebracht werden. Insgesamt wurden in Oberboden über 2300 Musketenkugeln, 550 Kartätschenkugeln und über 150 Bruchstücke von Haubitzenkugeln verschiedener Kaliber sowie fünf ganze Gusseisenkugeln gefunden, was von großer Intensivität der Kämpfe in dieser Gegend zeugt (Abb. 1). Besonders interessant sind die Funde von französischen Uniformknöpfen, welche charakteristische Merkmale

wie die Nummer des Regiments und Verzierung aufweisen und dadurch die Truppengattung erkennen lassen. Insgesamt wurden 58 solcher Knöpfe im Humus gefunden. Sie können 20 verschiedenen französischen Linieninfanterie-Regimentern, zwei Leichteinfanterie-Regimentern, einer Gardeeinheit und einem Artillerieregiment zugeordnet werden. Knöpfe aus sechs Regimentern (29. IR, 84. IR, 13. IR, 19. IR, 102. IR, 62. IR) sind mit dem Gefecht am 5. Juli zu verbinden, Knöpfe aus sieben Regimentern (8. LIR, 1. IR, 52. IR, 9. LIR, 8. IR, 94. IR, 96. IR) mit dem Schlacht am 6. Juli. Weitere Knöpfe stammen aus fünf Regimentern, die wahrscheinlich nur durchgezogen sind (85. IR, 61. IR, 105. IR, 72. IR, 3. IR). Vereinzelt Knöpfe aus fünf Regimentern werden als mögliche Kriegstrophäen der Schlacht bei Aspern interpretiert. Der Gardenkнопf kann eigentlich zu jeder dieser Kategorien gehören. Insgesamt wurden über 650 Knöpfe im Humus gefunden. Dazu gehören außerdem österreichische Militärknöpfe aus dem Jahr 1809, importierte Knöpfe aus England, k.u.k. Artillerieknöpfe aus der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jh., Livreeknöpfe, Scheibenknöpfe und andere

Abb.1

Legende

- Musketenkugeln nicht abgeschossen
- Musketenkugeln abgeschossen
- ▶ Kartätschenkugel
- ▶ Bombensplitter
- Trasse S8

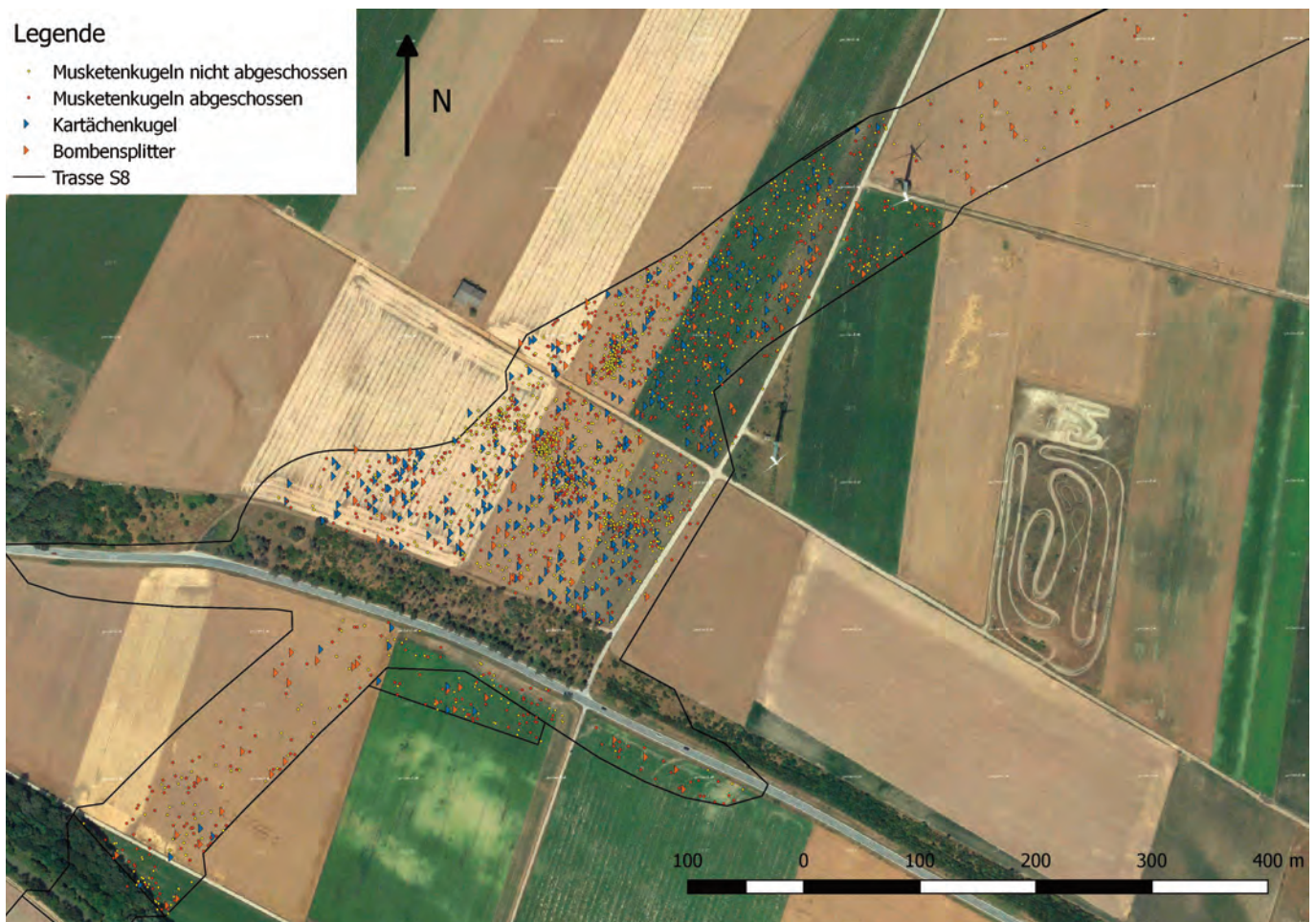




Abb. 2

aus verschiedenen Materialien wie Messing, Zinn, Perlmutter, Bein, Arsenbronze oder Silber. Im Humus fanden sich auch 783 Münzen, vor allem aus dem 19. Jh., aber auch silberne Münzen aus dem 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert.

Die Ausgrabungen

Die ersten archäologischen Befunde wurden bereits Ende März 2017 entdeckt. Rasch stellte sich heraus, dass sie aufgrund der Funde an den Anfang des XIX. Jh. datiert werden können und somit in den oben beschriebenen militärischen Kontext passen. Dies bestätigen auch massenhaft auftretende Bleikugeln für Musketen, Gurtschnallen, Knöpfe und andere bei den Untersuchungen des Oberbodens entdeckte Funde. Bald stieß man auch auf – nur flach eingegrabene – menschlichen Knochen. Insgesamt wurden über 500 Befunde dokumentiert und ausgegraben, davon 25 Einzel- oder Massengräber (Abb. 2).

LAGER

„Die Truppen lagern sämtlich unter freiem Himmel [...]. Alle übrigen Offiziere und Gemeinen begnügen sich mit Erdgruben, denen etwa ein Dach von Rasen und Laubzweig das Ansehen von Hütten und einigen Schutz gegen das Wetter lieh.“ Diese Worte, geschrieben von Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, einem Augenzeugen der Ereignisse, Offizier des 47. IR Voglsang und zugleich deutscher Schriftsteller der Romantik, geben eine kurze, aber sehr wertvolle Beschreibung des österreichischen Feldlagers, das sich



Abb. 3

damals zwischen Deutsch Wagram und Marktgrafneusiedl befand. Die österreichische Armee, die dort zwischen der Schlacht bei Aspern und Essling sowie der Schlacht bei Wagram über einen Monat lang stationiert war, bewohnte nicht Zelte oder Baracken, sondern errichtete Grubenhäuser. Das kann man sich nur damit erklären, dass in Sommer Hitzewellen und Temperaturen von bis 37° C herrschen und durch das Marchfelder Flachland böenartige Winde mit einer Geschwindigkeit von 80 km/h wehen. Die mit Dächern bedeckten Grubenhäuser garantieren eine angenehme Kühle und schützen leichte Gegenstände vor dem Wegfliegen. Das untersuchte Grabungsareal enthüllte zwei ca. 30 m breite Streifen von Gruben, die sich vom Nordwesten aus in Richtung Südosten, ca. 280 m voneinander entfernt, ausdehnten. Aufgrund von Karten aus dieser Zeit kann man die Lagergruben als Stellungen des 35. IR (nördliche Reihe) und des 47. IR (südliche Reihe) identifizieren. Die Gruben hatten verschiedene Größen und waren unterschiedlich gut – in den meisten Fällen jedoch nur mehr seicht – erhalten. Allerdings war zu erkennen, dass sie die Form eines Rechtecks oder fast eines Quadrats hatten und durchschnittlich eine Größe von 2,5 m x 2 m erreichten (die größten davon 3,5 x 3 m). Die Tiefe betrug im Durchschnitt 0,2 m bis 0,5 m (Abb. 3). Das zahlreiche Fundmaterial in den Gruben hinterlässt keine Zweifel bezüglich der Datierung und Verwendung. Fast in allen Objekten wurden Musketenkugeln aus Blei, Schnallen, Uniformknöpfe, Schuhnägel, Keramik- und Glasgeschirr gefunden. Zu den selteneren Funden gehören bleiummantelte Feuersteine,

tönerne Tabakspfeifen, Kartätschenkugeln aus Gusseisen, Kanonenkugeln, Feldflaschen etc. Auf dem Boden der Gruben fanden sich 36 französische Uniformknöpfe, darunter Knöpfe mit der Aufschrift „Republique Francaise“ am Rand, verziert mit Fasces und phrygischer Mütze sowie datiert auf 1792/1793, Artillerieknöpfe mit brennender Granate, gekreuzte Kanonen und einige einfache Knöpfe aus den französischen Infanterieeinheiten. Diese Knöpfe kann man großteils als Trophäen identifizieren, vor allem die Knöpfe aus den Artillerieeinheiten, aus dem Korps Marschall Massénas, vermutlich auch jene des Korps Oudinot und der italienischen Armee. Zusätzlich wurden zwei Vorderbleche von französischen Tschakos als Trophäen identifiziert.

GRÄBER

Die auf den Schlachtfeldern gefundenen Gräber geben den Archäologen und Anthropologen viel Raum für die Forschung, zum Beispiel über Krankheiten und Degenerationen, aber auch über die Ausrüstung und die Art des Todes. Sie zeigen, wie man mit den Leichen und vor allem mit den Schrecken des Krieges umgegangen ist. Insgesamt fanden sich 25 Einzel- und Massengräber mit 60 Skeletten. Alle Funde aus den Gräbern wurden eingemessen, da diese ein Schlüssel zur Zuordnung der Gefallenen zu den Regimentern sein könnten. Zuerst wurde aufgrund der beiliegenden Knöpfe festgestellt, welcher Einheit die Soldaten angehört hatten. 25 Soldaten dienten in französischen Einheiten (zwölf in der Armée d'Italie, elf im II. Korps Oudinot,



Abb. 4

einer im IX. Korps Bernadotte, einer in der Gardeeinheit), vier in sächsischen Einheiten und 13 in österreichischen Regimentern (sieben im 47. IR, sechs im 35. IR). 18 Skelette bleiben anonym, da die bei Ihnen gefundenen Gegenstände nicht für eine effektive Zuordnung ausreichten.

Die in den Gräber aufgefundenen Knöpfe dienen nicht nur der Zuordnung, sie können auch zeigen, wo einige Soldaten früher gedient hatten beziehungsweise über deren militärische Laufbahn Aufschluss geben. Bei dem Skelett des Soldaten aus dem französischen 23. LIR fand sich ein englischer Knopf mit Anker und der Herstellersignatur „Hammond, Dickinson & Turner“. Es handelt sich um eine Kriegstrophäe, wahrscheinlich aus Süditalien, wo das 23. LIR mit Engländern gekämpft und an der Einnahme der Insel Capri teilgenommen hatte (Abb. 4).

Zwei spanische Knöpfe wurden in einem Massengrab bei einem 20- bis 30-jährigen Soldat aus dem französischen 96. IR gefunden (Abb. 5). Der Soldat hatte höchst wahrscheinlich im Jahr 1808 in Spanien gedient. Danach wurde er nach Frankreich zum sogenannten 4. Bataillon geschickt. Im Jahr 1809

wurde er mit seinen jungen Kameraden gegen Österreich entsendet und fiel bei der Schlacht bei Wagram.

Ein drittes interessantes Beispiel ist ein einzel bestatteter österreichischer Soldat aus dem 47. IR. Im Bereich der Füße wurden mehrere Gegenstände wie Musketenputzer (Krätzer), eine Glasflasche, mehrere Schnallen, drei Flintsteine und Musketenkugeln sowie ein französischer Knopf aus dem 4. IR gefunden. Die Funde werden als Tornisterinhalt interpretiert, wobei der französische Knopf eine Kriegstrophäe aus der Schlacht bei Aspern sein kann. Dort haben die beiden Regimenter, das österreichische 47. IR und französische 4. IR, gegeneinander gekämpft.

Archäologie und Geschichte der Schlachtfeld

Das wichtigste Ergebnis der Untersuchungen ist, dass das österreichische Lager aus dem Jahr 1809 archäologische Spuren hinterlassen hat, was bisher unbekannt war. Damit könnten in Zukunft weitere Untersuchungen und Ausgrabungen durchgeführt werden,

die für die junge Disziplin der Schlachtfeldarchäologie sehr wichtig wären. Vor allem die Schlacht bei Wagram als die größte jemals auf österreichischem Boden ausgetragene Schlacht hat einen besonderen Platz in der europäischen Geschichte. Das Schlachtfeld und die militärischen Lager sind vielfach bedroht: große Teile von ihnen wurden und werden durch das Schottergrubengelände in Marktgrafneusiedl zerstört, aber auch die zunehmende Bautätigkeit in Wien (bei Aspern, Essling, Breitenlee, Süßenbrunn) und Niederösterreich (Aderklaa, Raasdorf, Deutsch-Wagram, Gerasdorf etc.) stellt eine große Bedrohung dar. Ein weiteres Problem bei den Arbeiten sind Personen, die ohne Bewilligung mit Metallsuchgeräten die Grabung heimgesucht, Befunde zerstört sowie Funde entwendet haben.

Ausblick

Die Vielfalt der Daten, Funde und Ergebnisse wurde bereits dargestellt; einen besonderen Stellenwert nehmen aber menschliche Überreste der Gefallenen ein.

Die sechzig gefundenen Skelette aus



Abb. 5

den 25 Gräbern bergen ein riesiges wissenschaftliches Potenzial für interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen (Archäologie, Anthropologie, Geschichte und Genetik). Ein internationales Team von Wissenschaftlern aus Polen, Österreich, Frankreich und Schweden kommt der Identifizierung der Toten mit Ihrem vollständigen Namen, Geburtsdatum, Geburtsort, Herkunft etc. immer näher. Eine große Herausforderung wird es sein, den jeweiligen Familien oder zumindest den Herkunftsländern die Toten zurückzugeben, damit sie mit Pietät und Respekt bestattet werden können. ■

Abbildungsnachweis:

Abb. 1. Verteilung von Musketenkugeln, Bombensplittern und Kartätschenkugeln im Untersuchungsbereich. Vorlage: Stadtarchiv Wien, Bearbeitung: Sławomir Konik

Abb. 2. Trassenverlauf durch das österreichische Militärlager mit gefundenen Lagergruben. Vorlage: Stadtarchiv Wien, Bearbeitung: Sławomir Konik

Abb. 3. Dokumentierte Lagergruben. Foto: Igor Pieńkos

Abb. 4. Parbasdorf, Obj. 77. Oben das auf der Seite liegende Skelett eines Soldaten aus dem 96. IR. Foto: Bogusława Miska, Novetus

Abb. 5. Englischer Knopf mit Anker. Foto: Bogusława Miska, Novetus

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Two inhabitants of Pressburg sentenced by the French military court in Vienna in 1809

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The French army strictly punished those who violated the rules of war, as evidenced by documents from the Hungarian territory. For example in Vas County, both fighting sides executed people accused of espionage, whether it concerned soldiers or civilians. The French military court was also active against the citizens of Pressburg. In this case, the matter was related to another issue. Chief Rabbi of Pressburg Chatam Sofer (real name Moshe Schreiber) states: "... On days of big battles, the fields were full of human corpses, like 'manure in the field'. Weapons and armaments lay loose for people to collect; pheasants collected them and brought them by thousands to the Jews for sale..." Through the sale of free weapons, the inhabitants sought an opportunity to get some money. From the *Wiener*

Zeitung newspaper, we come to know that a big amount of weapons was found buried in the ground near Vienna. A total of 10,000 rifles were seized and transported to Pressburg. Several million in guilders and paper money, the Bankozettels, and many Austrian government securities faced the same fate. The *Wiener Zeitung* newspaper further states: "His Majesty [Napoleon], is favourably inclined to reward every person, who will help to uncover such matters and is determined to give a quarter of a price of discovered items to those who will provide information about rifles, ammunition, uniforms, Bankozettels and other assets and financial resources that belong to the Austrian government." It was possible to state in writing or orally to provincial intendant, chief intendant, provincial governor or French intermediary. Rabbi Ch. Sofer in his memoirs states: "A man was found here [in the Jewish community of Pressburg] named Mordechai (Marcus) Oberbreit who endangered himself and others because he was buying these weapons and sent entire wagons to our Lord, Emperor to Pest and conducted it all publicly." He continues: "When the enemy units that were camping here found it out, they captured him and 'he approached the gates of death', and on the feast day of Jom Kipur, ten men from Stampfen [today's Stupava], who were arrested because of him, were brought here and thanks to God who saved their village, because they

intended to devastate and plunder and God has thwarted their decision."



The decision of the French military court



Chatam Sofer (1762 – 1839), an important orthodox Rabbi of Pressburg

appointed defence attorney. T. Behrend was supposed to read the convicts their sentence at the execution site. For unknown reasons, however, the execution warrant remained unfulfilled. T. Behrend stated that in a couple of days after cannon shots announced that the peace treaty of Schönbrunn was signed both convicts and other prisoners were released. The whole matter T. Behrend concluded with the words: *“Naturally, I was pleased with the result and felt that 1,000 guilders in my pocket were suddenly much lighter.”* The fact that the convicts weren’t executed other archival sources prove too. According to them F. Tugend’s career as a master gunsmith in Pressburg overreached the year 1809 far beyond. The first apprentice of F. Tugend completed his apprenticeship in 1805, the last only in 1834. Between the years 1811 and 1815 was among apprentices his son Ignatius Tugend as well. In 1816 F. Tugend undertook a position of guild master. In the *Preßburger Zeitung* newspaper from 1848, I managed to find interesting information, according to which this year in Pressburg at the age of 94 died merchant named Marcus Obernbreit. Based on the mention of age in the decision of the French military court, M. Obernbreit actually should have been about 90-years-old. It is very likely, therefore, that it is the same person and M. Obernbreit so not only survived the events of the tragic year 1809 but lived to a great age as well.

As a matter of interest, in the Jewish society in Pressburg, the hearsay was spread that even Rabbi Ch. Sofer was brought in before the French military court because he decided the dispute between traders of weapons. General, who grew up in the same house as Rabbi Ch. Sofer in Frankfurt am Main, was supposed to take part in the court. The General was allegedly disobedient as a child. His mother envied a happy mother of decent and diligent Moshe and complained about her son. That troubled Moshe. He sought his peer and told him to do better. It worked and the boy was suddenly different. He studied hard and achieved a great career. When Rabbi Ch. Sofer stood before the court, the general rose from his chair and exclaimed: *“Moshe, is it you?”* Without any accusation, he accompanied him home with reverence. Rabbi Ch. Sofer did not mention this event. ■

Rabbi Ch. Sofer did not record the course of the trial or its outcome. The decision of the French military court I managed to find shed some more light on the matter. The court was on the order of the French Emperor in session on 25th September 1809. Members of the commission were Chartre, Thomas, Gargam, Charlot, Jarlot, Begarlé, and Jossa. They were appointed by Governor of Vienna in 1809 and the French Ambassador in the city, Antoine François Andreóssy. The commission aimed to judge rifle shooters from Pressburg, Friedrich Tugend and Georg Schwartz, also Jewish merchant living in Pressburg, Marcus Obernbreit, and inhabitant of Pressburg of Jewish descent, Simon Joseph. They were accused of trade in weapons to sell them to the enemy. Moreover, rifle shooters from Vienna, Stephan Weiss, and Johann Benntz were accused of being accessories to the crime. The accused were brought in freely and without irons. After their examination, the commission unanimously found F. Tugend and M. Obernbreit guilty because they were not able to state anything to their defence. The other accused were found innocent. Based on the second part, the first section and fourth article of the Military Code of Criminal Procedure, F. Tugend, and M. Obernbreit were sentenced to death. F. Tugend sent his family a goodbye letter, which they received on 3rd October 1809. In it, he asked the magistrate to take care of his wife and children. Even though the

Preßburger Zeitung and Wiener Zeitung newspapers did not inform about the trial, the report about it can be found in other historical periodicals, for example in *Baierische National-Zeitung, Journal de l'Empire or Nouvelles littéraires et politiques*. I managed to find further interesting information about the fate of F. Tugend and M. Obernbreit in the diary of Theodor Behrend, who worked as a translator and interpreter in Vienna during the French occupation of the city in 1809. A representative of local weapons manufacturers, Kalno, approached him and asked him to write a letter in French to the defence of the accused. Young and inexperienced T. Behrend thought about the possibility to help the accused, but on the other hand, to improve his situation and in the end, he accepted the offer despite the fear. He was given complete paperwork. The most important document was the report written by Governor A. Andreóssy addressed to Marshal Louis Alexandre Berthier. The report stated that the French had seized several ships with weapons and ammunition that were destined for the Austrian army and their owners F. Tugend and M. Obernbreit had been arrested. The report was submitted to Napoleon. He wrote on the margin of the report: *“Bring these people in before the war council that will likely sentence them to death.”* T. Behrend subsequently wrote the letter. Kalno thanked him for this service with a check for 1,000 guilders. In the court, the letter was read verbatim by the

Napoleon in East Prussia

(Description of the places where Napoleon stayed in the territory of the Kaliningrad region)

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In this article, I will tell only about the places where Napoleon stayed in modern Kaliningrad Region of Russia. I used such sources as the Memoirs of the General Baron Marbot, Eugene Labaume, Captain of the Royal Geographical Engineers, Ex-Officer of the Ordnance of Prince Eugene, Diary of Counsellor of the Commission of Justice, Ernst Ludwig Siehr, Memoirs of Robert von Eberstein and of the legendary Russian commander Denis Davydov. Following the decision of the Potsdam Conference, Prussia was eliminated as a state formation. East Prussia was divided between Soviet Union and Poland. USSR gained one-third of East Prussia together with its capital, Königsberg (later renamed Kaliningrad). The territory joined Russian SFSR as Kaliningrad Region. After the breakdown of the Soviet Union, it became a semi-exclave of the Russian Federation.

Napoleon visited East Prussia twice: during the 'First Polish Campaign' of 1806-1807 and during the 'Second Polish Campaign' of 1812. In January 1807, the main military events of the Franco-Russo-Prussian war took place near Landsberg (Górowo Iławeckie), Preußisch Eylau (Bagrationovsk) and Bartenstein (Bartoszyce), that is near the border of modern Poland and Kaliningrad Region. Napoleon was going to start a surprise offensive and defeat the adversary in a pitched battle. On 5 February, Russian army, on their way to Königsberg, passed Landsberg. Next day, French army entered the town. Napoleon ordered an apartment to be prepared for him in the house of the local church pastor Karl Wilhelm Kob. However, his plans changed and he rushed to meet the Russian army in Preußisch Eylau.

On 8 February a pitched battle took place near the city walls between the



Napoleon in East Prussia 1807

Russo-Prussian army of Leonty Leontievich von Bennigsen and Napoleon's army. The French Emperor observed the battle from the tower of the city church. The church of Preußisch Eylau was built in 1335. It is Gothic and made of brick. The church suffered almost no damage during the Second World War and was used in post-war years as a stable. Despite being recognized a monument of architecture, it was handed to the subsidiary of the Kwarts factory in 1967 and transformed into an industrial shop. The battle of Preußisch Eylau was bloody and violent. It was a strategic draw but both commanders pretended they were victorious. Bennigsen decided not to take risks and, after consulting other generals, ordered his army to retreat to

Königsberg. As for Napoleon, he also retreated from the place of the battle and stopped to pass a night two kilometers from the town, at Ziegelhof village (it does not exist anymore). It was here that he learned about the Russian retreat and took decision to come back to Preußisch Eylau next day. Russian retreat towards Königsberg would give Napoleon a weighty argument when he claimed to have won in this terrible battle. "Napoleon spent several days in Eylau, to get the wounded back on their feet and to reorganize his units" (Marbot). Then, he led his army to the other coast of Passarge (Pasłęka) River. Napoleon lived in Preußisch Eylau on the former Landsbergstraße between 7 and 17 February 1807. In honour of this event, in 1999 a commemorative



Napoleon receives Queen Louise in Tilsitt

plaque was installed on the House 9 on the Central Street bearing the following text: "In this place stood the house where during the Franco-Russo-Prussian War between 7 and 17 February 1807 was situated the main headquarters of Napoleon I" Prince Murat VIII, descendant of Marshal Murat, one of the participants of the battle, took part in the inauguration ceremony of the commemorative plaque.

In Soviet time, Preußisch Eylau was renamed Bagrationovsk in honour of the Prince Pyotr Ivanovich Bagration who distinguished himself while commanding the rearguard of the Russian army in the battle of Preußisch Eylau. On the central square of the town, there is his bust made by the sculptor Oksana Nikitichna Avramchenko and a memorial plaque. But the principal monument dedicated to the battle of Preußisch Eylau was erected on orders of King Frederick William IV of Prussia and inaugurated in November 1856. Fourteen battle veterans from the Preußisch Eylau took part in the laying of the foundation stone on 12 September 1856, including Colonel L'Estocq and Premier Lieutenant L'Estocq, son and

grandson of General L'Estocq who played such an important role in the battle. The festivities concluded with twenty-one gunshot. The monument, designed by the architect Friedrich August Stüler, is a four-sided obelisk of Seeberg Sandstone, 10,66 metres high, installed on a three-stage foundation. Closer to the foundation, ornamental niches on the sides of the obelisk feature three high reliefs: L'Estocq, von Dierike and Bennigsen. The face side of the obelisk bears the inscription: "*Dem glorreichen Andenken L'Estocqs, Dierikes und Ihrer Waffenbruder. 8 February 1807. To the Glorious Memory of L'Estocq, Dierike and their brothers-in-arms*". The most dramatic events took place on the place where the monument stands now: Marshal Augereau fought Russian grenadiers and Marshal Murat's Cavalry Reserve attacked the Russian army centre. After the Battle of Preußisch Eylau, there was a three-month lull in hostilities. The main forces of both parties needed rest and reorganization. The French army took quarters in the Osterode (Ostróda) District. Between April and June 1807, Napoleon's General Headquarters was situated in Finckenstein. The Baroque palace of the Finckenstein family became the

Emperor's residence. Here the Emperor got together with his 'Polish wife', Maria Walewska.

Marbot: "Have you a good memory?" — "Passable, Sire," I replied. — "Well what anniversary is this, the 14th of June?" — "Marengo", I said — "Yes! Yes! The anniversary of Marengo," said the Emperor, "and I shall beat the Russians as I beat the Austrians!" Napoleon was so convinced about this, that as he went along the columns, where the men greeted him with many cheers, he said to them repeatedly: "Today is a lucky day, it is the anniversary of Marengo!"

On 14 June 1807 a decisive battle took place near Friedland (today Pravdinsk), that turned the scales of the First Polish campaign. Despite courage and heroism of the army led by Bennigsen, Russian forces were defeated and started retreating behind the Neman River. In today's Pravdinsk, many places remind the Battle of Friedland. First of all, it is the epitaph over the mass grave of Russian soldiers, installed on the former building of the hospital. This part of the modern town is located in the narrow defile between the Rivers Lava (Alle, Lyna) and Pravda (Mühlenfluß, Millstream) that became



The House of Napoleon in Insterburg (Chernyakhovsk)

a corridor of death for Russians. The monument on the grave of the Major General Nikolai Nikolayevich Mazovski (1756-1807) who died a heroic death in the Battle of Friedland on 14 June 1807, was inaugurated in 1868. During the battle, Mazovski, Colonel Commandant of the Pavlovski Grenadiers Regiment, wounded in the leg and in the arm, incapable of riding a horse, ordered two Grenadiers to carry him in front of the regiment and led a bayonet charge for the last time. During this attack, General Mazovski was wounded for the third time by grapeshot. Carried by the Grenadiers in the town, Mazovski was left at Melestraße 25. He was captured by French soldiers and bayoneted. The French undressed his dead body and

threw it naked to the moat where he stayed for three days. When the French army left Friedland, General Mazovski was buried at the Saint Lorenz Cemetery in Friedland. The town council built a chapel on his grave. When the chapel became dilapidated, Pancratius, the Superintendent of Friedland, installed an obelisk instead of chapel, paying from his own pocket. During the battle, Napoleon stayed 2 kilometers from the town, in the Postehnen Estate (today the Peredovoye village). General Bennigsen observed the battle from the tower of the Lutheran Church. Today the building belongs to the Orthodox Church. The tower offers a beautiful panoramic view of the surroundings, including the field of the battle. In the centre of

Pravdinsk, a house on the former Pulverstraße is preserved where Napoleon stopped on 14 June 1807, after the battle. In September 2001, the Napoleon Foundation, the Pułtusk City Centre of Napoleonic Era Studies and the Bagratyonsk Museum of Regional History cooperated to install a commemorative plaque. Princess Alix Napoléon, the widow of the Head of the House of Bonaparte, took part in the ceremony. This house is known to have belonged in the beginning of the 20th century to one Schulz, merchant in manufactured goods. At that time, the house also had a plaque commemorating the Emperor's stay, and the roof was decorated with a weather vane depicting Napoleon. In Soviet times, these memorial signs were removed. Fifty years later, local authorities took interest in promoting tourism in the region, including Napoleonic memorial places tourism. Marbot writes: "Three days after the battle the French army reached the town of Tilsitt and the river Niemen, which at this point is only a few leagues from the frontiers of the Russian Empire. Our men were delighted to see the Niemen, whose opposite bank was occupied by the remains of that Russian army which they had defeated in so many engagements; and where, in contrast to their own lighthearted songs, there reigned a mournful silence. Napoleon established himself at Tilsitt, and his troops encamped around the town". Siehr writes in his journal: "Emperor surveyed the entire area around the city and deemed the house of Counsellor Coeler at Ballgarten well suited for himself, and moved in there."... In this house, Napoleon spent almost eight days. Ballgarten was situated in the outskirts of Tilsitt. After the Emperor's departure from the Köhler's house, a large tent for the officers and wooden barracks for the soldiers had been erected in the garden of Counsellor Coeler, near the house...

On 5 July, in the house where Napoleon lived, a room was prepared for Louise, the Queen of Prussia, but she did not settle there. She came to Tilsitt together with the King from the village of Piktupenen, located in one and a half kilometres from Tilsitt, on the right side of Niemen. At present, we can see the destroyed entry gate of the Köhler's estate.

On 25 and 26 June 1807, the recent



The House of Napoleon in Insterburg (Chernyakhovsk)

enemies had a personal meeting. As all the bridges across Niemen were burned by retreating Cossacks, the first rendez-vous of two Emperors was organized in a theatrical way, on a raft specially designed by French pontooneers, with a pavilion where two monarchs stayed tête-à-tête for about fifty minutes. In twelve following days they often met each other both at official receptions and during walks and horse rides. After the first meeting of two Emperors on the Niemen it was agreed that half of the town should be given to the Russians. On 26 June Alexander occupied an apartment in Hinz's house where he had stopped previously (nowadays Gagarin Street, 6), and Napoleon moved into the house of the Counsellor Siehr on Deutsche Straße, 24. Siehr continues: "On 26th The Emperor, Prince Bertier and Marshal Duroq together with their entire entourage moved into my house at 2 p.m., which gave my wife a very difficult role". Denis Davydov describes Hinz's house: "The house that the sovereign

guarded the house of Czar Alexander I. Napoleon's house has not been preserved. During the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Tilsitt, the place where the Emperor's house stood was marked with a temporary sign. Siehr finishes his diary with disappointment:

On 7 July 1807 Russia and France concluded the famous Treaty of Tilsitt. On 9 July, a French-Prussian treaty was signed. The monument to the Treaty of Tilsitt was erected in Sovetsk in August 1992. It is a granite stele with an inscription on the front: Treaty of Tilsitt. According to a legend, Napoleon and Alexander planted a lime tree in Tilsitt to celebrate the Franco-Russian friendship. Near the legendary tree, damaged by a hurricane in the beginning of the 21st century and subsequently cut down, there is a stone with a commemorative plaque. After signing peace treaties in Tilsitt, the French Emperor went to Königsberg where he stayed until 13 July 1807. He saw the town, the

"On this street, previously known as Generalstraße, in the house number 3, that did not survive until our day, from 5 (17) to 6 (18) June 1812, on the eve of the invasion of Russia, stayed Napoleon Bonaparte, the Emperor of France. The main forces of the 'Grande Armée', under his own command, were concentrated in East Prussia. This group on the eastern bank of Niemen was opposed by the 1st Western Army of M. B. Barclay de Tolly. Here, in former Insterburg, Napoleon inspected the Prussian Auxiliary Corps and his Guard. Of more than half a million soldiers who entered the confines of Russia, only few tens of thousands returned back to their hearths".

occupied was situated on a big street and was distant eighty or a hundred sazhen from the house where Napoleon lived. It was a two-storey building though not of enormous volume; it had front porch, quite narrow but adorned with four columns. One could enter this porch directly from outside, going three or four steps up, between two of the central columns of its façade". At present, the house where the Czar lived and where he held rendez-vous with Napoleon, bears a commemorative plaque. The museum of the town of Sovetsk preserves a lion that

harbor and the armies that stayed in the eastern part of the town. Napoleon lived in the royal castle. Unfortunately, the castle did not survive. In Soviet time, in 1967, the Castle of Königsberg, badly damaged by the British air raids in August 1944 and the storming of the city in April 1945, was blown up. Demolition of ruins and of the large part of surviving buildings continued until the middle of 1970s.

Napoleon came to the capital of East Prussia again on his way to Russia on 12 June 1812. At first, he planned to take his residence in the Hufenallee estate that belonged to the rich townsman Gotthilf Christoph Wilhelm Busolt, where the Prussian Royal family passed summer months of 1808 and 1809. However, Rostam the Mameluke, sent to check the building, decided that the house was not good enough for his Emperor and chalked on the door of the house: "A dwelling too wretched for a King".

Napoleon took his residence in the castle. Next morning, he was receiving Prussian officials, generals and top merchants. Having listened in the Castle Court to a musical composition played for him by the castle orchestra, he went to the Royal Gate. From there, he rode on horseback along the rampart encircling the northern part of the city. Then, he examined the place that witnessed back in 1811 one of the largest fires in Europe, that has consumed trading warehouses and adjacent city blocks. Afterwards, he sailed in a boat to Lizen where the customs was located, and visited the fortress of Pillau. He also visited the building site of the Königsberg Observatory where he pronounced a 'historical' phrase: "Oh my God, does the King of Prussia have time to think about such things?" On 15 June Napoleon examined Saxon and Westphalian military units and the army bakery in front of the Friedland Gate. On the night of 16 June

Napoleon moved from Königsberg to Gumbinnen.

On 17 June, at 5 p.m., the Emperor reached Insterburg (Chernyakhovsk). That's how Wilhelm Obgartel describes Napoleon's entry: "A high sign was given from the belfry and the bells rang. Cavalrymen lined up Königsbergstraße and Generalstraße. Napoleon, with splendid retinue, trotted in an open carriage to the house number 3, belonging to the Colonel von Bülzingslevlen. His clothes were dusty, the Emperor seemed visibly tired and was probably in a bad mood, having seen that Oudinot's and Ney's forces were exhausted. When he mounted, his overcoat fell down and he was found clad in a simple chasseur uniform. Soon he was out of sight. Officers on duty followed him to the house guarded by two Guards from the Mortier's Corps. Napoleon immediately rode away, examined a field bakery and barges on Pregel River that came here in a great quantity bearing flour and other foods". The house where Napoleon stayed was destroyed during the Second World War. Across the "Napoleon's house", on Pionerskaya 4, a commemorative plaque was installed on 29 July 2006 with a Napoleon's bas-relief and a following text: "On this street, previously known as Generalstraße, in the house number 3, that did not survive until our day, from 5 (17) to 6 (18) June 1812, on the eve of the invasion of Russia, stayed Napoleon Bonaparte, the Emperor of France. The main forces of the 'Grande Armée', under his own command, were concentrated in East Prussia. This group on the eastern bank of Niemen was opposed by the 1st Western Army of M. B. Barclay de Tolly. Here, in former Insterburg, Napoleon inspected the Prussian Auxiliary Corps and his Guard. Of more than half a million soldiers who entered the confines of Russia, only few tens of thousands returned back to their hearths". The final version of the text was approved after the examination by the Institute of Military History of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation. The commemorative plaque was installed on the initiative of Andrei Vinogradov, the Head of the Local Administration of Chernyakhovsk. The bronze plaque was designed by the sculptor Vladimir Surovtsev, People's Artist of the Russian Federation. The commemorative

plaque about Napoleon's stay in Insterburg is a part of the historical and monumental complex dominated by the monument to the Field Marshal Barclay de Tolly, installed almost a year later, on 31 March 2007. As envisioned by Surovtsev, in his right hand the general holds the plan of defense of Paris: it was under his command that the troops entered Paris in 1814. It is not a coincidence that this monument was installed in Prussia. In his youth, Barclay spent a lot of time to achieve lower officer ranks but it took him only seven years to accomplish a passage from a Major General to a Field Marshal. It was on Prussian soil that he distinguished himself in the battles of the Franco-Russo-Prussian War, it was after the Battle of Preußisch Eylau that he became a European celebrity. It was also here, 6 kilometres from Insterburg, that Barclay died on 26 May 1818, on his way to the Germany where he wanted to undergo a spa treatment. His embalmed remains were buried in Beckhof, his family manor (today's Jõgeveste in Estonia) and his heart was buried at Stilitzen farmstead (today Nagornoe) under an obelisk erected by the grateful citizens of Prussia who saw him as their liberator. Barclay de Tolly was a member of the Jesuit order and, according to the Jesuit traditions, the heart should stay where the human being died, even if the fate struck him far from home. Professor Fröhlich continues the description of Napoleon's stay in Insterburg: "Next day, on 18 June, he (Napoleon) rode to Neuerdorf to inspect the French army. Prussian Auxiliary Corps under the General von Kleist also participated in the parade. Napoleon wished to see the soldiers marching and complimented the Prussians for their great training. On the same day, around 2 p.m., he went to Gumbinnen" Gumbinnen (now Gusev) became the centre of the government district of East Prussia in 1738. Administrative services responsible for seventeen territorial units took place in the city. The citizens of Gumbinnen were considered to be of Salzburg origin; indeed, the appearance and the customs of the local population was influenced by Salzburgers. In 1812, Gumbinnen became the assembly point of the Napoleonic army before the invasion of Russia. Robert von Eberstein, aged 12 in 1812, remembers: "Starting from the first days of May, Napoleonic army started

to pass. Day and night, uninterrupted, weapons were transported, followed by countless carts, ammunition columns, pontoon train, large herds of bulls and thousands of horses". The fact that such a large force stayed in Gumbinnen worried the local population: everyone was afraid of looting. All the grain crops in the neighbourhood were used to feed the cattle. The billeting became a heavy burden not only for house owners but also for tenants. The house of Eberstein had to host a French doctor, several aides-de-camp and officers of the General Headquarters, and the unwell son of the Duke of Bassano. Despite the house being exempted from any further obligation to host soldiers, when Napoleon arrived with his Guard, thirty-six Guards set up a camp in the Eberstein's garden.

Napoleon himself took residence in the house of the President of the Gumbinnen Government District Heinrich Theodor von Schön on Lindenstraße, 4. Later the house where he lived was given to the hotel of the Masonic Lodge Golden Lyre. Eberstein continues: "Theodor von Schön's son was my close friend, and I had the opportunity to behold this powerful Emperor in close vicinity. In the front of the von Schön's house there was an alley where the Emperor used to walk holding his hands on his back. I also noticed him several times when watching the window of the ground floor room, at the big table covered with geographical maps I saw him with a large retinue, on a small Arab horse with a long tail... I approached him in such a way that I touched him personally". Robert decided to shoot Napoleon when the latter would be riding through a bridge in the vicinity of the von Schön's house. The boy took his father's pistol and stood near the banister, waiting for the carriage to pass. He exclaimed with agitation: "It would be very great for our King if I shot Napoleon when riding here!" His mother was in terror: "My boy, for the sake of God, no! What would they do with your mother if you did it?" Eberstein abandoned his undertaking and gave her the pistol with tears in his eyes. We can only make guesses what would have happened, had the plan of the young terrorist been realized. However, it is well-known that the history knows no "if". Only a small earthen hill is

present on the site of the legendary hotel in Gusev. The bridge has survived. However, back then this bridge was less wide.

In 2012, a commemorative plaque was installed in Gusev, dedicated to the Russian victory in the Patriotic War of 1812 against Napoleon. Kaliningrad artists Evgeny Pechersky and Sergei Panov joined Russian Ruble and French Frank in just one coin. One side features the profile of Alexander I, the other side the profile of Napoleon. The coin is turning: cross or pile? A moving composition symbolized the historical lottery. ■

Die „belle musique“ des „grand compositeur“. Joseph Haydn und Frankreich

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Publikationen und Analysen über den Komponisten Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), sein Leben und sein Werk füllen zahllose Regalreihen der Bibliotheken unterschiedlichster Institutionen, Musiker und Musikliebhaber. Es gibt kaum einen biografischen oder musikalischen Aspekt des Meisters, der noch nicht eingehend untersucht oder diskutiert wurde. Im Folgenden soll nun der Blick auf die Beziehung des gefeierten Komponisten zu Frankreich gerichtet werden, das Haydn nur flüchtig auf seinen Reisen nach London – sozusagen auf der Durchreise – betreten hatte.

Joseph Haydn fand seine „Lebensstellung“ am Hof der Fürsten Esterházy, in deren Diensten er rund vierzig Jahre lang stand. Bereits Fürstin Maria Octavia Esterházy, eine geborene Freiin Gilleis, hatte zu jener Zeit, da Haydn im selben Haus am Wiener Michaelerplatz wohnte, ein fachlich

interessiertes Auge auf den begabten jungen Mann geworfen. Ihr Sohn, Fürst Paul II. Anton, war es dann schließlich, der ihn in seine Dienste nahm und zu seinem Kapellmeister machte. In diese Zeit fiel auch die „Erfindung“ des Streichquartetts durch Haydn, die ihm mit der Veröffentlichung der frühen Quartette bei dem Pariser Verlag La Chevardière 1764 in Europa zu erster breiter Bekanntheit verhalf.

Obwohl er während der Anstellung bei den Fürsten Esterházy meist nur zwischen dem Hof in Eisenstadt, der Residenz in Eszterháza (Fertőd) südlich des Neusiedler Sees und im Raum rund um Wien reiste, erreichte er mit seinen Kompositionen Musikliebhaber in weiten Teilen Europas. Haydn war durch den Notendruck und das Verlagswesen, das geschickt zur Verbreitung seiner Werke eingesetzt wurde, nicht nur in London, das er bekanntlich zweimal bereiste, ein euphorisch gefeierter Komponist, auch Frankreich lag ihm dank der Verbreitung seiner Musik durch den Notendruck zu Füßen. Die Franzosen brachten ihm höchste Anerkennung entgegen, was jedoch ungewöhnlich war, da sie ausländischen Komponisten ihr Wohlwollen nur schenkten, wenn diese in Frankreich ihre Werke selbst vor Ort präsentierten und somit im Land anwesend waren.

Paris war am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts eine bedeutende Musikmetropole, in der vor allem dem Musiktheater große Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet wurde. Die französische Hauptstadt war außerdem einer der wichtigsten Verlagsorte, an dem auch Werke ausländischer Komponisten veröffentlicht wurden. Zudem gab es eine äußerst lebendige Konzertkultur, die von zahlreichen privaten Organisationen und Vereinigungen getragen wurde. So wurde in den Concerts Spirituels in Paris 1773 schließlich Haydns Symphonie Hob. I:24 aufgeführt, die rund zehn Jahre zuvor entstanden war. Auch die unter der Bezeichnung „Abschiedssymphonie“ bekannt gewordene Symphonie Hob. I:45, die Haydn 1772 komponiert hatte, wurde zwölf Jahre später in Paris gespielt. Der Zeitraum zwischen Kompositionen von Haydns Werken und deren Aufführung in Frankreich war also mitunter doch beträchtlich. Aber es gab auch Symphonien Haydns, die zeitnah nach ihrem Entstehen dem Pariser Publikum präsentiert wurden.

Ende 1784/Anfang 1785 erhielt der Meister von der Freimaurerloge der Société Olympique den Auftrag zur Komposition von Symphonien. Er verfasste nun im Zeitraum bis 1786 die sechs sogenannten „Pariser Symphonien“ (Hob. I:82–87) und sandte sie in zwei Tranchen zu je drei Symphonien nach Paris, wo sie bereits ein Jahr nach ihrem Entstehen bei Boyer in Druck gingen. Der Komponist mit Geschäftssinn hatte diese jedoch nicht nur nach Frankreich verkauft, sondern auch an Wiener und Londoner Verleger, wodurch sie sich noch rascher verbreiteten. Die Société Olympique war schließlich auch Auftraggeberin für drei weitere Symphonien Haydns (Hob. I:90–92), die er 1788 und 1789 komponierte. Allerdings setzte sich für diese nicht die Bezeichnung „Pariser Symphonien“ durch.

Haydns Symphonien erfreuten sich in Paris größter Beliebtheit und waren vor allem in den Concerts Spirituels bestens vertreten. So stammten bis 1788 90 Prozent der gespielten Symphonien aus Haydns Feder, womit er die Zahl der aufgeführten Werke der deutschen Komponisten bei weitem übertraf. Mit seinen sechs Pariser Symphonien war die Bekanntheit und überlegene Präsenz Haydns in Frankreich unumstößlich. Dies sollte trotz der gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen und Umstürze in den Jahren der Revolution bis in das frühe 19. Jahrhundert so bleiben und selbst dem sich wandelnden Musikgeschmack trotzen. Der Erfolg bzw. die Rezeption Joseph Haydns gipfelte schließlich in der ersten Aufführung seines Oratoriums „Die Schöpfung“ (Hob. XXI:2) auf französischem Boden im Pariser Théâtre des Arts.

Es war wohl die schwierige politische Lage in Europa, die verhinderte, dass Joseph Haydn persönlich diese Erstaufführung der Schöpfung in Frankreich leitete, die am 24. Dezember 1800 in Paris stattfand. Napoleon selbst hatte sich, wie sein Tagebuch verrät, trotz großer Müdigkeit nach gutem Zureden seiner Gattin Josephine für das Konzert angekündigt. Auf dem Weg zur Aufführung in der Kutsche eingenickt, riss ihn in der Rue Niçaise eine Detonation jäh aus dem Schlaf. Er hatte nur knapp ein Bombenattentat überlebt, das ihm gegolten hatte. Der Anschlag kostete 20 Menschen das Leben, 200 trugen Verletzungen davon. Dass Napoleon unversehrt blieb, wurde dem betrun-

kenen Kutscher und dessen rasanter Fahrweise zugeschrieben, da die Explosion erst erfolgte, als das Gefährt bereits die errichteten Barrikaden passiert hatte. Napoleon traf mit nur wenig Verspätung im Théâtre des Arts ein, wo er – die Nachricht des Attentats hatte sich bereits bis zum wartenden Konzertpublikum herumgesprochen – mit Bangen erwartet wurde.

Die Aufführung der Schöpfung war ein ungemein großer Erfolg, der die 142 Musiker des Orchesters veranlasste, Joseph Haydn eine Ehrenmedaille im Wert von 50 Dukaten zu verehren. Diese zeigte auf der Avers-Seite den Komponisten im Profil samt eingravierter Namen Haydns sowie jenen des Graveurs Gatteaux und auf der Revers-Seite eine Leier mit Sinnbildern sowie der Umschrift in Französisch: Zur Verehrung Haydns, ihm von Musikkennern gewidmet, welche das Oratorium „Die Schöpfung“ im Theater der Künste zu Paris aufgeführt haben, im 9ten Jahr der Republik 1800. In seinem Dankesbrief an die Musiker schrieb Joseph Haydn am 10. August 1801: „Ich habe oft gezweifelt, daß mich mein Name überleben würde; allein Ihre Güte flößt mir Vertrauen ein, und das Denkmahl, womit Sie mich beehrt haben, berechtigt mich vielleicht zu glauben, daß ich nicht ganz sterben werde. Ja, meine Herren, Sie haben (an einem Tage die Arbeiten von 60 Jahren belohnt. Sie haben) meine grauen Haare gekrönt, und den Rand meines Grabes mit Blumen betreuet. Mein Herz kann nicht alles ausdrücken, was es empfindet, und ich kann Ihnen meine tiefe Dankbarkeit und Ergebenheit nicht schreiben. Sie werden selbige würdigen; sie, meine Herren, welche die Künste aus Enthusiasmus und nicht aus Eigennutz cultiviren, und Glücksgüter für nichts, aber Ruhm für alles halten.“

Neben dieser Ehrenbezeugung erhielt Haydn zahlreiche weitere Auszeichnungen aus Frankreich. Eine davon war die Auszeichnung des Komponisten mit der Medaille und der Ehrendoktorwürde des Institut National des Sciences des Arts der Académie Française – die höchste Auszeichnung, die Joseph Haydn zu Lebzeiten erhalten hat. Außerdem hatte ihn das Institut in der Kategorie der Schönen Künste zum ersten „auswärtigen Korrespondierenden Mitglied“ ernannt. Es folgten 1802/1803 die Goldene Ehrenmedaille der Vereinigung „Concert des Amateurs“, 1805 das Diplom,



Bombardement Wiens 1809

die Ehrenmitgliedschaft und die Ehrenmedaille des kaiserlichen französischen Conservatoriums zu Paris. 1807 ließ die Société Académique des Enfants d'Apollon, ebenfalls eine Amateurvereinigung, desgleichen eine Ehrenmedaille für Haydn prägen.

Alle Auszeichnungen präsentierte der Komponist in seinen späten Jahren im Wiener Domizil seinen Besuchern stets mit großem Stolz und merkte hierzu an: „Ich habe große Freude empfunden, da ich diese Beweise des Wohlwollens empfangen habe, und ich freue mich noch manchmal, wenn ich sie mit meinen Freunden betrachte. – Sie werden sagen, das sind die Spielzeuge der alten Männer! – Für mich ist es aber doch mehr – ich zähle daran mein Leben rückwärts und werde auf Augenblicke wieder jung! Alle diese Sachen sollen nach meinem Leben in werthen Händen bleiben.“

In den letzten Jahren vor seinem Tod suchten den nunmehr kränklichen Komponisten immer wieder Biographen und Bewunderer auf, um noch Begebenheiten und Ereignisse seines Lebens, seine Gedanken und Empfindungen aus dem Mund des Maestros selbst zu erhaschen. So wie der Komponist waren sie Zeitzeugen der Einnahme und Besetzung Wiens durch

Napoleons Truppen. Neben den Wegbegleitern Haydns fand in seinen letzten Tagen im Jahr 1809 auch ein französischer Offizier den Weg zu ihm, um ihn kennenzulernen und sang „Mit Würd' und Hoheit angethan“, eine Arie aus dem Oratorium „Die Schöpfung“. Der Überlieferung nach war dies die letzte musikalische Darbietung die für Haydn, der kurz darauf das Gehör verlieren sollte, erklingen war. Die französische Armee rückte indes auch bis zu Haydns Wohnhaus in Gumpendorf vor und stiftete in den Gassen Angst und Verwirrung. Am 10. Mai 1809, fünfzehn Minuten vor sieben Uhr morgens, ließ die Wucht von vier Kartätschschüssen die Tür in Haydns Schlafzimmer aufspringen und alle Fenster erzittern. Dieser, noch im Bett liegend, schrie: „Kinder, fürchtet euch nicht, denn wo Haydn ist, kann nichts geschehen“. Es wird auch kolportiert, dass Napoleon den Befehl erteilt hatte, eine französische Ehrenwache vor dem Haus des Komponisten zu dessen Sicherheit aufstellen zu lassen.

Diese Ereignisse setzten dem Gesundheitszustand Joseph Haydns weiter zu und am 26. Mai 1809, eine halbe Stunde vor ein Uhr Mittag, ertönte im Haus das letzte Mal das Kaiserlied, das er selbst bisher täglich



Haydns letzte Tage am Spinett

dreimal erklingen hatte lassen. Im Verlauf des Nachmittags wurde er immer schwächer und verstarb schließlich wenige Tage später am 31. Mai kurz vor ein Uhr nachts. Zu Fronleichnam, am 1. Juni 1809 fand das Leichenbegängnis statt. Joseph Haydn „lag in seinem grossen Zimmer schwarz gekleidet, gar nicht entstellt, zu seinen Füßen lagen die sieben Ehren Medaillen von Paris, Russland, Schweden und die hiesige Bürger Medaille. [...] Nach 5 Uhr wurde Haydn in einen eichernen Sarg in die Gumpendorfer Kirche geführt, da dreymahl herumgetragen, eingesegnet, und in den Kirchhof vor die Hunsthurmer Linie geführt. Nicht ein Kapellmeister Wiens begleitete seine Leiche.“ Nur 15 Trauergäste waren zugegen, es war heiß und die gefährliche Lage in der Stadt hielt wohl viele von der Erweisung der letzten

Ehre ab. Am nächsten Tag fand vor-mittags in der Gumpendorfer Kirche ein Requiem seines Bruders Michael Haydn statt und wieder war kein Wiener Kapellmeister zugegen. Diese sowie die Spitzen der Gesellschaft fanden sich schließlich am 15. Juni in der Wiener Schottenkirche ein, wo Mozarts Requiem in doppelter und bester Besetzung zu Ehren Joseph Haydns aufgeführt wurde: „Vor der Kirchthür und in der Kirche selbst besetzten die Bürger grenadiers des 2ten Regiments, eingetheilt mit den Franzosen die Wache. Die Kirche und Stühle waren samt den Altar schwarz behangen Wappen und Lichten verzieret. Mitten war ein Castrum doloris errichtet, worauf die 7 Ehren Medaillen [lagen]. [...] Staats Secre-taire Maret, mehrere generals, Stabs und Oberoffiziere und viele andere Franzosen waren gegenwärtig. –

Wiens ganz schöne Welt erschien, die meisten in Trauer. – Das Ganze war sehr feyerlich und Haydn würdig.“

Auch die Fürsten Esterházy ehrten den gefeierten Komponisten. Sie errichteten sein Mausoleum in der Eisenstädter Bergkirche und einige Medaillen von Joseph Haydn hielten sie in ihrer Schatzkammer auf Burg Forchtenstein in Ehren. So listet beispielsweise das Inventar der Fideikommiss-herrschaft Forchtenstein aus dem Jahr 1858 die Ehrenbezeugungen aus Frankreich auf. Gemeinsam mit einer großen Uhr, die von einer Marienskulptur bekrönt wird, einer silbernen russischen Krönungsmünze von Kaiser Alexander von 1856 und verschiedenen Krönungsmünzen von Habsburger Kaisern waren diese im Schatzkammerschrank mit der Doppelnummer 49 und 50 aufbewahrt. Die Ehrenmedaille des Théâtre des Artes, die Münze des Institut National des Sciences et des Artes, die Münze des Conservatoire de Musique sowie die Münze der Societe academique des Enfants d'Apollon waren darin abgelegt. In einem weiteren Schrank mit der Nummer 52, in dem damals auch ein Kleidungsstück des in der Schlacht bei Vezekény gefallenen Familienoberhauptes Ladislaus reliquiengleich verehrt aufbewahrt wurde, befand sich ein weiteres einzigartiges Objekt aus Haydns Besitz: „Ein aus Schildkrot verfertigte Violine des einstmaligen fürstlichen Capellmeisters Josef Haydn, samt Bogen, und einem Paket Saiten auf welchen der genannte selbst spielte, mit dem dazugehörigen Futteral“.

Die besondere Beziehung von Joseph Haydn und seinem Schaffen zu Frankreich fand somit sogar ihren Niederschlag und ihre Dokumentation in der bemerkenswerten und reich bestückten Schatzkammer der Fürsten Esterházy auf Burg Forchtenstein. ■



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„Austerlitz 1805“ – Die Dreikaiserschlacht auf die Wand gebannt

Astrid Arnold

Deutsches Tapetenmuseum, Kassel

Zu den großartigsten Leistungen der Tapetenherstellung gehören Panoramatapeten. Sie kamen kurz vor 1800 auf und wurden bis etwa 1860 ausschließlich in Frankreich produziert und in die ganze Welt exportiert. Beginnend mit dem ersten Entwurf bis hin zum Verkauf konnte die Herstellung einer Panoramatapete bis zu etwa zwei Jahre dauern. Je nach Anzahl der Farben und der Komplexität der Komposition war es notwendig, auf der Grundlage einer 1:1 Vorlage bis zu 3.000 Handdruckmodel zu schnitzen, deren Druckplatten aus für den Druckprozess belastbarem harten Fruchtholz bestanden. Exotische Länder wurden ebenso dargestellt wie literarische Themen oder historische Ereignisse. Ein herausragendes Beispiel für letzteres ist die 30 Tapetenbahnen umfassende „Austerlitz 1805“ in der Sammlung des Deutschen Tapetenmuseums in Kassel, von der nur noch acht weitere Exemplare in weitaus weniger gutem Erhaltungszustand und auch nicht komplett überliefert sind. Das Kasseler Exemplar konnte 1992 für das Deutsche Tapetenmuseum von einer Privatperson angekauft werden, die den Wandschmuck originalverpackt und komplett im Keller seines Hauses entdeckt hatte. Damit wurde die wertvolle Kasseler Sammlung von Panoramatapeten um eine absolute Rarität erweitert.

Auf etwa 15 Metern Länge und 2,80 Metern Höhe stellt die Austerlitz-Tapete eine Hommage an einen der glanzvollsten Siege Napoleons dar, der als „Dreikaiserschlacht“ in die Geschichte eingegangen ist. Leider ist der Hersteller der Tapete ebenso wenig bekannt wie ihr Entstehungsdatum. Letzteres kann jedoch aufgrund technikgeschichtlicher und ikonographischer Aspekte auf etwa 1829/1830 eingegrenzt werden.



Schlacht bei Austerlitz (Abb. 1)

Die Darstellung zeigt verschiedene prägnante Phasen des Kampfes, welche sich zunächst als unüberblickbares Kampfgetümmel auf der Wand entfalten. Der hoch gelagerte, felsige Vordergrund bietet der Ansammlung von Personen genügend Platz. Die Akteure des Geschehens gliedern sich in Einzelfiguren, Figurengruppen und schematisierten En-bloc-Darstellungen. Die mit Liebe zum Detail realisierten Figuren und Gruppen mit deutlich porträthaften Zügen sind in den jeweiligen Hauptaktionen in die Menge platziert. Links ist auf den Höhenzügen des Pratzens die Erstürmung durch die Franzosen und der Abzug der alliierten Streitkräfte über die Satschauer Teiche dargestellt (Bahnen 1-7) (Abb. 1). Nach den historischen Überlieferungen hatte zu dieser Zeit der österreichische Kaiser mit den Übriggebliebenen seiner Garde das Schlachtfeld bereits verlassen. Anders hingegen wird

diese Begebenheit auf der Tapete dargestellt: Kaiser Franz und Zar Alexander verlassen mit Generalfeldmarschall Weyrother und ihren Gardeoffizieren in gestrecktem Galopp gemeinsam das Schlachtfeld. Ihre Pferde sind mit prachtvollem Zaumzeug und Schabracken ausgestattet. Die Satteldecke von Kaiser Franz ist mit dem österreichischen Doppelkopfadler geschmückt, während jener von Zar Alexander neben dem Doppelkopfadler zusätzlich noch das Emblem der Zarenkrone und die Initiale „A“ hinzugefügt sind.

Die Szenerie in der Mitte beherrscht ein virtuoser Reiterkampf, der sich vor dem Hintergrund des Berges Santon abspielt (Bahnen 8-11). Hier erstürmen die blau uniformierten Franzosen den Pratzen und drängen die russische Infanterie zurück. Füsiliergrenadiere mit den Regimentsfahnen reiten voran. Die Franzosen haben die Frontlinie

Schlacht bei Austerlitz (Abb. 2)





Schlacht bei Austerlitz (Abb. 3)

bereits durchbrochen. Der Entscheidungskampf bestimmt das Zentrum der Tapete (Bahn 14-19) (Abb. 2): Es ist der Zeitpunkt der Schlacht wiedergegeben, als die Russen nach schweren Niederlagen in wachsender Verzweiflung ihre letzte Reserve, die Kaisergarde mit zehntausend Elitesoldaten, freigaben. Im Gegenzug hatte Napoleon seine eigene Garde ins Feld geschickt. Gegen vierzehn Uhr des 2. Dezember 1805 hatte Napoleon den Kampf für sich entschieden. Auf der rechten Seite der Tapete (Bahn 20-30) befindet sich Napoleon, umgeben von seinem Generalstab Stabschef Marschall Berthiér und Prinz Murat. Napoleon wird in dem Augenblick gezeigt, als Rapp ihm die Nachricht von der zerschlagenen russischen Kaisergarde überbringt, die den Sieg bedeutet. Der französische Kaiser sitzt auf einem Schimmel (Abb. 3). Er hatte von der Anhöhe aus das Schlachtgeschehen verfolgt und hält das bereits zusammengeschobene Fernrohr in seiner Linken. Nach rechts wird das Bild abgeschlossen durch aufgerückte Reihen von Gardegrenadieren mit hohen Bärenfellmützen. Vor ihnen paradiert ein hoch aufgereckter Tambourmajor des ersten Grenadier-Regiments und wartet darauf, die zwei Reihen von Trommlern zu befehligen.

In einigen Jahren wird das eindrucksvolle Schlachtenpanorama nach notwendigen Restaurierungen

auch wieder eines der Highlightobjekte im Deutschen Tapetenmuseum sein, für das derzeit ein Neubau und eine neue Dauer- ausstellung am Brüder-Grimm-Platz geplant werden. Wer nicht so lange warten möchte, kann sich durch die Lektüre des reich bebilderten Büchleins „Austerlitz 1805. Ein monumentales Schlachtenpanorama auf Tapete“ die Wartezeit versüßen.

Abb. 1: Schlacht bei Austerlitz, Bahn 1-8 (Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Deutsches Tapetenmuseum, Foto: Ute Brunzel)

Abb. 2: Schlacht bei Austerlitz, Bahn 17-24 (Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Deutsches Tapetenmuseum, Foto: Ute Brunzel)

Abb. 3: Schlacht bei Austerlitz, Detail mit Napoleon und Generalfeldmarschall Berthier von Bahn 24 (Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Deutsches Tapetenmuseum, Foto: Ute Brunzel)

Die Ausführungen basieren grundlegend auf: Sabine Thümmler, Austerlitz 1805. Ein monumentales Schlachtenpanorama auf Tapete, Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Monographische Reihe, Bd. 19, Deutscher Kunstverlag München Berlin 2007, 10 €. 72 Seiten, 70 Abbildungen (Bestellung unter: Ingrid Knauf, i.knauf@museum-kassel.de)

Die Stelle entdeckt, an der Napoleon in Regensburg am 23. April 1809 verwundet wurde

*Thomas Schuler
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Lieblich fließt die Donau unter den mächtigen Brückenpfeilern ihres jahrtausendealten Weges. An den grünen, freundlichen Wiesen ihrer Ufer sitzen heute, am 23. April 2009, zahlreiche junge Menschen unter schattenspendenden Bäumen und genießen die Wärme der Frühlingssonne. Keiner von ihnen dürfte einen Gedanken daran verschwenden, dass diese Brücke auf den Tag genau 200 Jahre zuvor Schauplatz einer grausamen Schlacht wurde. Damals tobte ein infernalischer Feuersturm in Regensburg und dem jenseits der Brücke liegenden Stadtamhof. Hunderte Leichen wurden anschließend von der Brücke hinab in die Donau geworfen. Über den Anblick berichtete ein Chronist: „Das lichterloh brennende Stadtamhof und die Brandsäulen von Regensburg boten ein schauervoll erhabenes Schauspiel dar; das erste Viertel des Mondes sah blutrot durch die Rauchwolken herab und die rauschenden Fluten der Donau waren gerötet von der schrecklichen Glut.“

Napoleon ante Portas

Napoleon und seine Truppen standen am 23. April 1809 vor den Toren der Stadt. Der Maler Albrecht Adam berichtete darüber später: „Napoleon, welcher den ganzen Tag anwesend war und allenthalben gesehen wurde, stand gegen Abend nicht ferne von mir auf der Anhöhe mit einer ungeheuren Suite von mehr als hundert Köpfen; fast alle Generäle mit ihren Adjutanten hatten sich in einer Entfernung von etwa 40-50 Schritte hinter ihm versammelt. Das Ganze war prachtvoll von der Abendsonne beleuchtet. Unverwandt blickte er nach der Stadt in das mittlerweile bedeutend gewachsene Feuer. Er schien mir unheimlich, ich dachte an Nero.“



Napoleon vor Regensburg. Ölgemälde des Augenzeugen Albrecht Adam.

Die Ursachen dieser größten Katastrophe des 19. Jahrhunderts für die Donaustadt gehen zurück auf die Kriegserklärung Großbritanniens an das napoleonische Frankreich im Mai 1803. Mit riesigen Summen stampfte das Britische Empire bis zum endgültigen Sieg in den Jahren 1814/15 über den kontinentalen Gegner jenseits des Ärmelkanals insgesamt sieben Koalitionen aus dem Boden. Nachdem es Napoleon überraschend gelungen war, sowohl die III. Koalition (1805) als auch die IV. Koalition (1806/07) militärisch zu zertrümmern, war der einzige Verbündete, den England für eine V. Koalition (1809) noch gewinnen konnte, das Kaiserreich Österreich. Die mit britischen Hilfgeldern aufgerüstete Habsburgermacht marschierte am 9./10. April in Bayern ein; allerdings, wie üblich, ziemlich langsam. Mit der ihm eigenen blitzkriegsartigen Dynamik schlug Napoleon die Angreifer in den schnell aufeinander folgenden Schlachten von Abensberg (20.4.), Landsberg (21.4.) und Eggmühl (22.4.). In der sternenklaren Nacht zum 23. April saß die Grande Armée den Österreichern wie ein

zehntausendköpfiger Bluthund im Nacken. Nahezu fluchtartig strömte die dezimierte österreichische Armee in Richtung Regensburg, wo die Steinerne Brücke weit und breit der einzige Donauübergang war. Über den Anbruch des für die Stadt so schicksalhaften Tages berichtete ein Regensburger:

„Morgens sechs Uhr verkündete der Kanonendonner von den benachbarten Bergen und von der Landshuter Straße her, dass die große französische Armee sich mit Riesenschritten näherte (...)“

Die Breschebatterie

Und sie näherte sich tatsächlich. Der österreichische Oberbefehlshaber Erzherzog Karl war entschlossen, Regensburg so lange zu verteidigen, bis seine Armee die Steinerne Brücke überschritten hatte und der Rückzug in Richtung Böhmen gesichert war. Auf den mittelalterlichen Mauern standen Kanonen und 4.000 Mann Infanterie bereit, sämtliche Stadttore waren seit dem Morgen verriegelt. Als Napoleon mit seinem Generalstab eine Anhöhe südöstlich Regensburgs erreichte, richtete er sein Fernrohr auf die alten Stadtmauern. Bald schon

verharrte sein Blick an einem alten Mauerturm.

Mit seinem erfahrenen Blick erkannte Napoleon, dass ein konzentriertes Geschützfeuer das Haus zum Einsturz bringen würde und die Stadtmauer über die Trümmer hinweg erklimmen werden konnte. Schon fuhren die Pferdegespanne mit den schweren Kanonen heran, und die berittenen Geschütze wurden in Stellung gebracht. Die Breschebatterie befand sich exakt südlich der heutigen westlichen Hemauerstraße.

Gleichmäßig und schwer schlugen die Glocken des altherwürdigen Regensburger Doms zehn Uhr am Morgen. Dann begannen die Kanonen ihr dunkles Werk (...). Dompfarrer Wittmann erinnerte sich: *„es hatte den Anschein“,* so Wittmann, *„als sollten durch die Menge der Kanonenkugeln sämtliche Häuser zugrunde gehen.“*

Trümmer stürzten von den Häusern herab, der Aufenthalt auf den Straßen war lebensgefährlich. Dann durchschlug eine Haubitzegranate am Nachmittag das Dach der Scheune des Frauenklosters Sankt Anna und landete im Stroh. Binnen weniger

Minuten entstand ein verheerender Brand, der im Lauf der kommenden Stunden auf die umliegenden Häuser übergriff.

Der Maler Albrecht Adam, der sich zu dieser Zeit außerhalb der Stadt aufhielt, schilderte den Anblick aus der Ferne: „*Bald zeigten hohe Rauchsäulen und auflodernde Flammen die Wirkungen. Es brannte beinahe gleichzeitig in zwei verschiedenen Richtungen und bei der herrschenden Windstille stieg der Rauch in rötlich-grauen Säulen himmelhoch schauerlich-majestätisch empor. Da ich das alles gleichsam vor meinen Füßen vor sich gehen sah und ein Plätzchen fand, wo ich ungestört zeichnen konnte, packte ich sogar meine Farben aus und entwarf an Ort und Stelle ein Aquarell von dem brennenden Regensburg.*“

Auf Grundlage des vor Ort entstandenen Aquarells fertigte Adam später (1840) drei großformatige Ölgemälde an. Das Original eines dieser Bilder befindet sich heute im Historischen Museum von Regensburg, das sich in jenem Stadtteil befindet, der durch die Beschießung völlig zerstört wurde. Während die Vorbereitungen zum Sturm auf Hochtouren liefen, ritten Napoleon und Marschall Lannes gegen zwei Uhr am Nachmittag von der Anhöhe des Gänsbergs drei Kilometer bis dicht an die Mauern Regensburgs heran, um sich ein Bild der Lage zu machen. In der Nähe der Breschebatterie stiegen die beiden befreundeten Männer vom Pferd, sprachen mit den befehlshabenden Offizieren. Kurz zuvor hatten sie ein Frühstück eingenommen. Man scherzte, denn die Stimmung war in Erwartung eines bevorstehenden Sieges heiter und ausgelassen. In diesem Moment brachte ein auf der Stadtmauer stehender österreichischer Soldat sein Gewehr in Anschlag, drückte den Abzug und traf – Napoleon.

Die Verwundung Napoleons

Wer auf den Spuren der Geschichte den genauen Schauplatz der Verwundung Napoleons aufsuchen möchte, beginnt seinen Weg am besten beim Regensburger Hauptbahnhof und geht über die Maximilianstraße 200 Meter geradeaus. Dort befindet sich auf der rechten Seite ein freistehendes Telefonhäuschen ohne Überdachung. Von dort biegt ein Fußweg nach rechts ab, an dem sich nach wenigen Metern rechts ein stattlicher

Ahornbaum mit einem in zehn Metern Höhe eingeschnitztem Herz befindet. Es ist genau die Stelle, an der Napoleon und Marschall Lannes standen.

Wäre es möglich, wie in dem Kino-Klassiker Matrix vom Gehweg aus von dem Telefonhäuschen den Hörer abzunehmen, dann spurlos zu verschwinden und sich abweichend vom Film der Wachowski-Geschwister nicht auf einem Hovercraft, sondern unsichtbar an derselben Stelle am 23. April 1809 nachmittags kurz nach 14 Uhr wiederzufinden, so wäre folgendes zu beobachten gewesen:

Napoleon fühlte, als ihn die Bleikugel am rechten Fuß streifte, einen so heftigen Schmerz, dass er sich nicht mehr aufrecht halten konnte und auf Marschall Lannes stützen musste. Das erste, was Napoleon in der ihm eigenen Kaltblütigkeit sagte war: „Das kann nur ein Tiroler gewesen sein, diese Leute sind sehr geschickt.“ Augenblicke später eilte Doktor Alexandre Yvan herbei, der dem Kaiser an Ort und Stelle den Reitstiefel aufschnitt. Obwohl die Wunde nicht tief war, war der Zeh durch den Streifschuss schwarz geschwollen. Das Geschoss hatte einen Nerv verletzt, was ihm beim Anlegen des Verbandes starke Schmerzen verursachte. „*Ich war gerade mit dienstlichen Angelegenheiten beschäftigt*“, erinnerte sich der Kammerdiener Constant, „*als mehrere Grenadiere der Garde auf mich zu rannten um mir mitzuteilen, dass Seine Majestät verwundet worden sei. So schnell ich konnte, lief ich hin und kam gerade in dem Moment an, als Monsieur Yvan den Verband anlegte. Der Stiefel des Kaisers war aufgeschnitten und wurde provisorisch wieder zusammengeschnürt, als er wieder aufs Pferd stieg. Mehrere Generale forderten ihn auf sich etwas auszuruhen, aber er antwortete: „Meine Herren, ich muss doch sehen, was vor sich geht.“*“

Kurioserweise gibt es heute in Regensburg zwei Gedenktafeln an gleich zwei unterschiedlichen Stellen, auf denen jeweils zu lesen steht, hier sei Napoleon verwundet worden. Zum einen behauptet eine Gedenktafel am namensgebenden Stein vor der „*Schule am Napoleonstein*“ das Napoleon hier verwundet worden sei. Da die Entfernung vom Stein mit der Tafel bis zur einstigen Stadtmauer Regensburgs rund zwei Kilometer

beträgt, die damaligen Vorderladergewehre aber eine Reichweite von weniger als eintausend Metern hatten, kann Napoleon unmöglich dort getroffen worden sein. Die zweite, im Jahr 1909 angebrachte Gedenktafel befindet sich östlich des Regensburger Hauptbahnhofes an dem Gebäude Hemauer Straße 1. Unterstellt sei an dieser Stelle, dass der Generalstabsoffizier Pelet, der sich am 23. April 1809 in unmittelbarer Nähe des Kaisers aufhielt näher an den Ereignissen war, als die Nachgeborenen. In seinen Erinnerungen berichtet Pelet, dass Napoleon im Augenblick seiner Verwundung „*auf einer kleinen Anhöhe*“ (was für einen Feldherrn ja Sinn macht), gestanden habe. Wie durch einen mathematisch exakten Kartenabgleich mit freundlicher Hilfe des Landesvermessungsamtes in Stadthof nachgewiesen werden konnte, befand sich die - heute längst verschwundene - einzige Anhöhe vor den südlichen Stadtmauern Regensburgs weit und breit an der Stelle des heutigen Telefonhäuschens. ■

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Die Schlacht von Raszyn

Harald Dousek

Die Vorbereitungen Poniatowskis

Das VII. österreichische Korps unter Erzherzog Ferdinand rückte am 15. April im Herzogtum Warschau ein. Nachdem nun der Anmarsch der Österreicher, sowohl durch Deserteure der in Galizien rekrutierenden Regimenter als auch der Bevölkerung Galiziens gemeldet, bekannt geworden war, beriet sich Poniatowski mit Serra, dem diplomatischen Vertreter Frankreichs, sowie den Angehörigen der französischen Militärmission Pelletier, Mallet, Bontemps und Kriegskommissar Desirat. Sie bestärkten Poniatowski in seiner Absicht, bei Raszyn den Österreichern entgegen zu treten. So wurden schnell die entsprechenden Befehle erteilt und am Nachmittag des 16. Aprils, um 15h nachmittags, marschierte die Infanterie ab, um auf den vom Regen durchweichten Straßen nach Raszyn, etwa 6 Kilometer südwestlich vor Warschau gelegen, wo bereits da 3. Infanterieregiment mit 2 Bataillonen und 4 Geschützen stand, zu gelangen. Überhaupt war das Wetter, kalter rauer Sturm mit Schneetreiben und Regen, beiden Parteien nicht gewogen. In der Nacht folgte dann Poniatowski mit seinem Stab, der in Raszyn sein Quartier aufschlug. Da das Gelände der geringen Zahl der Verteidiger, Poniatowski verfügte insgesamt nur über 14.000 Mann, große Chancen gegen einen zahlenmäßig überlegenen Gegner, der sich hier nicht entfalten konnte, bot, ließ er das Gros seiner Streitmacht hier in Stellung gehen und sandte nur die Vorhut unter General Bieganski nach Tarczyn vor und postierte südlich der Ortschaft Raszyn die Kavallerie unter General Rozniecki.

Das Schlachtfeld

Von Tarczyn aus führte die Landstraße zu dem etwa 20 Kilometer nördlich gelegenen Dorf Raszyn, das auf einer leichten Erhebung von Wald umgeben an der Rawa lag. Zwei Wege zweigten von der Landstraße ab, der eine nach Osten, durch einen Wald führend nach Jaworow, der andere nach Westen über Nadarzyn nach Michalowice. Die herzogliche Armee stellte sich entlang des Flusses von Jaworow über Raszyn bis Michalowice, alle drei Orte verfügten über hölzerne Brücken, in einer Länge von etwa drei Kilometern auf. Die Schneeschmelze und der heftige Frühjahrsregen hatten die Flußufer und das Vorland, das unter normalen Bedingungen bereits eine Teich- und Sumpflandschaft, die von Gräben durchzogen war, bildete, noch schwieriger zu passieren gemacht. Nur auf den Dämmen konnte man überhaupt in Gefechtsformation vorgehen, wodurch die Aufgabe für die Verteidiger natürlich leichter wurde. Südlich von Raszyn lag das kleine Dorf Falenty, geteilt in Falenty Male und südlich davon Falenty Duze, zu dem nur ein mit Erlen und Pappeln

*The clashes in Raszyn, Poland, in July 1809.
The result of new scientific researches
by Dousek and Stefancic.*

The Austro-Polish War of 1809: The Archduke vs. the Prince

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In April of 1809, the Austrian Army launched a war of liberation against the French in Central Europe. It was a three prong assault into Bavaria, Italy and the Duchy of Warsaw. The primary front was to be in Bavaria and southern Germany with the Italian front of secondary importance. The Polish front was to be of short duration. The Austrians incursion into the Polish lands was to be swift and successful allowing those troops to be quickly moved to the primary front in southern Germany. The Austrians did not feel that the Polish forces would last long and that a quick victory was achievable and would entice other powers to join the anti-French crusade, particularly the Russians. Once victory was achieved then all attention would be drawn to the French. Defeating the Poles would be like swatting a gnat while the real problem was the French Mosquito. The Austrians forgot what an annoyance and how persistent gnats can be. The Polish gnat did not brush away easily and proved to be a greater threat than originally thought. The purpose of this essay is to look at the Austro-Polish War of 1809 and the role it played in the Austro-French War of 1809 as well as the impact it had on the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had existed until 1795 when partitioned by its neighbors; Prussia, Austria and Russia. Napoleon Bonaparte decided to resurrect a pseudo Polish state at the Peace of Tilsit in 1807 called the Duchy of Warsaw (Ksiestwa Warszawa) under the King of Saxony. The territory for this new state was to be taken from the Prussian held Polish lands. The Duchy creation concerned and worried the other holders of Polish lands, Austria and Russia. The creation of this Polish state was a political move by Napoleon to keep his opponents uncertain and bring in new troops into his Grand Armée; the Poles. Polish troops had served in Napoleon's legions since his time in Italy. They had served loyally and bravely, traits that Napoleon respected. The Army of the Duchy of Warsaw, or the Polish Army as it preferred to be called, was still in its embryonic state in April of 1809 when the war began. Jozef Poniatowski was the minister of war for the government and its primary commander. Two other rival commanders also existed, Jan Henryk Dabrowski and Jozef Zajaczek. To put an end to infighting over military reforms, Poniatowski pushed his two rivals to the periphery while he tried to create a modern Polish fighting force. A levee en masse was introduced while specialized training schools in artillery

gesäumter schmaler Dammweg führte, inmitten eines unwegsamen Sumpfgeländes. Am südlichen Dorfausgang befand sich noch ein kleines Erlenwäldchen. Ebenfalls nur über schmale Dämme, die durch die Marschlandschaft führten, waren auch die drei kleinen Brücken über die Rawa erreichbar.

Der Plan Poniatowskis

Mit 3 Bataillonen Infanterie, aus den Regimentern Nr.1, 850 Mann unter Oberst Malachowski, Nr. 6 unter Oberst Sierawski und Nr. 8, 760 Mann unter Oberst Godebski, und 6 Geschützen sollte General Sokolnicki den Ort Falenty besetzen und sich hier verschanzen. Dahinter befand sich in Raszyn das Zentrum unter General von Dyherrn, der zwar den Befehl erhalten hatte, sich nach Sachsen zurück zu ziehen, aber die Polen in dieser Lage nicht verlassen wollte, mit 2 Bataillonen Infanterie von Nr.2 unter Oberst Potocki und dem sächsischen Detachement, sowie dem Regiment Jäger zu Pferd Nr.1 als Reserve. Am rechten Flügel in Michalowice stand General Bieganski mit 2 Bataillonen Infanterie von Nr.3 unter Oberst Zoltowski, insgesamt 1.700 Mann und 4 Geschützen, am linken bei Jaworow General Kaminski mit 2 Bataillonen Infanterie von Nr.1, 800 Mann, und Nr.8, 800 Mann, und 6 Geschützen. Die Kavallerie unter Rozniecki, 3 Regimenter und zwar 2. unter Oberst Tyszkiewicz und 3. Ulanen unter Oberst Laczynski, 5. Jäger zu Pferd unter Oberst Turno und 6. Ulanen unter Oberst Dziewanowski, nahm am rechten Flügel auf den sanften Höhen zwischen Wolica, Wypendy und Janki, mit einem gegen den Ort Nadarczyn vorgeschobenen Detachement und einem Regiment bei Wygoda Karczma Aufstellung. Als Reserve standen die 1. Jäger zu Pferd und 5 Geschütze der berittenen Artillerie bereit. Nach den Beobachtungen der polnischen Kundschafter, die von einer Eskadron der 5. Jäger zu Pferd gestellt wurden, würden die Österreicher über Blonie vorrücken, worauf

Józef Antoni Poniatowski



and engineering were created in 1808. A cavalry was created on traditional Polish lines. Despite all these preparations, this new Polish Army was plagued with many setbacks. A lack of sufficient funds to maintain a large army, forced the Poles to rely on French funding for their troops. Many Polish soldiers found themselves fighting alongside French troops in Spain as part of the Vistula Legion to defray Polish military costs. Those Polish soldiers left in the Duchy were armed with muskets of different design and calibre and in poor condition. Polish artillery looked sufficient on paper but most were dated and stationed in fortifications around the country which prevented their mobility. The French General Jean Baptiste Peletier was assigned to help the Poles organize their available guns. The French Captain Bontemps was sent to help equip the new Polish forces on a quick pace. Basic training for the new Polish Army had barely begun when word reached the Poles of Austrian preparations for war. Polish military intelligence knew of Austrian moves toward war from spies and military deserters from Austrian Galicia. Poniatowski kept Marshal Nicholas Davout informed of his intelligence reports. Davout was Napoleon's liaison with the Poles. As a result, Frederick Augustus, the Grand Duke of Warsaw, agreed to increase the number of Polish troops as well as transfer some Saxon troops and artillery to the Duchy. Napoleon responded with increased French funds for the of Polish forces and sent Frederick Augustus the Saxon King a letter naming Poniatowski as commander of all Polish troops in the event of war. Two other letters quickly followed on March 16th and 30th ordering Poniatowski to take all Polish troops into Galicia to incite insurrection should war break out. He was to take "30,000" Polish troops and move on Krakow, the ancient Polish capital. All Saxon troops were to be returned to Dresden for redeployment into Bohemia under Marshal Bernadotte in the event of war. Napoleon was assuming that the Poles would receive assistance from the Russians, who had agreed to aid the "French" should the Austrians become belligerent towards them. Napoleon's assumptions of Polish strength and Russian aid were off the mark. Meanwhile, the Austrians were a bit more realistic in their plans.

natürlich Poniatowski seine Pläne danach richtete. Die Befehle Poniatowskis wurden von seinem Stabchef General Fiszer schnell und präzise in die Tat umgesetzt. Poniatowski glaubte, dass die Österreicher erst ihr Lager aufschlagen würden, bevor sie zum Angriff übergangen. Seine große Befürchtung war, dass die Österreicher in Richtung Jaworow ziehen würden und so seine Stellung umgehen könnten. Zwar stand die Nationalgarde aus Warschau bei Mokotow, um die Rückzugslinie zu sichern, doch vertraute Poniatowski deren Kampfwert nicht allzu sehr. Noch in der Dunkelheit rückten auf dem schmalen Damm 3 Bataillone, jeweils von ihren Kommandanten, Nr.1 von Oberst Malachowski, Nr.6 von Oberst Sierawski und Nr.8 von Oberst Godebski persönlich angeführt, nach Falenty vor. Die Spitze bildete das 1.Bataillon des Regiments Nr.8 unter Oberst Godebski, dann folgten die 6 Geschütze, den Schluß bildeten die anderen beiden Bataillone. Nach Erreichung des Ziels ließ General Sokolnicki das Dorf Falenty sofort befestigen. Frauen und Kinder wurden nach Raszyn evakuiert, während die männliche Bevölkerung beim Anlegen der Schanzen helfen mußte. Aus Leiterwagen, Türen, Fässern, Zäunen und Hausrat wurden Brustwehren errichtet. Im Erlenwäldchen ging das 1. Bataillon von Infanterieregiment Nr.8 in Stellung und schuf aus gefällten Bäumen und Erdwällen eine Linie starke Verteidigungswerke.

Der Anmarsch der Österreicher

Die von GM Mohr befehligte österreichische Vorhut, bestehend aus 2 Eskadronen Kaiserhusaren, 1 ½ Eskadronen Husaren von Palatinal, 2 1/3 Bataillon von Nr. 48 Vukassovich, eine 3-pfünder Batterie und 1 Bataillon Walachische Grenzer, hatte die Nacht in der Ortschaft Kotorydze verbracht, durch eine Vorpostenlinie von Plawy bis Runow das Lager der Hauptmacht bei Tarczyn gedeckt. Den Eingang des Waldweges bei Kozul, der über Janczewice nach Falenty führte, war durch stärkere Vorposten geschützt worden, während vier Kompanien des 3. Bataillons Vukassovich und eine Eskadron des Husarenregiments Kaiser die Sicherung gegen Nadarzyn besorgten. Bereits am Morgen des 19. April rückten die Posten vor, so dass sie bald Kontakt mit den polnischen Patrouillen bekamen. Bald trafen im österreichischen Hauptquartier Meldungen ein, dass bei Nadarzyn 2 polnische Kavallerieregimenter stünden, bei Janczewice feindliche Posten entdeckt wurden und sich bei Raszyn und Jaworow, nach Aussage von Bauern, das Lager Poniatowskis befinden soll. Noch während GM Mohr in Kotorydze aus all diesen Nachrichten eine Meldung an Erzherzog Ferdinand verfasste, traf dessen Befehl zum sofortigen Vormarsch auf Raszyn ein. So brach die Vorhut nach dem Abkochen gegen 10h vormittag von Kotorydze auf und zog über Kozul, den schlammigen Waldweg benützend, nach Janczewice. Eine Stunde später marschierten die beiden Brigaden GM Civalart, bestehend aus den Infanterieregimentern Nr.30 de Ligne und Nr.41 Kottulinsky, 4 Eskadronen Palatinal-Husaren und 8 Geschützen, und GM Pflacher, gebildet aus den Infanterieregimentern Nr.34 Davidovich und Nr.37 Weidenfeld und 8 Geschützen, unter FML Mondet ebenfalls diesen Weg. Die Brigade GM Trautenberg, bestehend aus den Infanterieregi-

In April of 1809, the Archduke Charles, the Austrian military commander, informed the Austrian Emperor Francis that the time for war had come. Charles said that "There is no further question of what he (Napoleon) wants; he wants everything." The Austrians had first thought of a Defensive war but as the French became bogged down in Spain, an offensive war seemed a reasonable possibility. The Austrians wanted to appear as liberators for the Germans where they expected an anti-French uprising. They anticipated with some military success that Prussia would join them. Czar Alexander had already hinted that he would jump sides given some Austrian potential for success. All the stars seemed to be aligning in favor of the Austrians. Charles was to take the main front in Southern Germany (Bavaria) and Bohemia. The Archduke John was to attack Northern Italy under Eugene, Napoleon's stepson. Prince Ferdinand was given the task of invading the Duchy of Warsaw and quickly neutralizing the fledgling Polish Army. Charles saw Ferdinand's task as supremely important to the entire Franco-Austrian struggle. He ordered Ferdinand "to establish from the very start a bias in favor of our arms, as the slightest misfortune would have the most negative influence...perhaps as damaging as a defeat on the Danube." Charles hoped that a quick victory in Poland would bring in the Prussians and Russians in time for a glorious victory over Napoleon and a return of Austrian prestige. Ferdinand's troops were comprised primarily of veteran troops to ensure his victory. Most of his troops were drawn from Hungary but a large number still came from Austrian held Polish Galicia. The Polish-Galicians were good soldiers when fighting the French Army but now they were fighting other Poles, who were now fighting for Poland, not the French. This was to create problems in the Austrian ranks. Another drawback for Ferdinand was that his main supply depots, Zamosc and Sandomierz, were both in Galicia where people still thought of themselves as Poles first and Austrian subjects second. These were variables that the Austrians had not taken into account when they decided to attack the Duchy. All they saw was a quick and profitable victory. This proved to be a faulty assumption.

On April 15, the Archduke Ferdinand and his army crossed the Pilica River, the border between the Duchy and the Austrian Empire. He had approximately 35,000 troops and ninety four canons. Ferdinand expected weak or no resistance. He even pondered the thought that the Austrians would be viewed as liberators from the vile French occupiers by the Poles. He underestimated the Polish armies fighting abilities and overestimated the esteem of Austrians in Polish minds. Ferdinand also needed to prove himself after a less than heroic showing at the Battle of Ulm in 1805 and thought a defeat of Poland would be his redemption. Prince Poniatowski was taken by surprise by the early date of the invasion. He was still in the process of consolidating his forces when word of the invasion reached him. He had just lost most of the Saxon troops stationed in the Duchy but still had 2,000 light Saxon infantry and 26 Saxon canons at his disposal. The Saxons were to support a Polish force of 16,000 men and 26 canons. The fledgling Polish Army found itself



mentern Nr.24 Strauch und Nr.63 Baillet-Latour und 8 Geschütze, die am Vortag spät ins Lager von Tarczyn eingerückt war, begab sich zwei Stunden später auf den Weg, dessen Zustand langsam als katastrophal zu bezeichnen war. Deshalb traf diese Brigade auch zu spät am Schlachtfeld ein, um noch entscheidend eingreifen zu können. Die Kavallerie des Korps, bestehend aus 5 ½ Eskadronen Husaren des Regimentes Nr.12 Palatinal, die beiden Kürassierregimenter Nr.5 Sommariva und Nr.7 Lothringen, sowie eine Kavalleriebatterie, marschierte unter FML Schauroth mit dem Gros der Infanterie westlich der Landstraße über Mrokowska wola auf offenem Gelände gegen Lazy. Die Sicherung der linken Flanke übernahmen die bei Parole stehenden vier Kompanien die bei Parole stehenden vier Kompanien Vukassovich und eine Eskadron Kaiser, die gegen Nadarzyn vorgingen. An der rechten Flanke rückten die Bataillone Walachische Grenzer Nr.16 und 17, die während der Nacht bei Szczaki und Runow auf Posten gestanden war, Richtung Dawidy vor. Erzherzog Ferdinand ritt mit seinem Stab an der Spitze der Kavallerie, da er noch immer glaubte lediglich die Nachhut der polnischen Armee vor sich zu haben. Der heftige Frühlingsregen der letzten Tage hatte die selbst bei normalen Bedingungen tiefen Wege in noch schlechteren Zustand versetzt. Bis zu den Knöcheln im Morast einsinkend, bewegte sich die Vorhut langsam vor und erreichte erst um 13h den nördlichen Waldrand. Hier ließ Generalmajor Mohr halten, um seine in Unordnung geratenen Verbände zu sammeln. Die Artillerie postierte er auf einer Anhöhe vor der Infanterie und ritt mit seinen Husaren gegen Janczewice zwecks Erkundung der gegnerischen Positionen. Hier erblickte er bei dem einsam stehenden Wirtshaus Wygoda Karczma ein polnisches Kavallerieregiment. Diese Beobachtung meldete er dem Erzherzog und wartete auf dessen Eintreffen. Erzherzog Ferdinand war mit der Spitze der Kavallerie bereits südöstlich von Lazy eingelangt, als er die Meldung Mohrs erhielt. Sofort ließ er FML Schauroth mit 3 ½ Eskadronen Husaren und einer Kavalleriebatterie bei Lazy zur Absicherung zurück, zu denen noch die vier Kompanien des 3. Bataillons von Vukassovich und eine Eskadron Kürassiere stießen. Mit der übrigen Kavallerie schwenkte Erzherzog Ferdinand nun gegen Janczewice ein. Die Infanterie und Artillerie der Vorhut wurde auf einen

outnumbered two to one by a veteran army.

Warsaw began to prepare for siege. The government issued a statement. "A neighbor to whom we have offered no offense, a neighbor whose capital and empire were saved by the arms of our ancestors has invaded our territory and treats us as a horde without a country...We should sacrifice everything to defend our country and our honor...Hasten Poles..In defense of your foyers."

Poniatowski decided to throw up his initial defense of the city in the villages of Raszyn/Falenty. Raszyn/Falenty was 7.5 miles south of Warsaw and a good defensive position. The villages were bordered by a river and thick marshes which would funnel Austrian troops across a few bridges and causeways which would offset the Austrian advantage of size. Ferdinand initially planned to circumvent the Polish forces and cut them off from Warsaw. He found that Polish cavalry was blocking his routes and that he was being forced toward Raszyn/Falenty. Generals Rozniecki and Bieganski were actually sent south to draw the Austrians in. Meanwhile, more Polish troops were arriving from Warsaw. The Poles were able to bring in 13,000 troops to the field with 3,700 in Raszyn alone under the direct control of Poniatowski. He was supported by thirty nine canons. The Austrians had 28,500 men and 86 canons.

The battle began at 2 pm on April 18. Austrian cavalry tried to push through the marshes but were caught by Polish and Saxon artillery and decimated as horses became stuck in the marshy goo. Riders became easy targets. Meanwhile, Austrian infantry began to make headway along the main causeway pushing the outnumbered Polish troops back. Poniatowski personally rallied his troops by grabbing a musket and leading a counter attack with gun in hand and pipe in mouth. Polish horse artillery quickly joined in and stopped the Austrian assault. Attack and counterattack went on until 10 pm when the Austrians finally gained control of the main causeway that led to Raszyn. They were so exhausted by that time that they could not take advantage of their success, so they were forced to pull back to their jump off point. The Austrians had lost 2,500 men killed or wounded. The Poles had lost 1,350 men which was a more serious loss given their smaller numbers. Poniatowski deemed it wise to pull back his remaining troops to Warsaw and abandon Raszyn. On paper, Raszyn proved to be a stalemate but the Austrian plan for a quick victory had been sidetracked by a neophyte commander and a barely organized and trained army. While the Poles were to view it as victory, the Austrians tried to see it as a minor setback or delay. When Poniatowski arrived in Warsaw, he was forced to bid his Saxon troops farewell as they returned to Dresden. He was now left with less than 9,000 effective troops in the vicinity of the capitol. Soldiers and citizens worked on defensive positions for the city. Napoleon sent word to Poniatowski that he would soon receive aid from Russian troops that had been promised by Czar Alexander. Poniatowski put no faith in Russian promises and began to place his limited but valuable artillery at strategic entry points into the city.

The Austrian forces now began to converge on Warsaw. They moved slowly after the spirited defense of Raszyn.

Sandhügel bei Janczewice vorgezogen, um als Reserve zu dienen. Die eben aus dem Wald tretende Brigade Civalart ließ er dort Stellung beziehen und mit der Vorhut Verbindung aufnehmen. Nun ließ er die Husaren das erste Treffen bilden, die Kürassiere das zweite und gegen den Gegner anreiten. So attackierten insgesamt 24 österreichische Schwadronen die dort befindlichen 16 polnischen. Allerdings ließen sich die polnischen Ulanen, des 2. und 3. Kavallerie-Regiment, auf keinen langen Kampf mit dem überlegenen Gegner ein, sondern zogen sich schnell gegen Falenty zurück. Zwar versuchten die Husaren eine Verfolgung einzuleiten, doch bald gerieten sie in den Morast und mussten sich erst mühsam daraus befreien, wobei sie von einer vor Jaworow stehenden Batterie beschossen wurden. Lediglich die Geschütze der österreichischen Vorhut feuerten auf den weichenden Gegner, aber auch hier war der Erfolg sehr mäßig.

Der Angriff auf Falenty

Nun erst erkannte Erzherzog Ferdinand, dass ihm eine größere Streitmacht gegenüber stand. Sofort beschloß er den Angriff, damit die Polen, was diese aber gar nicht wollten, nicht mehr einem Kampf ausweichen konnten. Den Übergang über die Rawa bei Jaworow sollten vier Eskadronen Husaren unter Gehringer erobern, denen die Brigaden Civalart und Pflacher folgen sollten, die über Jaworow dann nach Warschau vordringen sollten. Zur Unterstützung mußte das Regiment Nr. 48 Vukassovich die Ortschaft Falenty angreifen und erobern, während die beiden Bataillone Walachen den Ort Dawidy in Besitz nehmen und verteidigen sollten. Da es nun schon 15h geworden war, musste schnell gehandelt werden. Das Regiment Vukassovich, das jetzt erst bei Wygoda Karczma eintraf, erhielt vom Erzherzog persönlich den Angriffsbefehl. Mit klingendem Spiel ging das Regiment auf dem schlechten, sehr sumpfigen Gelände vor, wobei 2 Kompanien des 3. Bataillons als Plänkler gegen das Erlenwäldchen südlich Falentys vorgingen. Dahinter marschierte das 2. Bataillon, während das 1. Bataillon als Reserve folgte. Unter dem heftigen Beschuß durch polnische Geschütze rückten die Plänkler bis zum Wald vor, wo sie von einer Salve des dort stehenden 1. Bataillons des 8. Regiments empfangen wurden. Nun entspann sich ein heftiger Nahkampf im Wald, wobei es den anstürmenden Österreichern gelang, die Polen, die hartnäckig das kleine Schloß und die Ortschaft verteidigten, langsam über den Damm in Richtung Raszyn zurück zu drängen. Da erschien Poniatowski persönlich an der Spitze des 1. Bataillons des Regiments Malachowski und gemeinsam mit einem sächsischen Grenadierbataillon, sowie 3 Geschützen aus der Reserve, gelang es nun, die Österreicher, die ohne Rastpause in diesen Kampf gesandt worden waren, mit einem Bajonettangriff aus dem Wald zu vertreiben. Doch den österreichischen Offizieren gelang es, Panik in ihrer Truppe zu vermeiden, und so konnte sich das Regiment Vukassovich nur einige hundert Meter vom Waldesrand entfernt, wieder in Ordnung sammeln und erneut Stellung beziehen.

Die Kämpfe an der österreichischen linken Flanke

Inzwischen war FML Schauroth von Lazy nach Westen abgeogen, da vor dem Wald zwischen Nadarzyn

They showed greater respect for this new Polish Army. The Poles showed they did not need French troops to stiffen their resolve. As they approached the city, the Austrians came under concentrated artillery fire and Ferdinand halted his advance. Not wanting to be embarrassed again by a stalemate or worse, he sent word to Poniatowski that he was open to a negotiated takeover of the city to save needless bloodshed. Poniatowski agreed and they met at 4 o'clock in the afternoon at the Jerusalem Gate barricade. Ferdinand praised the fighting abilities and bravery of the Polish troops and their commander. He tried to convince Poniatowski to bring his troops over to the Austrian side but the Prince bristled at such a suggestion. He instead proposed a 48 hour truce in which time Polish soldiers would evacuate Warsaw with weapons in hand. The city and its citizens were to be treated with respect as an open city. Ferdinand initially balked at this proposal but quickly realized that he was behind schedule. Charles had placed him under time constraints and, from his perspective; it was only a short matter of time before a complete Polish collapse. He agreed and Polish troops began to cross the Vistula River over to the Praga suburb. Polish military supplies were moved to the Modlin Fortress. The last to leave the city was the Polish government. As Ferdinand entered Warsaw with his army, he still saw himself as a liberator. He told the inhabitants of the city that "the Austrians were making war against Napoleon and were friends with any who opposed the French...Receive me as a friend." Despite efforts to win over the Poles, the Austrians quickly found that they were not greeted as liberators but as occupiers. They felt themselves surrounded by hostiles and spies. Ferdinand had hoped to leave minimal troops in Warsaw but realized that this was not to be. He was quickly supported by the Austrian General Bronowicki who had arrived with his forces after failing to take the Polish fort at Czestochowa. He now had to decide which way to go next, remain stationary and hold the city, move north and link up with a potential Prussian ally or split his troops and send some south to aid Charles in his struggles with Napoleon. Following the withdrawal from Warsaw, Poniatowski set up his new command in the Modlin Fort. It was here that Generals Dabrowski and Zajacek met with the prince to decide on their next moves. All three men put their past differences aside to defend the Duchy. It was Dabrowski who took the lead by suggesting that the Prince now shift his attention to Galicia as Napoleon had ordered. It was obvious that the Austrians were weak there and the Poles would be on the offensive. Meanwhile General Zajacek would cover the Prince's flanks and prevent an Austrian move against him. Dabrowski was to try to draw the Austrians north toward Torun (Thorn) which the Austrians saw as their bridge to Prussia. All three generals were to recruit new troops along the way to expand the Polish Army. Zajacek did his job well and prevented Ferdinand from crossing the Vistula to pursue the Prince. Ferdinand decided to move north on Torun to try to draw the Prussians into the war. Meanwhile he received a letter from the Russian General Prince Alexander Gorchakow congratulating him on his taking of Warsaw and wished to join him soon in joint operations against a common enemy. He did not specify if

und Wolica rund 400 Mann polnischer Kavallerie erschienen waren. Sofort ließ Schauroth attackieren, aber die Ulanen zogen sich schnell in den nördlich von Dyrdy gelegenen Wald zurück. Um nicht in eine Falle zu geraten, zog FML Schauroth seine Kavallerie zurück und wartete auf die vier Kompanien von Vukassovich und die Kavalleriebatterie. Nachdem die Haubitzen den Gegner durch ihr Feuer vertrieben hatten, ließ FML Schauroth Infanterie und Husaren den Wald durchstreifen, während zwei Kompanien den Waldrand besetzten. Erst dann rückte er mit Kavallerie und der Batterie vor. Kaum hatte er allerdings den Wald passiert, traf er auf überlegene polnische Kavallerie, die auf der Höhe von Wolica postiert war. Das gut gezielte Feuer der Kavalleriebatterie unter Leutnant Treblinger vertrieb aber die polnische Kavallerie, die sich nun über Wolica bis nach Wypendy und Janky zurück zog, wo sie nun Stellung bezog. Nun ließ GM Schauroth seine Eskadronen, bis auf die des Husarenregimentes Kaiser, denn diese bildeten die Vorhut, in einer Linie auf der Höhe neben dem Dorf Wolica aufmarschieren. Mit zwei Kompanien wurde das Dorf besetzt, während die zwei anderen Kompanien noch im Wald stationiert blieben. Die rasch vorgezogene Kavalleriebatterie eröffnete das Feuer und schon nach der vierten Salve zogen sich die gegnerischen Reiter Richtung Raszyn und Michalowice zurück. Nun ließ Schauroth die Ortschaften Wypendy und Janky besetzen und durch gut gezieltes Artilleriefeuer blockierte er erfolgreich jeden Versuch eines Gegenangriffs.

Die Erstürmung von Falenty

Auf Befehl des Erzherzogs musste Schauroth nun das weitere Vorgehen gegen Falenty mit 2 Kompanien des Regimentes Vukassovich unterstützen, die gegen die Westseite des Erlenwäldchens vorgehen sollten. Als Vorbereitung für den neuerlichen Angriff beschossen drei Batterien mit 24 Geschützen Falenty, wobei zwei polnische Geschütze zerstört, ein Teil der Bedienungsmannschaft außer Gefecht gesetzt, sowie einige Munitionskarren gesprengt wurden. Nachdem der Erzherzog das Dorf sturmreif geschossen glaubte, ließ er das Regiment Vukassovich erneut attackieren. Das 2. und 3. Bataillon drangen nun gemeinsam mit den beiden von Schauroth gesandten Kompanien, sowie einem Bataillon von Weidenfeld Nr.37, das in Folge 4 Tote und 22 Verwundete verlor, in das Erlenwäldchen ein, während das 1. Bataillon gegen das Dorf anstürmte. Beim nun entbrannten heftigen Nahkampf um den Besitz der Verschanzungen wurde Oberst Godebski tödlich verwundet, worauf sein nun führungslos gewordenes 1. Bataillon in Unordnung geriet und aus dem Wald vertrieben werden konnte. Aber die Verteidiger unter Sokolnicki harrten dennoch solange aus, bis das Dorf und das Herrenhaus, in Flammen standen. Nun wurde der Rückzug nach Raszyn befohlen, wobei die Infanterie, unter heftigem Beschuß der österreichischen Artillerie, den Abzug der verbliebenen Geschütze über den Damm deckte. Allerdings konnten die vordringenden Österreicher dennoch 4 Geschütze erbeuten und mehr als 100 Polen, darunter viele Verwundete, gefangen nehmen. Der tödlich verwundete Oberst Godebski konnte rechtzeitig von seinen Leuten nach Raszyn evakuiert werden, wo er dann kurz darauf seinen Wunden erlag.



he meant the Poles or French or both. Russian officers were already operating as observers along with the Austrian Army. This offer of support just further encouraged Ferdinand to move north to entice the Prussians. Dabrowski had prepared Torun for siege so that when the Austrians did arrive their assault was checked. In the meantime, the Polish Army was growing with new recruits. Dabrowski and Zajaczek were doing their part and now it was up to Poniatowski. Poniatowski carried out a version of blitzkrieg in Galicia. The cities of Kock, Lubartow and finally Lublin fell to the Poles by May 14. Poniatowski issued an appeal for a general uprising against the Austrians. The Prince called for Galician Poles to join the Polish Army saying that "Poles are the same everywhere; tested but not cut down." From Lublin, the Poles pushed on and took the Austrian fortresses of Sandomierz and Zamosc. By May 22, Poniatowski had placed his sights on Krakow, the ancient Polish capitol. To try to placate the Russians, Galicia it was proclaimed, was being liberated on behalf of Napoleon (French Eagles were replacing Austrian Eagles) and this became the official policy statement. In reality this was a war of Polish liberation, a war that was making the Russians very nervous.

The new Polish Army grew in size with each new victory by Poniatowski. After the fall of Sandomierz alone, on May 20, over 800 Poles deserted to the Prince's army. Poles also came across the Russian border from Ukraine and Lithuania to join in the liberation of Galicia. General Zajaczek was also able to shift some of his forces to the south so that this new Polish Army was up to 24,000 men by the time it reached Krakow. Poniatowski wrote to the French emperor: "The zeal that animates the Galicians... has in no way diminished. There are at the moment four (new) infantry and four (new) cavalry regiments forming. All uniformed and equipped at the expense of the citizens who had formed them...the total lack of weapons...is the only limit of the eagerness that they demonstrate for the talking up of the defense of the common cause." As the Prince relished in his new military force, a new variable was about to be added to the situation: the Russians. The Russia government and military were quite worried over the lack of Austrian success in Poland. The vigor and aggressiveness of the Army of Grand Duchy came as a shock to St. Petersburg. What was even more disturbing

Die Erreichung des Dorfes Raszyn

Auf dem schmalen Damm staute sich der Strom der Flüchtenden, die sich in Richtung Raszyn bewegten, wobei die österreichische Artillerie für große Verluste sorgte. In dieser allgemeinen Unordnung erlitt Stabschef Fiszer um 17h eine Verwundung, wodurch das Chaos auf polnischer Seite nicht gerade kleiner wurde. Das Regiment Vukassovich musste bei der Verfolgung ebenfalls diesen schwierigen Weg passieren, wobei die 12 sächsischen und vier polnische Geschütze im Zentrum der gegnerischen Linie ihr Feuer nun auf diesen Weg richteten. Ihr verheerendes Feuer, wobei die sächsischen Batterien Kotsch und Semder mit ihren 12 Geschützen am wirkungsvollsten agierten, beeinträchtigte den österreichischen Vorstoß gewaltig. Trotz des mühevollen Vorwärtsdringens und der daraus resultierenden Erschöpfung konnte das Regiment Vukassovich über die kleine Brücke den Südausgang des Ortes Raszyn erreichen, wobei noch die Gräben vor dem Ort im Schlamm und Wasser wattend, durchquert werden mußten. Aber als die sächsische Infanterie, Musketiere des Infanterieregimentes Oeschelwitz und Grenadiere von Einsiedel, von links angriff, wurde das Regiment Vukassovich, das in diesem Kampf 260 Mann verlor, bis zum Ortsrand zurückgedrängt, wo es sich aber unter Verlusten behaupten konnte. Hier traf bald Hauptmann Renner mit dem Befehl des Stabchefs Bruschi ein, die Verfolgung des Gegners energisch zu betreiben. Von seiner Position in Wygoda Karczma aus hatte der Erzherzog bereits angenommen, dass der mittlerweile brennende Ort Raszyn in österreichischem Besitz sei. Nicht der einzige Irrtum des Tages.

Auf der rechten österreichischen Flanke

Während um Falenty erbittert gekämpft wurde, waren die beiden Bataillone Walachische Grenzer unter dem Feuer der polnischen Artillerie westlich von Jaworow über die Rawa gegangen und hatten das Dorf Dawidy, das vom Gegner nicht besetzt worden war, kampflos okkupiert. Von hier streiften nun Patrouillen gegen den östlich gelegenen Wald, um vor einem Gegenstoß der Warschauer Truppen sicher zu sein. Bei Jaworow hatten die Polen die Brücke in Erwartung eines Angriffs abgetragen und das Material am nördlichen Ufer gelagert. Als um 16h die 4 Eskadronen Husaren von Palatinal gegenüber Jaworow eintrafen, hatten sie in dem sumpfigen Gelände ebenfalls große Probleme. Nun sandte Erzherzog Ferdinand die Brigade Civalart, die eben die Höhe von Wygoda Karczma erreicht hatte, sofort gegen Jaworow. Zwar konnte sich die Brigade, die sich vorerst in dem sumpfigen Gelände nur schwer zurecht fand, mit den Bataillonen der Siebenbürger Walachen in Dawidy in Verbindung setzen, doch bis genügend Material zum Bau einer neuen Brücke herangeschafft worden war, verging zu viel kostbare Zeit. Als nun die Brigade Pflacher, endlich bei Wygoda Karczma eintraf, sandte sie der Erzherzog, noch immer in dem irrigen Glauben, Raszyn wäre schon in österreichischem Besitz, nach Jaworow, um dort die Brigade Civalart beim Flussübergang zu unterstützen.

Die Kämpfe um Raszyn

Inzwischen hatte Hauptmann Renner die Gefahr im

was that Poles from Russia were joining their ranks at a spirited pace. The Russians now felt obligated to live up to their pledges of aid as given to Napoleon earlier. The initial Russian proposal was to attack Warsaw and drive out the Austrians to aid the French. The Poles saw this as a ruse to occupy the city for the Austrians which would free them up to shift their troops to either deal with the Poles or the French. Poniatowski sent a counter proposal for the Russians to support the Polish forces in Galicia instead. The Russian commander agreed but sent orders to his troops to move slowly and delay any assistance to the Poles. Poniatowski came into possession of a copy of these orders and forwarded them onto Berthier with the commentary that they, the Poles, would continue on course despite the "ill will" of the Russians. Poniatowski also sent a letter of protest to the Russian commander and signed his title as Commander in Chief of the Polish Army. General Galitzen became incensed upon receiving this letter and responded that no such title existed since Poland did not exist. Meanwhile, the Austrians were now shifting their attention back to the south. Having failed to take Torun, Ferdinand returned with his forces to Warsaw. Realizing that Galicia was almost totally in Polish hands, he decided to shift his troops southward to pursue the Poles. After the Russians had moved into Eastern Galicia on June 2, he would now have an unofficial ally. The Russians were supposed to aid the Polish forces in Sandomierz and other cities but they sat back as the Austrians retook the cities but only after the defenders ran out of ammunition. The Russians had secretly agreed to a nonaggression pact with the Austrians. Russians even moved into towns already occupied by Polish forces and forced them out. They then replaced all Polish officials with former Austrian officials who now represented the Czar. Poniatowski sent letters of protest but they were ignored. The Prince knew his time of opportunity was running out and Krakow had to be taken soon. Dabrowski and Zajacek began to shift more troops to the south once they reoccupied Warsaw. On July 5, Poniatowski, with these new troops, moved on Kielce forcing the Austrians back. Abandoned Austrian weapons were given to the newly raised Polish units dubbed Franco-Galician so as not to antagonize the Russians any further. On July 14 the Polish/Franco-Galician Army was prepared to enter Krakow. The Austrian commander agreed to hand over the city but asked for a truce to allow his men to leave the city without harm. Prince Poniatowski agreed but soon regretted his chivalry. The Austrian commander had sent word to the Russians begging them to hurry to Krakow to occupy it while the Poles waited for the Austrians to leave. The Austrian Field Marshal Mondet agreed to stall the Poles to give the Russians time to arrive. Poniatowski began to receive reports from people in Krakow that duplicity was afoot. They asked him why he was allowing the Russian Army to occupy a city surrendered to the Poles. He was shocked to hear this news since he had trusted Mondet to be honorable. The Prince ordered a unit of lancers under Chef D'Escadron Wlodzimierz Potocki to enter the city and find out what was going on. Potocki found his way blocked by the Russian General Sievers, who had orders to block all Polish entry into the city. Potocki responded "move or face our

Zentrum erkannt und war zur vorgehenden Brigade Pflacher geritten, um Verstärkung zu erbitten. Mit einem Bataillon vom Regiment Weidenfeld marschierte er nach Raszyn um das Regiment Vukassovich bei seinen Angriffsbemühungen zu unterstützen. Erneut griffen nun die Österreicher, deren Artillerie mittlerweile Raszyn in Brand geschossen hatte, die Verteidiger an, wobei um jedes Haus heftige Kämpfe tobten. Die kleine, von einer Mauer umschlossenen Kirche und die, aus Ziegeln massiv gebauten, Häuser auf dem Marktplatz dienten als Festungswerke, die erst nach hartem Kampf von den Verteidigern geräumt werden mussten. Erst bei Einbruch der Nacht erschien noch ein Bataillon des Regiments Davidovich, vom Erzherzog, der erst jetzt seine Fehleinschätzung bemerkt hatte, gesandt, das gleich einen unerwarteten Gegenstoß der Polen um 21h abwehren konnte. Gegen 22h verstummte langsam der Kampfärm und die letzten polnischen Verteidiger räumten das zerstörte Dorf, um auf der dahinter liegenden Höhe Stellung zu beziehen. Noch war die polnische Armee intakt und schlagkräftig, doch Poniatowski wagte keinen nächtlichen Gegenangriff. Er fürchtete um seine Rückzugslinie über Gora nach Warschau und berief einen Kriegsrat ein. Hier fiel die Entscheidung, sich zu den Wällen Warschau zurückzuziehen. Generalmajor von Dyrherrn musste dem erhaltenen Befehl nachkommen und die Streitmacht des Herzogtums Richtung Sachsen verlassen. Gegen Mitternacht ließ Poniatowski, der seinen Rückzugsweg durch die Brigade Civalart, die endlich den Flußübergang geschafft hatte und sich in Jaworow festsetzen konnte, und die in Dawidy stehenden walachischen Grenzerbataillone bedroht sah, seine Armee nach Warschau abrücken. Ungehindert konnte er abmarschieren, wobei allerdings in der Dunkelheit noch zwei Geschütze verloren gingen. Die erschöpften österreichischen Bataillone verharrten in Raszyn, nachdem die Brände dort gelöscht werden konnten, und waren nicht mehr in der Lage, die Polen noch ernsthaft zu attackieren. Zwar trafen jetzt spät aber doch die Brigade Trautenberg ein, doch der Kampf war bereits vorüber. Die angreifenden Österreicher verloren rund 1.500 Tote und Verwundete, während die Polen 500 Tote, 1.000 Verwundete, 43 Gefangene und 4 Geschütze einbüßten. Raszyn war für keine Seite ein Sieg, aber Poniatowski, der das Gelände geschickt ausgenutzt hatte, um den zahlenmäßig überlegenen Gegner nicht zur Entfaltung gelangen zu lassen, hatte eine Atempause erhalten, um seine militärischen Anstrengungen voranzutreiben. Erzherzog Ferdinand hatte den Fehler begangen, ohne die Stellung des Gegners vorher zu erkunden, in Marschformation vorzugehen, sodaß den größten Teil des Kampfes nur die Vorhut im Einsatz war, während die Kampfkraft zweier Brigaden nutzlos in der Nachhut verblieb. ■



lancers." Sievers ordered his men to stand aside. Potocki was shocked to find Austrian and Russian troops working together to fortify the city. The Krakow city hall was surrounded Russian canons. Potocki sent word back to Poniatowski about the situation and he immediately left for Krakow. When the Prince arrived, he found his way blocked by Russian Hussars. He pushed his way through; followed by Polish infantry and artillery. The Poles were ready to fight both Austrian and Russian for the city. The question was who would blink first. The Russians blinked and began to stand down. Tensions remained high and conflict could still have broken out between the two so called allies had not word of the Armistice of Znaim reached them. The Russians realizing that their Austrian gamble had failed began to pull back. The Poles now controlled the city and waited for the peace negotiations to see what would happen next. The Peace of Schonbrunn granted the Duchy of Warsaw a swath of Western Galicia amounting to 15,000 square miles which nearly doubled the population of the Duchy to 4.3 million people. The Russian fear of a growing Polish state was now a reality and a future threat.

Many Napoleonic historians pay little attention to the Austro-Polish war of 1809. Some refer to it as a side show with little or no bearing on events while others portray the Polish Army as being ineffective and allowing the Austrians to occupy their capitol and most of the Duchy. The significance of the War is neglected or missed entirely. The Poles prevented Ferdinand from accomplishing any of the objectives set out by the Archduke Charles. He failed to neutralize the Polish forces. In fact while he kept trying to do so the Poles counterattacked and occupied three fourths of Austrian Galicia. He also failed to bring in the Prussians or Russians into the war against the French. As a result, he was unable to aid Charles in his battles, with the French, contributing to the Austrian defeat in the West. Poniatowski and the Poles, on the other hand, were the big winners. They defeated the Austrians without the French and in spite of Russian help. The Duchy Army now called itself the Wojsko Polskie (the Polish Army), wore traditional Polish uniforms and marched under the White Eagle Standard of Poland. The size of the army increased from 15,000 to over 52,000 men. Polish national consciousness spread across all classes and into the former Polish lands of Lithuania and Ukraine. Poniatowski and his soldiers had restored faith in national survival and revival. Even Napoleon praised Polish efforts in his army bulletins. The Poles were actually responding to his statements made back in 1807 when he told the Poles that their freedom was not up to him or the French Army but their willingness to fight for it. When given the opportunity, the Poles rose to the occasion and became an inspiration to Polish revolutionaries throughout the nineteenth century. The Polish gnat proved mightier than the Austrian Eagle. ■



The Grenoble INS Congress, July 2019

Last 100 days of Napoleon as Emperor of the French

Shlomo Targan

I would like to summarize some interesting issues that were raised by the distinguished historians participating in the congress, such as:

1. 100 days? Depends on how one counts this short period of time, could be more or less number of days, but the number 100 increases the glorification of the time from return from Elba to the exile to St. Helena.

2. This last spasm of Napoleon's emperors was characterized by numbness and discord among the French. It was not a smooth rally as implied by the historical emphasis on "no shot being fired" during his march to Paris. For instance: the church was hostile; few of his marshals stayed with him; King Louis XVIII said he fought Napoleon, not the French people. Fouché had strong contacts with Metternich and he had to leave 20,000 troops to guard the peace instead of joining the fighting force. The masses were not with Napoleon, mainly the army and Paris were. Most French people wanted peace, not glory. Probably, even if he had won at Waterloo, his fate was cast as the coalitions would have continued to send forces against him. France's supply of men and horses was depleted. It was just a matter of time.

3. Napoleon's tomb at Les Invalides in Paris requires renovations. It has not been renovated since 1862. Very peculiar, given the touristic draw, the French government does not financially support this project! Funds come from donations.

4. The What If play is impossible. Perhaps instead of the question "could Napoleon have done it better?" we should ask what might he have done differently to succeed? No one

supported him. He had no allies. Obviously his timing was bad as the Congress of Vienna meant that his enemies were gathered together to rally against him. Someone suggested he should have welcomed Murat's assistance. Perhaps he should have given up? Well, one of the replies was: "he wouldn't be Napoleon if he had not returned..."

5. Restitution of artifacts – will this new small trend continue? It's a Roman tradition the spoils of war belong to the victor but some movement towards restitution can be detected.

6. A fresh view of Napoleon's wars' fiscal system: make war pay for war. Napoleon had used imperial pressures to finance his rule that were no longer available when he returned from Elba. At that time, he put more modern methods into play, providing the mechanisms of future banking.

7. Strong women of that era? Yes, Hortense is one who can be a model for empowerment of women but she paid the price for her loyalty to her step-father. France and Europe treated her as an outlaw the rest of her life for "conspiring" for his return.

8. Interesting how the English troops saw the French soldiers as an enemy, but an enlightened one, not as the public at home who was influenced by the British hate propaganda.

9. Prostitution in Paris: 5% (!) of the population were prostitutes. They were called Venuses of the crossroads... Grenoble was considered as the pleasure city. Syphilis was abundant and the general population suffered, for instance the prostitutes' orphans.

10. Last words by Stendhal on Waterloo: All is lost, even honor! ■

Impressions of the INS Congress in Grenoble



LIEBE LESER

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