

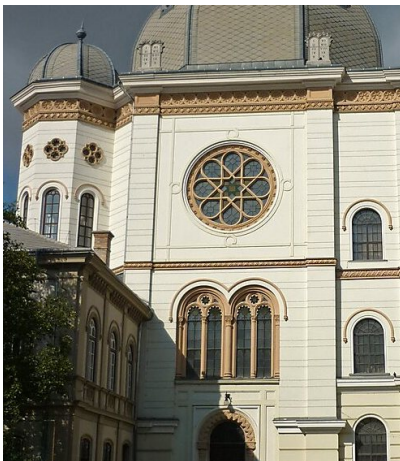


The 1809 International Research Society Newsletter

A SUMMARY OF TALKS AND ARTICLES

November 2023

The synagogue in Raab and its school were built between 1868 and 1870 in Art Nouveau style. It is actually a cultural center, but it also houses the permanent exhibition of the artist János Vasilescu.



Origins of the Community in Raab.

Eliyahu Fleishman

Translated by Martin Goodman

The City of Raab, whose previous name was “Arrabona”, was founded by the Celts. Since its inhabitants were merchants, Roman traders were also drawn there, appearing in the city by the first century B.C.E. The Roman army conquered the northern portion of the Danube which was then called “Pannonia”, and it constructed fortresses and roads therein; then the army moved [over the roads] on to additional conquests. This road passed

through the City of Arrabona. The city received its name Győr from the [ancient] army commander Árpád. After the Turks abandoned the region, German mercenaries arrived. Since the city was crossed by the Rába River, the Germans changed the city's name to Raab. The official language, German, remained [in use] until the middle of the 19th century. The city was also referred to as the City of Four Rivers because the Danube, Rábca, Rába, and Marcal Rivers bounded it.

At the time that the state was conquered, a small number of Jews already lived in the city. In the days of King Mátyás, more Jews came [to Raab] to live. However, after his death, the Jews were expelled and they went to live in Sopron. At the end of the 18th century, 30 Jewish families settled in Raab-Sziget. They also received permission for construction of a synagogue, for which they paid a tax to the property owner. Jews did not settle in the city of Raab until the beginning of the 19th century. In 1791, the first Jewish community was founded in Raab-Sziget. In 1795, they built the first synagogue, but the first Rabbi served only from 1803 to 1818. Slowly, other institutions were founded, and in 1840, the Rabbis were given the right to perform betrothals and marriages. In that year at the Pozsony Congress, the Jews were also permitted to live in cities, and they of course took advantage of the opportunity because city life was easier for them. ■

It can not be what may not be.

Ferdi Irmfried Wöber

The first peasant revolt in southern Sweden in 1811 ended in disaster.

According to official reports, 30 to 40 people died in the fighting. The historians of the “Baragillet” (Bara group) found 21 men listed. The difference came about, because there were dead from other communities, who fell outside the research scope of this historical group. It thus still remains uncertain, how many actually died. Molbech writes of 100 death. The historian, Uno Røndahl, described the event as “mass murder”; Anders Hedvall wrote in his epic poem about the rebellion “it only lasted long enough for the castle to become a graveyard”. Many of the dead were secretly carried away by loyal supporters and relatives, so they could be given a proper burial in consecrated ground. Later, but still on the same day as the massacre happened, the Provincial authorities issued an order that all the dead should be gathered together and buried in an out of the way mass grave. This was carried out. The place became known as the “Field of the dead” and is now a memorial. As previously mentioned, 289 were taken as prisoners to the Malmöhus fortress. In all, 395 had charged laid against them for having taken part in the disorder.



Svaneholm Castle. Oilpainting by N. L.

Hampus Mörner returned to Malmö in triumph at the head of his “heroically courageous” troops, where he displayed his trophies, which were composed of pitchforks and scythes. Their entry into the city was frightful. The prisoners were worn out by the long march and were only provided with brandy. They looked absolutely pitiful and were tied together in groups of three with

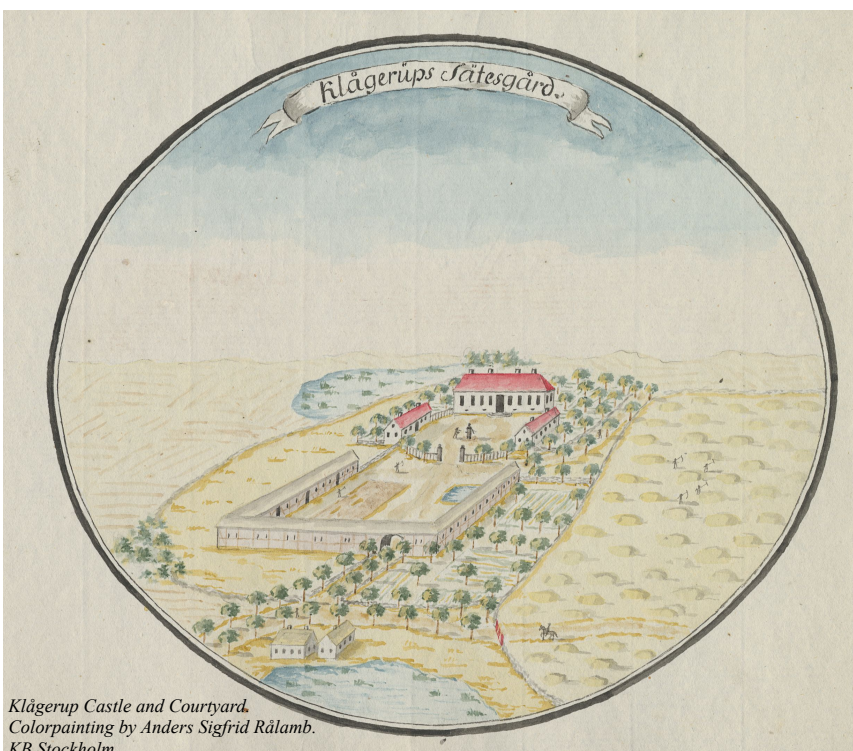
hemp rope and their hands were tied behind their backs, like a chain. The whole group were marched down into the castle barracks.

This symbolic demonstration of power should prove the restored order. Johan Christopher Toll, Carl Gustaf Fredrik von Platen, and Gustaf Fredrik von Rosen were of the opinion that the fire of the insurrection had not yet been extinguished. In a letter of 21 June, von Platen wrote to Toll:

"Now it seems as if everything is all right again, but I am not sure whether the troops should be sent back to their barracks." I am of the same conviction as the Baron, that the fire is still glowing and not extinguished, so no troops will return; On the contrary, I ordered the rest of the second corporal corps to move from Borgeby to the established Malmö accommodation. "
In a letter Toll also wrote about the reason for the insurrection:
"that if the farmer has nothing to drink he becomes overbearing, but in confidence among us said, another feeling can be awakened: that of despair. A severe misunderstanding shows him clearly that he can not feed himself and his family, just as the animals he is to look after will be affected. Does not the Baron also believe that the uncertain can come to the idea of taking what is there and sharing it with the established ones?"

During their imprisonment in the Malmöhus fortress, they suffered dreadful agonies. Ill and wounded were imprisoned in one room, crammed together with uninjured prisoners without anyone giving them any necessary help.

Hygiene was terrible. Dysentery and fever spread quickly among these unfortunates. News of their wretched situation reached the outside world as rumours. When Doctor Munck af Rosenschöld in Helsingborg heard them, he went to Malmö, in order to make his own mind about the state of the prisoners actually near to the place. He was refused entrance to the castle by the commander of the guard, Baron von Liewen. This infamous van Liewen was rarely sober and passed his time annoying the prisoners. It gave him particular pleasure to tell the prisoners quite dramatically about the consequences of their actions. He probably did all this without the approval of the Governor General Toll, even withholding their entitlement to fresh air. Munck af Rosenschöld declared that he was not happy with the situation and that he would not



Klågerup Castle and Courtyard. Colorpainting by Anders Sigfrid Rålamb. KB Stockholm.



take No for an answer. Through his acquaintance, Minister of State Count Gustav Wetterstedt, he sought a written authority from Crown Prince Karl Johan. Armed with this authorisation, he forced the commander of the guard to allow him in. Now he could appreciate the whole truth. It was clear to him that the conditions of the prisoners were even worse than had been rumoured. The number of sick was much higher and not correlate with the reports of the prison authority. Officially, five or six deaths are reported, while other reports speak of about seventy deaths. Many lost their mind. The intense treatment by the doctor noticeably improved the situation for the prisoners, above all for the sick. An offer of 20 Riksdaler for the prisoners to spend was declined. The ever-doubting Karl Johan could not imagine the revolt would have been carried on without a deep conspiracy. His nervousness was clearly shown in a decree of July 11, 1811. Here it is written that a

reward of 1,000 to 3,000 banco, or more, will be given, which may give detailed information concerning the true hind men. As soon as the uproar was suppressed and the peasants and labourers were in secure custody, the judicial endgame began. Applications for pardon were made to King Karl XIII. An unending series of long judicial examinations of 300-400 people, together with those taken into custody began in the court room of the City Hall. All in all about 600 persons were accused. The following are just a few examples from the extensive store of decrees and protocols in the archives:

First is the judicial examination of Prisoner no. 44, Ola Nilsson: "A householder in Wästraby, 68 years old, of poor health and weak constitution, he said he had never before been charged with a crime. After being cautioned to tell the truth, he related that he

had been pressured by the village folk into going with them to Torup and Klågerup on Friday afternoon, where he waited in a fenced off area and was also taken prisoner there. During the entire time, he was unarmed and could not name any of the ringleaders; in addition, he did not know the reason for the confrontation, but he admitted that he had heard that some labourers were discontented, but nevertheless, he had not pointed them out to the Crown authorities. In Klågerup, he had found several crop thieves, but no person carrying arms."

Ola Nilsson was freed on bail sureties 3rd July 1811.

The protocol on Prisoner no. 166, Anders Bengtsson, relates: "Errand boy in service at the Bökebergsslätt manor, 16 years old, looks ill and has a weak constitution and has not been charged with any offence in the past. He was cautioned to tell the truth at all times. He recounted



that when he came home from work in the peatbog on Friday, 11th, his father, Bengt Andersson, was forced to go to Torup and Klågerup with a mob of people. He tried to find him in the throng of people, but could not. At that point, he wanted to go back home, but was prevented from doing so by a man dressed in green with a musket, whom he did not know. He had to remain and was later taken prisoner by the military." Anders Bengtsson was freed on bail sureties on 5th July.

Both men were fortunate in being released from the Malmöhus prison after just a few weeks. It was somewhat worse for Prisoner No. 248, Mårten Bengtsson. He was soon recognised as an agitator, so the judicial authorities had found one of the ringleaders. *"Labourer for Christen Hansson in Bara, 27 years old, in good health and of good constitution. No previous convictions. He was only questioned yesterday morning and with great stubbornness, he denied everything connected with his imprisonment. During the day, he was securely held in a special jail. After being cautioned only to tell the truth, he related the trip with Hans Ohlsson to Brodda, which he was being questioned, so that it corroborated the latter's statement."*

After Mårten Bengtsson had worried about everything, he gave his version of the course of events. He admitted that he had argued loudly against the ballot at the community assembly in Bara. Afterwards, he went home to eat and thereafter returned to the assembly area in the village. It was also he, who made the proposal to march to Torup, in order to bring about a meeting with Baron Stjernblad. As far as his fellow workers were concerned, Mårten Bengtsson stated:

"On Friday, 14th June, as he and another labourer from the village reached Hyby, the rural folk of several villages arrived and forced him together with villagers from Hyby to go with them to Klågerup, Bara and Torup. In none of these

places had he used any force and especially in Klågerup, he had restrained himself and in Bara, when the assembly was selecting Pastor Borup, he was at home and had eaten. From Torup, where he had been given brandy and a pitchfork, he went with the throng of people to Klågerup. In a mill, he laid the pitchfork aside and remained in the manor until the shots were fired by the military. As they were in the process of marching on the manor, he fled. He did not hear any shouts of 'hurrah'."

The head of the interrogators confronted Mårten Bengtsson with the witness statement of Prisoner no. 142, Anders Persson regarding the meeting in Hyby. Mårten Bengtsson then admitted: *"that he had gone to Hyby with other labourers, who were involved in the rumour about statements made by Baron Stjernblad, requesting that hussars take the labourers prisoner. He was however no more angry about this than the others and he had not spoken up during the meeting. No kind of agreement was made to launch a counterattack in the event of arrests and neither was one sought to take action about the labourers, Anders Pålsson from Hyby and Lars Nilsson from Hyddinge, who were arrested during the night of 14th by a hussar patrol in the city, because of their rowdy behaviour during the community assembly in church at Hyby. He answered negatively to the question put to him about whether he knew any of the ringleaders. Possibly, it was people from the Toppeladugård estate, who were unknown to him. He had seen the tradesman's servant Halck in the church and after he had come out of the church, he was standing close by Christen Hansson, the housebuilder from Mårtens and the agricultural worker, Nils Mattsson's son from Skammarp, who said: they should take him prisoner and put the frighteners on him, but where they were referring to Baron Stjernblad or Pastor Borup, Mårten Bengtsson appeared not to be able to say."*

It was the month of August 1811, when all the interrogations of the prisoners were finally concluded. A delegation of the Göta Appeals court from Jönköping were sent to Lund to conduct further questioning. Baron Carl Erik Mannerheim was chosen to be the judicial ombudsman, but he either slept or said nothing for most of the time. Only in the middle of October were the hearings completed and on 4th November, the judgements were handed down to the prisoners. This happened on the large square in front of the City Hall in Malmö.

An eyewitness recounted:

"Today, the Royal Appeals Court issued judgements on the large majority of the prisoners in a solemn ceremony. The ceremony was very impressive. Under a heavy escort, the prisoners were taken from the citadel and, on their arrival on the large square, formed up in a square formation set out by the garrison.

As the rebels reached the square, it was noticeable that there were no kinds of change or movement in their faces. They had suffered such great need and were just hoping for the best. They were of the view that everything would just be a formality and would soon be convinced by the reading of the judgements that they would have their hopes dashed. Their consternation was all the greater later. Doubt was etched into the every face and after a speech from the Provincial Governor, the outcome was quite obvious to all the numerous spectators, who had appeared. The people, who had been misled, headed back to their prison cells, utterly dejected and with tears in their eyes."

As the prisoners were led away from the great square, the local inhabitants could see for the first time what treatment they had been exposed to. The ordinary people discovered that the prisoners gave off such a strong smell, such that it was impossible to come closer than 50 paces to them.

The sentences were in any event



extremely severe. After an in-depth study of the judicial materials, it can be safely said that they were severe and excessive.

In the concluding summary of the Appeal Court report on the rebels is a long list of the sentences.

The appeal court set 210 defendants free. Of those convicted, no fewer than 60 were selected for a ballot. That meant that their ultimate fate would be decided by chance. Should a winning lot be chosen, then he must go to his punishment; if he drew a "losing" lot, the punishment would be changed to a beheading. Every tenth man would have to reckon

on drawing a "losing" lot: an extremely macabre tombola.

In respect of the lashes, it was always a case of a "pair". The lashes were carried out in the following way: the person being punished would be laid over a punishment chair or hung up on a lashing plank. In general, three lashes would be struck with each lash, as it was believed the effect of the lash would be used up. They were then changed for new ones. Lashes were only given to men and 40 pairs was the longest punishment. Women and children received strokes with brushwood. Requests for reductions in the

punishments were written to the King immediately after the judgements were handed down. Judges and Appeal Court staff helped them with the 'Humble Requests'. Carl Christian Halling, later Mayor of Malmö, was one of the eyewitnesses in his capacity as a provincial official. He describes the dreadful situation in Malmöhus:

"The job of a provincial official court clerk is one of the hardest and thankless of all, because the unfortunates have not the slightest trust in the people assigned to them. They sank into a deeply hopeless depression and could only be drawn out of their beds by a great deal of persuasion, on to platforms, which were several storeys high, where they huddled together like innocent animals."

On 4th January came the final judgements. King Karl XIII forbade any ballots. Most of the death sentences were commuted and only confirmed in three cases. These three, who had not received clemency, had to end their lives at a place of execution:

Mårten Bengtsson from Bara, Per Ottasson from Hjulstorp in Slimminge and Per Hurtig from Lemmeströ.

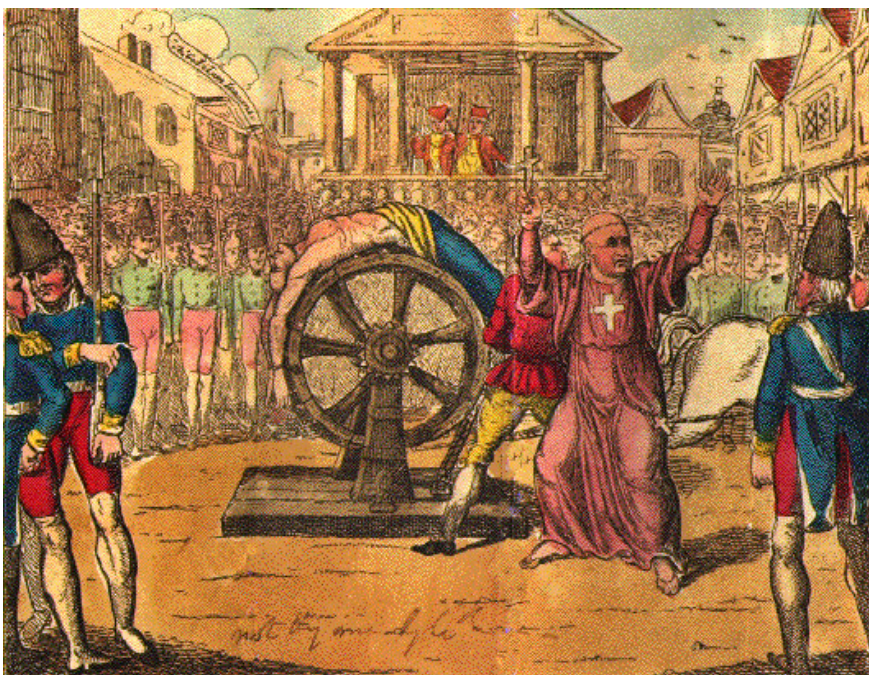
After the King had issued his judgement, then all the dates for punishments could be set.

On 22nd June, seven people for a public lashing.

A report relates events:

The labourers: *Ola Jönsson* from Bonarp, *Ola Jönsson* from Lerhult, *Hans Olsson* from Bara, *Lars Larsson* from Bara, *Matts Trullson Bökman* from Bökesåkra, *Lars Andersson* from Nefvitshög, Saddler *Hans Nilsson Engström* from Wismarslöv.

The day on the punishment place in Dahlby in pursuance of the gracious judgement of His Majesty was the 4th of this month. The guilty people were each punished with 40 pairs of lashes in the presence of a large crowd of local inhabitants. After many of those people standing close to the convicts had to observe this spectacle and silently take note of the power





of the law, the unit from the army regiment standing there, which had marched as guards of the convicts, did not have to get further

involved. It was very hard for the relatives to witness the punishment of the convicts. To see one's son, brother, beloved, husband or



father treated so drives a dagger deep into the heart. They nevertheless took part, because it was the last opportunity to see their loved one for several years, or even perhaps, never again.

After the punishments in Dahlby, they were transported back to Malmöhus.

Here these unfortunates had the opportunity to recover again somewhat. The injuries from the strokes were medically treated and in part, healed. After about a week, they were brought back into the designated fortress to serve out the rest of their punishment.

Conclusion.

On 4th January 1812, Mårten Bengtsson received the negative response to his request to the King for clemency. Now it was only for the prison chaplain to make him and the others sentenced to death understand how a society was, which could not permit them to live. This article will limit itself primarily to Mårten Bengtsson and his fate.

The fortress priests Per Westrin and Niklas Henrik Holst had visited him several times in order to console him. They attempted to explain the judgement to him again and to make him understand that he was guilty and had committed a major crime. It was thus a just punishment and should prompt him to repent. Ultimately, they succeeded in bringing Mårten Bengtsson to his senses, so that the following report could be given to the fortress commander on 23rd January:

*"Most humble Report.
That we have visited the labourer Mårten Bengtsson from Bara, who has been sentenced to death, several time with the intention of preparing him for death. He now declares himself honestly to be content and that the request for clemency he made had not been just and he humbly understood the punishment, so that the day of execution can be set. He is now in the state of mind without detriment*

to his soul and with the hope and comfort, when required, to go to meet his fate.”

On the same day, 23rd January, the fortress commander reported to the Provincial authorities, that everything was now in order to set the execution date.

The Provincial Governor, af Klinteberg, however delayed the date and only passed a series of signed letters to the Provincial administration on 3rd February. They were handed on to Royal Courts Officer Hultberg:

“Once the labourer, Mårten Bengtsson from Bara, had declared himself prepared to receive the punishment following the judgement of His Majesty of 4th January, which he received for his part in the rebellion by the rural population, namely of losing his right hand, being beheaded and then broken on the wheel, I have set his date of execution for 25th of this month, which will be carried out on the punishment square in Dahlby. Should you realise that the number of local folk present, as usual, reaches a large number, but no more than 500 are formed up in the “Spetsgård”, then you must be present yourself to ensure calm and order and to issue the necessary orders, so that the event can take place without delay. The priest serving that day is to be informed, that he should be ready for Mårten Bengtsson’s subsequent action. On Monday, 24th, a Crown official has to be present early in the morning in the castle to order to keep a close eye on the requisite prisoner transport for Mårten Bengtsson to travel to Dahlby during the night. The executioner is to be instructed to be at the place of execution early.”

The instruction was also sent out from the Provincial authority to the man, who had to carry out the bloody act in the name of justice:

*“Public Order.
Executioner Löfvenborg is ordered to come here on 23rd of this month, in order to carry out the execution of the labourers Mårten Bengtsson*

from Bara and Per Ottasson from Hjulstorp on 25th and 27th of this month, consequent on the Gracious Judgement of His Majesty of 4th January that they lose the right hand, are beheaded and then broken on the wheel.

The executioner’s journey will be made under Crown protection.”

The number of those sentenced to death had been reduced to two. The reason for that was that the third defendant, Per Hurtig, refused to admit his guilt to the priests in the Malmöhus prison. He consistently maintained that he was unjustly condemned and the witnesses he named were not heard. These protestations eventually came to the attention of the fortress commander and the Provincial Governor. The matter went back to the King, who agreed to a new court hearing. The sentence was changed to six years of fortress work in the Overberg fortress. In 1817 the doors of freedom were opened again for this unfortunate. For the two brothers in misfortune, who had confessed their guilt on the basis of the persuasions of the priests, the end did come relatively quickly. The senior priesthood in Lund was instructed to witness the executions in person.

“...as soon as they are ready to give the commendation homily before the execution at the place of punishment, which will be close to the churches at Dahlby and Östra Wemmenhög, to where the priests, as usual, will accompany the criminals on to the place of execution. I would also wish to make it known, that not only are the designated representatives of the Crown ordered to the funeral service, but also to the day when the executions of Mårten Bengtsson on 24th and Pehr Ottasson on 26th are carried out, the former in Dahlby and the latter in Östra Wemmenhög. They are to be held there during the night under secure guard.”

The Provincial Governor soon realised what a tragic situation could occur, when considering that the executioner ordered to do

the beheadings were Löfvenborg, as due to his advanced age, he was weak and sickly.

The order was cancelled and a new executioner had to be found. State Counsellor von Sölvesborg in the Blekinge district was designated for this task and he decided upon executioner Sjögren, who was young and well-suited to the task. On 21st February, a further order was issued by the Provincial Governor, this time to Major and Knight Rothlieb:

“...for the maintenance of order and for the crowd expected in and in front of the church in Dahlby, where a service will be held on the morning of Tuesday, 25th, before the labourer, Mårten Bengtsson from Bara will receive the death penalty on the same day for his part in the uprising among the rural populace, twelve Foot Dragoons, detailed off in good time, will be located in Dahlby.”

In the Church Register, held in the Malmö castle archives, can be found this entry for the year 1812: On 24th February, the sentences on the labourer, Mårten Bengtsson from Bara, and on 26th, on the labourer, Pehr Ottasson from Slimminge, who were sentenced for the rebellion, to lose the right hand, be beheaded and broken on the wheel, were carried out. M. Bengtsson, a good-looking young man of 24 years, displayed a serious remorse for his major crime and an extraordinary boldness in his last hours. P. Ottasson initially sought to resist, thinking that his life would be spared. When he finally had to give up any hope of a last minute reprieve, he acknowledged his guilt for the uproar and called upon the Almighty to for help. Both were killed on the following day, one in Dahlby and the other in Wemmenhög. Mårten Bengtsson spent his last night under close guard in Dahlby, not far from Lund. With heavy steps, he was led past the waiting crowd on the morning of 25th January into the fully occupied church. Anders Gullander, pastor of Lund, was standing in the pulpit



Wiener Zeitung No. 20 from March 11, 1786: Yesterday morning the death sentence was carried out here on a sorry man of 33 years old who dishonored humanity through a vile theft and atrocious murder. He robbed a woman of her entire cash, which amounted to over 1,800 guilders. This act, which was already heinous because the perpetrator lived in friendly relations with the person in question, had promised marriage to her, and had received constant service, care and charity from her, and had only just enjoyed her helpful care in an illness. This act was caused by the assassination of those who were robbed the day after, which was only discovered two weeks later, and by circumstances that show the most stubborn villain, to the horrific atrocity...

In 1841 this kind of punishment was banned in Sweden. The last execution took place in 1820. In Vienna in 1786, as described. There were bans in Bavaria in 1813, in Hesse in 1831 and in Prussia in 1841.

and forced the unfortunate man to listen to a sermon about human justice and admonishment.

The priest condemned him in the name of the Almighty above from the pulpit, while the condemned man suffered all the agonies of the world, sitting on a stool, in a church full to the last space. The sermon was viewed as so uplifting, that it was immediately printed and distributed.

Gullander's reputation rose; some years later, the macabre scene was repeated, this time on the place of execution in Malmö, when two murderers were executed by dismemberment. In the same way, after this event the sermon was published and distributed. In the end, Gullander was appointed Pastor of St. Peter's church in Malmö. The sermon in Dahlby must certainly have lasted more than two hours, so only the last part is given here:

"However,, I am drawing out the hours for you, Mårten Bengtsson, as you are already waiting for the table, which stands ready for you, at which the power and strength of Jesus prepares for the repentant sinner; to meet him at the hour of death. Stand up and eat, because you have a long journey before you with sobbing and prayers, feeling your own inadequacy."
Despite the heavy and difficult text,

the larger part of the sermon of 1812 is reproduced at the end of this article. The contents certainly give a sinister, but accurate picture of Sweden not so long ago. May, dear God, nothing similar appear in our society!

The head of the Crown police authorities, Hultberg, could report on 26th January, the day after the execution, "everything happened calmly and in good order".

On 5th March, 1812, he also reported:

"According to the reports, which have come in, the dead and wheel-broken labourer; M. Bengtsson, was taken down at the gallows hill in Dahlby on 25 February this year, and buried on the gallows hill, without those, who carried the work out being seen, which I see myself all the most humbly as having to report."

Mårten Bengtsson had thus physically departed the land of the living. The parts of his maltreated body were hung up for shock effect.

The church of Dahlby.



Was the Peasants' Revolt a success or a failure?

"...the peace is restored in the country, every peasant is so frightened that he begins to shake with a mere view of a uniform" stands in the church archives of Kverrestad. *"If the serious revolt against the insurgents had not*

been so fortunate at Klågerup, the entire country would certainly have been on fire," Carl Stellan Mörner wrote to Lars von Engeström. Nevertheless, the peace was not yet complete. There was a dead man at a skirmish on June 17 in Tunby. The farmers were held accountable for everything and were to bear the costs. Surprisingly, however, some of the landlords took over the costs. Rutger Maclean for Svaneholm, Adolf Fredrik Tornerhjelm for Smedstorp, Cornelius Cronsioe for Slimminge and others. Why did they voluntarily accept the costs? Was it the unpopular raffle, which then only to a small extent took place, the rest got the chance to determine a replacement. Did they want to calm their own employees? The danger of a new revolt was very great shortly after the defeat in Klågerup.

M. Olofsson writes:

"The authorities and the civil service were regarded with great dislike. The responsible institutions were blamelessly accused that the authorities had tried to escape the general responsibility, by an additional reinforcement of the already existing recruitment, which finally led to the outbreak of the revolt. The questions of equality of the social class were still unresolved and the hatred of the rulers unabated. Thus, no success for the peasants, but a rethinking of the so-called authority was called for".

The Sermon

of Anders P. Gullander

"In the Name of God".

Published in Lund in 1812.

At this point, the Gullander's sermon can be broken off from. He goes on next to a lengthy and ponderous account and explanation of how Jesus and his Apostles viewed those, who stood up against the authorities. In the later part of the sermon the congregation are guided towards the prevailing and just society.

"No one person has enough strength to defend his rights; either he lives in a constant state of anxiety

about losing his property, honour and life or he must be defended by the wider society and a superior authority, which does possess enough power to carry it through; one which carries the sword of justice instil fear into the shameful people. Do not listen to the crazy voices, which desire to destroy the institutions of civil society, when they call for complete equality and freedom. I ask you: where is freedom? In civil society, where the honourable people are defended or in a lawless state, where each can assail the other unpunished? It is true, that force is used in a well organised society, as bad things can never be ruled out. It is true that in a land, defended by legal superior authorities that the Godless go out on a starlit night to carry out their crimes the greedy rob their neighbour of his property, the vindictive spill blood, the one overcome with lust murders the innocent. But the crimes of the lawbreakers would become innumerable if they did not fear the sword, which the authorities do not carry in vain. If we therefore generally enjoy the security of our rights, look after the fireplace without fearing the arrival of a murderer, if we till our fields without seeing the harvest go into enemy hands, if we work for our children without seeing bread, then we deserve to keep it from them, with due regard for the authorities, who act in god's service, so that He gives us peace in our land through them, that the inhabitants can sleep without any danger. But not only the security of the rights in a civil society can be won under worthy authorities, also here the noble courage of the people and their real good fortune can be promoted. Would the people indeed reach any highpoint, which good manners and enlightened behaviour promise, which they have in many places, when they live scattered and without community unity. Indeed, would these civic values trust, benevolence, willingness to help have taken root, if they were not brought together by that one and the same bond of the

Fatherland, that one and the same superior authority. Would the teaching of spiritual bliss spread its benevolent light across many people, if the rulers did not show a true honouring of God, for the support of society, advanced by the defence of religious teaching through the criticism of the openly Godless, and by means of their own behaviour in reverence for God, which has such a profound effect on the way of thinking of the subjects? Yes, if it is a definite truth, that Christianity is the most powerful bulwark for a society, then it is equally true that the institution of a worldly superior authority is a real precondition for the promotion of Christianity. If we are convinced that society ceases to exist, the superior authorities cease to be, then the light of the evangelists will soon fade and lose its strength. If they prove their deep respect for the beliefs of their forefathers, in order to seek in the virtues of wisdom, consolation and calm, which the Word of Jesus implants in your hearts, then God asks that you might spend your days in an orderly society, have an independent Fatherland and be defended by the Christian authorities, who themselves have a reverence for the Word of the sacred bliss."

Here it is time to move ahead through the Dahlby Sermon. After a long text about a just society, which is directed by the laws of Christ, Gullander comes what right-thinking citizens should do and what happens, when people do not subject themselves to the laws:

"If you wish to enjoy advantages, which the Almighty has spread across the Earth through the institutions of the superior authorities, the consciously fulfil the duties of society. Render reverence to the Father of the Nation, listen to the messengers of your lord and the superior authorities, whom, God has sent as an honour to you, pay your taxes with a good heart as they are levied on you for the maintenance of civil order your own security and that of your

fellow citizens cannot be bought so expensively. Go, when it is so required, to defend your Fatherland, your religion, your King, your wife, your children, your friends; God will stand by you, give you strength in the fight and rest in death, include the superior authorities in your prayers, who have innumerable concerns for the people. Your devotion alleviates their heavy duty and your belief in trusting in God and honouring Him is the foundation for your own easier and quiet life.

Blessing and peace across a land, whose inhabitants honour the Fate decreed by God!

But if you are contemptuous of that fate, if you disregard the superior authorities, in order to oppose them, then a judgement should be passed upon you, Judgement! A dreadful word, pronounced in the name of the lord by a servant the lord! Consider for a moment this judgement and learn from this display about the secret and public activities, which deserve it. Here sits a witness before us, to whom I recount the judgement of conscience about disorderly subjects. If we could permit ourselves to interrupt his devotional interaction with God in his last hour and ask, what he had experienced in his inner self, then he would answer that none of his fellow citizens knew the accusations made by his conscience, which have plagued him, over all days, which made it possible for him to recognise his sins before God, foolishness and pride, which led him to the criminal step of acting against the superior authorities and the fate decreed by God. He would say to them that not only the worry of the earthly punishment had plagued him, but in his conscience he had realised what wretchedness and worries were involved in giving himself up to the Lord God."

In the church, which was full of people, the sermoniser certainly celebrated the triumph in his speech about worldly justice. Obviously, there must have been many, identities unknown, who had taken part in one way or another

in the events of the previous summer. Gullander also took the opportunity to make a spiritual reproach to them.

"Should some be so bold and be here in this temple today, who took part in the secret crimes, for which this man has been condemned, should one of them stand before me, then he can escape justice by his cunning. Oh! May he reflect that he is not yet free of the judgement of his conscience. May he not laugh about his luck in being free of earthly punishment. He has successfully stirred up others to oppose the King and society and understood how to conceal himself, then so it will weigh heavily on his mind all at once to have taken part in this crime, which worried the King, made his fellow citizens anxious and insulted the heavens, and he will one day recognise that he was guilty of taking part in the bloodbath, which flowed over the place of execution in accordance with the law of the land. Nothing should silence the admonitions, if he does not flee with deep remorse into the mercy of God and through the grace of blessed works, become an upright citizen, a loyal subject. My friends! Remember that the inhabitants of our settlements, who either themselves fostered the illegal aims with force or encouraged the criminals with extravagant words, that they were warned in vain. But now they see, when they set themselves against the will of God, that they are also judged by the community. Human eyes could not discover all the criminals in the recent unruly behaviour, but many were apprehended, questioned by the Courts and judged according to their various crimes.

Many have wasted their lives, the sympathetic heart of the superior authorities wants to spare everyone, but the grace of justice should not be sacrificed for its desired aim.

Here before our eyes, we have a victim of justice. He has wasted his right to life, has carried the shackles of a criminal for many months already. In the devastation of the prison cell, he has counted

the long hours and today, goes up the executioner's axe, in order to comply with the most extreme demands of the law. When they go out and see the sad spectacle of his mutilated body, they will say to their brothers that Divine Providence once again watches across our land that we have a Fatherland, where disorder is punished, force is controlled and those, who stand against the superior authorities can also receive the judgement of society. Listen, the sword of the superior authorities is not carried in vain, except when it is a servant of God, an avenger, acting to punish something bad. Nevertheless, what is this earthly punishment in the conscience and in the society, compared with the unfortunate eternity, as the disorderly subjects prepare themselves for the judgement of God? Because those, who stand against the will of God, will receive the judgement of God."

Here and in the following text, Gullander applies ideas about the threats, which exist from God's anger and Hell, which was the means by which the Church perpetuated its position of authority over the illiterate folk. Passing over some pages of the printed and bound sermon, it moves on to the following section:

"You know, beloved congregation! That tragic events have given rise to these concluding remarks. Before us, we have a criminal, whose look brings unusual things entering into our thoughts, which brings great disgrace upon the inhabitants, who have previously been distinguished for their orderly society, obedience and religious belief. What were the reasons for the disorderly movement, which is being punished today? Naming them means raising up the criminal shame. The Fatherland has again restored peace, but was weakened by an unfortunate war.

It was threatened by new enemies, it could have lost its independence and been driven into a defensive posture. The people of Sweden, ever highly regarded because of the bravery of your forefathers,

Raising of the monument at the "Field of dead".



had agreed to an increase in the number of soldiers from their sons. A precise and effective reinforcement was fulfilled by the law, but with great care, only carried through as required at the time and not once to half of number. And, the same people of this land, who through their representatives had agreed to the law, have raised it. Soon, the general unhappiness was loud, soon threats of force were being made. No warnings were heeded, the bitterness increased. The father feared for his son, the peasant farmer for his labourer, the teacher for his pupils even in the temples of peace was the talk of rebellion heard. Increasingly, there were popular gatherings armed with the intention of taking the law into their own hands or to name the conditions under which they would be prepared to listen. Soon, the first signs of violence could be seen the shameful drunkenness raised the audacity of the agitators.

The peaceful and just realm of the overlord was under threat and damaged. Teachers of religion, whose persons and calling were previous held sacred in the Swedish communities, were maltreated in their homes and abducted, despite begging for mercy.

In all the churches, the echo of deepest admonition could be heard, but in vain. I know a teacher, who abandoned his home in the stillness of the night with his wife and child, took a tragic look back at the church, where he had served the peaceful God, unsure of whether he would see it again, after his congregation had turned into enemies."

Following on and not reproduced here, he bemoaned his own calling and fate in those unruly times to have to steer and admonish the people, then the priest reminded the people to draw the correct lessons from the bloody scene, which they would soon see.

"My congregation assembled here! The sight will deepen in your mind, what you will have seen and heard here today, danger and crime, above all the disloyal against the superior authorities, especially through violent incursions. To listen to the instructions of the superior authority is the first civic duty, conscience without sacrificing oneself, without being prepared to defend it cannot sustain any society. Your elders, your ancestors, your master! When you have seen, what happens here and you return home then remind your sons and younger servants and caution them with the words of Solomon: My son, fear the Lord and King and not get involved with agitators. Teach him to love God, the Redeemer and honour His messenger, and honour the superior authorities too in the same way. Teach him to contemplate and that the superior authorities have an onerous calling, then you will ask God for forgiveness, so that you yourself can lead a happy

and quiet life. This day, my congregation! Is sad for an ageing King, who renounced his rest in order to save the Fatherland. This day is sad for the first one, who has come from a faraway place, to support the tottering throne, who loved his new Fatherland even before he saw it, but after the disorderly, criminal activities had good reason to mistrust his fellow countrymen and those just becoming his subjects.” After this speech, which was obsequious towards the new King Karl XIII and Crown Prince Bernadotte, Gullander approached the end of his one-man show: „But, I am drawing the hours out for you, Mårten Bengtsson. You are already at the table, which stands ready for you, at which Jesus gives strength and power to the repentant sinner to meet him in the hour of death. My heart bleeds and at the same time rejoices, as I speak to you. Here is a disorderly subject. You drew the judgement of society on you. You have lost your freedom. You have shortened your youth. You have messed up your life. You have found yourself like the Prodigal Son relieved of all the good things, which the Father in heaven has granted. You have experienced this with deep sadness and said: father, I have sinned before heaven and You; I am not worthy to be called your child. To the joy of your teacher, you have received the trust from the heart of the heavenly Father and said: I want to stand up and go back to my Father. Your truthful confessions, your heartfelt prayers, your touching submissiveness gives me and the Christian fellow citizens the same happy conviction, the firm and worthy of reproduction message that Jesus Christ has returned to the world, to convert the sinners; it has made a firm foundation to your belief in God. If in your last hour, you threw a glance back on the erroneous steps you have taken, then value the love of the Saviour, on the basis of which you are called back. It was his spirit, which has eased you in jail, bowed your heart and both remorse and consolation appeared. If you possess the calmness to go

to meet your death, then it is the spirit of Jesus, which gives you this inner peace. Oh, praise his mercy, which has given you consolation! Now stand up and eat, because you have a long journey ahead of you. But go with sobs and prayers and feel your complete inadequacy. You, who have learned to pray, that all these prayers are listened to by Jesus in heaven! Bear witness to your brother, to his belief, for his reprieve, for his rest in death, for his peace in eternity; Jesus would be all your happiness, Jesus would like to be near you. Jesus, you're your sins away, Jesus is your desire. Jesus would like to strengthen both body and soul. Jesus, relieve your pain in death. Jesus, take him up into Your arms; 27 years of his life have gone by! Amen.“

The drivel of the priest was over! It is quite clear that the Church had a firm grip over the people and functioned as a means of social control and maintaining order in society. The services had to be regularly visited, their knowledge of the catechism regularly tested and notes taken. A warning voice from the nobleman De la Gardie with the Swedish Crown Prince: *The rioters ranting rumors for the day during the unrest among people in Scania. With the Crown Prince i had a conversation of more than two hours and cannot praise enough his way of judging our positioning and our needs. As usual Toll's and the Scanian Landlord's answers were taken very violent at the beginning, but after calmer they have done your justice. Nevertheless, it is said that a riot is not dangerous that it can with force unturned in time is opposed and inhibited. I am certainly of co-think that the ruling power would win in the long run, but why provoke a cheap discontent? And is it not the government's obligation rather to prevent than to punish an insurrection?* ■

See the original book written by the author.

1811: The Peasant's Revolt in Scania, south Sweden.

„Ich bin gesalbt, Sie können mir beichten“.

Wolfgang Häusler

Bis zu seinem Tod auf St. Helena am 5. Mai 1821 hatte Napoleon Muße, über Gott, die Seele und sein Verhältnis zur Kirche nachzudenken.

Für seine Bewunderer wurde der von den Alliierten des Wiener Kongresses 1815 als „Störer der Ruhe der Welt“ auf die fernste Felseninsel im Atlantik verbannte Franzosenkaiser zum gefesselten Prometheus und zum Messias der Völkerfreiheit. Goethe sprach vom „Schreiten eines Halbgottes von Schlacht zu Schlacht und von Sieg zu Sieg“. Heinrich Heine vollendete diese „Vergötterung“, vor der ihn Ludwig Börne warnte – St. Helena sei „das heilige Grab, wohin die Völker des Orients und Okzidents wallfahren und ihr Herz stärken durch große Erinnerung an die Taten des weltlichen Heilands“. Die Begleiter nannte Heine seine „Evangelisten“:

Am einflußreichsten wurde das Mémorial von Las Cases, gefolgt von Bertrand und Montholon, Würdenträger des winzigen Hofstaats von Longwood House, in der Spannung von Erhabenem und Lächerlichem. In Napoleons Gedanken, die um sein Schicksal, um Grandeur und Gloire kreisten, blitzt nur selten Heiterkeit auf, im vertrauten Gespräch mit Gaspard Gourgaud (1783-1852).

Der junge General hatte seit 1805 alle wichtigen Schlachten bis Waterloo mitgemacht, 1812 leitete er als Ordonnanzoffizier den Brückenschlag über die Beresina. „Tapfer aber kindisch“, nannte ihn sein Kriegsherr und machte sich lustig über den Kirchenglauben von Gorgo(tto), wie er ihn nannte und am Ohrläppchen zupfte. So am 18. Juni (der Tag von Waterloo!) 1817: „Sie gehen zur Beichte! Nun, ich bin gesalbt, Sie können mir beichten.“ Der Kaiser meinte die Würde, die ihm vom Papst im Sacre, der Selbstkrönung vom 2. Dezember 1804 verliehen worden war. Dem großen Mathema-

tiker Laplace, der ihn zu Beginn seiner militärischen Lehrzeit 1785 geprüft hatte, stellte Napoleon die Gottesfrage: Er habe in der Himmelsmechanik Gott, der noch in Newtons System genannt wurde, nicht gefunden. „Ich bedarf dieser Hypothese nicht, Sire“, erwiderte der Gelehrte, der Newtons fortwährendes Eingreifen Gottes in die Naturgesetze eliminierte. Napoleon verstand dies – nicht korrekt – als Atheismus: „Bah, Sie glauben also, das geistige Wesen, das den Lauf der Gestirne lenkt, dieses geistige Wesen lenke und beurteile auch die Handlungen der Menschen! Gourgaud: Sire, ich glaube an Gott, und ich wäre sehr unglücklich, wenn ich Atheist wäre. Napoleon: Bah! Sehen Sie Monge und Laplace.“ Als Schüler der naturwissenschaftlichen Aufklärung bekannte sich Napoleon zum Materialismus: „Man sage was man will, aber es ist alles mehr oder weniger vollkommen organisierte Materie“ – Elektrizität, Galvanismus, Magnetismus – „nach meiner Meinung belebt die Materie sich von selber.“ Andererseits hatte General Bonaparte auf der Ägyptenexpedition den mitreisenden Wissenschaftlern unter dem Sternenhimmel die Frage gestellt: „Wer hat dies alles gemacht?“ Als Staatsmann hielt Napoleon Religion für eine politische und soziale Notwendigkeit: „Jesu Moral ist die platonische. Eine Religion ist notwendig für die Vereinigung der Menschen zur Gesellschaft.“ Immer wieder ging seine Erinnerung nach Alexanders des Großen Vorbild zum Weltherrschaftstraum von Ägypten nach dem Orient und Indien. „Eroberer müssen duldsam sein und alle Religionen beschützen. In Ägypten hatte ich Erfolg, weil ich mich gegenüber den Anhängern des Propheten als Muselman benahm.“ Das eigenhändige Verzeichnis der nach Ägypten mitgenommenen Handbibliothek umfaßte Bibel, Koran, Veden, antike Mythologie neben Montesquieu, Voltaire und – Werther. Mit Gourgaud, der 1840 bei der pompösen Überführung des Toten in den Pariser Invalidendom die

Ehre hatte, den Hut auf den Sarg zu legen, verband Napoleon die Erinnerung an Brienne-le-Château. Hier hatte der verschlossene korsische Knabe 1779/84 in der vom Orden der Minim (Paulaner) streng geleiteten Schule seine Ausbildung erhalten. Auf der Reise zur italienischen Königskrönung in Mailand 1805 machte er hier mit großem Gefolge Station. Johann Peter Hebel machte aus dieser Jugenderinnerung die Kalendergeschichte von der alten Obstfrau. Am 29. Jänner 1814 errang er hier noch einen Abwehrerfolg gegen den auf Paris vordrängenden Blücher – Gourgaud rühmte sich, den Lanzenangriff eines Kosaken gegen den Kaiser abgewehrt zu haben. Als Napoleon im April 1815 in seiner Todeskrankheit Montholon sein Testament diktierte, bekannte er: „Ich sterbe in der apostolischen und römischen Religion, in der ich vor über 50 Jahren geboren wurde“ und setzte hinzu: „In Wahrheit sterbe ich als Theist. Ich glaube an einen gnädigen Gott, der der Ursprung aller Dinge ist. Aber ich erkläre, daß ich als Katholik sterbe, weil das für die öffentliche Moral angemessener ist.“ Der korsische Abbate Vignali hatte die Aufgabe, nach altem Brauch im Nebenraum des Sterbezimmers das Sakrament inmitten brennender Kerzen aufzustellen. Hatte Napoleon, der Abertausende Soldaten bedenkenlos seiner Machterweiterung opferte, ein Gewissen? Immer wieder kam er zurück auf die anbefohlene Hinrichtung des Herzogs von Enghien, die er noch in einem Testamentsanhang für notwendig erklärte. Seine Jenseitsvorstellung war naiv. In qualvoller Agonie hoffte er auf ein Wiedersehen mit seinen Generälen: „Und dann führen wir Gespräche über Krieg mit Scipio, Hannibal, Cäsar, Friedrich. Das wird eine Freude sein.“ Er lachte kurz auf: „Es sei denn, man fürchtet sich davor, dort so viele Krieger auf einem Haufen zu sehen.“ Für Napoleon war Religion Bindemittel der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Diese „kann nicht existieren ohne

Vermögensunterschiede, und die Vermögensungleichheit kann nicht ohne Religion existieren. Wenn ein Mensch Hungers stirbt neben einem anderen, der im Überfluß lebt, so ist es ihm unmöglich, diesem Unterschied beizustimmen, wenn es nicht eine Autorität gibt, die ihm sagt: Gott will es so.“ (zu Staatsrat Roederer). Der Siegeslauf der Französischen Revolution hatte den Kirchenstaat in die Römische Republik verwandelt; Papst Pius VI. starb interniert in Valence 1799. Das Konkclave, aus dem am 14. März 1800 Pius VII. (Chiamamonti) hervorging, fand im österreichisch gewordenen Venedig in San Giorgio Maggiore statt. Die Rekonstruktion der französischen Nation vollzog der Erste Konsul Bonaparte mit dem Konkordat von 1801. Es erklärte die katholische Kirche zwar nicht zur Staatsreligion, galt aber für „die große Mehrheit der französischen Bürger“ und sicherte das Zusammenwirken von Staat und Kirche bei Pfarrer- und Bischofsernennungen und im Schulwesen. Napoleons Onkel Joseph Fesch, 1785 Priester, war Profiteur dieser Situation. Seine Karriere führte den Kriegskommissar von 1796 auf den Erzbischofsthron von Lyon und 1803 zur Kardinalswürde. Fesch – die Reste seiner Kunstsammlung sind noch eine Sehenswürdigkeit von Ajaccio – traute vor der Krönung von 1804 Napoleon mit Joséphine Beauharnais: eine Schwierigkeit für die Scheidung der kinderlosen Ehe und die Heirat mit Marie Louise, 1810, die den Wiener Erzbischof Sigismund von Hohenwart in arge Gewissensnot bringen sollte. Der Sohn aus dieser Verbindung wurde zum König von Rom ernannt, er starb jung als Herzog von Reichstadt. Das Verhältnis zum Papst hatte sich grundlegend verschlechtert, der Kirchenstaat wurde im Zug der napoleonischen Ordnung Italiens erneut liquidiert. Es half dem Papst nicht, daß er den 1804 von ihm gesalbten, selbstgekrönten Empereur exkommunizierte – er wurde 1809 als Gefangener nach Savona abgeführt, dann sollte



Photo by Torsten Neumann.

ihm in Fontainebleau ein Konkordat abgerungen werden. Erst mit dem Sturz Napoleons konnte Pius VII. nach Rom zurückkehren, der Wiener Kongreß stellte den Kirchenstaat wieder her. Der noble Papst ermöglichte Madame Mère Laetitia Bonaparte einen würdevollen Lebensabend und ließ selbst Napoleons Bruder Lucien als Prinz von Canino seinen etruskischen Forschungen leben.

Eine Nachschau im Internet (27. Februar 2021) bringt für Napoleon als meistbiografierten Menschen 119 000 000 Eintragungen in 0,76 Sekunden – ex aequo mit Karl Marx – allerdings von Jesus Christus zehnfach übertroffen: 1 190 000 000.

Leben und Werk des großen Gegners Napoleons ist Symbol für die Spannweite der Kirchengeschichte dieser Zeit: Chateaubriand, der seine Geburt zwanzig Tage vor Napoleon ansetzte (im Jahr 1768, das mitunter fälschlich für das Geburtsdatum gehalten wurde), begründete mit seinem Werk „Geist des Christentums“ 1801 die katholische Romantik. Politisch blieb er der Restauration der Monarchie der Bourbonen verpflichtet. Seine „Erinnerungen von jenseits des Grabes“ halten seine Position gegen Revolution und Napoleon fest. Merkwürdig ist die Ähnlichkeit der insularen

Bestattung – Chateaubriands Grabkreuz auf dem Felsenriff vor seiner Geburtsstadt Saint-Malo. Gallikanismus als französisches Staatskirchentum und Laizismus als umstrittenes Programm bis heute, widerspruchsvoll in Napoleons Kirchenpolitik angelegt, bleiben seitdem in fortwährender Spannung. ■

In the Shadow of Nelson: The Life of Admiral Lord Collingwood.

by Denis Orde, Pen and Sword Books Ltd., Barnsley, South Yorkshire, England, hardback, illustrated, 180 pages, 2008, \$43.80.

Thomas Zacharis

Many “great captains” in military history were well served by distinguished lieutenants, and Lord Horatio Nelson was certainly one of them. Denis Orde, author of *Nelson's Mediterranean Command*, now turns to one of the quintessential British admiral's closest friends and contemporaries, Vice Admiral Cuthbert “Cuddy” Collingwood, for whom the book's title, *In the Shadow of Nelson*, still applies—both figuratively and literally. Although they had been friends since first meeting as young midshipmen in 1773, the then-23-year-old Collingwood,

10 years Nelson's senior, possessed a different type of character than Nelson's. Collingwood had his first taste of combat success in the American War of Independence, leading a detachment of marines during the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775. In April 1780 he took command of the frigate *Hinchinbroke*—in place of a seriously ailing Nelson, in the wake of a disastrous expedition to the Mosquito Coast of Spanish-held Nicaragua. Collingwood did what he could by washing down the lower decks with vinegar, fumigating to keep the mosquitoes at bay and erecting structures offshore for the hospitalization of the sick.

Even so, of *Hinchinbroke*'s 200-man crew he buried 180.

Although the expedition was a failure, it deepened the relationship between Nelson and Collingwood. Orde's narrative follows the two friends in West Indies, Nelson as commander of HMS *Boreas*, Collingwood commanding *Mediator* and his younger brother Wilfred commanding the 16-gun brig-sloop *Rattler*. It was Wilfred who influenced Nelson to activate the old Navigation Acts in Barbados against ships flying the new flag of the United States. Aside from politics, Nelson and Collingwood developed something of an infatuation for Mrs. Mary Mourtray, the wife of the Resident Commissioner of the Naval Dockyard at English Harbour Antigua. From that “affair” two drawings made at the time, by Collingwood of Nelson and by Nelson of Collingwood, survive and can now be seen in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich. Orde focuses special attention on the three great naval battles in which Collingwood best displayed his capabilities, especially in gunnery. At the first, known as the “Glorious First of June” in 1794—since it was fought so far out in the Atlantic that no geographical point was available to identify the exact location—Captain Collingwood took charge after Rear Adm.

George Bowyer's leg was shot off aboard the 98-gun ship of the line *Barfleur*. In that battle the British captured six ships of the line and sank one, but strategically they lost since the merchant convoy carrying vital supplies of grain from Chesapeake that the French warships had been escorting arrived untouched in France. The second battle, Cape St. Vincent, February 14, 1797, saw Collingwood, commanding HMS *Excellent*, follow Nelson's *Captain* in his famous maneuver against the Spanish fleet. Collingwood, firing four rounds of shot per minute, forced *Santissima Trinidad*—132 guns, four decks, the biggest ship of her era—to abandon the battle. The third battle, was of course, was Trafalgar on October 21, 1805, in which Collingwood, commanding the first column aboard *Royal Sovereign*, succeeded in separating the French and Spanish fleets.

With rapid, accurate fire averaging five rounds per minute, *Royal Sovereign* forced the 112-gun *Santa Anna* and several other ships to surrender, but it ended up temporarily out of action with 75 crewmen killed. "It was a battle planned by officers but won by sailors," wrote Collingwood, who soon after transferring his flag to HMS *Euryalus*, learned of Nelson's death and subsequently of his appointment as commander of the fleet. Denis Orde gives us Collingwood's human and well as intellectual side. While flogging was the common everyday punishment aboard Nelson's flagship *Victory*, Collingwood generally avoided resorting to that type of punishment.

After Trafalgar he ordered the wounded Spanish prisoners returned home. At a time when the majority of British captains were men of action rather than of letters, he wrote the famous dispatch to his majesty King George III that spoke of Nelson as an "immortal memory," a phrase by which he is remembered. Collingwood has not gone entirely unremembered. The name of his ship *Excellent*

has lent it name to the Royal Naval Gunnery School at Portsmouth, now a naval shore training establishment. After his death on March 7, 1810, Collingwood was buried in the shadow of Nelson's tomb at St. Paul's Cathedral—as in life, so in death. Given the nature of its subject, *In the Shadow of Nelson* gives more than just the life and times of a naval hero. Readers interested in knowing how Great Britain became the most powerful naval power of the 19th century will also find the book an enlightening general survey of the Royal Navy he served from 1770 to 1810. ■

Zehn Jahre österreichischer Politik. 1801-1810.

Adolf Beer

Bubna wurde nach Wien geschickt, um zu erklären, daß sich Österreich nicht weigere, in die Verhandlung über die von französischer Seite aufgestellten Präliminarien einzugehen, aber dieselben doch nicht ohne weiteres annehmen könne. Die Franzosen hatten Raab als Verhandlungsort vorgeschlagen, die Österreicher Altenburg. Champagny erklärte sich bereit, sich an diesen Ort zu begeben, sobald er die Nachricht erhalten haben werde, daß die österreichischen Bevollmächtigten sich daselbst eingefunden haben. Metternich und Nugent waren schon am 15. August morgens an Ort und Stelle; Champagny ließ zwei Tage auf sich warten. Die erste Zusammenkunft fand am 18. August statt. Die Österreicher eröffneten das Gespräch mit der Forderung über Einstellung der auferlegten Kontribution. Champagny machte das Recht des Siegers geltend, auch sei mit der Konvention über den Waffenstillstand hierüber nichts ausbedungen worden. Die Basis des Besitzstandes zum Ausgangspunkte der Verhandlungen zu

nehmen, verweigerten Metternich und Nugent; wenn Napoleon daran festhalte, werde man die Unterstützung der Alliierten anrufen, und anstatt in Altenburg zu verhandeln, einen Kongreß der Mächte anrufen. Napoleon sei im Besitze des dritten Teils der Monarchie, sagte Champagny, und könne auch gut da bleiben, was seien 3 bis 4 Mill. Einwohner mehr oder weniger für eine Macht wie Österreich; Napoleon müsse einen Unterschied machen zwischen einem Frieden am Inn und einem solchen in Ungarn. In der zweiten Konferenz, am 19. August, erhielten die österreichischen Bevollmächtigten einen Einblick in das sogenannte Kompensationssystem. „Werfet in die Wagschale“, setzte Champagny auseinander, „alle von der französischen Armee und ihren Verbündeten besetzten Provinzen, der Kaiser bringt diese auf den Markt, gibt auch zugleich kund, daß er nicht alles behalten wolle, daher billige Preise stellen werde. Ihr wollt z. B. jenen Teil Ungarns, den wir innehaben, gut, ihr gebt uns dafür eine neue Grenze für Sachsen im nördlichen Böhmen; ihr wollt Wien und Österreich, ihr entschädigt uns dafür durch Kroatien“ u.f.w. Er forderte, daß Österreich sich zuerst aussprechen solle; Napoleon könne es nicht tun, er befinde sich im Besitze der Länder und müsse um die Rückgabe ersucht werden. Auf Metternich und Nugent machte der ganze Gang der Verhandlung den Eindruck, als ob Napoleon Zeit gewinnen wolle. Volle vier Sitzungen dauerte dieser Streit. Jeder Teil verlangte von dem andern, er solle die Bedingungen formulieren; Champagny blieb dabei, er habe Befehl, sich auf den Standpunkt des *Uti possidetis* zu stellen, die österreichischen Bevollmächtigten möchten sagen, welche Gebiete sie haben, welche sie abtreten wollen. Erst in der fünften Sitzung, am 25. August, lenkte Champagny ein. Napoleon, setzte er auseinander, habe sich dem Kaiser angenehm erweisen

wollen, indem er ihm die Wahl überlassen habe, zu warten. Er komme dem Wunsche der österreichischen Bevollmächtigten nach, ohne deshalb von dem aufgestellten Grundsatz des Besitzstandes abzugehen. Zunächst verlange er Salzburg und Oberösterreich bis zum Thalweg der Enns für Bayern. Wenn man über das Prinzip einig sein werde, so werde er sich über die weiteren Forderungen aussprechen. Die Österreicher lehnten es ab, in die Behandlung über einzelne Punkte einzugehen und verlangten in der sechsten Sitzung, am 24. August, die Bedingungen Napoleons in ihrer Totalität kennen zu lernen. Von den offiziellen Besprechungen abgesehen, kam es auch zu persönlichen Gesprächen zwischen Champagny und Metternich. Dieser nahm den Mund voll. Österreich, sagte er verfüge noch über 400.000 guter Truppen, er schilderte die Begeisterung des Volkes, dessen Anhänglichkeit an die Dynastie, man denke nicht daran, zu kapitulieren. Es wäre gut, sagte Champagny, wenn Österreich Vorschläge machen würde. "Wir müssen ins Reine kommen, wir sind persönlich dabei interessiert. Schlagt uns zum Beispiel vor, daß ihr an Land und Leuten ebenso viel abtreten wollt wie im Preßburger Frieden. "Wir werden uns hüten", erwiderte Metternich, "damals besaß Österreich Länder, deren Abtretung den Kern der Monarchie nicht berührte, man verlor bloß einige vorgeschobene Posten." Dem Kaiser schlug Metternich vor, offiziell den bisher angenommenen Standpunkt zu vertreten, während er persönlich sich mit Champagny tiefer einlassen wolle. Man erreiche dadurch den doppelten Zweck, entweder die vertraulichen Besprechungen abubrechen, wenn man die Überzeugung erlangt, daß sie zu nichts führen, oder denselben ein offizielles Gepräge zu geben, wenn ein Vorteil daraus erwache. Erst nach und nach lernte man die Gesamtheit der französischen Forderungen kennen. In der achten Sitzung, am 30. August, verlangte Champagny Kärnten und Krain, in der zehnten,

am 5. September, die Kreise Leimeritz, Saaz und Ellnbogen, Theresienstadt ausgenommen, in Böhmen. Frankreich werde Wien, Niederösterreich, Steiermark, den Brünnner und Znaimer Kreis zurückerstatten. Über die Räumung österreichischen Gebietes durch die russischen und sächsischen Truppen müsse auf Basis des Besitzstandes besonders verhandelt werden. Galizien bleibe dabei ganz außer Betracht. Hierüber müsse eine besondere Vereinbarung getroffen werden. Metternich und Nugent boten Salzburg und einen Teil Galiziens zwischen Bug und Weichsel an; für den Fall, daß Österreich im Besitze Tirols bleiben sollte, boten sie noch ein weiteres Stück in Galizien bis zur Pilitza an es zu überlassen. Staatsmänner wie Wessenberg redeten einer vollständigen Abtretung Galiziens das Wort, wenn die deutschen Erbländer erhalten blieben und Dalmatien wiedergewonnen würde. Selbst die Wiederherstellung Polens sah er als kein Unglück an, da Österreich einen guten Nachbar und mit der Zeit einen Verbündeten gegen Rußland gewinnen würde. Nur der Distrikt auf dem rechten Ufer der Weichsel bis zum Zusammenfluß des San und von da eine Linie dem Dnjestr entlang, sei als eine Vormauer für Ungarn wichtig. Man hatte österreichischerseits die Verhandlungen wohl begonnen, aber man war nicht unbedingt zum Abschluß eines Friedens entschlossen. „Klugheit und Vorsicht“, schrieb Franz an Liechtenstein, „geboten es, sich auf alles gefaßt zu machen. Ich bin entschlossen und werde es mit ruhigem Bewußtsein bleiben, wenn es das Wohl der Monarchie erhalten sollte, eher die Feindseligkeiten wieder anzufangen, als zu einem unannehmbaren Frieden die Hand zu bieten. Wenn mir die Fortsetzung der Kriege abgezwungen wird, werde ich ihn mit äußerster Kraft, mit der größten Anstrengung führen. Dies ist das Ziel, welches ich verfolgen werde; der Landesfürst ist dies seinem Volke schuldig. Ich habe gegen das meinige Volk

doppelte Verpflichtungen, da es mir während des ganzen Verlaufs meiner Regierung und neuerlich während der Dauer des Kriegs die vielfältigsten Beweise von unerschütterlicher Treue und Anhänglichkeit gab."

Die resultatlosen Verhandlungen drängten die kriegerischen Stimmungen in den Vordergrund, die allzu großen Opfer, welche man Österreich zumutete, schnellten die Widerstandsgelüste auf einige Zeit empor. „Mein Wunsch ist ein ehrenvoller Friede“, heißt es in einem vom Kaiser in Komorn unterzeichneten Armeebefehl, „ein Friede, in dessen Bestimmungen Möglichkeit und Aussicht seiner Dauer liegt. Die Tapferkeit meiner Kriegsheere, ihr unerschütterlicher Mut, ihre warme Vaterlandsliebe, ihr lauter Wunsch, die Waffen nicht eher als nach Erlangung eines ehrenvollen Friedens niederzulegen, können mir nie gestatten, Bedingungen, welche die Grundsätze der Monarchie erschüttern und uns entehren, nach so großen und edlen Aufopferungen, nach so viel vergossenem Blute für das Vaterland einzugehen. Der hohe Geist, der die Armee belebt, ist mir und ihr Bürge, daß, sollte der Friede dennoch nicht kommen, wir den Lohn der Standhaftigkeit einst sicher erlangen werden." Eingehende Erörterungen über die Möglichkeit eines erfolgreichen Widerstands wurden gepflogen; namentlich die Frage wurde einer gründlichen Erwägung unterzogen, ob eine Offensive irgendwelche Aussichten verspreche. Ein Gutachten von Mayer lautete verneinend. Nur Komorn, legte er dar, biete der österreichischen Armee zu kombinierten Bewegungen einen sicheren Übergangspunkt, während die französische Armee an beiden Donauufern derart vereinigt werden könne, daß sie in der kürzesten Frist mit der gesamten Macht ihre Operationen zu beginnen in der Lage sei. Je größer aber die Anzahl der Übergangspunkte sei, mit um so mehr Sicherheit, Wirksamkeit und Behendigkeit könne man vorgehen. Der Vorteil der Franzosen sei

daher bezüglich der Offensive unleugbar, und durch die Verschanzungen bei Wien können sie sich sogar gegen eine doppelt überlegene Armee behaupten. Nur durch ununterbrochene glückliche Erfolge, durch eine Reihe siegreicher Schlachten und Gefechte würde sich die Lage günstiger für Österreich gestalten. Selbst wenn alle Unternehmungen vom Glück gekrönt wären, seien drei Monate erforderlich. „Mit Wahrscheinlichkeit lasse sich annehmen“, schloß die Denkschrift, „daß die ersten Ausführungen mit minder gewagten Anschlägen unternommen werden müssen, wobei die Alternative von Glück und Unglück in keinem militärisch annehmbaren Verhältnis stehe. Sobald sich die Armee in einer solchen Lage befinde, daß diese keine vorteilhaften Offensivoperationen erlaube, bleibe der Strategie nichts anderes übrig als dem Gegner die Offensive zu überlassen, denn wolle man diese erzwingen, so können sich nur noch nachteiligere Folgen geltend machen.“ Die Stimmungen für Krieg und Frieden wogten durcheinander, heute gaben die Friedensapostel den Ton an, morgen hatte die krieglerische Partei Oberwasser. Der Mangel einer tonangebenden Persönlichkeit, deren Rat für den Kaiser maßgebend geworden wäre, machte sich recht fühlbar. Der Erzherzog Karl war von dem Schauplatze zurückgetreten, und niemand dachte daran, ihn zurück zu rufen. Bei der fast feindseligen Stimmung des Kaisers gegen seinen Bruder war dies an und für sich unmöglich, selbst wenn die herrschende Ansicht des Tages dem Erzherzog günstiger gewesen wäre. Stadion, der einzige, der den Krieg bis ans Messer fortgesetzt wissen wollte, befand sich nicht in der Umgebung des Monarchen, auch war sein Einfluß im Sinken. Franz war nicht der Mann, um einem Minister, dessen Ratschläge ihn in eine solche Lage gebracht, dauernd Vertrauen zu schenken, selbst wenn er bei nüchterner Überlegung sich zugestehen mußte, daß nicht die Diplomatie all das Unheil verschuldet hatte.

Metternich gewann wohl täglich an Boden, allein volles Vertrauen hatte man zu ihm nicht; es ist auch schwer zu sagen, ob er mehr dem Frieden oder dem Kriege das Wort redete, nur dies war klar, er wünschte sich für alle Fälle möglich zu machen, um nach dem Rücktritt Stadions mit der Leitung des auswärtigen Amtes betraut zu werden. Von Metternich rührte in diesen Tagen ein eigentümliches Projekt her: nämlich die Polen zu einer Aktion gegen Napoleon zu gewinnen. Preußen sollte bestimmt werden, auf das Herzogtum Warschau für ewige Zeiten zu verzichten, Österreich einen Teil Westgaliziens abtreten, und Polen unter einem einheimischen Herrscher wiederhergestellt werden. Zwischen Österreich, Preußen, Polen, der Türkei, England, Spanien, Portugal, Sizilien und Sardinien sollte eine Offensiv- und Defensivallianz geschlossen werden. Österreich hätte das Versprechen zu geben, auch auf den Rest des polnischen Gebietes verzichten zu wollen, wenn es dafür eine Entschädigung in Deutschland oder Italien erhielte, dafür mußten sich aber die Polen zu einer sofortigen Mitwirkung bewegen können. Stadion, dem der Kaiser die Arbeit Metternichs übermittelt hatte, stimmte zwar insofern zu, als er für den Fall des Wiederausbruchs eines Krieges den Versuch machen wollte, mit den Polen in Verbindung zu treten, allein er wies darauf hin, daß ein solcher Schritt nur mit großer Vorsicht geschehen könnte. Was sollte auch die polnischen Insurgenten bestimmen, sich mit Österreich gegen Napoleon zu verbünden, da sie hoffen konnten, ihr Ziel leichter mit Hilfe Frankreichs zu erreichen? Auch werde die Rückwirkung auf Rußland, welches sich dadurch bestimmen lassen könnte, Napoleon eine tätige Unterstützung zu gewähren, für Österreich keine vorteilhafte sein. Anfang August traf Knesebeck in Olmütz ein, wo sich damals Stadion befand. Abermals brachte er die Versicherung mit, daß der König sich entschlossen habe, sein Geschick mit Österreich zu

verknüpfen, ohne jedoch bestimmt anzugeben, für welche Maßnahmen er sich entschieden habe. Aus seinen Äußerungen ging hervor, daß Preußen dann zu den Waffen greifen wolle, wenn Österreich den Krieg wieder aufgenommen haben würde, während Stadion die Notwendigkeit betonte, daß Preußen mindestens gleichzeitig mit Österreich die Operationen aufnehmen mußte. Der österreichische Minister verwies den preussischen Unterhändler ins Hauptquartier; am 8. August kam Knesebeck in Komorn an und war um 11 Uhr bei Metternich. Der König, setzte er diesem auseinander, sei an der bisherigen passiven Haltung Preußens schuld, seine Umgebung, „die aufgeklärtesten Diener hätten das Unmögliche angewandt, ihn seinem ersten Entschlusse, Österreich tätige Hilfe zu leisten, treu zu erhalten“. Zwei Rücksichten hätten den Wankelmut des Königs unterstützt: die zweideutige Aufstellung von 16 bis 18.000 Russen an der preussischen Grenze, und die geringen Mittel des Königs. Knesebeck fügte die Beteuerung hinzu, daß diese in der Tat beschränkt seien, bei einer Mitwirkung Preußens aber die Rückwirkung auf Norddeutschland nicht außer Anschlag gebracht werden dürfe, indem die Armee jedenfalls seinen außerordentlichen Zulauf erhalten würde. Knesebeck wollte in offizieller Weise erst auftreten, wenn eine Entscheidung über Krieg oder Frieden getroffen sein würde, allein er ersuchte Metternich, die Erklärung anzunehmen, daß Österreich auf die Mitwirkung Preußens im Falle des Wiederausbruchs des Krieges rechnen könne, und der König selbst in dem Falle zur Aktion entschlossen sei. Im weiteren Verlaufe des Gesprächs versicherte Knesebeck, daß Preußens Truppen im Kriegsfall gänzlich zur Disposition Österreichs gestellt werden würden, und er kam mit Metternich überein, sich mit dem Feldzeugmeister Graf Bellegarde in Verbindung zu setzen, um die Einzelheiten zu verabreden. „Das Benehmen des Herrn von Knese-

beck", schrieb Metternich dem Monarchen, „schien mir so frei und bestimmt, die wirkliche Lage des preußischen Hofes ist mit seiner Schilderung so übereinstimmend, daß ich in seine Äußerungen keinen Zweifel setzen zu müssen glaube." Eine endgültige Entscheidung war damals noch nicht getroffen. Die Verhandlungen in Altenburg ließen ein ersprießliches Ergebnis nicht erwarten, bestimmte Verabredungen mit Preußen konnten in mancherlei Weise benutzt werden, sei es, daß das Berliner Kabinett nun wirklichen Ernst machte, mit Österreich gemeinschaftlich auf dem Kriegsschauplatz zu erscheinen, oder man war in der Lage, bei den Friedensverhandlungen einen Druck auf die französischen Unterhändler auszuüben, um bessere Bedingungen zu erlangen. Eine „Benutzung Preußens" in dieser Richtung lag wenigstens nicht außerhalb der Gedankenkreise Metternichs. Aus diesem Grund mußte Kneesebeck aber aus dem Hintergrunde heraustreten. Metternich bestimmte daher den preußischen Oberst, mit der Übergabe des königlichen Briefs an Franz nicht zu zögern, wozu er sich gegen das gegebene Versprechen, daß ein Mißbrauch damit nicht gemacht würde, bewegen ließ. Die Bemerkung Metternichs machte Eindruck auf den preußischen Sendboten: man habe nicht nötig, Preußen zu kompromittieren, es sei schon kompromittiert genug. Sein Empfang beim Kaiser war ungemein freundlich. Nach den Darlegungen des österreichischen Herrschers war eine friedliche Abmachung nicht zu erwarten, der Krieg wahrscheinlich. Mit Bellegarde und Metternich besprach Kneesebeck nun die Zusammenziehung preußischer Truppen in Schlesien. Irren wir nicht, so hatte die Sendung Kneesebecks vornehmlich den Zweck, dahin zu arbeiten, daß bei einem Friedensschlusse zwischen Österreich und Frankreich die Bestimmung aufgenommen werde, daß die preußischen Länder nicht neuerdings von französischen Truppen besetzt würden. In einem Gespräche stellte

er wenigstens dieses Ansinnen an Metternich, und dieser versprach die Sache im Auge zu behalten. Die Altenburger Konferenzen rückten nicht von der Stelle. Metternich wurde ermächtigt, die Abtretung von Salzburg und Berchtesgaden, sowie eines Teils von Galizien anzubieten, Tirol und Vorarlberg wünsche der Kaiser zu behalten, jedoch sei er bereit, auf ein weiteres Stück polnischen Gebietes zu verzichten. Metternich machte darauf aufmerksam, daß Österreich dadurch große Opfer bringe, namentlich die Verzichtleistung auf Berchtesgaden wiege durch den Verlust der Salzbergwerke schwer. Champagny erwiderte: Österreich habe ausgezeichneten Tokayer und werde daher leicht mit Bayern einen Tauschhandel bewerkstelligen können. Das österreichische Angebot wurde von Napoleon zurückgewiesen; nie werde er in eine Rückgabe Tirols und Vorarlbergs willigen, ließ er in vertraulichem Wege durch Champagny erklären. Metternich beantragte die Übergabe Tirols an den deutschen Großmeister. „Unmöglich", lautete die Antwort. „Gut denn", warf Metternich hin, „vereinigen wir Tirol mit der Schweiz." Champagny machte dagegen keine Einwendung und wünschte, daß sich das österreichische Kabinett über das in Galizien abzutretende Gebiet aussprechen möge. Eine Entscheidung mußte endlich getroffen werden; Metternich und Nugent hatten in Altenburg das Möglichste geleistet. In den ersten Tagen des Monats September neigte man in den österreichischen Kreisen mehr dem Kriege zu. Stadion, der bisher, trotz aller Bitten des Kaisers, sich abseits gehalten und die Aufforderungen zur Rückkehr abgelehnt hatte, wurde in das kaiserliche Hoflager berufen. Am 4. September traf er in Totis ein. Noch einmal sollte der Versuch gemacht werden, von Napoleon selbst bessere Friedensbedingungen zu erlangen. Bubna wurde mit einem Briefe von Franz nach Wien gesandt. Napoleon gab die Beschwerde des Kaisers, daß die Verhandlungen

von Champagny verzögert würden, zurück: nicht die Franzosen, sondern die Österreicher träfe die Schuld, indem diese auf die ihnen kundgegebenen Bedingungen keine bestimmte Antwort gegeben hätten. Den gegenwärtigen Besitzstand als Ausgangspunkt und Basis der Verhandlungen bezeichnete er als einen von Champagny ersonnenen Scherz; er verlange nur 1,600.000 Seelen am Inn und in Italien und 2 Mill. in Galizien; nur auf Triest bestand er entschieden, und als Bubna die kommerziellen Interessen ins Feld führte, wies er auf Fiume hin, welches Österreich genüge. Seine Forderungen seien nach dem Maßstabe des Preßburger Friedens berechnet; es sei ihm gleichgültig, welche Gebiete der Kaiser abzutreten gedenke. Im Laufe des Gesprächs stimmte er mildere Saiten an. Er würde sich sogar zu einer Ermäßigung bereit finden lassen, wenn er nur Vertrauen zu Österreich haben könnte; auch Triest und die Küste beanspruche er nicht, er wolle die Grundfesten einer Monarchie nicht untergraben, deren Erhaltung für Frankreich interessant sein könnte. Tirol und Vorarlberg könne er jedoch nicht bei Österreich belassen, es sollen diese Länder nicht an Bayern fallen, ein Dritter werde sie erhalten. „Die Eroberung Ungarns liegt nicht in meinem Plane", fuhr Napoleon fort, „ich bleibe im Besitze der von meinen Truppen besetzten Länder und verteidige sie gegen jeden Angriff; die Armee lebt auf fremde Kosten, dieser Zustand kann lange dauern, mich kümmert das wenig, ich kann dies aushalten, schlichte meine anderen Angelegenheiten. Die Armee, die sich hier befindet, ist nicht für Spanien bestimmt; dort fülle ich nur die Lücken aus. Beim Wiederbeginn der Feindseligkeiten nehme ich die österreichischen Länder förmlich in Besitz, schaffe alle Feudalrechte ab, richte alles auf französischen Fuß ein, mein Anhang, der zur Zeit noch sehr gering ist, wird sich dadurch mehren, denn solche Verfügungen sind den Bauern in jedem Lande sehr angenehm; Wien setze ich in

Verteidigungszustand und ziehe mit der Armee wohin ich will, die Donau ist für mich kein Hindernis." Bubna empfing den Eindruck, daß Napoleon den Frieden wolle und der Brief des Kaisers Franz eine gute Wirkung hervorgebracht habe; eine Stelle desselben, welche „auf eine solide Annäherung" hindeutete, wurde oft mit besonderem Bedacht gelesen. Es sei nicht unmöglich, schloß Bubna seinen Bericht, die Angelegenheit zu schlichten. Zum Teil abweichend lautet der Bericht Napoleons über den Inhalt dieser Unterredung. Hiernach berührte Napoleon noch einige andere Punkte. Wenn dies so fortduere und die Verhandlungen in Altenburg vertrödeln würden, würde man jahrelang brauchen, er selbst befinde sich gut dabei, er esse und trinke auf Kosten Österreichs, dessen Lage bedauernswert sei. Er könne die Politik des Hofes nicht begreifen; man habe den größten Fehler begangen durch Entfernung des Erzherzogs Karl. Eine intime Allianz mit dem Kaiser Franz sei sehr schwer, denn obgleich er gute Eigenschaften habe, höre er auf die Meinung des letzten, der mit ihm spreche; zu einem Fürsten, der sich in Mähren ihm auf Discretion ergeben und sodann den Krieg erklärt habe, könne er kein Vertrauen hegen. Wenn der Kaiser auf den Thron zu Gunsten des Großherzogs von Würzburg verzichten würde, wolle er die ganze Monarchie zurückgeben; allein dieser Vorschlag sei wohl nicht durchführbar. Bubna habe ihm hierauf erwidert: der Kaiser sei nicht abgeneigt, dieses Opfer zu bringen, wenn es seinen Völkern zum Vorteil gereiche. In einem Briefe an den Kaiser, den Bubna mitnahm, erklärte sich Napoleon bereit, gegen Abtretung eines Gebietes mit 1,600.000 Seelen am Inn und in Italien und der kleinern Hälfte von Galizien Frieden zu schließen. In ähnlicher Weise sprach sich Champagny gegen Metternich am 16. September aus, nur wurde das in Galizien abzutretende Gebiet auf 2 Mill. Seelen angegeben, die Sachsen

und Rußland zufallen sollten. Diese Forderungen bezeichnete der französische Minister als Ultimatum. Franz hatte damals kriegerische Anwandlungen. Personen, welche um diese Zeit mit ihm verkehrten, wußten zu erzählen, daß er nur dem Kriege zusteue, man sogar fürchte, Napoleon möchte mäßige Bedingungen stellen; er nannte Hudelist, der von Frieden triefte, spottend den Friedensfürsten. Erzherzog Johann war mit der Ausarbeitung von Kriegsplänen beschäftigt, die in Beratung gezogen wurden; in London zeigte man an, daß der Ausbruch des Kriegs bevorstehe und man in wenigen Tagen von dem Anerbieten Englands, einer werktätigen Mitwirkung, Gebrauch machen werde. Bubna wurde bei seiner Rückkehr kalt empfangen, die Kündigung des Waffenstillstandes wurde in Erwägung genommen, eine Antwort an Napoleon von Metternich entworfen, verändert, wieder beraten, um abermals verworfen zu werden. Am 19. September wurde der Hofkammer im größten Vertrauen eröffnet, daß die Aufkündigung des Waffenstillstandes und der Ausbruch der Feindseligkeiten nächstens zu erwarten stehe. Aber schon tags darauf wurde der Beschluß gefaßt, in einer Antwort an Napoleon gegen das Ultimatum „in sehr mäßigen Formen Einwendungen zu machen". Von jeher habe sich der Kaiser bemüht, heißt es in dem Briefe, eine Verbindung mit Frankreich herbeizuführen, wünsche sie auch in diesem Augenblicke und würde dieselbe als eine günstige Frucht der Friedensverhandlung ansehen, wodurch den wahren Interessen der beiden Staaten Rechnung getragen würde; Napoleon möge berücksichtigen, daß seine Pflichten ihm nicht gestatten weiterzugehen, und man werde bald einig werden. Am 20. September kam Bubna in Schönbrunn an. Duroc, den er allsogleich von seiner Ankunft in Kenntnis setzte, forderte ihn auf, sich um 7 Uhr abends in Schönbrunn einzufinden. Napoleon empfing ihn mit finstern Ernste, seine Haltung verriet böse

Laune. „Was bringen Sie, Krieg oder Frieden?" „Darüber können nur Sie entscheiden, Sire!" erwiderte Bubna. „Kaiser Franz hat in dem Protokolle zu Altenburg seine Bereitwilligkeit zur Herstellung der Ruhe kundgegeben und in alles, was nur mit dem Fortbestand der Monarchie verträglich, eingewilligt." „Diese Note beweist klar", erwiderte Napoleon heftig, „daß Österreich keinen Frieden schließen und keine billigen Opfer bringen will; man beurteilt eben österreichischerseits die Lage nicht richtig. Stadion hat das Entschädigungsobjekt in Galizien erdacht, um Mißverständnisse zwischen Frankreich und Rußland hervorzurufen." Hierauf folgten lange und heftige Auseinandersetzungen über den Krieg, dessen Gang, die Notwendigkeit, die Kronen zu trennen, die Feudalrechte abzuschaffen u. dgl. mehr. Geduldig hörte Bubna die Ausfälle und Drohungen an; erst als sich Napoleon etwas beruhigt zu haben schien, bemerkte Bubna, daß Österreich unmöglich in die geforderte Abtretung der deutschen Provinzen einwilligen könne, ohne die Hilfsmittel des Staates zu untergraben und seinen ganzen Handel zu schädigen. Napoleon fand seine Ansprüche mäßig, mit französischem Blute teuer erkaufte; die österreichische Monarchie bleibe noch immer groß und Achtung gebietend, er wolle den österreichischen Seehandel nicht vernichten, aber er müsse die Verbindung Dalmatiens mit dem Königreiche Italien dauernd sicherstellen oder auf den Besitz des ersteren verzichten. Dies könne er schon wegen des Zusammenhangs mit der Türkei nicht tun, auch habe er sein Ultimatum Rußland schon mitgeteilt, könne daher davon nicht abgehen. Bubna benutzte die ruhigere Stimmung Napoleons, um zu erklären, daß Franz die Verbindung mit der Küste nicht aufgeben werde. „Also ist der Krieg unvermeidlich", rief der Korse, „werdet Ihr mir den Waffenstillstand kündigen oder soll ich es tun? Nein, ich will der Welt das Spektakel eurer Torheit geben,



Meet Napoleon in Hungary Napoleonic Congress at 2024

Date: July 17 to 20, 2024
(Wednesday-Saturday)

Location: Hungary, Győr (Raab),
Rómer Flóris Művészeti és Történeti
Múzeum

Participation costs: 30 Euro/person

Accommodation: Danubius Hotel
Rába (Breakfast included in the
price of the room)

Organizer: IRS Department Hungary

Indicate your participation to:
matanyi.marci@gmail.com

Program plan

Wednesday 17/07/ (check in)

14.00 – 18.00: Arrival at the
accommodation
18.00 – 19.00: Dinner
(The restaurant has three menus –
you will have to make your choice)
19.00 – 20.30: Musica Historica's
concert

Thursday 18/07/ (Conference day)

10.00 – 11.00: Zoltán Székely's
ceremonial opening speech and
Section meetings
11.00 – 11.30: Buffet Break
11.30 – 12.30: Section meetings
12.30 – 13.30: Lunch break
14.00 – 15.30: Section meetings
16.00 – 17.30: Guided walk in the
city of Győr
18.00 – 19.00: Dinner
(The restaurant has three menus –
you will have to make your choice)

Friday 19/07/ (Conference day)

10.00 – 11.00: Section meetings
11.00 – 11.30: Buffet Break
11.30 – 12.30: Section meetings
12.30 – 13.30: Lunch break
14.00 – 15.30: Section meetings
17.00 – 18.30: Gala dinner
19.00 – 20.30: Performance of
Sándor Kisfaludy's drama from
year 1809.

Titled: *The Patriotic Hungarian Girl*

Saturday 20/07/ (Bus trip day)

09.00: Departure from the hotel.
10.00: Arrival at Komárom,
Hungary's best-preserved star
fortress.
12.00 – 13.00: Lunch
13.15: Departure for Tata.
13.45: Arrival at the Tata castle,
where the monarch and his family
stayed in 1809.
15.00: Departure for Győr.
18.00: Start of the Győr Empire
Napoleon ball (It is a charity ball for
the museum of Raab. Tickets for 30
Euro. Dinner and live music is
included.)

Changes are still possible.

*Dear friends,
the Hungarian members of the
IRS have had a discussion last
week in Raab (Győr) about
details for the Congress.
They all were very glad to get
fulfilled their expectations. They
could press down the price at the
hotel. The Empire Napoleon Ball
is definitely scheduled, and so all
the other events. They had
contact to several institutes for
help. They became promised help
for printing of all lectures to be
ready at the end of the Congress.
They are keen to minimize the
costs as low as possible. The
date has been changed to get all
participants the chance to visit
Wagram and Znaim as well.
A Ladies program is on the way.*



*The schedule for
4(5.)-7. July, Reenactment
and History days at Wagram
11.-14.07 Reenactment Znaim,
possibly even an exhibition.*



daß ihr den Waffenstillstand aufkündigt, die Existenz des Staates kompromittiert, um nicht Opfer zu bringen, die ich als Sieger, als Herr von 9 Mill. österreichischer Untertanen billig fordern kann." Hierauf folgte eine bange Pause, Napoleon legte den Hut ab, stellte sich finsterblickend in die Fensterecke, blieb eine Zeit lang stumm und in sich gekehrt. Bubna unterbrach das Schweigen, indem er die Neigung des Kaisers zum Frieden und zur Annahme mäßiger Bedingungen hervorhob. Napoleon, gleichsam aus seinem Nachdenken erwachend, fiel ihm in die Rede: „Wissen Sie was, wenn man meine Forderungen überspannt findet, so soll der Kaiser von Österreich die russische Vermittlung annehmen, wir schließen einen Waffenstillstand auf sechs Monate, der Zar sendet einen Unterhändler nach Altenburg, auf dessen Ausspruch ich eingehen will." Bubna bemerkte, daß sich auf diese Weise der Abschluß des Friedens nur verzögern könne, die Entscheidung müsse binnen Tagen erfolgen, Zögerung und Ruin des Staats seien gleichbedeutend. Die Unterredung hatte fast drei Stunden gedauert. Napoleon sprach über alles Mögliche. „Kaiser Franz", sagte er unter anderem, „soll seine Marschälle und Generale fragen, ob es möglich sei, mich von hier zu delogieren. Leute, welche die Feder führen, verstehen das nicht; nicht in vier Feldzügen kann mich Österreich aus seinen Staaten fortbringen. Ihr werdet noch 14 Tage verlieren und dann doch auf meine Bedingungen eingehen; ihr könnt die Gefahr, die euch droht, gar nicht übersehen. Ich habe 200 Mill. Bankzettel in Frankreich machen lassen, die ich in Umlauf bringen werde; sobald der Krieg beginnt, werde ich hier die Fabrikation einrichten." Als Napoleon den österreichischen General ein Viertel vor 10 Uhr nachts entließ, beauftragte er ihn, zu melden, daß eine Verbindung zwischen Dalmatien und Italien eine ähnliche Linie sei, die er bei dem Frieden von Preßburg nur aus Mangel an Lokalkenntnis außer Acht gelassen

habe. Selbst wenn er in vollem Frieden mit Österreich stände, müßte er eigentlich den Krieg beginnen, um dies Ziel zu erreichen; hierauf lege er das Hauptgewicht, sonst komme es ihm auf einige Menschen mehr oder weniger nicht an. Sachsen würde in Galizien, Bayern durch Salzburg entschädigt werden; finde der Kaiser diese Bedingungen zu hart, so möge er die Mediation Rußlands annehmen. Letztlich trug er Bubna auf, in seinem Berichte hervorzuheben, daß diese Vorschläge gemacht worden seien, ohne den Brief des Kaisers Franz, den Napoleon uneröffnet in die Tasche steckte, gelesen zu haben; nur die einzige tröstliche Bemerkung fügte Bubna seinem Berichte hinzu, daß sich Napoleon aller heftigen Ausfälle gegen die Person des Kaisers enthalten und auch von dessen Abdankung nicht gesprochen habe. Seit Wochen schwankte man zwischen Krieg und Frieden hin und her. Mochten auch einige maßgebende Persönlichkeiten eine vollständige Vernichtung einer schmachvollen Unterwerfung, wie sie es nannten, vorziehen, die Wortführer des Friedens gewannen das Übergewicht. Auch Stadion, bis zuletzt der energische Vertreter kriegerischer Maßnahmen, ließ die Flügel sinken. Ohnehin war er seit Wochen innerlich gebrochen. Nicht das Scheitern seiner Pläne drückte sein Gemüt nieder, wohl aber die Überzeugung, daß jeder Versuch, die Umgebung des Kaisers zu heroischen Anstrengungen zu entflammen, ein vergebener sein und bleiben werde. Seit Wochen arbeitete man an einer Ergänzung des Heeres; überall starrte das Chaos entgegen. Keine militärische Kapazität hatte so viel Gewicht, um das darniederliegende Vertrauen zu heben; wie wir gesehen, weisagten umsichtige Soldaten kein Heil. Dazu kam die trostlose finanzielle Lage; selbst die Notenpressen versagten. Der Widerstand jener Personen, die einem ehrenvollen, verzweiflungsvollen Kampfe das Wort redeten, erlahmte; Stadion und die Kaiserin, die bis zur letzten Stunde nicht alle Hoffnung auf-

gaben, durch die Waffen bessere Bedingungen zu erlangen als durch die blinde Unterwerfung unter den Willen des Siegers, mußten schließlich zur Ueberzeugung gelangen, daß es an Mitteln und noch mehr an geeigneten Personen gebreche, um den Kampf fortsetzen zu können. Am 25. September fiel die Entscheidung für den Frieden; Bubna und Liechtenstein wurden nach Wien gesandt, die Verhandlungen in Altenburg abgebrochen. Die beiden Unterhändler sollten auf Grundlage des von Napoleon gestellten Ultimatums den Frieden abschließen, nur retten was noch möglich sei. Napoleon zeigte sich anfangs unbeugsam.

Am 27. September hatte Liechtenstein eine Audienz in Schönbrunn. In seinem Schreiben vom 15. September habe er sein Ultimatum gestellt, sagte Napoleon, von dem er nicht absteigen könne und werde, sobald die rückständige Kontribution gezahlt sei, wolle er jedoch die Monarchie räumen. Einen Nachlaß der Geldforderung lehnte Napoleon ab; Preußen habe mehr gezahlt, lautete seine Antwort. Bezüglich der einzelnen Bestimmungen wurde der Fürst an Murat verwiesen; Liechtenstein wünschte die Fortführung der Verhandlungen in Altenburg, Napoleon forderte die Verlegung nach Schönbrunn. Auch die von Liechtenstein beantragte Berufung Metternichs und Champagnys lehnte Napoleon ab. Die Konferenzen mit Murat lieferten zunächst kein erfreuliches Resultat; die Rückgabe Krakaus, welche Liechtenstein forderte, wurde rundweg abgelehnt. Am 29. September übernahm Champagny die Weiterführung der Verhandlungen; als Liechtenstein den Wunsch aussprach, auch Metternich herbeizuziehen, erhielt er von Duroc, den Napoleon zu ihm schickte, eine verneinende Antwort. Napoleon halte Metternich für einen der Urheber des Kriegs; man habe ihm schon in Paris den Zutritt zum Hofe und zu den ersten Staatsdienern untersagt; in seiner Ernennung zum Unterhändler in Altenburg habe man den entschiedenen Willen Öster-

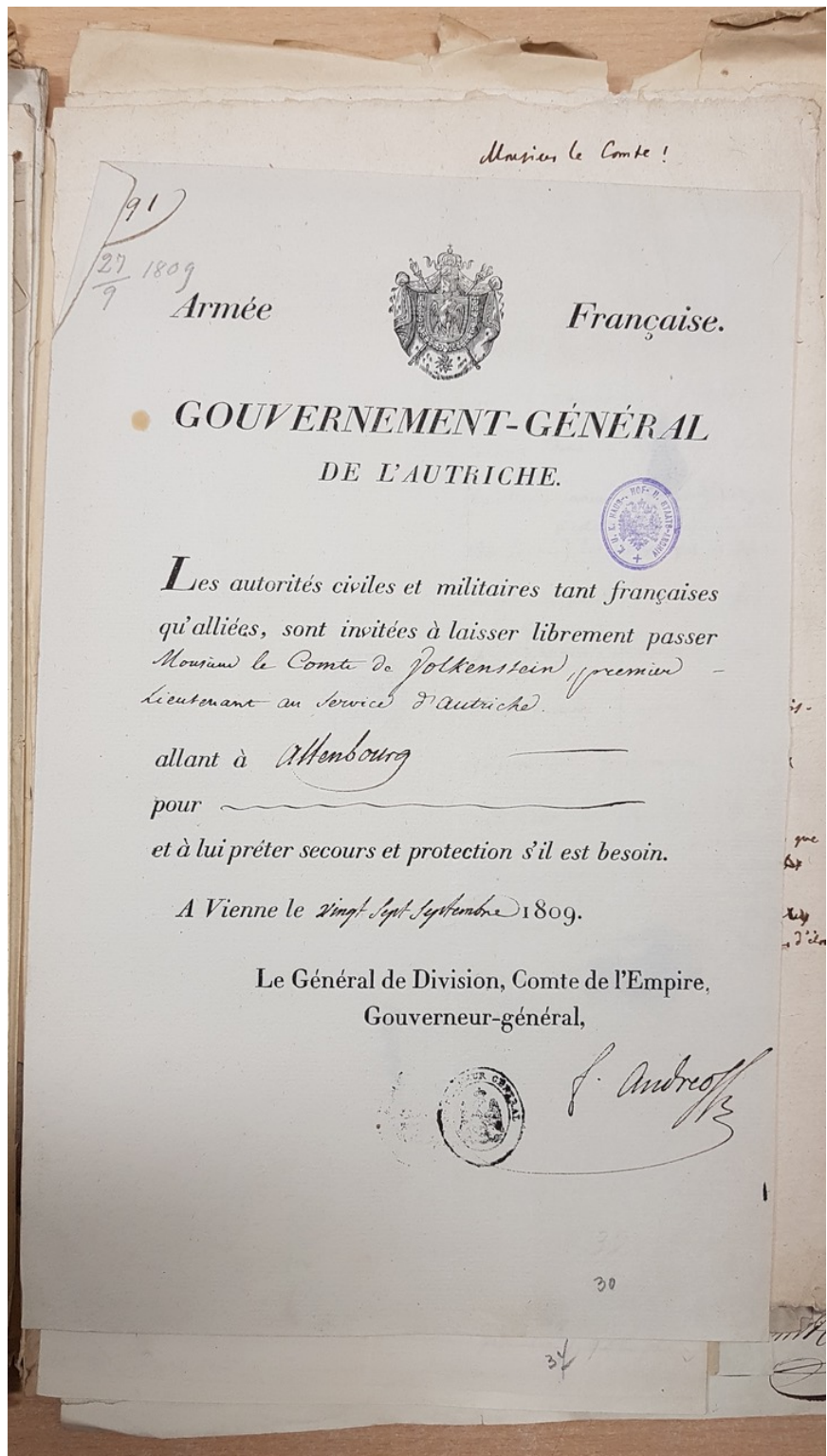
reichs, keinen Frieden zu schließen, gesehen. Durch die Sendung Liechtensteins nach Wien betrachte Napoleon den Kongreß zu Altenburg als aufgelöst. Vornehmlich um die Abtretungen in Galizien drehten sich die Gespräche in diesen Tagen. Champagny verlangte Westgalizien, den Myslenicer und Bochniaer Kreis für das Herzogtum Warschau, den Lemberger, Zamosker, Zolkiever und Zloczower Kreis für Rußland; später ließ er die erstgenannten drei Kreise fallen. Liechtenstein bot ganz Westgalizien und den Zamosker Kreis und bemühte sich Wieliczki zu retten. Champagny sagte schließlich, Frankreich wolle von den für Rußland geforderten Gebieten abstehen, aber Österreich solle sich mit dieser Macht verständigen. Liechtensteins Einwendungen blieben ohne Erfolg. Aus einigen Äußerungen Napoleons zu Bubna, daß es ihm auf mehr oder weniger Menschen nicht ankomme, daß Salzburg an Bayern fallen, während Sachsen in Galizien eine Entschädigung erhalten sollte, schöpfte dieser wieder Hoffnung, das Innviertel und vielleicht auch andere Gebiete retten zu können. Napoleon legte in manchen Augenblicken scheinbar die Geneigtheit an den Tag, rasch eine Vereinbarung erzielen zu wollen, Champagny beharrte um so hartnäckiger auf seinen Vorschlägen. Der französische Minister des Auswärtigen, klagte Liechtenstein, zeige überhaupt viel mehr Lust, von anderen Dingen als dem Hauptgeschäft zu sprechen. Das Haus Österreich, bemerkte Champagny unter anderem, habe von jeher durch Heiraten viel gewonnen, die Zeit, durch solche sanfte Mittel Länder zu erwerben, könne wiederkommen. Liechtenstein erwiderte: Österreich habe mehrere Erzherzoge. Das Friedensgeschäft rückte nicht von der Stelle. Stundenlang dauerten täglich die Redekämpfe. Von den territorialen Abtretungen abgesehen, war es hauptsächlich die Geldfrage, um welche sich in den ersten Oktobertagen die Verhandlungen drehten. Der französische Minister hatte anfangs 134 Millionen ge-

fordert und ließ sich nur mit Mühe bestimmen, auf 100 Millionen herabzugehen. Liechtenstein bot anfangs 40 Millionen, später 50 Millionen. Champagny lehnte ab; Napoleon könne nichts mehr nachlassen, es sei ohnehin das Einzige, was er für sich fordere.

In Totis war man ratlos. Bubna begab sich auf Befehl des Kaisers zu Thugut, dessen Ansichten zu hören. „Ich glaubte“, schrieb er dem Monarchen, „infolge umlaufender Gerüchte, ihn an Geist und Körper abgelebt zu finden, aber er sieht besser aus als vor Jahren; das Feuer seines Geistes erscheint in voller Kraft.“ Bubna setzte den Stand der Dinge auseinander; Thugut, höchst gerührt, entschuldigte sich, die Details nicht genau zu kennen, soweit er jedoch ein Urteil habe, könne er nur Frieden, Frieden um jeden Preis anraten. „Ich habe schon“, fügte Bubna hinzu, „viele Männer über den Frieden sprechen hören, keinen so entschieden wie Thugut“. Der Entwurf eines Friedenstraktats, von Liechtenstein eingesandt, bildete am 6. Oktober Gegenstand einer Konferenz, an welcher sich die Grafen Zichy, Bellegarde, O'Donnell und Metternich beteiligten; als Protokollführer war Hudelist tätig. Allgemein war man der Ansicht, daß sich die Lage seit den Altenburger Verhandlungen geändert habe. „Solange Provinzen da sind, können Abtretungen stattfinden, mit Geldforderungen ist die Sache sehr verschieden, der Feind kann hier das Mögliche erschöpfen, das Unmögliche fordern.“ In der Tat erörterte auch die Konferenz mehr die Geldleistungen als die Abtretung von Land und Leuten. Metternich meinte, man solle in letzterer Beziehung den Fürsten Liechtenstein nur anweisen, so viel als möglich herabzuhandeln; in Westgalizien müsse man die Weichsel als Grenze und Wieliczki zu retten suchen. Für Brody möge man lieber die Abtretung des Tarnopoler und Zalezczyker Kreises anbieten. Dem Großmeister des Deutschen Ordens und den andern Mitgliedern der kaiserlichen Familie sollte eine Entschädigung für ihre Verluste

ausgemittelt werden. Am bestimmten jedoch sprach man sich in der Beratung über die Geldentschädigung aus: 30 Millionen wurden als nicht zu übersteigendes Ultimatum angeboten, und zwar 15 Millionen in Bankozetteln, ebenso viel in Barem. Die an Liechtenstein erteilte Weisung wurde auch am 8. Oktober in diesem Sinne abgesandt. Vergebens bemühten sich die österreichischen Unterhändler, den französischen Minister zu erweichen und einen Nachlaß der Geldforderungen zu erwirken, oder mindestens annehmbarere Termine bezüglich der Bezahlung der Summen zu erlangen. Die Vorstellungen Liechtensteins und Bubnas machten auf den harten Sinn Champagnys keinen Eindruck; am 10. Oktober fanden drei Konferenzen statt, Champagny erklärte, Napoleon könne und werde nichts nachlassen. Liechtenstein suchte den Beweis zu erbringen, daß Österreich nicht mehr als 30 Millionen aufzubringen im Stande sei. Champagny drohte mit dem Abbruche der Verhandlungen; Liechtenstein und Bubna standen auf dem Sprunge, nach Totis zu reisen, als ein eigentümlicher Vorfall bewirkte, was Bitten und Überredungskunst nicht bewerkstelligt hatten. Der Mordversuch von Friedrich Stapf gegen Napoleon gab Veranlassung zu einem unerwartet raschen Abschluß der Verhandlungen. „Schließen Sie Frieden, ich will der Sache ein Ende machen“, bedeutete er dem Minister; er hatte keine Ruhe mehr in Schönbrunn. In der Tat beschäftigte sich in jenen Tagen mehr als ein aufgeregtes Hirn mit dem Gedanken, Napoleon aus dem Wege zu räumen. Die Friedensbedingungen waren hart. Österreich trat die Gebiete von Salzburg und Berchtesgaden sammt einem Teil von Oberösterreich ab; Gmunden wurde nur mühselig den Franzosen abgerungen; ferner die Grafschaft Görz, Monfalcone, Stadt und Gebiet von Triest, Krain mit den Enklaven, den Villacher Kreis in Kärnten, die am rechten Ufer der Save gelegenen Länder vom Austritte derselben bis an die bosnische

Grenze. Ferner die Herrschaft Razüns in Graubünden, die österreichischen Enklaven in Sachsen. Ganz Westgalizien, ein Bezirk um Krakau, der Zamosker Kreis in Ostgalizien fielen an Sachsen; Wieliczka sammt dem Gebiet der Salzbergwerke sollte Österreich und Sachsen gemeinschaftlich gehören. Die an Rußland fallenden Landstriche wurden in dem Vertrag nicht speziell bezeichnet, sondern nur die allgemeine Bestimmung aufgenommen, daß ein Strich Landes mit einer Bevölkerung von 400.000 Seelen in dem östlichsten Teile Altgaliziens, Brody jedoch nicht inbegriffen, abgetreten werden sollte. Die Demarkationslinie wurde durch eine Übereinkunft zwischen Österreich und Rußland erst im März 1810 festgesetzt. Österreich erkannte die Aufhebung des Deutschen Ordens an, ebenso auch die Veränderungen, die in Spanien, Portugal und in Italien eingetreten waren oder eintreten würden. In geheimen Artikeln wurden die Bestimmungen über das Heer und die Bezahlung der Kontribution vereinbart. Österreich sollte künftighin nicht mehr als 150.000 Mann unter den Fahnen halten. Die Geldforderung wurde auf 85 Millionen ermäßigt, wovon 30 Millionen bei der Räumung Wiens, 55 Millionen in Fristen abzutragen waren. Als Liechtenstein mit dem Vertrag am 15. Oktober in Totis ankam, begann die Beratung über die Annahme oder Nichtannahme. Am 16. einigten sich Zichy, O'Donnell und Metternich nach eingehender Prüfung der einzelnen Bestimmungen dahin, „daß dieses Friedensinstrument in seinem ganzen Gehalte, einige wenige Artikel ausgenommen, wirklich wesentliche Verschlimmerungen enthielte“. Hauptsächlich die Geldfrage erregte Anstoß. O'Donnell hatte schon in den letzten Wochen zu wiederholten malen erklärt, daß die Finanzverwaltung nicht anraten könne, solch enorme Verpflichtungen zu übernehmen. Nunmehr kamen die Drei zu dem Schluß, daß die Aufbringung der von Napoleon verlangten Summe nur durch



„gewaltige Maßnahmen“ möglich sei. Napoleon erwartete die Ratifikation des Friedensvertrags nicht in Wien. Am Tage nach der Unterzeichnung ratifizierte er den Vertrag und benachrichtigte davon den Kaiser in einem Schreiben vom 15. Oktober. Die Antwort von Bubna traf ihn nicht mehr in der österreichischen Hauptstadt.

Der große Versuch, die Herrschaft Napoleons zu brechen, war gescheitert; der europäische Kontinent sollte noch jahrelang unter dem Druck des brutalen Jochs leiden, ehe der Gedanke, welcher Stadions Politik leitete, sich verwirklichte. Zum Teil verschuldeten die mangelhaften Vorbereitungen den unglücklichen Ausgang des hart-

näckigen Krieges. Die düsteren Ahnungen des Erzherzogs Karl, der bei den Konferenzen „die sanguinischen Auseinandersetzungen“ des Grafen Stadion mit einem ungläubigen Lächeln aufnahm, hatten sich erfüllt; tief gedemütigt, mit großen Verlusten ging Österreich aus dem Kampfe hervor.

Vom österreichischen, ja auch vom europäischen Standpunkt aus, dürfte wol niemand jenes Jahr mit seinen wechselvollen Erfolgen missen wollen. Österreich zeigte damals zum erstmal, was es durch seine eigene Kraft zu leisten vermochte. An den früheren Kämpfen hatte es immer in Verbindung mit andern Staaten teilgenommen, jetzt stand es auf eigenen Füßen, und die Tapferkeit seiner Söhne nötigte den Zeitgenossen Bewunderung ab, obwohl kein glücklicher Erfolg die Bemühungen lohnte. Nicht leicht und mühelos wurde es dem Korse, trotz der begangenen Mißgriffe von Seiten der Führung, den Sieg an seine Adler zu ketten, und in ruhigen Augenblicken, wenn sein Sinn ihm ein unbefangenes Urteil gestattete, mußte er zugestehen, daß er auf österreichischem Boden einem nie geahnten Widerstande begegnet und eine tüchtige Kraft diesen Völkern innewohnte.

Wie leicht hatte er sich die Niederwerfung dieser nackten Soldaten, über welche er übermütig gespottet hatte, gedacht! Aber auch für Europa waren die Ereignisse des Jahres 1809 nicht verloren.

Spanien und Österreich wurden leuchtende Vorbilder, an welchen sich Tausende ermutigten und für die Ereignisse kommender Tage vorbereiteten. Welche Erfolge hätte man schon damals erringen können, wenn Österreich nur einigermaßen unterstützt worden wäre! Würde man sich am Königsberger Hofe im Mai aufgerafft haben, um dem Rache jener Männer zu folgen, die zum Losbruch rieten: die Oberherrlichkeit Napoleons wäre gebrochen worden. Einige tausend Mann mehr bei Wagram: und die Frucht späterer Jahre wäre früher gezeitigt worden. Stadion hatte diesem Staate zuviel zugetraut, die

Kräfte desselben allzu stark angespannt. Seine Berechnungen waren in der Tat sanguinische. Wenn er es auch im stillen glaubte, daß Österreich allein im Stande sein würde, das große Werk zu vollbringen, bei seiner Kenntnis der Persönlichkeiten sollte er auch den Charakter derselben berücksichtigen.

Auszug der Wiener-Zeitung vom 12. September 1809.

Großherzogthum Warschau.

Die polnischen Regimenter aus dem Herzogthum Warschau, nämlich das 13., 14., 15. und 16. von der Infanterie, und das 7., 8., 9. und 10. von der Kavallerie, nebst zwei Bataillone Jäger ...

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Das Galizien-französische Infanterie-Regiment, welches in Dublin bildet, wird von dem polnischen Obersten, Lte. von Tolunsky, commandirt. Es wird in Galizien auf ein kurassisches Regiment gubirt.



Der Hauptplatz in Ungarisch-Altenburg.

Ein echtes Musealstück.

Bernard Brinette

Ein autographierter Brief von Franz II, dem letzten Kaiser von Deutschland, geschrieben während der österreichischen Kampagne gegen Napoleon im Mai 1809: Kaiser Franz II von Habsburg und König von Österreich.



Brief von Franz II an Joseph von Habsburg.



Man kann heute sagen, daß der Krieg zwischen Frankreich und Österreich schon kurz nach der Revolution in Frankreich anfing. Als Napoleon an die Macht kam in 1799, hatten die französischen Armeen Frankreich bereits deutlich vergrößert, so wurden auch viele Länder des deutschen Kaiserreichs erobert. Alle diese (verlorenen)

Schlachten haben dazu geführt, daß Kaiser Franz nie mehr zu einem Kompromiß bereit gewesen war. So wurde der österreichische Widerstand gegen die napoleoni-sche Herrschaft nach den verlorenen Schlachten von Ulm, Wien und Austerlitz weiter vergrößert. Hinzu kam, daß Napoleon Kaiser Franz nicht mehr anerkannte und ihn destituierte. Während das Französische Imperium immer größer wurde, erhöhte sich auch der Widerstand in anderen besetzten Ländern besonders in Spanien, wo Frankreich im Kampf gegen die Aufständischen besonders viele Soldaten verlor.

Anfang 1809 schätzten deshalb die Österreicher Frankreich als so geschwächt ein, daß es sich lohnen würde gegen Napoleon einen neuen Krieg zu führen. Aber Kaiser Franz und seine Berater hatten sich getäuscht und die Französische Armee war noch so leistungsstark, daß dieser Aufstand sich sehr schnell zu einer großen Niederlage für die Österreicher und ihre Verbündeten entwickelte.

Die Franzosen brachten schon in den ersten Schlachten in Bayern (Regensburg, Eckmühl) den Österreichern schwere Niederlagen bei.

Die Österreichische Armee war deshalb gezwungen sich zurück-zuziehen und nach Wien zu bewegen. Kaiser Franz brauchte dringend Hilfe von seinen Brüdern, wie beispielsweise von Erzherzog Joseph, dem Empfänger des hier vorgestellten Briefes, der Regent von Ungarn in Budapest war. Der Brief zeigt, daß ein ständiger Kontakt zwischen beiden Persönlichkeiten bestand. Es ist aber bekannt, daß Joseph sich nie in diesen von Anfang an, verlorenen Feldzug einmischen wollte. Joseph wurde deshalb in Ungarn sehr verehrt, weil er so das Leben von tausenden jungen Ungarn rettete. Der Brief wurde am 8. Mai geschrieben. An diesem Datum hatte die österreichische königliche "Suite", das Schloß Schönbrunn bereits verlassen. Die Tochter

Marie-Louise wurde in Budapest bei Erzherzog Joseph untergebracht, während Kaiser Franz alles tat, um den Fortgang des Feldzuges in engem Kontakt mit der Armee zu überwachen. Wien wurde nach den ersten verlorenen Schlachten gezwun-genermaßen den Franzosen überlassen. Die österreichische Armee hielt sich aber noch auf der rechten Seite der Donau in der Wiener Umgebung auf. Es gab in den Wochen danach, zwei große Schlachten. Die erste in Eßling und die zweite in Wagram, wo die österreichische Armee endgültig verlor. Ein anderer Bruder von Franz, Erzherzog Karl entschloß sich den Frieden zu unterschreiben; ein ungün-stiger Frieden für Österreich, nachdem Napoleon sogar die Tochter von Kaiser Franz als Ehefrau gegeben wurde.

Die Übersetzung des Briefes:

Lieber Herr Bruder Erzherzog Joseph! Ihre beiden überfolgenden, Mir vom Hofkriegsrath zurückgestellten Noten, welche bereits durch Mein vom 30. April 1809 an Euer Liebden erlassenes Kabinettschreiben, die Erledigung erhalten habe, werden zum gehörigen Gebrauch übersendet.

Schrems, den 8. Mai 1809.

Historische Umstände der Redaktion dieses Briefes: Nochmals gilt unser herzlichen Dank Herrn Wöber, der uns eine genau ausgearbeitete Chronologie zum Leben von Kaiser Franz während dieser Zeit mitteilen konnte:

Am 10. April befand sich Kaiser Franz in Scharding, um den Übergang der Armee über den Inn zu beobachten. Anschließend hielt er sich wieder in Wien auf. Am 17. April nahm er an einer Prozession in Wien teil. Anschließend fuhr er nach Ungarn und bewohnte das Schloß Tata, wo am 28. April auch Kaiserin

Lieber Bruder Joseph! In beiden
erwähnten, Mit dem Kaiserlichen
zusammengestellten Räte, welche bereits
am 30. April 809 in Wien
über das kaiserliche Subsidien
die Forderung erfaßt haben,
wurde zum gehörigen Gebrauch
übergeben.
Wien den 8. May 809
Joseph

Ludovica eintraf. Am 3. Mai besichtigte er seine Truppen in Budweis. Die Schlacht bei Aspern besichtigte er vom Bisamberg nördlich der Donau aus und hielt sich bis zur Schlacht bei Wagram in Wolkersdorf auf.

Anfang Juli befand er sich in Komorn und am 16. oder 17. Juli traf er in Tet/Ungarn ein, um mit Johann und Joseph das weitere Vorgehen zu besprechen. Bis zu den Friedensverhandlungen im

Oktober hielt er sich in Ungarn (Schloß Tata) auf. Schrems liegt im Waldviertel im nördlichen Niederösterreich. Am 8. Mai schrieb er den Brief in Schrems. Er kam von Budweis.

Die Bestätigungen der Echtheit des Briefes:

Wenn man ein solches, besonderes Exemplar in die Hände bekommt, hat man fast den Eindruck etwas zu träumen. Aber nach Monaten von Forschungen, kann zweifelsfrei festgestellt werden, daß dieser Brief wirklich eine authentische Rarität ist.

Für den Brief wurde ein für die damalige Epoche typisches Papier mit waagrechten Linien (2 cm Abstand) als Wasserzeichen verwendet. Es handelt sich um einen zweimal gefalteten Bogen, dessen Größe etwas kleiner ist, als das bekannte Format A4.

Nicht weit vom Zentrum erscheint ein Zeichen VI.

Der Brief wurde, wie man an seinem Stil bemerken

kann, in

Eile geschrieben, während einer Reise des Kaisers von Tschechien nach Österreich. Anfang Mai.

Das Papier zeigt die üblichen Merkmale, die man von einem 200jährigen alten Papier erwartet.

Der Verfasser hat die damals übliche Tinte und einen Federkiel als Schreibgerät verwendet, was man an mehreren Stellen, kleine Tintenflecken erscheinen, sehen kann. Mit einer Lupe sieht man deutlich, daß die Tinte sich in das Papier gesaugt hat.

Der Inhalt des Briefes ist sicherlich ein wichtiger Punkt für die Authentizität. Herr Wöber ist ein Spezialist, der Jahre lang diese Periode studiert hat und der schon mehrere wichtige Publikationen zu diesem Feldzug verfasst hat.

Die Schrift und der Inhalt des Briefes, zeigen deutlich, daß es sich zweifelsfrei um einen Brief von Franz I

(II) handelt. Der Stil des Inhaltes ist sehr typisch für eine hohe Persönlichkeit dieser Zeit. Aber am wichtigsten ist **die Unterschrift**. Wir konnten mit Professor Ernst Gamillscheg aus Wien Kontakt aufnehmen. Er ist der Direktor der Handschriften, Autographen und Nachlaß-Sammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien. Er hat uns schriftlich bestätigt, **daß es sich bei der Namensunterschrift sicher um Franz I (II) von Österreich handelt!**

Er hat auch bestätigt, daß der Text des Briefes selbst allerdings auf einen abweichenden Duktus weist. Dieses Element spricht noch deutlicher für die Echtheit des Briefes.

Ich glaube, daß aus diesen Gründen der Brief einen besonderen historischen Wert hat. Ich würde ihn für (nur) 1000€ verkaufen.

Einen anderen interessanten Brief den ich auch besitze.

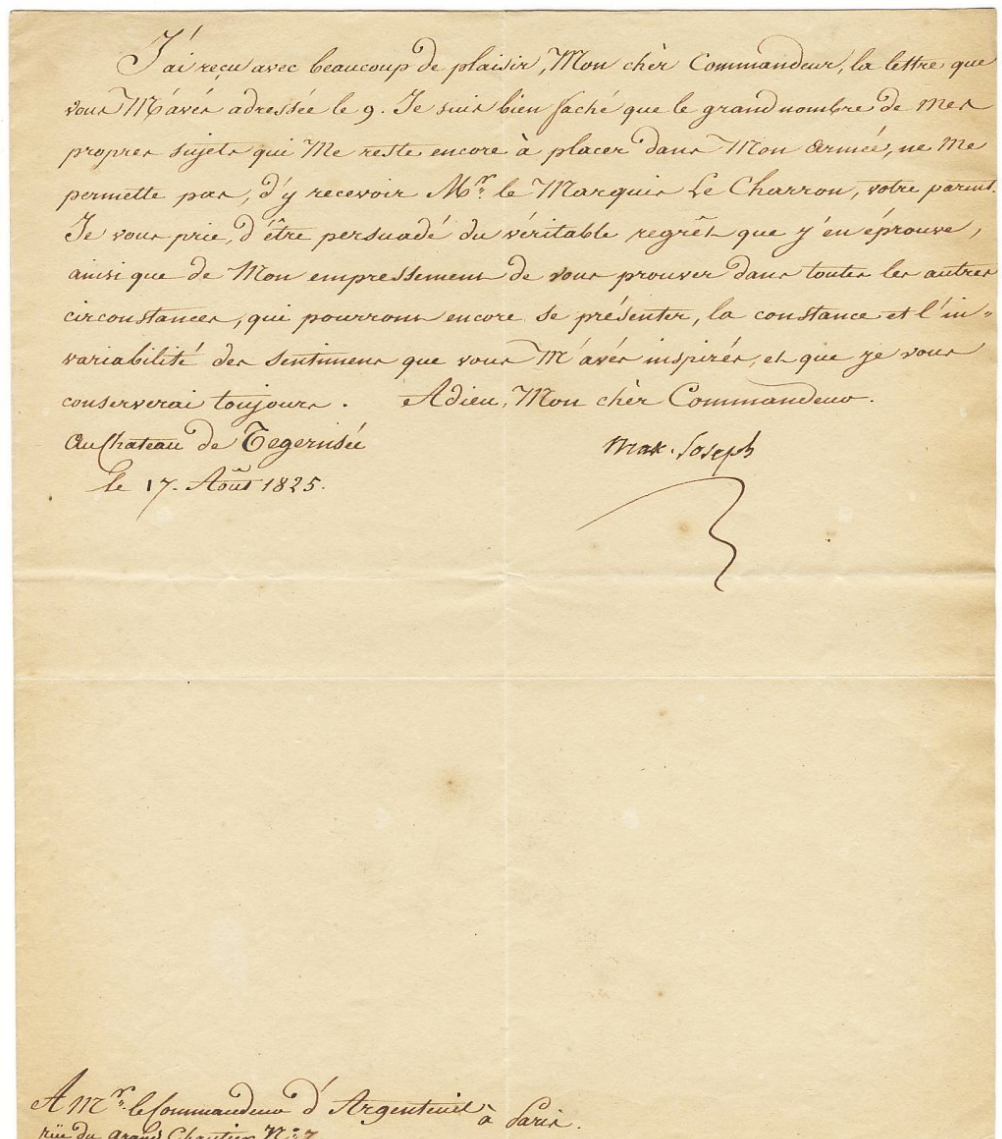
Er wurde vom ersten König von Bayern, Maximilian Joseph am 17. August 1825 geschrieben.

Man kann an seiner zittrigen Unterschrift gut erkennen, daß er zu diesem Zeitpunkt schon schwer krank war.

Er starb an seiner Krankheit dann am 13. Oktober 1825. ■

Ich würde ihn für 200€ verkaufen.

Kontakt: Bernard Brinette
bernard.brinette@philclub.net



Early Greek Fire.

Thomas Zacharis

In AD 500 *magister militum* Bitalianos, commander of the Roman army and fleet on the Danube River rose in revolt against Eastern Roman emperor Anastasius I Dicorus. Bitalianos claimed it was due to his disapproval of the emperor's Miaphysite religious policies, but in reality he simply had ambitions toward seizing the imperial throne. His army was mainly made up of Hunnish *foederati* (foreign mercenaries under contract). Anastasius responded by dispatching two armies against him: one commanded by his nephew, Hypatios, the other under General Kyrillos. Both forces, however, were destroyed by Bitalianos, who then advanced to the village Sykies outside the walls of Constantinople. In the palace, Anastasius held a military council. A short time earlier, Admiral Marinos had returned from Athens, bringing with him Proclos, the dean of the city's academy. "Philosopher," Anastasius asked, "what will I do with this dog Bitalianos and his Hunnish troops outside the City?" Proclos answered, "I prepared this white material, which produces fire so as to use it against him." Surprisingly, however, the imperial field officers refused to use it. "We are friends with Bitalianos," one protested, "and if he gets into the city he will punish us." To that, the emperor screamed, "Get out of here at once!" Proclos then turned to Marinos and told him: "Listen, admiral, give this white material to your marines and order them when the sun rises to drop it on the Hunnish fleet, wherever they are billeted in wooden camps, on their buildings and their siege machines. The imperial navy carried out that order, starting fires in the Hunnish fleet that spread panic among the crews,

who dived into the sea to escape the flames. Bitalianos, too, panicked and retreat to Danube, from which his scalp was subsequently sent as gift and peace offering from the Hunnic khan to the victorious Anastasius. Proclos return in Athens with the emperor's protection and a generous reward in gold, while Marinos became prime minister. Back in his laboratory, according to a contemporary historian, Proclos succeeded in splitting a molecule into smaller atoms, which under the heat of sun rays produced fire. Seven hundred years later, during the Mongol invasion of the Middle East, the director of intelligence for the Egyptian Mamelukes called Al-Rumi ("the Greek"), maintained a network of agents who brought with them sacks filled with a white material that they dropped on the pastures. The substance could produce fire even in the winter, depriving the Mongol cavalry feed for their horses. Did the Mamelukes discover Proclos' secret formula in a book in the now-lost library of Alexandria? We don't know, but we suspect some connection.

The Battle of Znojmo/ Znaim 1809.

A redoubt and two types of mass graves of fallen soldiers.

Jaromír Kovárník

Abstract:

The battle of the retreat near Znojmo (German Znaim) in 1809 followed in the war of the fifth coalition between the troops of the Austrian Emperor Francis II (or I) under the command of Archduke Charles of Austria, Duke of Teschen (5 September 1771-30 April 1847) and the military corps of Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte I (15 August 1769-5 May 1821) after the Battle of Wagram (5-6 July 1809). An armistice was signed in a farmhouse „Roter

Hof“ in the village Suchohrdly at Znojmo on 12 July 1809. A very interesting find is the pentagonal ground plan of the redoubt. We found this fortification in a strategic location on one of the hills between the town of Znojmo and the village of Přímětice (German Brenditz). It is significant that the small castle in the village of Přímětice, the summer residence of the Ugarte family, housed the military headquarters of the Austrian Emperor's troops. This redoubt could possibly be part of the defense against the French's advance towards the village of Přímětice. We know that Austrian troops operated in this area on 10-11. July 1809. Redoubt is quite old. We will therefore further research the dating of this. Very interesting objects include, for example, the vertebra with a projectile. It is a find from a mass grave near the village of Suchohrdly (German Zuckerhandl). It is one of the evidences of serious injuries of soldiers, which bring with them wars. The French army had the military headquarters in the village of Suchohrdly. Therefore, fierce fighting took place here. Previously was published an article on the archaeological research of mass graves from the Battle of Znojmo in 1809. There were a total of 58 human skeletons or parts of them in mass graves. The basic characteristic of mass graves of the Battle near Znojmo on 10-11 July 1809, Brněnská Street no. 2937/21, is the fact that all six graves had very shallow grave pits. Skeletons of soldiers were placed in several layers above each other in antipodal position. All graves were very poor on archaeological finds. It is obvious that fellow soldiers of fallen soldiers used undamaged parts of their suits and equipment for further use. However, some valuable or interesting things were found. The soldiers fell or died in the battle of Znojmo according to anthropological research aged between 15 and 40-50 years. The most numerous group was 16-19 years of age. It points to the fact that by 1809, a male population

aged 20-30 was exhausted in the Napoleonic wars. We do not exclude that this statistics were influenced by the inexperience of young soldiers in combat.

Anthropological studies have shown that over half of the skeletons exhibited pathological changes for lack of nutritious diet, long and exhausting marches, and poor hygienic conditions. Numerous were injuries mostly fire open and fragmented.

Key words: Napoleonic wars 1809 – Znojmo – redoubt – 2 types of mass graves (during and after battle).

Introduction.

The Battle of Znojmo/Znaim was not just an episode of the Napoleonic Wars period.

It became the finale of important battles of Aspern, Essling and Wagram in the political game concerning the Spanish throne.

The mentioned war campaign was the height not only of the efforts to secure the Spanish throne. At that time, Napoleon Bonaparte developed a plot much bigger ready (concerning not only Spain) and his influence grew largely. Arbitrating the dispute between the Spanish King Charles IV and his son Ferdinand, the Emperor installed his brother Joseph twice to the Spanish throne.

The “revolutionary Emperor” Napoleon was highly interested in dethroning the Spanish King Charles IV. It was invoked both by the necessity to remove the last Bourbon and by the pursuit to fulfil the testament of the French King Louis XIV, according to which one single sovereign should rule in France and Spain. Therefore, the family conflict over the Spanish crown that had started between the King Charles IV, the queen, her lover minister Godoy, and Prince Ferdinand VII suited Napoleon very much. Napoleon settled the dispute in Bayonne, where he summoned the quarrelling Spanish royal family. Napoleon took advantage of the abdication of the King Charles IV, who refused, however, to pass the crown

to his son at the same time, and enthroned his own brother Joseph I. The Emperor made the most of this situation with a very smart political move (Jover Zamora 1999, 385-391; Ferro 2006, 189-190). Napoleon’s immense interest in the Iberian Peninsula and its occupation was based on the efforts to prevent military and trade penetration of the Englishmen, the masters of seas, at the time of the continental blockade.

However, the French campaign gave rise to the War of Independence in Spain in years 1808-1814 that subsequently ignited the Patriotic War in Russia in 1812 and the War of Liberation in Germany in 1813. The Spanish War of Independence was the reason for the abdication of the King Charles IV. Juntas came to power on behalf of Ferdinand VII in various parts of the country that set afoot the bourgeois revolution (Jover Zamora 1995, 381).

Austria suffered a defeat in years 1800-1801 (Švankmajer 1995, 218). The defeat of joint Austrian and Russian armies of Generals Mack and Kutuzov at Austerlitz on December 2nd 1805 had much heavier impact (Ferro 2006, 187). Austria lost Tyrol, Venetia, larger part of Istria and Dalmatia with the peace signed in Bratislava (Havránek 1968, 45-46; Hlavačka 2002, 368-369). On the other hand, it did not give up the aspiration to oppose Napoleon’s dominance in Europe as a Central European great power (with its economical and political ambitions). The total number of combatants amounted to 150,000 at the Battle of Austerlitz.

The Battle of Znojmo/Znaim 1809.

A redoubt and two types of mass graves of fallen soldiers in 1809, mainly because the Grande Armée of Napoleon Bonaparte numbering 150,000 men took part in military operations in Spain. The Austrian Emperor Francis I came to the conclusion, therefore,

that Napoleon’s forces were divided and that the fitting moment to defeat him had come. However, Napoleon calculated with military help from the Russian tsar Alexander I in accordance with promises made in Erfurt during the campaign against Austria (Ferro 2006, 190). The Austrians began to incite the army and the population against Napoleon through German national thinking and Czech patriotism, even in the form of Hussite traditions.

A ground defense was established to strengthen the defense forces, but all preparations were not provided financially, so the weapons were not repaired in either quantity or quality. On the 9 April 1809, Austria started a war of the Fifth Coalition against France. The war took place on Austrian territory. Napoleon ruled Vienna (Havránek 1968, 46). In the ensuing battle of Aspern and Essling on 21-22 May 1809 (cf detailed Wöber 2018; here more references), for the first time, Napoleon’s army began to show shortcomings in its composition, when it consisted of soldiers from enslaved nations who, unlike the Austrians (and later the Russians in 1812), had no emotional interest in further fighting. The French soldiers were already showing the gradual disappearance of the euphoria of the great revolution, partly due to the long-lasting struggles that brought the soldiers war misery and hardships.

The retreat Battle of Znojmo/Znaim (*Fig. 1*) took place on 10 and 11 July 1809 (*Fig. 2-3*) followed an important Battle at Wagram between Emperor Napoleon I Bonaparte and Austrian Emperor Francis II on 5-6 July 1809. The French army, under the command of Emperor Napoleon with about 141,000 soldiers, has moved to Znaim (*Fig. 4*). The Austrian troops in the number of about 40/47-60 thousand soldiers (Baker 2006, 1112), under the command of Archduke Charles manoeuvred around the town from Oblekovice-/Oblas in the south through Dob-

šice/Klein Teßwitz in the south-east, Suchohrdly/Zuckerhandl in the east, Kuchařovice/Kukrowitz in the northeast of Přímětice/Brenditz in the north in three positions. The Austrian troops, in the number of about 60 thousand soldiers, occupied the defensive positions of the town of Znojmo/Znaim in the shape of an arc from the south through the east to the north. The General Staff of the Austrian troops was established in the small castle of the Count Ugarte large farm in Přímětice/Brenditz

Archduke Charles housed the adjacent presbytery since 9 July. The chasing XI Army of Marshal August Frederic Louis Marmont (20 July 1774-2 March 1852) reinforced by the 2nd Bavarian Division and later also the army corps No. IV under the command of Marshal André Masséna advanced in the direction of Nový Šaldorf/Neu Schallersdorf, Obekovice/ Oblas (Fig. 6) and Dobšice/Klein Teßwitz. The French Emperor, who arrived with the main military forces later, planned to bypass the Austrian troops from northeast through the village Suchohrdly/ Zuckerhandl towards Přímětice/Brenditz.

The citizens of Znojmo made several records of this battle near Znojmo in 1809. One of them is a note in the diary of Johann Slowak (1783-1844), the owner of a majolica manufactory in Znojmo. He noted: "The French enemy came to Znojmo for the second time on the 11th of July, 1809. They stayed for 17 weeks and then left on 4 November 1809." The parish priest from Přímětice/Brenditz wrote in the chronicle that on Saturday, 9 July before the battle, Archduke Charles held in the presbytery a banquet for 300 official guests in the twelve rooms of the presbytery from 9 am to 10 pm. The parish priest further stated that all the houses in the village were abandoned at that time. He also complained that he had to remind the Austrian army command to pay for the banquet. In Znojmo/ Znaim, Kovářská Street no. 19 a parchment was discovered (dating to 1842) with a memorial

record of the then owner of the burgher house Johann Höck (Bína 1988). The parchment document states that Marshal Masséna attacked the city several times. These attacks were repulsed by a Battalion of Viennese military volunteers under the command of Major Count Salis. After signing of the ceasefire. Many thanks to Mr. Libor Slovák from Znojmo, a descendant of Johann Slowak, for donating this document.

J. Slowak's *Czerwence Roku 1809 Tade bili 17 Neděl pak šli přič šli přič dne 4 Měsíce Listopad 1809 Roko*. Native language was Czech in a dialect of southwestern Moravia: „ ... Podrohi fran. Nepřítel přišel do znoima dne 11 Měsíce,

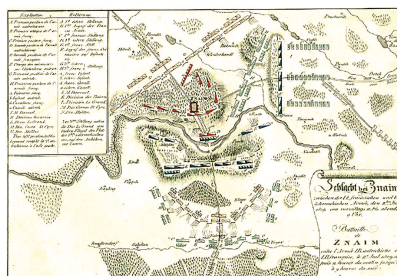


Fig. 1 Historical military map of the Battle of Znojmo/Znaim 1809 (after Rehm 1809-1810?)

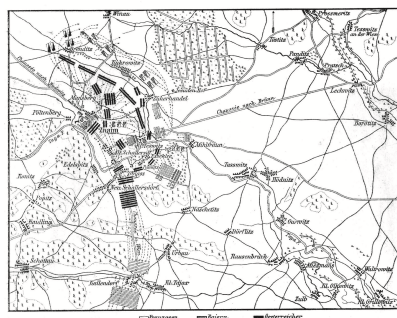


Fig. 2 Military map of battle positions of Austrian, Bavarian and French troops on day 1 of the Battle of Znojmo/Znaim.

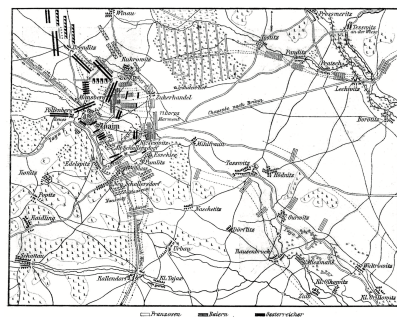


Fig. 3 Military map of battle positions of Austrian, Bavarian and French troops in the battle of Znojmo on 11 July 1809.



Fig.4 Albrecht Adam. French troops near the village of Dyje/Mühlfraun not far from Znojmo/Znaim at the time of the battle in 1809, pen-and-ink drawing (according to Mžýková 1995, cat. no. 210).



Fig. 5 Přímětice/Brenditz. Photograph of Count Ugarte's farmhouse, for the General Staff of the Austrian troops.



Fig. 6 Anonym. Scenery of the battles for the bridge in Obekovice/Oblas 1809.

The French troops occupied the part of Brno and Znojmo regions for 110 days. Homeowners (in Znojmo) had to support 2, 4, 6, 10 or more French soldiers at a good level. The document further states that the French behaved well as enemies. The population of not only Moravia but also Bohemia was interested in the battle of Znojmo / Znaim in 1809. Czech patriotism and desires for the originality of the Czech nation were encouraged by reports of very good combat activities Army Corps No. III of the Field Armorer Count Kolowrat and Army Corps No. VI of the Field Lieutenant Marshal Count of Klenová (Klatovy District)/Klenau in this battle against Napoleon (Polišenský 1971,

92). Army Corps No. III arrived in Oblekovice/Oblas on 10 July, defended and subsequently crossed the local bridge over the Dyje with strategic importance. Count Kolowrat's Infantry Regiment no. 36 was especially famous here. Army Corps No. III then bypassed the city of Znojmo/Znaim to the north. Field Armourer Count Kolowrat took up positions to the left of the Army Corps No. I to defend a very important road from Znojmo/Znaim to Přímětice/Brenditz (and further in the direction of Moravské Budějovice/Mährisch Budweis). Field Marshal Count of Klenová/Klenau with his Army Corps No. VI defended the city of Hollabrunn to keep Napoleon's army from pursuing. The Archduke Charles, Generalissimo, therefore awarded him the Commander's Cross of Maria Theresia on behalf of Emperor Francis for his bravery. For the first time, official propaganda by the Austrian Empire allowed appeals against Napoleon as the will of individual nations, not as an earlier official position of „the will of the Almighty.“ The greed of the „French system“ was emphasized (Polišenský 1971, 92-93).

Many researchers dealt with the course of the Battle of Znojmo in 1809. These include J. Wisnar (1910), J. H. Gill (1992; 2020), or L. Mucha (2002 etc.), who significantly contributed both to the refinement of knowledge and the presentation of the described historical events.

Field relic of the redoubt.

This field relic of the fortification is situated in a strategic location Town grove (historical German name Kühberg) on one of the hills between the town of Znojmo and the village of Přímětice/Brenditz. This monument is situated at spot height of 315.42 m above sea level. It is significant that the small castle/farmhouse in the village of Přímětice, the summer residence of the family Count Ugarte (Fig.5), housed the military headquarters of the Austrian Emperor's troops.

This redoubt could possibly be part of the defense against the French's advance towards the village of Přímětice. It is known that Austrian troops operated in this area on 11. July 1809 (Fig. 3). Austrian troops are shown in the places where the redoubt was found on a map of the fighting of July 11, 1809.

The redoubt is oriented southwest towards the city of Znojmo. The northeastern part of the redoubt is the right edge of the road from Znojmo to Unanov/Winau. The approximate lengths of the sides inside the ditch are as follows.

The northwest side has a length of about 21.40 m, similarly the southwest side about 25.20 m, the south about 19.40 m, the southeast about 31.70 m and the northeast side about 29.50 m. The moat has a preserved width of about 6.10 m up to 10.30 m. The rampart is up to 4.50 m wide. The remains of the rampart are about 1.37 m high (minimum altitude 315.18 and maximum 316.55 m). The ditch has the greatest preserved depth of about 1.61 m (minimum altitude 314.04 and maximum 315.65 m above sea level). The redoubt is quite old. The ground plan of this redoubt is already shown on the map of the 2nd Military Survey (from the Austrian State Archive/Military Archive in Vienna), which dates from the years up 1836 to 1852. It is noteworthy that the surrounding area is here named as a military exercise area/Exerzierplatz. It should be noted that in the complex of buildings of the abolished Premonstratensian monastery in Louka/Kloster Bruck, the Engineers/Sappers Academy was established based on the imperial decision of February 24, 1851, which was transformed into a military quarters in 1869 (Hosák-Zemek 1981, 272; Kroupa 1997, 48-50). Between the founding of the Military Engineering/Sappers Academy in 1851 and the end of 2nd Military Survey in 1852, less than two years passed. It would be a big coincidence if the redoubt was built at that time and then surveyed. Colonel Gustav Konrad, commander of the Engineering/

Sappers Academy in Znojmo-Louka/Kloster Bruck, elaborated a report on April 12, 1861, stating that *“...students study fortifications, but never see them, study artillery, but never see artillery battery ... simply study the prescribed fields, but only as abstract subjects.”*

It is clear from this report that the students did not participate in any construction of the redoubt until the abolition of the Engineering/Sappers Academy in Znojmo-Louka/Kloster Bruck (Kroupa 1997, 48). It can be therefore assume that the described redoubt probably could date back to the period preceding the beginning of the 2nd Military Survey in 1836.

Earlier finds of other mass graves.

Other finds are in the collections of the South Moravian Museum in Znojmo. In the village of Suchohrdly/Zuckerhandl, the Military Napoleon's army occupied the large farm „Rother Hof“ where the General Staff of the army of Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte worked. The French adjusted a field military hospital in the farm, where Emperor Napoleon had the best surgeons of the time, Dominique Jean Larrey, Alexandre-Urbain Yvan or Pierre-François Percy (Kovářík 2018, 210). Very noteworthy is the discovery of a vertebra with a shot projectile (Fig. 7) from the village of Suchohrdly. It can be assumed that other skeletons and amputated limbs will be found in a mass grave or more graves near the premises of the large farm „Roter Hof“ (Red Farm) in the village of Suchohrdly/Zuckerhandl near Znojmo.



Fig. 7 Suchohrdly/Zuckerhandl. The vertebra with a shot projectile, a lead bullet with a calibre of 13,825 mm (South Moravian Museum Znojmo, inv. no. A 24447).

Massgraves near Dobšice.

It is needed to return to the find of soldier mass graves from the Battle of Znojmo/Znaim in 1809. The building operation of the Interspar hypermarket in Znaim, Brněnská Street, was carried out in the battlefield (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8 Znojmo. Situational map of the battlefield with the location of the bridge in Oblekovice/Oblas (1), mass graves near Dobšice/Klein Tesswitz (2), the redoubt in Městský lesík/Town grove (3), the military headquarters of the Napoleon's army in Suchohrdly/Zuckerhandl (4) and Austrian Emperor's troops in Přímětice/Brenditz (5), scale 1 : 60480 (after <https://ags.cuzk.cz/av/>).

Six mass graves with fallen 52 soldiers and one woman were found at the edge of the left terrace the Thaya River along the road leading from Northeast to Southwest from the village of Starý Šaldorf/Alt Schallersdorf on the southern suburbs of Znaim to the village of Dobšice/ Klein Teßwitz. Five skeletons could not be determined anthropologically. Was needed to excavate the mass graves from no. I to VI and to save these graves for destruction during construction work. In the course of their scientific evaluation were gained new information on both the reconstruction of the battle, the soldiers' health and the form of mass graves. These are mass graves from the battlefield.

Recapitulation of archaeological finds.

From the overview of these findings, it is clear that in the mass graves were not buttons of military

uniforms (cf. Kovárník – Horácková – Vargová – Vachunková – Mucha 2006, 322). It could indicate that the fallen soldiers were buried without uniforms. Clearly the most valuable archaeological find alongside the remnants of fallen soldiers, which are decorated with piety, was the archaeological find of a large silver coin (Kovárník – Horácková – Vargová – Vachunková – Mucha 2006, Fig. 9/10).

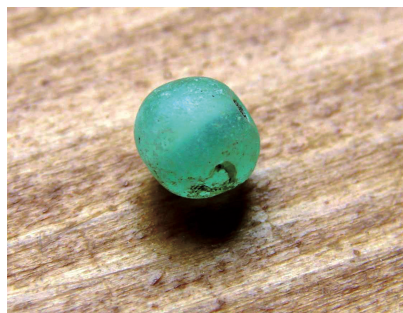


Fig. 9 Znojmo, Brněnská street. The small bead made out of light green glass from the mass grave no. V (skeleton no. V/3), (according to Kovárník – Horácková – Vargová – Vachunková – Mucha 2006).



Fig. 10 Znojmo, Brněnská street. The silver écu from the mass grave no. I (skeleton no. I/2).



Fig. 11 Znojmo, Brněnská street. The silver écu from the mass grave no. I (skeleton no. I/2), reverse (according to Kovárník – Horácková – Vargová – Vachunková – Mucha 2006).

These coins (Fig. 10, 11) was found on the chest skeleton of male skeleton no. 2 in the mass grave no. I. The coin is a silver écu is the excavation of the French King Louis XV (Sejbal 1997, 250–251).

The finding of the silver écu proves unambiguously that the killed soldiers discovered in the mass graves belonged to French troops in most cases. We know that the Army Corps No. XI (the so-called Dalmatian Army) was engaged in the combat here under the command of Division General and later Marshal Auguste-Frédéric-Louis de Marmont. The Army Corps No. V of Prince Reus-Plauen stood against them. The finding is important not only because it is a discovery of mass graves on the very battlefield, but also because it is the first case of unambiguously identified graves thanks to the described French silver coin.

Determination of two types of mass graves of fallen soldiers.

The results of rescue archaeological research have provided clear data on the typology of mass graves, which are located in the places of the battle of Znojmo/Znaim in 1809. The mass graves of fallen soldiers can be divided into two basic types. Graves no. I and no. II were very disturbed. Grave pit no. III had an irregular shape (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12 Znojmo, Brněnská street. Photograph of the makeshift (battle) mass grave no. III with the skeletons of 14 fallen soldiers from the first group of graves, probably placed in the pit after the exploded ammunition.

There were skeletons of 14 individuals in it, which were in a random position. At work, this grave can

be described as a battle, provisional. It was not a deliberately excavated grave pit, but probably a pit created by an explosion of ammunition. The fallen soldiers were probably only quickly pulled into this pit. Body of soldiers were laid in a mess. The mass graves no. IV–VI from the second group are completely different. The grave pits were carefully excavated. The described type of graves can be named as regular. However, these are not graves that complied with all funeral rules, ie regular deep graves. These graves could have arisen only after the battle, or in a longer period of „ceasefire“. The bodies of fallen soldiers in such graves were stacked on top of each other vice versa in anti-podal position as is customary in military mass graves. For example, in grave pit no. V, 200 cm long, 110 cm wide and 40 cm deep, 10 skeletons were closely placed. In the first completely lower layer D (Fig. 13) and the second layer C (Fig. 14), three and three skeletons were uncovered. There were then two and two skeletons in the third B (Fig. 15) and fourth A upper layers (Fig. 16). It is therefore very likely that all these shallow mass graves were covered by a small borrow. Therefore, after the erosion of this borrow, graves of this type were frequently damaged during plowing of the fields. There have been such cases.

The common feature of all mass graves was that they were either completely free of finds or only with trifles. Only on the bony thorax of the skeleton of man no. 2 (24-30 years) in grave no. I was a large silver coin (écu from 1768, minting of the King of France Louis XV: Fig. 10-11).

Fig. 13 Znojmo, Brněnská street. Plan of the mass grave no. V from the second group of graves with skeletons of fallen soldiers from the first upper layer A, placed in a shallow grave pit, scale 1:20.

Fig. 14 Znojmo, Brněnská street. Photograph of the mass grave no. V from the second group of graves with skeletons of fallen soldiers from the second layer B, placed in a shallow grave pit.

Fig. 15 Znojmo, Brněnská street. Plan of the mass grave no. V from the second group of graves with skeletons of fallen soldiers from the third layer C, placed in a shallow grave pit, scale 1 : 20.

Fig. 16 Znojmo, Brněnská street. Plan of the mass grave no. V from the second group of graves with skeletons of fallen soldiers from the fourth lower layer D, placed in a shallow grave pit, scale 1:20.

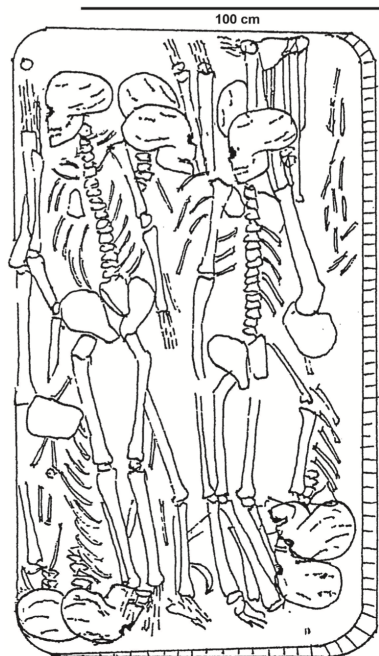


Fig. 13



Fig. 14

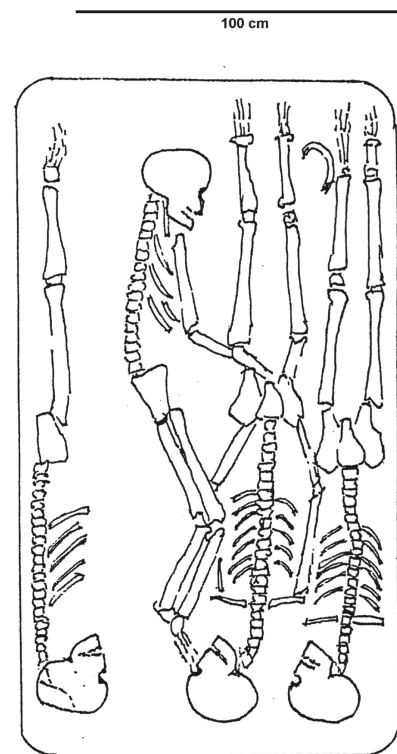


Fig. 15

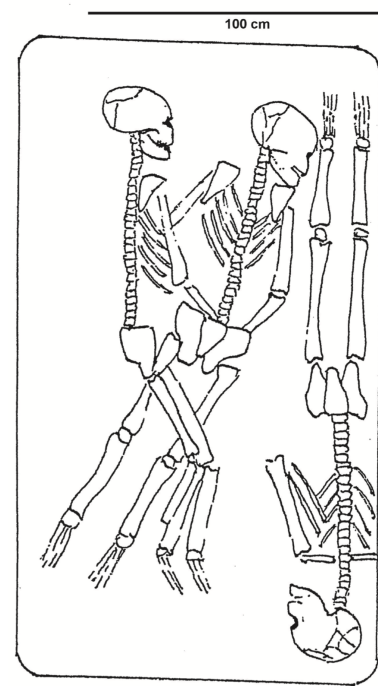


Fig. 16

Results of anthropological analysis.

We thank very much our colleagues L. Horáčková, L. Vargová and A. Vachunková for anthropological analyzes of rescued 58 skeletons from the graves. The analyzed male skeletons were 52 and one was female skeleton. The average age of the fallen soldiers from the explored mass graves was very low (Kovárník – Horáčková – Vargová – Vachunková – Mucha 2006, 322–326).

From the anthropological analysis of the skeletons, the conclusion is that the army (of Emperor Napoleon) was forced to recruit in 1809 young soldiers, especially at the age of boys aged from 15 to 19 years, juvenis. It follows from this finding that at that time there was already a shortage of the team at the optimum age of 20 or 30 years, adultus I and adultus II. We further infer that the young soldiers did not have enough combat experience and therefore very often fell in a battle (Kovárník – Horáčková – Vargová – Vachunková – Mucha 2006, 322).

Long, exhausting marches resulted in a very frequent occurrence of a foot lesion (calcar calcaneare) among fallen soldiers. Such a large joint wear occurs only after the age of 40. Inflammatory changes (periostitis) were also analyzed on the blades of the fallen.

Changes on the shoulder blades could have been the result of a heavy load on this part of the back while wearing very heavy military equipment, but also the result of physical punishment. Severe war injuries were mostly the gunshot wounds. The result was open and fragmented fractures with fragments that threatened the surrounding tissues.

The symptoms of syphilis have been occurred. The signs of syphilis at a very young soldier from 18 to 20 years, the skeleton no. 7 from the mass grave no. V prove the inborn origin (from the mother's womb) of this disease. Pathological changes were noted

on the ribs of the female skeleton no. 4 from the grave no. II. They are a symptom of longer-lasting tuberculosis.

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For example, in grave pit no. V, 200 cm long, 110 cm wide and 40 cm deep, 10 skeletons were closely placed. In the first completely lower layer D (Fig. 13) and the second layer C (Fig. 14), three and three skeletons were uncovered. There were then two and two skeletons in the third B (Fig. 15) and fourth A upper layers (Fig. 16). It is therefore very likely that all these shallow mass graves were covered by a small borrow.

Therefore, after the erosion of this borrow, graves of this type were frequently damaged during

plowing of the fields. There have been such cases.

The common feature of all mass graves was that they were either completely free of finds or only with trifles. Only on the bony thorax of the skeleton of man no. 2 (24-30 years) in grave no. I was a large silver coin (écu from 1768, minting of the King of France Louis XV: Fig. 21-22).

Conclusions.

Archaeological and paleoanthropological studies of skeletons from mass graves of soldiers from the Battlefield of the Battle of Znaim 1809 widen the knowledge of Napoleonic wars.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the remains of soldiers from mass graves I-VI were secondarily buried with a pieta in a new common grave in the cemetery of the former village of Starý Šaldorf/Alt Schallersdorf, today Znojmo-Léry, Brněnská street, not far from the site of the mass graves. Also present were experts participating in the international conference „200. anniversary of the battle of Znojmo 1809–2009“ (Brno – Znojmo, 25–26 June 2009). In honor of the funeral of the remains of fallen soldiers, a ceremonial salvo was fired from rifles of members of the Military History Club k.u.k. Field Hunter „Kopal“ Battalion No. 10 Znojmo on 26 June 2009.

Further negotiations with the Municipal Office in Znojmo in 2019 aimed at building a dignified memorial at this grave. Texts in the Czech, French and German languages, as well as a working design of the monument, were prepared and subsequently handed over.

Annual commemorative events are held at the memorial on the anniversary of the Battle of Znojmo.

This is a shorter version. For further information please have a look at the original given in

Archeology of Conflicts II
Pavel Drnovský – Petr Hejhal –
Ladislav Rytíř



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*Ferdi Irmfried Wöber
Honorary Secretary.*

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*David Markham sent me this
message and asked about my
interest. Of course, David, I liked
to read it and I am sure, more will
do it too.*

Many thanks.

Soldiers' letters related to the campaign in Austria, 1809.

Jonas Dee Neef

*In June 1809, this soldier wrote
to his family from the Austrian
capital. In particular, after
mentioning his involvement at the
battle of Essling, Bellot describes
his uniform in detail and
announces that he has just been
appointed corporal in the line
troops (1) :*

At Vienna, this 30 June 1809.

My dear father and mother,
I received your letter on the 30th
of May, which delighted me to
learn that you are in perfect

health. As for myself, I am doing
well at present. I hope this letter
finds you and the whole family
well too.

I will tell you that we fought on
Pentecost (2), throughout the day.
I will tell you that we are waiting
every day for orders to return to
the action.

My dear godmother, please let me
know what corps my comrade
Caillon serves in and in what
company. I would very much like
to know.

My dear father, please pass on my
compliments to Mr. Tesserau, his
wife and the whole family. I will
tell you, my dear father, that I
have been appointed corporal in
the line forces, but I have not yet
departed. Some have, there are
others who have stayed; I am one
of them. I can tell you that we are
well dressed. We have white
breeches, black gaiters and a short
coat, (with) red trim(s), a shako, a
red cord and a white and red
plume, and we don't lack shoes.

My dear father, I can tell you that
my friend Picon is doing well at
the moment, as is my friend
Michaud.

My dear brothers, please let me
know where you are employed as
servants.

My dear father, please convey my
compliments [to] my younger
cousin Giraud. I would ask him to
pass on my compliments to my
cousin, that I am doing well.

I finish my letter with a heartfelt
embrace,

Jacques Bellot, tirailleur
grenadier of the Imperial Guard,
First Company, First Battalion, at
the Grande Armée in Vienna,
Jacques Bellot.

And you will answer me
immediately. You will tell me if
they took the rest of the four
years (of pay?). I can tell you that
my bedfellow is from Melle.

To Mr. Pierre Bellot, residing at
Bougoin, municipality of Fressines,
Deux-Sèvres Department, at Poitou,

letter remaining at Saint-Maixent,
France.

Notes

(1) Archives of the Deux-Sèvres
Department, 4 U 1265.

(2) The battle of Essling took place on
Sunday 21 May and Monday 22 May 1809.

*Pierre François Narpin recounts
in his letter the engagements
fought throughout the campaign:*

*In the camp at Krems, this 2
October 1809.*

My dear father,
I am writing to inform you of the
state of your health. As far as I
am concerned, it is very good at
present. I hope that this letter
finds you the same way, as well
as my mother-in-law, and my
brother, and my sister, and my
godmother, whom I wish good
health, as well as my godfather,
whom I embrace with all my heart.

My dear [father],
I am very surprised that you have
not replied to my letter from
Ragusa in Dalmatia. I have not
been able to write you anything
else since that time, because we
have been on campaign since 12
March. We have been fighting
with the Austrians.

We fought on 17 May. A very
bloody engagement took place
when we departed from Dalmatia
and another at Gospic on 21 May.
From there, we proceeded to
Vienna without any engagements.

On 6 July, another battle was won
where we engaged in fierce
fighting, on the plain of Vienna
(Wagram); and on 10 and 11 July
at Znaïm, very bloody clashes
took place. We were victorious in
every instance. We gained territory
as a result of the fighting. We took
a very large number of prisoners
and we had great difficulty in
withdrawing owing to the strength
(size) of the Austrian army. We
fought with subtlety and did not
lose a single engagement during
our campaign. Our army passed
through regions beyond description,
over mountains with no provisions
to be found, nothing but a little

flour that we found in the houses. You can imagine, my dear father, the misery we witnessed in those countries. But thank God I came out of it in good health. We are now camped at Krems, sixteen leagues from Vienna in Austria, on the banks of the Danube; as far as the war is concerned, for the time being, I cannot share any further developments with you. We do not know whether peace will be concluded soon, but we are quite at ease for the time being. I will tell you, my dear father, that, without realising it, I found myself close to my cousin Beaupain, from Mazières. We belong to the same company. He is doing well. Please pass on his compliments to his father. You will address my letter to me, Pierre Narpin, soldier in the 79th Line Infantry Regiment, 2nd Battalion, 3rd Company, 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, XI Army Corps of the Army of Germany.

I conclude with a heartfelt embrace, your son, Narpin.

To Mr. François Poudevin, deputy, residing at Allonne, canton of Secondigny, arrondissement of Parthenay, Deux-Sèvres Department, Allonne, post remaining at Parthenay.

Meanwhile, Pierre François's younger brother René escaped conscription due to his height of 1.517 metres, the minimum height required to serve at the time being 1.542 metres. Pierre's journey continued. Here is a summary of his campaigns since joining the 79th Regiment: Italy, Dalmatia and Germany 1806, 1807, 1808 and 1809; Spain 1811, 1812 and 1813; Army of the Garonne, 1814. During the First Restoration, his regiment was reorganised and given the number 69. It was then garrisoned at Toulouse. Narpin joined this unit on 8 August 1814, remaining with the 3rd Company of the 2nd Battalion. On 27 July, after serving Napoleon for eight years, fusilier Narpin was awarded the decoration of the Lily, 'as a mark of his love and

loyalty to the sacred person of the King.

The following letter appears to be erroneously dated 1808. It relates some major, bloody engagements in the spring of 1809 in Bavaria and Austria, in which our soldier, Pierre Rodier, was wounded in the thigh. However, what he mostly mentions is that he lost his backpack containing his spoils and a good part of his money. Luckily, he received some financial aid from his bedfellow and ended up finding a bag on the battlefield:

At Vienna, 18 June 1808 [in fact, 1809].

My dear father and mother and my dear brother and sister, I am writing to you to enquire about the state of your health. As for mine, it is very good at the moment here, in spite of the poor weather we are experiencing at the moment, for I can assure you that we have no bread to eat, nor meat. What we do have is hardly worth talking about; we have three pounds of bread every day for eighteen men and half a pound of meat. I can assure you that the inhabitants of the town cannot find any. There is (also) enough wine, but we need it to supply the wounded who are in the town.

As a result of the shooting we experienced on 22 May, 4200 thousand men (!) were wounded, not counting those who were killed. However, our company (...) suffered a great deal that day. But from (...) April to 22 April, we fought every day, and we lost a lot of our men, and I was hit in three places. Only one entered my thigh, the others did not. [One] hit me in the same thigh and the other struck my shako, cut the strap that goes [under] my chin and blew my shako away, many (...) paces away from me. And we are still waiting to fight every day. In the firefights we were involved in, I had the misfortune to lose my bag and all my belongings which were inside, as well as my money which I had

sewn between two pieces of hide. But unfortunately, everything was lost, which saddened me greatly to see myself deprived of spoils and having lost my fortune. I was left with what I had on me. I was wounded on 21 April, and my captain wanted me to go to hospital, but I didn't want to. I forced myself to walk. The next day, the bullet dropped into my trousers as I was marching. I lost perhaps more than two bottles of blood during the day's march, but thank God I recovered. The same day, my captain was killed next to me, which caused me a great deal of grief.

My dear father, I will tell you that recruitment (conscription) starts from Year 7 and at eighteen years old. If my dear brother (...) should happen to be distressed, you can apply for a certificate of presence in the corps, to be of use to him if he should need it. Unfortunately, I can tell you that we only have a river to cross which separates us from the enemy. So we are not resting at all. We are always on the (...) . We haven't been provided with any accommodation at all since 9 April. We have always bivouacked under the stars and we don't know when it will end. We expect to attack at any moment.

My dear father, if I hadn't had a bit of money before I was injured, I would have found myself in a wretched situation. Nevertheless, I made use of it when I needed to. If I hadn't lost the remainder with my bag, I'd still be making use of it, because I can assure you that if my bedfellow didn't have any means, I'd be quite miserable. But as long as I had some, he made use of it as I did. Since the misfortune, I helped myself as well as he does, because I can assure you that there are no two brothers who support each other as well as we do. When he has something, I make use of it as he does, and I do the same.

My dear father,
I will tell you that, in the last few days, I found a bag on the battlefield, which delighted me greatly, for if I had not found one, I do not know what I would have done. But I can tell you that I don't have a penny now. If I were wounded again and had to go to hospital, I would be really miserable not to have a penny (...) or my bedfellow.

I'm about to finish my letter. Tesier is doing well. He sends his regards to you, his father and mother and his sister. My dear father, you will send my greetings to my uncle Bono and my aunt, as well as to my aunt d'Irleau and her daughter, whom I am delighted to hear that are doing well, as well as to the whole (...) family.

That's all. I conclude by embracing you with all my heart. I am for life your son, Pierre Rodier, looking forward every day to rejoin you.

Pierre Rodier's address is at the 61st Regiment, in Vienna, the capital of Austria.

To Mr. Jacques Rodier, residing at Petit Bois, municipality of Coulon, Deux-Sèvres Department, for Niort at Poitou, at Niort.

Source : Laurent Delenne, Sur les routes d'Europe avec Napoléon – Histoires des grognards, CRVH, La Roche-sur-Yon, 2021, pp. 152-153, 200-201 and 255-256.



