

Danmark og  
Den Dansende Wienerkongres

*Spillet om Danmark*

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# The Congress of Vienna in the Memoirs of a Russian Officer

The Congress of Vienna was called with the goal of “establishing order in Europe and achieving peace among the peoples,” and the result was the political division of Europe that existed until the latter half of the 19th century. Formally, its participants were twenty diplomats from the eight leading powers that had a vote: Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. But in reality, representatives of all the European states were gathered in Vienna, including those of minor principalities, duchies, electorates, and Hansa towns. There were nearly 450 diplomats and representatives, and the grandiose diplomatic forum attracted an enormous number of inquisitive visitors. While the Congress was in session, nearly 100,000 came to the Austrian capital.

Political disagreements led Austria, Great Britain, and France to sign a treaty of alliance against Russia and Prussia on January 3, 1815. Rumors of an impending war spread throughout Europe, but news that Napoleon had returned to France forced the allies to reach a compromise. The Final Act that resulted from eight months of diplomatic work was signed on June 9, 1815.

Many people wrote memoirs of the Congress of Vienna; everyone from great statesmen to insignificant civil servants kept busy with their pens. Russian subjects also mentioned the Congress, but most often in works that cover a broader chronological spectrum.<sup>1</sup> Memoirs about the Congress of Vienna by Alexander Ivanovich Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky were recently discovered in the manuscript department of the Russian National Library. These previously unpublished memoirs have proved the most extensive and informative ever written by a Russian representative at the Congress.

Alexander Ivanovich Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky (1789-1848) was educated at the University in Göttingen in 1808-1811, and during breaks from his studies traveled around Europe, visiting the German countries, France, Switzerland, and Italy. At the university, he concentrated on art history, Roman law, canon law, politics, and economics. It was primarily these last two subjects, taught by Professor G. Sartorius, that interested him. After Napoleon's invasion of Russia, Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky enlisted in the army and was appointed aide-de-camp to Prince Mikhail Illarionovich Kutuzov (1745-1813), commander-in-chief of the Russian army. Thanks to his European education and French and German skills, he quickly won the respect of general headquarters. Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky received his baptism of fire at the Battle of Borodino, earning him the Order of St. Anne, fourth class. From 1812 to 1814, he kept a “journal of military operations” and was called “the army's historiographer.” After Kutuzov's death in April 1813, he was transferred to the quartermaster unit in the emperor's suite, where he served as aide-de-camp to Peter Mikhailovich Volkonsky (1776-1852), chief of the general staff and Alexander I's closest comrade-in-arms. In August 1814, Captain Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky was appointed to

the emperor's entourage and accompanied him to the Congress of Vienna, where he found himself in the center of diplomatic developments in Europe. During his stay in Vienna, the young officer was kept well informed about current events since he was head of the court liaison section and carried on the emperor's correspondence with subjects of other countries. He attracted the attention of the Austrian secret police when it wanted to find out his views on the Polish question,<sup>2</sup> one of the most controversial issues at the Congress.

During this period, Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky kept a diary in which he painstakingly described everything that took place around him. This diary was not intended for publication, as the following note shows. “No one will see this journal and I am writing it for myself since my outpouring of emotions obliges me to communicate with someone, and I have chosen these pages for this purpose.”<sup>3</sup> The diary, which its author entitled “Notes from Vienna from September 12, 1814, to May 13, 1815,” is now in the manuscript collection of the Russian National Library.<sup>4</sup>

This well-educated officer, who had been awarded both Russian and foreign orders for his participation in military operations, was oppressed by the atmosphere at court and what he considered mindless pastimes. He dreamed of working with war history, specifically the period 1812-1814. In his entry for May 11, 1815, he gives a moral accounting of his stay in Vienna.

*Vienna, May 11*

*Prince Volkonsky<sup>5</sup> was one of the military personages in the suite of the emperor who dealt with all matters concerning the army and the court, things that cannot be elaborated in detail because of their great variety. He was both chief of the general staff and lord chamberlain, and during the Congress, I worked alone with him, without a single assistant at my side, not even a single clerk. I was consequently obliged to both draw up and make a clean copy of everything, serve as the emperor's treasurer, keep accounts of income and expenses that ran to several million, and moreover do various errands about town. My work began at eight in the morning and continued until late in the evening. Every day I was called in to the prince a score of times; it was often my lot to spend time in the emperor's apartments, and each day when I sat down at my desk, many people of different classes and nations who had business at our court came to me. My room might be peopled with princes, various powers' military personnel and civil servants, churchmen, scientists, beautiful women, bankers, artists, merchants, and actors. Different languages had to be spoken with all these people and about quite a variety of subjects. — The correspondence between Russia and the cabinets of the other countries was also voluminous, and courtesy and my rank moreover demanded that I be present at gatherings arranged by the court, ministers, and persons of quality...*

*My stay in Vienna has provided a very good lesson for the rest of my life. I have learned about the court, high society, and the*

# Wienerkongressen i en russisk officers erindringer

Wienerkongressen blev indkaldt med henblik på "at oprette orden i Europa og opnå fred mellem folkene", og resultatet blev den politiske deling af Europa, der eksisterede frem til anden halvdel af det 19. århundrede. Formelt deltog tyve diplomater fra de otte førende magter, der havde stemmeret: Østrig, Storbritannien, Preussen, Rusland, Frankrig, Spanien, Portugal og Sverige. Men i realiteten var repræsentanter for alle europæiske stater forsamlet i Wien, herunder også repræsentanter for mindre fyrstendømmer, hertugdømmer, kurfyrstendømmer og hansestæder. Antallet af diplomater og repræsentanter nåede op imod 450, og det grandiose diplomatiske forum tiltrak en enorm mængde nysgerrige; mens kongressen stod på, besøgte op mod 100.000 gæster den østrigske hovedstad.

Politiske uoverensstemmelser førte til, at Østrig, Storbritannien og Frankrig den 3. januar 1815 underskrev en forsvarspagt, der var rettet mod Rusland og Preussen. Rygter om en forestående krig spredtes ud over Europa, men meddelelsen om, at Napoleon var vendt tilbage til Frankrig, tvang de allierede magter til at nå et kompromis. Den 9. juni 1815 blev slutdokumentet, der var resultatet af 8 måneders diplomatisk arbejde, underskrevet.

Mange har skrevet memoirer om Wienerkongressen, alt fra store statsmænd til ubetydelige embedsmænd har haft travlt med pennen. Også russiske statsborgere omtaler kongressen, men som oftest er det i værker, der dækker et bredere kronologisk spektrum<sup>1</sup>. For nyligt opdagede man i håndskriftsafdelingen i Det Russiske Nationalbibliotek nogle memoirer, som den kendte generaløjtnant Alexander Ivanovitj Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij har skrevet om Wienerkongressen. De har ikke tidligere været offentliggjort, og de har vist sig at udgøre de mest omfangsrige og oplysende memoirer, der er skrevet af en russisk repræsentant på kongressen.

Alexander Ivanovitj Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij (1789-1848) blev uddannet ved universitetet i Göttingen i årene 1808-1811. I ferierne fra studierne rejste han rundt i Europa og besøgte de tyske lande, Frankrig, Schweiz og Italien. På universitetet studerede han kunsthistorie, romerret og kirkeret, politik og økonomi. Det var primært de to sidste emner, som professor G. Sartorius forelæste, der optog ham. Efter Napoleons indtrængen i Rusland, lod Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij sig i august 1812 indrulle i hæren og blev udnævnt til adjutant for fyrst Mikhail Illarionovitj Kutuzov (1745-1813), den russiske hærs øverstkommanderende. Takket være sin europæiske uddannelse og sine kundskaber i fransk og tysk sprog opnåede han hurtigt respekt i hovedkvarteret. Sin ilddåb fik Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij i slaget ved Borodino, hvorefter han blev udmærket med Skt. Anna-ordenen af fjerde klasse. I årene 1812-1814 førte han "Journal over krigshandlinger", og han blev kaldt "hærens historiograf". Efter Kutuzovs død i april 1813 blev han overflyttet til Hans kejserlige Majestæts suites kvartermesterafdeling og tjenstgjorde som adjutant for fyrst Peter Mikhajlovitj Volkonskij (1776-1852), chef for

generalstaben og Alexander I's nærmeste kampfælle. I august 1814 blev kaptajn Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij udnævnt til kejserens suite og fulgte ham til Wienerkongressen. Således havnede han i de diplomatiske begivenheders centrum i Europa. Mens han var i Wien, blev den unge officer godt underrettet om tidens begivenheder, idet han var leder af hofafdelingen og førte kejserens korrespondance med andre landes undersåtter. Det kan nævnes, at han kom i det østrigske hemmelige politis søgelys, da det interesserede sig for hans overvejelser om det polske spørgsmål<sup>2</sup>, et af de mest kontroversielle spørgsmål på kongressen.

I disse år førte Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij dagbog, hvori han med en usædvanlig omhu beskrev alt, der foregik omkring ham. Denne dagbog var ikke beregnet på offentliggørelse, som det fremgår af følgende notits: "Denne min journal ser ingen, og jeg skriver den for mig selv af den grund, at jeg i mine følelsers overflod er nødt til at meddele mig til nogen, og dertil har jeg valgt disse blade"<sup>3</sup>. Dagbogen, der fra forfatterens hånd har titlen "Optegnelser under opholdet i Wien fra 12. september 1814 til 13. maj 1815", opbevares nu i Det Russiske Nationalbiblioteks håndskriftsamling.<sup>4</sup>

Den veluddannede officer, der var blevet udmærket med både russiske og udenlandske ordener for sin deltagelse i kamphandlinger, var tyngt af atmosfæren ved hoffet og det efter hans mening indholdsløse tidsforliv. Han drømte om at beskæftige sig med krigshistorisk forskning, nærmere bestemt perioden 1812-1814. I optegnelserne fra 11. maj 1815 opgør han det moralske regnskab over sit ophold i Wien.

*Wien d. 11. maj.*

*Fyrst Volkonskij<sup>5</sup> var en af de militærpersoner hos Kejseren, der tog sig af alle sager vedrørende hæren og hoffet, som i deres mangfoldige forskellighed ikke lader sig bestemme nærmere. Han var både chef for Generalstaben og hofmarskal, og under kongressen var jeg alene hos ham uden at have en eneste assistent ved min side, end ikke en eneste skriver. Derfor skulle jeg selv både udfærdige og renskrive alt, være kassimester for kejseren og føre regnskab over indtægter og udgifter, der løb op i flere millioner, og derudover køre i byen i forskellige ærinder. Mine opgaver begyndte klokken 8 morgen og fortsatte til sen aften. Hver dag blev jeg kaldt ind til fyrsten hen mod 20 gange, meget ofte tilfaldt det mig at opholde mig i Kejserens appartementer, og når jeg satte mig til skrivebordet, kom der dagligt til mig mange mennesker af forskellige stænder og nationer, der havde ærinde ved vort hof. I mit værelse kunne man finde prinser, forskellige magters militærpersoner og civile embedsmænd, gejstlige, videnskabsmænd, smukke kvinder, bankierer, kunstnere, købmænd og skuespillere. Med alle disse personer måtte man tale på forskellige sprog og om ganske forskelligartede emner. Korrespondancen mellem Ruslands og de andre landes kabinetter var også betydelig, og desuden krævede hofflighedsreglerne og min rang, at jeg var til stede under sammenkomster ved hoffet, hos ministre og hos standspersoner ...*



true course of events, but I consider it an irreparable loss that this knowledge has veritably disappointed my soul by showing me so many passions and vices that had been unknown to me heretofore, and this has shaken my faith in the goodness, honesty, and exalted quality that I had believed were man's characteristic. It seems to me that I was infected by the unhealthy air at court, for since then, my heart has not beaten with the same force as before when I heard or read about what does credit to man's honor, fame, and welfare. I was not tempted from the true path, but for me, beauty in all its forms began to lose its charm and fascination, and I have consequently lost many pleasures. The phenomena to which I was a daily witness affected me even more strongly since I had hardly reached the age at which I myself had begun to think things over. I already felt a need, however, to make observations and I lived with people whose position made it unnecessary for them to pretend. I had attended one of the schools founded by Peter the Great for eight years with 500 peers, was in Göttingen for almost four years, and in the field for three years, and anyone who has a knowledge of public education at the large institutions, the mentality that prevails at the German universities, and finally life in the military will agree with me that in none of these places does one wear a mask. Suddenly, fate put me in Vienna, in the uppermost circles of secular society, where I gained knowledge of the secrets of the European courts, and in addition to witnessing a wealth of vices that were hidden under a trustworthy exterior, I saw pretence at its most blatant. This was the predominant characteristic among the courtiers, and it aroused indignation in my still-pure soul.

This is why I began to hate what is called high society and sought solitude. I had found more entertainment in humble Göttingen than I did at the Congress, where one party was succeeded by another. There I had had friends with whom I shared thoughts and ideas that gradually developed through my studies. In Vienna, I ran into hypocrisy with each step I took, and I myself was forced to hide my feelings. There, the world and life had seemed like a great boundless space; all roads seemed open to me and I was convinced that dignity would be rewarded, but in Vienna it already seemed quite clear what place fate had chosen for me in the society upon whose highest levels I could see people who were mediocre and false. Their egoism and haughtiness in dealing with the poor and their pandering to the influential forced me to distance myself from them, and I became so misanthropic that when I attended the sumptuous parties, I often felt as if I were alone in a forest. I chose a place aside, made my observations for an hour or so, and then left with a certain aversion for mankind.

Many began to avoid me; what kind of person was I? This created an even greater contempt for people and gave me reason to view what was happening with indifference.

On August 30, 1815, Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky was given the rank of colonel, and a year later was appointed aide-de-camp to the emperor – rewards for his participation in the Congress of Vienna. From 1815 to 1818, he constantly accompanied the emperor on all his travels both in Russia and abroad. During this period, he published his first works, most of them articles with the character of memoirs, one of which was entitled “On the Sojourn in Vienna, 1814-1815.” In 1823, he was promoted to major general and appointed head of an infantry brigade stationed in the provinces. His contemporaries considered this appointment to be an abrupt break in the career of this brilliant

aide-de-camp. From 1826 to 1829, Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky had no permanent post, and lived on his estates in the region of Nihzegorod. The walls of his manor in the village of Yuryev were graced with landscapes from Germany, Switzerland, France, and Italy – the places where he had stayed on his journeys. There were also paintings of the battles that he had fought, portraits of leading contemporaries, including an engraving of Jean Baptiste Isabey's painting “The Congress of Vienna.” In Yuryev, Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky wrote a voluminous collection of memoirs based on his diaries, covering the period from 1811 to 1826. This collection consisted of individual “Journals,” to use the author's own designation: “Journal for 1811,” “Journal for 1812,” and so on through “Journal for 1826.” Diary entries were included in the memoirs but had been revised and abbreviated.<sup>6</sup>

In 1831, two books of memoirs by Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky were published in St. Petersburg, *Notes from 1814 and Memoirs from 1815*. They were collections of articles that had previously been published in periodicals and had no connection with the “Journals” that were completed between 1826 and 1829. These books made him famous and to meet demand, he published them the following year in one volume,<sup>7</sup> followed by a third (1936) and a fourth (1841) edition. The number of new editions bears witness both to the readers' interest in the Congress of Vienna and to the author's literary talents. The Emperor Nicholas I liked Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky's books and appointed him official military historian. In the ensuing years, the historian prepared detailed books on all the wars that Russia had fought under Alexander I.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, a large body of Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky's memoirs was published, with the exception of the “Journals” from 1811 and 1813-1815. Of the latter group, only a fragment that contained a character sketch of the Russian representatives of the Congress of Vienna was published.<sup>8</sup> This sketch was so interesting that it was quickly translated into German by the well-known historian T. Schiemann.<sup>9</sup>

A number of years ago, during a scholarly review of Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky's archives, which are kept in the manuscript department of the Russian National Library, it was found that the handwritten “Journals” from 1814 and 1815 did not harmonize with the editions that had been published in Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky's lifetime and that they comprise entirely new works. They differ not only in scope (the handwritten “Journals” being twice the size of the “Notes”) but also in the author's treatment of the same events, perhaps because the texts that were published in Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky's lifetime had a semi-official character.

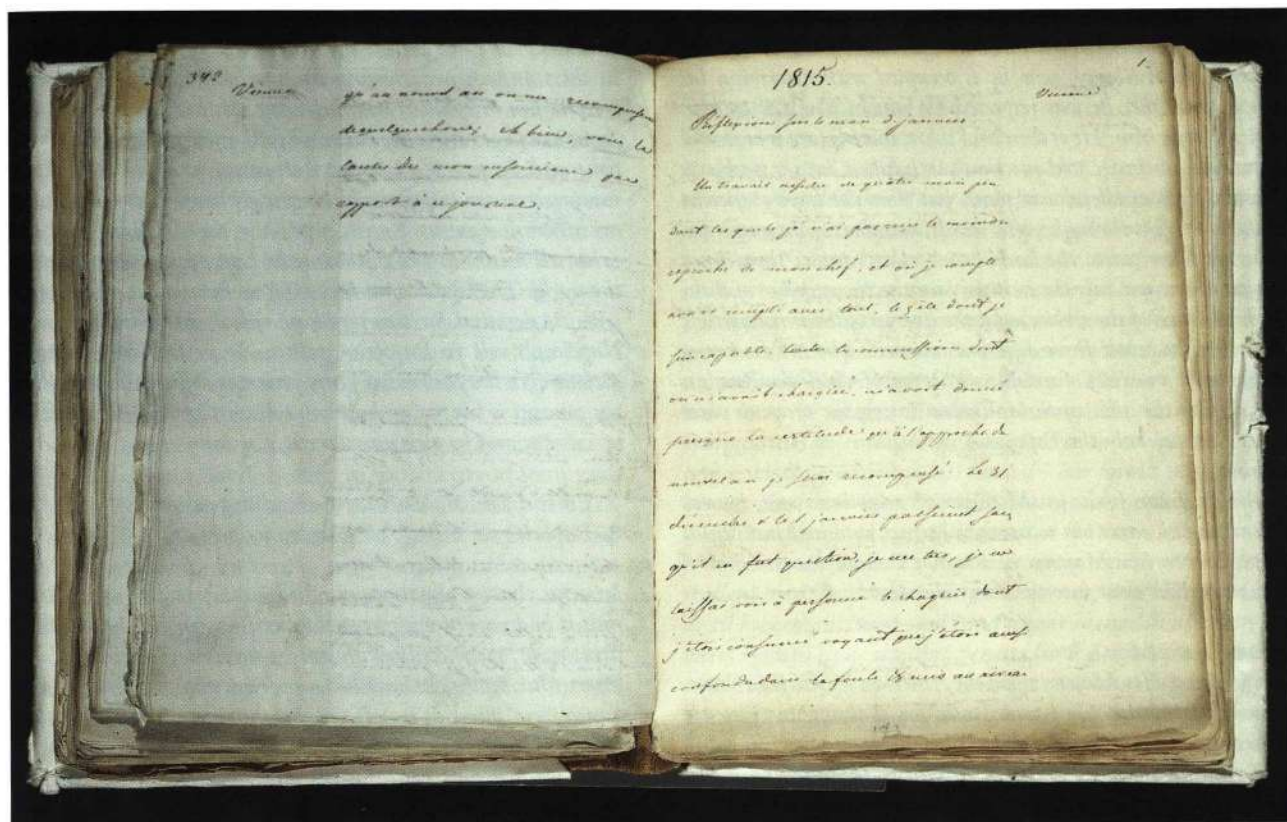
The following copious excerpts from the “Journals” from 1814 and 1815 show how unique and valuable this historical source is.

### “Journal from 1814”

*Vienna, September 13*

*At one in the afternoon, the [Austrian] emperor's arrival was announced, and since the Prince de Ligne<sup>10</sup> was a captain in the Austrian guard, he took his place in the formation. At the head was our emperor with the Emperor Francis,<sup>11</sup> followed by the Prussian king, who led in both of the grand duchesses, fol-*





Generalløjtnant Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij, dagbog, opslag på "1815. Wien. Betragtninger over januar måned". Foto: Ruslands Nationale Bibliotek. Skt. Petersborg.

Lieutenant General Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky, diary entry: "1815. Vienna. Reflections on the month of January". Photo: The Russian National Library. Saint Petersburg.

Opholdet i Wien har været mig en meget god lære for hele livet. Jeg har lært hoffet, det højere selskab og sagerens virkelige forløb at kende, men jeg anser det for et uopretteligt tab, at denne viden aldeles har skuffet min sjæl ved at vise mig lidenskaber og laster i en grad, som indtil da var mig ukendt, og dette har rystet min tro på den godhed, ærlighed og ophøjede kvalitet, som jeg indtil da troede, var menneskets særkende. Det forekommer mig, at jeg er blevet inficeret af den usunde luft ved hoffet, thi siden da slår mit hjerte ikke med samme styrke, som det gjorde før, når jeg hørte eller læste om det, der tjener til menneskeheden's ære, berømmelse og velfærd. Jeg blev ikke fristet bort fra den sande vej, men for mig begyndte skønheden i alle dens former at tabe sin charme og fascination, og derfor har jeg mistet mange fornøjelser. De fænomener, som jeg dagligt var vidne til, påvirkede mig så meget desto sterkere, da jeg knapt havde nået den alder, hvor jeg selv var begyndt at tænke over tingene, men jeg følte allerede et behov for at gøre iagttagelser, og jeg levede sammen med mennesker, der indtog en sådan position, at de ikke behøvede at forstille sig. Jeg har gået 8 år på en af skolerne oprettet af Peter den Store, blandt 500 jævnaldrende, været næsten fire år i Göttingen og tre år i felten og ender, der har kendskab til den offentlige opdragelse på store læreanstalter, tankesettet, der hersker ved tyske universiteter, og endelig livet i militæret, vil være enig med mig i, at ingen af stederne bærer man maske. Pludselig placerede skæbnen mig i Wien, i det verdslige samfunds øverste cirkler, hvor jeg blev bekendt med de europæiske hoffers hemmeligheder og ud over en mengde laster, skjult under et tilforladeligt ydre, var jeg vidne til forstillelse i højeste

potens. Det var det fremherskende kendetegn blandt hoffolk, og det vakte indignation i min endnu rene sjæl.

Derfor fattede jeg had til det såkaldt højere selskab og søgte ensomheden. Jeg havde fundet mere adspredelse i det ydmyge Göttingen, end jeg fandt på kongressen, hvor den ene fest afløste den anden. Der havde jeg haft venner, med hvem jeg delte tanker og begreber, der udviklede sig gradvist gennem studierne. I Wien løb jeg, for hvert skridt jeg tog, på lykleri, og selv var jeg trunget til at skjule min følelse. Der havde verden og livet stået for mig som et stort rum uden grænser, alle veje frem forekom mig åbne, og jeg var overbevist om, at værdighed ville blive belønnet, men i Wien stod det mig allerede temmelig klart, hvilken plads skæbnen havde tiltænkt mig i det samfund, på hvis øverste trin jeg kunne se folk, der var middelmådige og forstillede. Deres egoisme og hovmod over for de fattige og deres leflen for de indflydelsesrige tvang mig til at tage afstand fra dem, og jeg blev misantrop i en grad, så jeg ofte ved overdådige selskaber følte mig alene som i skoven. Jeg satte mig af sides, gjorde mine iagttagelser og en times tid senere drog jeg bort med en vis modvilje mod mennesker.

Foran mig begyndte mange at sno sig: hvad var jeg mon for én? Den omstændighed affødte en endnu større foragt for mennesker og gav mig anledning til at se med ligegyldighed på, hvad der foregik?

Den 30. august 1815 blev Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij tildelt rang af oberst, og et år senere blev han udnævnt til fløjadjudant. Det var udmærkelser for deltagelse i Wienerkon-



lowed by the other kings and princes. I observed with special curiosity Archduke Charles, who had previously been a champion of German liberty; now he is occupied with describing his campaigns. Once he was respected too much; now not enough justice is done him. He is thin and short, but his face is wise and expressive. Jomini<sup>12</sup> told me that Archduke Charles is able to formulate an excellent war plan, but does not have sufficient talent to carry it through. Afterwards, members of the emperor's suites were invited to the lord chamberlain's table; the dinner was excellent, not only the cuisine, but also the number of dishes, the richness of the service, and the liveries of the innumerable servants. The people from different countries who are in service here exhibit a variety of unique uniforms, of which the Russian ones display the greatest taste. Vienna is now the meeting place of all Europe; only the Pope and the Sultan [of Turkey] are missing.

After dinner, I was in the emperor's reception room; he was quite cheerful, came out to us several times, and had just begun to speak when His Majesty the King of Denmark arrived, and both monarchs went into the inner chambers.

Vienna, September 15

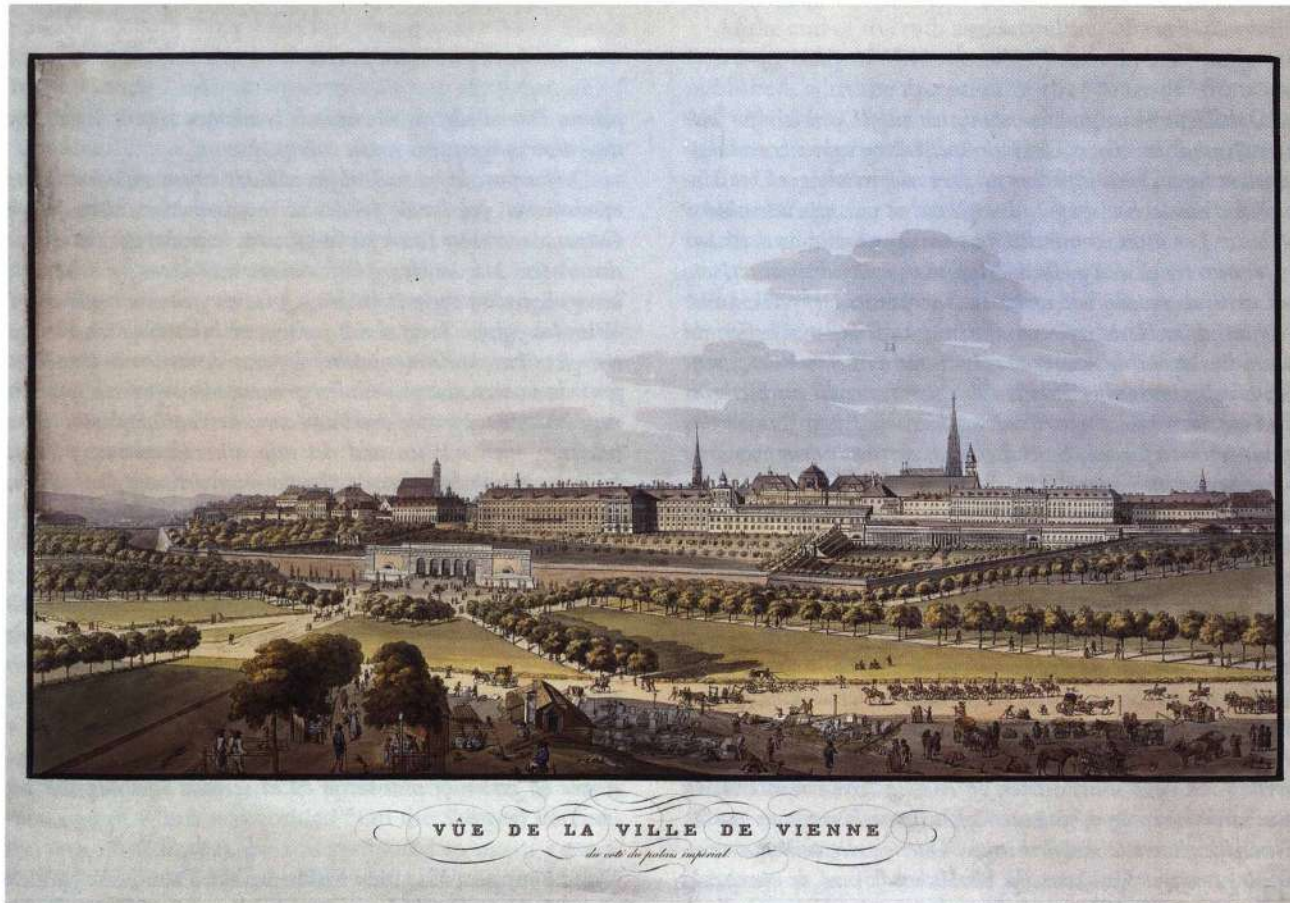
Not far from Her Majesty stood the Austrian heir to the throne, Prince Ferdinand. He has no taste for clothing, his eyes are expressionless, and just the sight of him arouses pity. His mind is very limited, and although he is more than twenty years old, he does not look as if he has reached fifteen. The Austrian monarchy's fate is curious; in this ancient realm, there has not been a single emperor with excellent abilities.

Vienna, September 16

Rumors about disagreements between the powers participating in the Congress are growing stronger day by day, and people have begun to speak of war breaking out among us soon. The Austrian paper currency rises and falls a few guilders the whole time and the rate of exchange is discussed in detail. The diplomatic secrets are impenetrable, but it is known that many states are arming against Russia, especially the English. They are using all means to win hegemony in Europe and other parts of the world. They speak against giving us Poland because Russia, with its demand for this territory, reveals itself as the heir to Napoleon's role in European politics. If we look at England's actions over the past many years, it is not difficult to show that the country is benefiting by sowing discord among the countries of Europe, and by picking quarrels, England rules the seas.

*Est ce à vous d'accuser les autres d'impostures,  
Rappeler vos traits, c'est compter vos parjures?*

It seems that in negotiations, Russia has lost the upper hand that it had gained with its great sacrifices during the last three campaigns, sacrifices that all states unanimously recognized in Paris. Our diplomats have not supported what was bought with our soldiers' blood. It is indisputable that maintaining a system of equilibrium requires that all cabinets have more or less the same influence in deciding all joint matters, but today, the other countries should consider Russia a benefactor and not a competitor.



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gressen. I årene 1815-1818 ledsagede han konstant kejseren på alle rejser både i Rusland og i udlandet. I den periode offentliggjorde han sine første værker, for størstedelens vedkommende artikler med karakter af memoirer, hvoraf en havde titlen "Om opholdet i Wien i årene 1814-1815". I 1823 blev han forfremmet til generalmajor og udnævnt til chef for en infanteribrigade, der var indkvarteret i provinsen. Hans samtidige opfattede denne udnævnelse som en brat afbrydelse af den blændende fløjadjudants karriere. I årene 1826-1829 havde Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij ikke et permanent tjenestested, og han boede på sit gods i Nisjeorod guvernementet. Væggene i hans landlige hus i landsbyen Jurjev var pyntet med landskaber fra Tyskland, Schweiz, Frankrig og Italien - de steder, hvor han havde opholdt sig under sine rejser. Desuden var der billeder af militære slag, han havde deltaget i, portrætter af fremtrædende samtidige, herunder en gravure af Jean-Baptiste Isa-beys billede "Wienerkongressen". I Jurjev skrev Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij en omfangsrig samling memoirer, baseret på dagbøgerne, omfattende perioden fra 1811 til 1826. Denne samling bestod af enkeltstående "Journaler", således kaldte forfatteren dem selv: "Journal over året 1811", "Journal over året 1812" og så videre til og med "Journal over året 1826". Dagbogsoptegnelserne indgik i memoirerne, men i bearbejdet form og ikke i deres fulde udstrækning.<sup>6</sup>

I 1831 blev der i Skt. Petersborg udgivet to bøger med Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskijs memoirer: "Optegnelser fra året 1814" og "Erindringer fra året 1815". De fremstod som samlinger af artikler, der tidligere var offentliggjort i tidskrifter og var uden sammenhæng med "Journalerne", der blev til i årene 1826-1829. Disse bøger gjorde ham berømt, og på grund af efterspørgslen genudgav han dem det følgende år som én bog.<sup>7</sup> Derefter fulgte tredje (1836) og fjerde (1841) udgave. Mængden af genudgivelser vidner både om læsernes interesse for Wienerkongressen og om forfatterens litterære talenter. Kejser Nikolaj I syntes om Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskijs værker og udnævnte ham til officiel militærhistoriker. I de følgende år forberedte historikeren grundige værker om samtlige de krige, Rusland havde ført under Alexander I.

I slutningen af det 19. og begyndelsen af det 20. århundrede blev en stor del af Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskijs efterladte memoirer udgivet med undtagelse af "Journalerne" fra årene 1811 og 1813-1815. Af disse sidste blev kun udgivet et fragment, der indeholder en karakteristik af de russiske repræsentanter ved Wienerkongressen.<sup>8</sup> Denne karakteristik var så interessant, at den hurtigt blev oversat til tysk af den kendte historiker Th. Schiemann.<sup>9</sup>

For nogle år siden slog man fast under en videnskabelig bearbejdning af A. I. Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskijs arkivfond, der opbevares i håndskriftsafdelingen i Det Russiske Nationalbibliotek, at de håndskrevne "Journaler" fra årene 1814 og 1815 ikke er i overensstemmelse med de udgaver, der blev offentliggjort i Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskijs levetid, og at de i sig selv udgør helt nye værker. De adskiller sig ikke kun i omfang (de håndskrevne "Journaler" er dobbelt så omfangsrige som de udgivne "Optegnelser"), men også i forfatterens behandling af samme begivenheder. Det kan skyldes, at de tekster, der blev udgivet, mens Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij var live, havde en halv-officiel karakter.

De følgende fyldige uddrag af "Journalerne" fra årene

1814 og 1815 viser, hvor enestående og værdifuld denne historiske kilde er:

### "Journal fra år 1814"

*Wien, den 13. september.*

*Klokken et efter middag forkyndte man Kejsernes ankomst, og eftersom fyrst de Ligne<sup>10</sup> var kaptajn i den østrigske garde, indtog han sin plads i opstillingen. Forrest gik vor Kejser med kejser Franz<sup>11</sup>, derefter den preussiske konge, som førte begge de to storfyrstinder, og efter dem fulgte de øvrige konger og prinser. Jeg iagttog med særlig nysgerrighed erkehertug Karl, der tidligere havde været forkæmper for den tyske frihed; han beskeftiger sig nu med beskrivelser af sine felttog. Tidligere respekterede man ham for meget, nu yder man ham ikke tilstrækkelig retferdighed. Han er mager og lille af vækst, men hans ansigtsudtryk er klogt og udtryksfuldt. Jomini<sup>12</sup> har fortalt mig, at erkehertug Karl kan lægge en udmærket god krigsplan, men har ikke tilstrækkeligt talent til at føre den ud i livet. Derefter blev personerne, der indgår i Kejsernes suiter, inviteret til hofmarskallens bord; middagen var fremragende, ikke kun i henseende til kokkekunst, men også hvad angår mængden af retter, serVICETS rigdom og de utallige tjeneres livré. De folk fra forskellige lande, der gør tjeneste her, fremviser en mangfoldighed af enestående uniformer, hvoraf de russiske er udført med størst smag. Wien er nu hele Europas samlingspunkt, her mangler kun paven og sultanen.*

*Efter middagen var jeg i Kejsere ns modtagelsesværelse, han var meget munter, kom flere gange ud til os og var lige begyndt at tale, da Hans Majestæt kongen af Danmark ankom, og begge monarker begav sig ind i de indre gemakker.*

*Wien, den 15. september.*

*Ikke langt fra Hendes Majestæt stod den østrigske tronfølger, prins Ferdinand. Han har ikke smag for tøj, hans øjne er uden udtryk, og det blotte syn af ham vækker medynk; hans forstand er yderst begrænset, og skønt han er mere end tyve år, ser han ikke ud til at være fyldt femten. Det østrigske monarkis skæbne er mærkelig, i dette ældgamle rige har man ikke haft en eneste Kejser med fremragende evner.*

*Wien, den 16. september.*

*Rygtterne om uoverensstemmelser mellem de magter, der deltager i kongressen, bliver stærkere for hver dag, og man er begyndt at tale om, der snart vil blusse krig op imellem os. De østrigske papirpenge falder og stiger hele tiden nogle gylden i kurs, og kursen på dem diskuteres indgående. De diplomatiske hemmeligheder er uigennemtrængelige, men det er kendt, at mange stater opruster imod Rusland, især englenderne. Med alle midler stræber de efter at få overmagten i Europa og andre dele af verden. De taler imod, at man lader Polen tilfalde os, fordi Rusland ved sit krav på dette landområde afslører sig som arvtager til Napoleons rolle i den europæiske politik. Hvis man ser på Englands handlinger i løbet af de sidste mange år, er det ikke vanskeligt at bevise, at landet drager fordel af at så splid mellem Europas lande, og ved at yppe kiv hersker England over havene.*

*Est ce à vous d'accuser les autres d'impostures,  
Rappeler vos traits, c'est compter vos parjures?*

*Det lader til, at Rusland i forhandlingerne har mistet det overtag, det havde opnået med sine store ofre under de tre sidste felt-*



I presume that one reason why we have not maintained our leading position at the Congress of Vienna is that we did not tackle the matter upon our arrival in the French capital, and instead postponed the signing of a comprehensive peace and specifying the paragraphs that the Congress is now dealing with. It was splendid to see the Russian banner wave over the heights of Montmartre, but victory is only perfect when it is crowned by a brilliant peace. In Paris, no one dared oppose Russia's leading position, but from there, the emperor and his ministers left for London, seemingly to let themselves be hailed for the fortunate victory by the haughty English, who considered the visit of the allied rulers as a fitting expression of gratitude for their pecuniary support. From London, His Majesty traveled home to St. Petersburg through Holland and the German states, and not until a few weeks later did he arrive in Vienna. Two and a half months consequently elapsed between his departure from Paris and his arrival in Vienna, and in the course of this time, nothing had been done on our part to maintain the advantage that we had achieved over the other cabinets. In the meantime, the English, Austrians, Prussians, and French had used all their power to denigrate Russia in the mind of the people and courts, to present the sacrifices and heroic deeds of our troops in the most insignificant light possible, and to show how Russia's influence on political conditions in Europe would be detrimental both for public enlightenment and for the countries' independence. Two and a half months was enough for these cabinets to succeed in their hostile maneuvers against us, and consequently hardly had we presented our demands concerning Poland at the Congress before everyone rose against us and began to threaten us with war, claiming that Russia wanted to assume dictatorial powers. This was the situation when I arrived in Vienna, where we were received with the same honor as the King of Württemberg; and we were met not as liberators but as people whose harmful influence must be countered.

It took us less than three months to conquer France and Paris, but in a similar space of time, we have not been able to conclude the business of the Congress. This is due to the difference between the ways in which a military person and a diplomat approach things. The former knows neither holidays, rest, nor sleep; his attention is unremittingly concentrated on succeeding at the task at hand; but the latter does not refuse a good table, willingly attends balls, goes to the theater, and only works when nothing else stands in the way.

Vienna, November 25

In the morning, Count Kutcher, the Austrian emperor's aide-de-camp, came to me and said that His Majesty wished me to be present at his toilette: he was going to wear the uniform of the Keksholm grenadiers for the first time, since Alexander I had made him commander of this regiment. I accompanied him, and a few minutes later was called into the emperor's chamber, where he received me with great kindness and repeated what Count Kutcher had said. In the meantime, he put on the uniform and sash, and I made comments, showed him how to hold the hat, how to attach the sash with buckles, and asked His Majesty a few times to turn around. I laughed heartily at fate, which plays with man's lot. Can this be why I spent my youth in solitude and with scientific studies – to be called in later to give advice not on affairs of state, but on dress?

The Austrian emperor's chamber is not large; the furniture is simple and old; his valets are old men who treat him with ease and are not subservient like slaves. As a whole, everything at the

Viennese court reminds us that we are among a very old imperial family which, out of respect for its forefathers, has not made any changes in its lifestyle. At the other courts, everything seems new, so that not even the courts' own members have had time to get to know their surroundings. His Majesty thanked me for my visit and I was satisfied at having seen at such close range a person whom I have begun to respect more and more, especially when I witness his mild rule.

The Emperor Francis rises at six thirty and studies alone until ten. At this point, his only aide-de-camp, Count Kutcher, arrives to report on military questions. At one, Prince Metternich usually arrives; the other ministers have no fixed meeting day. The emperor calls them in from time to time and they can request an audience if they have important business. He dines at two, signs papers at five, and at nine, Count Kutcher arrives to make music with him for an hour or an hour and a half, since he is very preoccupied with music. At the Congress, Francis acts like the rulers' big brother; he behaves modestly and does not change his habits in private life. Clad in a coat or tail coat, he either walks or drives with his wife around in the Prater and Vienna's environs, gives audiences to his subjects, speaks with them in friendly fashion, is present at all public festivities, but never goes to balls given by private persons; he does not even come to the small dinners held by our emperor or grand duchesses. When his ministers present major demands at the Congress or refuse to give their approval to proposals by the plenipotentiaries of other countries, he announces that he is indisposed for this period and does not come out of his apartments for some days. The archdukes and other princes of his house copy his modest behavior. As a whole, one can say that if the Emperor Francis is not a statesman of some stature, if he was not born with great talents, then he is a good father to his family and his people.

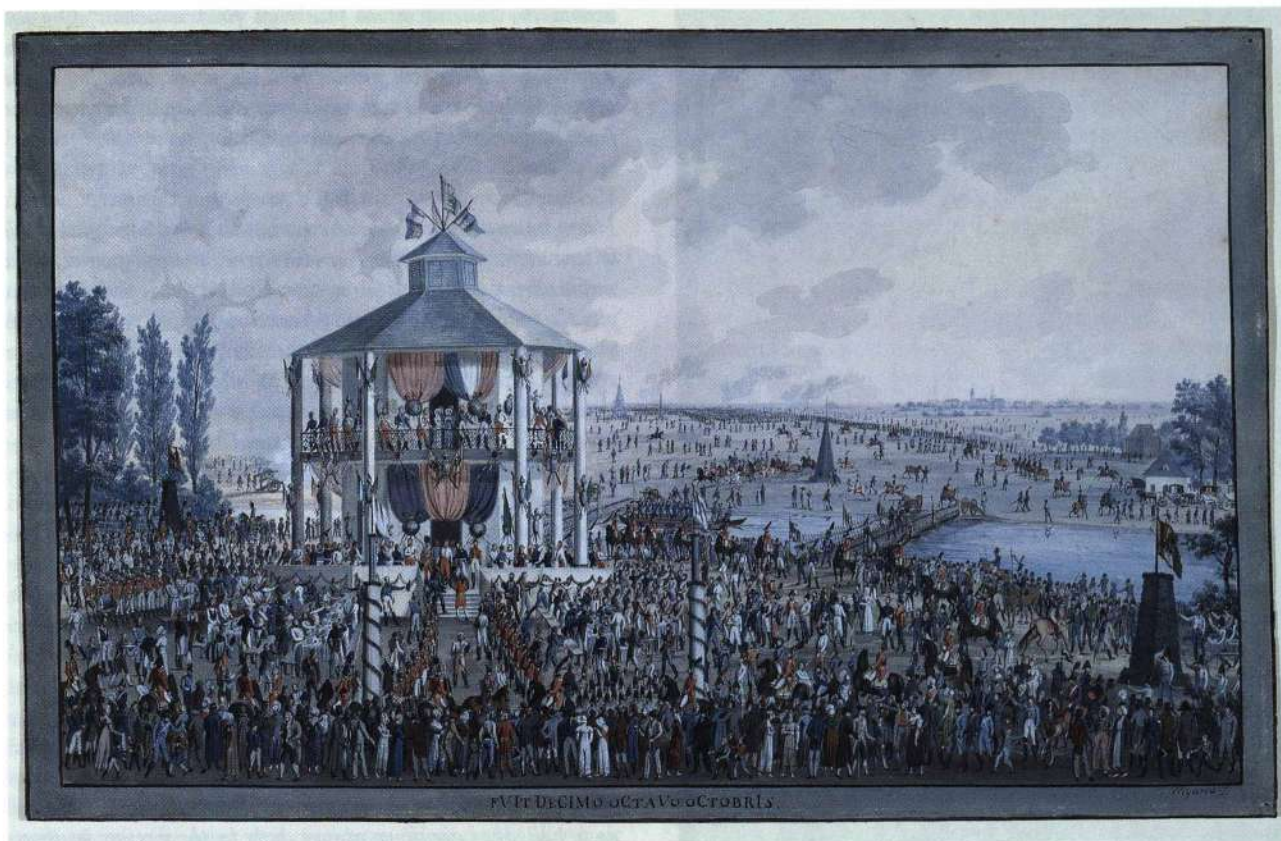
The Emperor Francis's spouse is undoubtedly the friendliest and most companionable person in the entire Austrian imperial family. I have often seen her, but never from such a positive angle as I did recently. The regiment for which His Majesty [Alexander I] is honorary commander was given new colors; wearing the Austrian uniform, the emperor went over to her with the officers of his regiment and asked her, in everyone's hearing, to attach the colors to the poles. At these words, Her Majesty blushed, but she answered in a loud and firm voice, turning to the officers: "Since you have the great honor of it having pleased His Majesty to accept the title of commander of your regiment, this will make friendship between the two emperors even stronger." When she had attached the colors, she made a brief speech to those present, and during the entire ceremony, she was so forthcoming and eloquent that she won universal acclaim.

Vienna, December 1

The King of Prussia said in a conversation with Countess Széchenyi,<sup>13</sup> whose husband was abroad, that he wanted to take his place while he was gone. The countess answered: "Does Your Majesty consider me a conquered land that one can occupy temporarily?"

The Prince de Ligne died today. He had been of sound mind and clear-headed to the last, something that was characteristic of him throughout his life. Three days ago he said, "I must hurry up and die so I can bring news of the Congress to the other side." He added later, "You see that my death is completely necessary in order for the foreign monarchs gathered here, who are to be entertained in every way, to have the opportunity to





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tog, og som alle stater enstemmigt anerkendte i Paris. Vore diplomater har ikke understøttet det, som er købt med vore soldaters blod. Det er indiskutabelt, at opretholdelsen af et system med ligevægt forudsætter, at alle kabinetter har nogenlunde samme stemmewægt i felles anliggender, men nu er tiden sådan, at de andre lande ikke bør betragte Rusland som en konkurrent, men som en velgører for deres land.

Jeg formoder, at en af årsagerne til, at vi på Wienerkongressen ikke har bevaret lederpositionen, er, at vi ikke gav os i kast med opgaven ved vor ankomst til Frankrigs hovedstad, men dengang udskød indgåelsen af en altomfattende fred og fastleggelsen af de paragraffer, som kongressen nu beskæftiger sig med. Det var henrivende at se det russiske banner vaje over Montmartres højder, men sejren er kun fuldkommen, når den krones af en strålende fred. I Paris var der ingen, der turde sætte sig op mod den russiske lederposition, men derfra tog kejseren med ministrene til London, tilsyneladende for at lade sig hylde i anledning af den lykkelige sejr af de hovmodige englendere, der betragtede de allierede majestaters besøg som en tilbørlig tilkendegivelse af taknemmelighed for deres pekuniære støtte. Fra London rejste Hans Majestæt hjem gennem Holland og de tyske lande til Skt. Petersborg, og først nogle uger senere tog han til Wien. Således gik der to og en halv måned mellem afrejsen fra Paris og ankomsten til Wien, og i løbet af den tid var der fra vor side intet gjort for at fastholde den fordel, vi havde opnået i forhold til de andre kabinetter. I mellemtiden havde englendere, østrigere, preussere og franskmænd brugt alle kræfter på at nedgøre Rusland i folkenes og hoffernes opfattelse, på at fremstille vore troppers ofre og heltegerninger i et så ubetydeligt lys som muligt og på at vise, hvorledes Ruslands indflydelse på de politiske forhold i Europa vil være til skade både for oplysningen

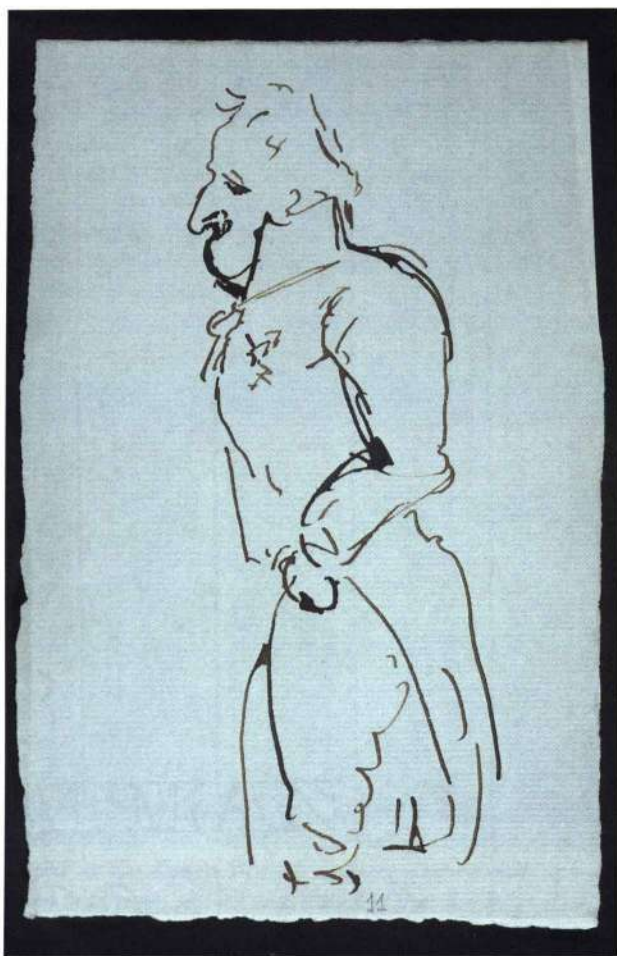
og for landenes selvstændighed. To en halv måned var tilstrækkeligt for disse kabinetter til at få held med deres fjendtlige manøvrer imod os, og derfor havde vi på kongressen knap forelagt vore krav om Polen, før alle rejste sig imod os og begyndte at true med krig, idet de hævdede, at Rusland ønskede at tilrive sig diktatorisk magt. Således var situationen, da jeg ankom til Wien, hvor man ved modtagelsen viste os samme ære som kongen af Württemberg, og man mødte os ikke som befriere, men som mennesker, hvis skadelige indflydelse skulle modarbejdes.

Det tog os mindre end 3 måneder at erobre Frankrig og Paris, men på tilsvarende tid har vi ikke fået afsluttet kongressens affære. Det skyldes forskellen mellem en militærpersons og en diplomats måde at gribe tingene an på. Den første kender hverken højtider, hvile eller søvn, hans opmærksomhed er uafladeligt koncentreret om at lykkes med sit forehavende; men den anden afslår ikke et godt bord, deltager gerne i baller, går i teatret og arbejder kun, når intet andet er til hinder derfor.

Wien, den 25. november.

Om morgenen kom grev Kutcher, generaladjutant hos den østrigske kejser, til mig og sagde, at Hans Majestæt ønskede min tilstedeværelse ved sit toilette, da han i dag for første gang tog Keksholm grenaderregimentets uniform på, idet Alexander I har gjort ham til chef for dette regiment. Jeg fulgte efter ham, og nogle minutter senere blev jeg kaldt ind i Kejserens kabinet, hvor denne modtog mig meget venligt og gentog det, som grev Kutcher havde sagt. I mellemtiden iklædte han sig uniform og skærf, og jeg kom med bemærkninger, viste ham, hvordan man holder hatten, hvordan man fæstner skærfet med spænder, og nogle gange bad jeg Hans Majestæt om at vende sig om. Jeg lo





Caricature drawing, probably of Frederik VI

The drawing was found in the archives of the Russian diplomat Count Peter Kornilovich von Suchtelen (1751-1836). Von Suchtelen was Russian ambassador in Stockholm during the Congress of Vienna. He was later characterised as a major cultural personality with extensive insight into theology, literature and philosophy, while at the same time he possessed secure and refined artistic taste.

Russia's National Library. St Petersburg

#### Karikaturtegning, antagelig af Frederik VI

Tegningen findes i den russiske diplomat Peter Kornilovitj greve von Suchtelens (1751-1836) arkiv. Von Suchtelen var under Wienerkongressen russisk gesandt i Stockholm. Han er senere karakteriseret som en stor kulturpersonlighed med omfattende indsigt i teologi, litteratur og filosofi samtidig med at han besad en sikker og forfinet kunstnerisk smag.

Ruslands Nationale Bibliotek. Skt. Petersburg

attend the funeral of an Austrian field marshal." On the evening of his death, I was sent to his daughters on behalf of the emperor to express how greatly His Majesty feels the loss of the prince. I deeply regret that my many occupations prevented me from accepting his innumerable invitations to visit him.

Vienna, December 20

Never in any capital has there been such a brilliant gathering of monarchs and courtiers as there is in Vienna now. Unrest unparalleled in history has shaken Europe for 25 years; principles that have been sanctified by centuries of practice and upon which thrones and ties among peoples have been based were rejected. Only half a year ago did the storms calm that threatened to engulf everything, and the greater the danger, the greater the joy at having escaped, and the more fervently the monarchs gathered here display their feelings. Previously, they rarely got together, and even less frequently did they deal jointly with matters of common interest; ministers served in their stead. Now things are completely different. The monarchs themselves have arrived in Vienna with their spouses and families, and a unanimity and concord that should always guide them can clearly be seen, since they are, after all, united by ties of kinship. They all live in the palace of the Austrian emperor, see one another daily, and delve into matters themselves. We also have the first example of monarchs getting to know their subjects and socializing with them on a friendly footing. With the exception of the Austrian emperor, who never visits private persons, they all go to balls that are given almost daily by the foreign ministers and even more often by Austrian persons of rank. Those attendant on the monarchs present are also treated with great kindness; dinners, soirées, entertainments follow one after the other without interruption. It is interesting to see that when people who have had different principles throughout their lives and had stood on different sides are gathered here for Europe's universal reconciliation, they are forced to harmonize their opinions with others'. This is why I sometimes like attending gatherings, especially the soirées at court that are held almost every week, and where the most exquisite society from all over Europe meets.

The Viennese court is indefatigable when it comes to thinking up entertainment and festivities. Recently a tournament was held whose like I had never seen. It took place in the largest and most beautiful riding hall in Europe, in the presence of all the monarchs and a large public, among them almost all the famous people of our time. The knights were from the best noble families, and the Austrian nobility has no match in Europe, brilliantly clad and on the most marvelous horses. Each knight had his lady, as was the custom in olden days. They sat across from Their Majesties, bedecked with so many precious stones that it pained the eye to look at them for any length of time.

Some time ago, a theater was outfitted here at court where young people from the best families perform. Prince Radziwill,<sup>14</sup> who is married to the Prussian king's sister, is the soul of these performances. Recently, they performed a French comedy entitled *La pension des demoiselles à Surène*, in which one actor was one of our major generals, Count Potocki, and at the theater in Princess Bagration's home, where nearly all the ruling princes were present, Count Ozharhovsky, the aide-de-camp, acted. It is strange to see Russian generals dressed as Harlequin. They presented tableaux vivants, among other things, after Le Brun's Darius's Family, Olympus, and others....<sup>15</sup>



hjerteligt til skæbnen, der leger med menneskers lod; er det mon derfor, jeg har tilbragt min ungdom i ensomhed og med videnskabelige studier, for at jeg senere kan tilkaldes til rådslagning, ikke om statsanliggender, men om toilette? Den østrigske Kejsers kabinet er ikke stort, møblerne er enkle og gamle, hans kammerjentene er gamle mænd, der behandler ham frimodigt og ikke underdanigt som slaver. I det hele taget minder alt ved Wienerhoffet én om, at man er hos en meget gammel kejserslægt, som af respekt for forfædrene ikke har foretaget nogen ændring i sin livsstil. Ved de øvrige hoffet synes alt nyt, så selv hoffernes egne folk ikke har nået at blive fortrolige med deres omgivelser. Hans Majestæt takkede mig fordi, jeg havde været hos ham, og jeg var tilfreds med på nært hold at have set dette menneske, som jeg begynder at respektere stadigt mere, især når jeg bevidner hans milde regimente.

Kejser Franz står op klokken halv syv og studerer alene til klokken ti. På dette tidspunkt kommer hans eneste generaladjutant, grev Kutcher, til ham med rapporter om militære spørgsmål. Klokken et ankommer sædvanligvis fyrst Metternich; de øvrige ministre har ikke fastsatte mødedage. Kejseren hidkalder dem fra tid til anden, eller de må anmode om audiens, hvis de har et vigtigt ærinde. Han spiser middag klokken to, klokken fem underskriver han papirer, og klokken ni ankommer grev Kutcher, som han musicerer sammen med i en time til halvanden, thi musik er han meget optaget af. Franz gebørder sig på kongressen som Regenternes storebroder, han opfører sig beskedent og ændrer ikke sine vaner i det private liv. Han går enten til fods eller kører med sin hustru ikklædt frakke eller kjole rundt i Prateren og Wiens omegn, giver audiens for sine undersåtter, taler venligt med dem, er til stede ved alle offentlige festligheder, men går aldrig til baller hos private personer; han kommer endog ikke til vor Kejsers eller storfyrstindernes mindre tafler. Når hans ministre fremsætter store krav på kongressen eller nægter at give deres samtykke til forslag fra andre staters befuldmægtigede, melder han sig syg i dette tidsrum og kommer ikke ud af sine appartementer i nogle dage. Ærkeher-tuger og øvrige prinser af hans hus efterligner hans beskedne opførsel. I det hele taget kan man sige, at hvis kejser Franz ikke er en statsmand af format, hvis han af naturen ikke har fået store talenter, så er han en god fader for sin familie og sit folk.

Kejser Franz' gemalinde er uden tvivl den mest venlige og omgængelige person i hele den regerende østrigske kejsersfamilie. Jeg har ofte set hende, men aldrig fra en så positiv vinkel, som det var tilfældet forleden. Regimentet, som Hans Majestæt [Alexander I] er æreschef for, fik udleveret nye faner; Kejseren gik i østrigsk uniform hen til hende med sit regiments officerer og bad hende i alles påhør om at fastgøre fanerne til skafterne. Ved disse ord rodmæde Majestæten, men hun svarede med høj og fast stemme, idet hun henvendte sig til officererne: "Eftersom De har den store ære, at det har behaget Hans Majestæt at modtage titlen som chef for Deres regiment, vil denne omstændighed gøre venskabet mellem de to kejsere endnu stærkere." Da hun havde fastgjort fanerne, udtalte hun en kort hilsen til de foranstående, og mens hele ceremonien stod på, var hun så forekommende og veltalende, at hun vandt almindelig anerkendelse.

Wien, den 1. december.

Kongen af Preussen sagde i en samtale med grevinde Széchényi<sup>13</sup>, hvis mand er bortrejst, at han under mandens fravær ønskede at indtage hans plads. Hertil svarede grevinden ham: "Mon Deres Majestæt regner mig for erobret land, som man kan besætte midlertidigt?"

I dag døde fyrst de Ligne. Han har været åndsfrisk og klarhjernnet lige til det sidste, som det har været karakteristisk for ham hele livet. For tre dage siden sagde han: "Jeg må skynde mig at dø, så jeg kan bringe nyheder om kongressen til det hinsidige." Han tilføjede senere: "De ser jo, at min død er aldeles nødvendig, for at de her forsamlede udenlandske Majestæter, som man forsøger at underholde på alle måder, kan få lejlighed til at overvære begravelsen af en østrigsk feltmarskal". Om aftenen efter hans død blev jeg sendt hen til hans døtre for på vegne af Kejseren at udtrykke, hvor stort tabet af prinsen føltes af Hans Majestæt. Jeg beklager meget, at de mange gøremål har forhindret mig i at efterkomme hans utallige invitationer til at aflegge ham besøg.

Wien, den 20. december.

Aldrig har der i nogen hovedstad været en så strålende samling af monarker og hoffolk, som der nu er i Wien. Uroligheder, som ikke før er set i historien, har i 25 år rystet Europa; principper, som er helliget ved århundreders brug, og som tronerne og folkenes indbyrdes forbindelser har hvilet på, blev forkastet. Det er kun et halvt år siden, stormene, der truede med at opløse alt, løjede af, og jo større fare, jo større føles gleden ved at være sluppet fri, og jo inderligere viser de her forsamlede Majestæter deres følelser. Indtil nu har det været almindeligt, at de sjældent er kommet sammen, og endnu mindre har de sammen behandlet sager af fælles interesse: ministrene er trådt i deres sted; men nu er det blevet ganske anderledes. Monarkerne selv er ankommet til Wien med deres ægtefæller og familier, og blandt dem kan man tydeligt se en sådan enighed og samdrægtighed, som de altid burde lade sig styre af, da de jo er knyttet sammen af slægtskabsbånd. De bor alle i den østrigske kejsers slot, de ser hinanden dagligt og kommer selv ind i sagerne. Her har man også det første eksempel på, at monarkerne lærer deres undersåtter at kende og omgås dem på venskabelig fod. Med undtagelse af den østrigske kejser, der aldrig kommer hos private, går de øvrige til baller, som udenlandske ministre og endnu oftere østrigske standspersoner giver næsten dagligt. Personer, der er knyttet til de hervervende monarker, omgås også meget venskabeligt; middag, aftenselskaber, fornøjelser; det ene afløser uden ophør det andet. Det er interessant at se, at når mennesker, som hele livet har haft forskellige principper og har stået på hver sin side, samles her til Europas almindelige forsoning, så er de trunget til at afstemme deres meninger med hinanden. Derfor holder jeg af undertiden at gå til sammenkomster, især de såkaldte aftenselskaber ved hoffet, der afholdes næsten hver uge, og hvor det mest udsøgte selskab fra hele Europa forsamles.

Wienerhoffet er utviveligt, når det drejer sig om at udtænke underholdning og fester. For nylig blev der afholdt et ridderespil, hvis lige jeg aldrig nogen sinde har set. Det fandt sted i den største og smukkeste manege, der findes i Europa, i nærverelse af alle monarker og et stort publikum, blandt hvilke befandt sig næsten alle vor tids berømt heder. De kæmpende riddere var fra de bedste adelsfamilier, og den østrigske adel har ikke sin lige i Europa, strålende klædt og på de herligste heste. Hver ridder havde sin hjertensdame, som det var skik i gamle dage. De sad over for Majestæterne, smykket med så mange ædelsten, at det smertede øjet at se på dem i længere tid.

For nogen tid siden blev et teater indrettet her ved hoffet, hvor unge mennesker fra de bedste familier optræder. Fyrst Radziwill<sup>14</sup>, der er gift med den preussiske konges søster, er sjelen i disse forestillinger. For nylig opførte de en fransk komedie med titlen "Devitje utjilistje v Sjurenene" (La pension des demoiselles



The following is a poem written about the perpetual balls that are held here:

Après une longue guerre  
L'enfant de Cythère  
Vouloit en donnant la paix  
Tenir à Vienne un congrès.

Il convoque en diligence  
La sagesse et le plaisir,  
Et par une contredanse  
On voit le congrès s'ouvrir.

Au berceau de Terpsichore  
Du soir jusqu'à l'aurore  
On agitoit des débats  
Sur l'importance d'un pas.

Minerve dit en colère:  
Cessons au moins un instant,  
Si vous ne voulez pas faire  
A Vienne un congrès dansant.

Venus et la jouissance,  
Qui savoient bien que la danse  
Ajoutoit à leurs appas,  
Vouloient qu'on ne cessa pas.

La sagesse doit se taire,  
Dit en riant le plaisir,  
A Vienne unique affaire  
Est de régler le plaisir.

A ces mots on recommence,  
Les masques entrent en danse;  
Mars, Hercule et Jupiter  
Valent un nouveau Landrer.

Soudain Minerve en furie  
Dit dans son courroux: Je crois  
Qu'à ce congrès la folie  
Préside mieux que moi.

Calmez vous, mademoiselle,  
Lui dit l'enfant infidèle,  
Laissez les propos oisieux,  
Et melez vous à nos jeux.

Assez longtemps sur la terre  
Votre soeur nous fit gémir,  
Laissez nous après la guerre  
Respirer pour le plaisir.

A l'instant à la barrière  
Pour entrer dans la carrière  
S'offrent trente chevaliers  
Le front couverts de lauriers.

On lisoit sur leur bannières  
Ces mots loyal et fidèle,  
C'étoient les chargés d'affaires  
Du congrès au carroussel.

Enfin de tout on se lasse,  
Les jeux, les bals et la chasse

Avoient été discutés  
Et résumés en traités.

Que feront nous davantage,  
Dit l'amour, donnons la paix  
Et faisons ce badinage  
En terminant le congrès.

Here is a similar poem written in honor of the tournament:

Mes amis, vive la danse,  
Si nous lui devons la paix,  
Pour que de cette danse  
Nous ne fassions pas les fraix.

Mais si tout l'hiver en danse,  
Il se pourroit bien, dit-on,  
Qu'au printemps on entre en danse  
Au son bruyant du canon.

Lorsque j'ai dit que la danse  
Etoit en vogue en ce jour,  
Qu'à Vienne partout on danse  
En ville comme à la cour.

C'est que du congrès la danse  
Est l'objet essentiel,  
Et la preuve en est la danse  
Des chevaux au carroussel.

We must presume that the Viennese court's entertainments for the foreign guests cost large sums, since no expense is spared that can make our stay pleasant. One of the proofs of this is that every morning an official comes to me and asks when it would please me to eat breakfast, lunch, and dinner, how many places should be set, and whether I wish any special dishes or wines. Then a stableman arrives to ask when I intend to go out into the city or Vienna's environs, whether it would be in a barouche, a coach, or on horseback, and how many riding horses I would need if I should wish to go out with acquaintances. From December, however, it has been noted that the court has begun to put a damper on the luxury with which it made a play in the first three months of the Congress. The number of servants and equipages is not as lavish as it was, but the friendliness and imagination of the Austrian court in arranging various forms of festivities remain unchanged.

Actually, during our stay in Vienna, not a week has passed without at least three or four balls or parties, either at court or held by private persons. At the same time, the public does not know what goes on in the government cabinets; people wait impatiently to learn their fate and say that not without a grumble do they see how the Congress participants party incessantly. The Prince de Ligne was asked how the Congress was getting along. He replied that it was not getting anywhere; it was dancing. ("Le congrès ne marche pas, il dance.")

### "Journal from 1815"

This "Journal" begins with character sketches of the Russian diplomats and military personnel present in Vienna. The author's conclusion is unusually sharp, something that can probably be explained by his youth and the tendency to freethinking that was characteristic of graduates from



à Surène), hvor en af skuespillerne var vor generalmajor grev Pototskij; og på teatret i fyrstinde Bagrations hjem, hvor næsten alle regerende fyrster var til stede, spillede generaladjudant grev Osjarovskij. Det er mærkeligt at se russiske generaler klædt ud som Harlekin. Man præsenterede de såkaldte levende billeder, tableaux vivants, blandt andet tilegnet le Bruns "Darius' familie", "Olympen" og andre ...<sup>15</sup>.

Her følger et digt skrevet i anledning af de evindelige baller, der afholdes her:

*Après une longue guerre  
L'enfant de Cythère  
Vouloit en donnant la paix  
Tenir à Vienne un congrès.*

*Il convoque en diligence  
La sagesse et le plaisir,  
Et par une contredanse  
On voit le congrès s'ouvrir.*

*Au berceau de Terpsychore  
Du soir jusqu'à l'aurore  
On agitoit des débats  
Sur l'importance d'un pas.*

*Minerve dit en colère:  
Cessons au moins un instant,  
Si vous ne voulez pas faire  
A Vienne un congrès dansant.*

*Venus et la jouissance,  
Qui savoient bien que la danse  
Ajoutoit à leurs appas,  
Vouloient qu'on ne cessa pas.*

*La sagesse doit se taire,  
Dit en riant le plaisir,  
A Vienne unique affaire  
Est de régler le plaisir.*

*A ces mots on recommence,  
Les masques entrent en danse;  
Mars, Hercule et Jupiter  
Valent un nouveau Landrer.*

*Soudain Minerve en furie  
Dit dans son courroux: Je crois  
Qu'à ce congrès la folie  
Préside mieux que moi.*

*Calmez vous, mademoiselle,  
Lui dit l'enfant infidèle,  
Laissez les propos oisieux,  
Et melez vous à nos jeux.*

*Assez longtemps sur la terre  
Votre soeur nous fit gémir,  
Laissez nous après la guerre  
Respirer pour le plaisir.*

*A l'instant à la barrière  
Pour entrer dans la carrière  
S'offrent trente chevaliers  
Le front couverts de lauriers.*

*On lisoit sur leur bannières  
Ces mots loyal et fidèle,  
C'étoient les chargés d'affaires  
Du congrès au carroussel.*

*Enfin de tout on se lasse,  
Les jeux, les bals et la chasse  
Avoient été discutés  
Et résumés en traités.*

*Que feront nous davantage,  
Dit l'amour, donnons la paix  
Et faisons ce badinage  
En terminant le congrès.*

Et lignende digt, som er forfattet i anledning af det afholdte ridderspil:

*Mes amis, vive la danse,  
Si nous lui devons la paix,  
Pour que de cette danse  
Nous ne fassions pas les fraix.*

*Mais si tout l'hiver en danse,  
Il se pourroit bien, dit-on,  
Qu'au printemps on entre en danse  
Au son bruyant du canon.*

*Lorsque j'ai dit que la danse  
Etoit en vogue en ce jour,  
Qu'à Vienne partout on danse  
En ville comme à la cour.*

*C'est que du congrès la danse  
Est l'objet essentiel,  
Et la preuve en est la danse  
Des chevaux au carroussel.*

Man må formode, at det, Wienerhoffet trakterer de udenlandske gæster med, koster store summer, for der bliver ikke sparet på noget, der kan gøre vort ophold behageligt. Et af beviserne herpå er, at der hver morgen kommer en embedsmand til mig og spørger, hvornår det behager mig at spise morgenmad, middagsmad og aftensmad, hvor mange personer, der skal dækkes bord til, og om jeg ikke har lyst til nogle særlige retter eller vine. Derefter indfinder en berider sig for at få at vide, hvornår jeg har til hensigt at begive mig ud i byen eller i Wiens omegn, om det skal være i kaleche, karet eller til hest, og hvor mange ridebeste jeg har brug for, ifald jeg ønsker at tage ud med bekendte. Fra december har man dog mærket, at hoffet er begyndt at lægge en demper på den luksus, som man i kongressens første tre måneder brillerede med. Antallet af tjenere og ekvipager er ikke så overdådigt som før, men det østrigske hofs venlighed og opfindsombed med hensyn til at arrangere forskellige former for festligheder er uforandret.

Faktisk er der under vort ophold i Wien ikke gået en uge uden mindst tre eller fire baller eller fester, det være sig ved hoffet eller hos private. Samtidig er det ikke kendt for offentligheden, hvad der foregår i regeringskabinetterne, folkene venter utålmodigt på at kende deres skebne og siger, at det ikke er uden knurren de er vidne til, hvordan kongressens deltagere fester uden ophør. "Comment va le congrès?" [hvordan går kongressen?] - blev først de Ligne spurgt. "Il ne va pas, mais il danse" [den går slet ikke, den danser], - svarede han.



the University of Göttingen during this time. "I have not met a single Russian at the Congress who is able to rise to the important situation in which our fatherland finds itself now."<sup>16</sup> Was it unimportant people the author wrote about? No; on the contrary, it was well-known participants such as Grand Duke Constantine Pavlovich,<sup>17</sup> Frédéric de La Harpe,<sup>18</sup> Fyodor P. Uvarov, Henri de Jomini, Prince Volkonsky, Count Ozharovsky,<sup>19</sup> Prince Trubetskoy,<sup>20</sup> P. V. Golenishev-Kutuzov, A. I. Thernycheb, Vasili R. Marchenko, Count Nesselrode,<sup>21</sup> Count Razumovsky,<sup>22</sup> Count Stackelberg,<sup>23</sup> Baron von Anstett,<sup>24</sup> Count Capo d'Istria,<sup>25</sup> Count Pozzo di Borgo,<sup>26</sup> and Count Kozlovsky.<sup>27</sup> Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky's evaluation of a number of the European monarchs and statesman was no less sharp. The author was only impressed by Alexander I, whom he praised in his "Journal."

*Vienna, February 26*

*At the beginning of February, we began to speak of our departure from Vienna, and it was set for the 28th of the month. The emperor intended to visit some German courts on his way back to Russia, but on the 25th, news suddenly arrived that Napoleon had fled from Elba. This event is a common, if not the only, topic of conversation on all walks, at gatherings and meetings in private houses and in cafés; all ask when they meet if there is more news about it. Nothing demonstrates better how Napoleon's genius is esteemed than the agitation that this move by him has caused. It is felt especially strongly here in Vienna, where people had lived for five months in uninterrupted gaiety and had lapsed into perfect unconcern, and now everyone seems paralyzed. The King of Bavaria<sup>28</sup> has lost his appetite out of fright and has walked around for days as if he were deranged.*

*Vienna, April 8*

*Among all the ministers present here, not one has such a pleasant exterior as Prince Metternich. He not only heads diplomacy and Austria's domestic policy; he also has influence on the appointment of generals to the army. In the full sense of the word, we can say that he controls both the monarchy and its emperor, who does nothing without first having taken council with him. His name will always grace the history of Austria, since under him, the country has regained all the possessions it had lost in the course of twenty years of defeat, and it has achieved more influence than it had before ever since political equilibrium was established in Europe. Since the Vienna cabinet joined the alliance against France, he has secured his fatherland a leading role, and although many people at the beginning of the Congress doubted that he would succeed in keeping this position, all now agree that he is the true leader of the Congress. He has the ability to surround himself with talented people; he is a success with the fair sex, and the general respect for him grows day by day. The Austrians say with pride than none of their ministers explained their position so firmly to Napoleon as Metternich when he negotiated in Dresden in 1813. All his actions testify that he follows Russia's growing power with jealousy and concern, but can things be different to a man who is minister in a state whose neighbor is a colossus that seems ready to engulf the entire universe? We must admit that these words, which one of the archdukes uttered at news of Napoleon's flight from Elba, were not completely baseless: "Regardless of the danger that threatens us from Paris, it is less than what we can expect from Warsaw."*

*The Prussian chancellor, Prince Hardenberg,<sup>29</sup> is among our day's most outstanding men, since he enjoys in equal measure his king's trust, his countrymen's respect, and his subordinates' love. He controls all Prussian affairs and not a single minister has the right to report to the king without consulting him. He does not leave a single paper unanswered, is friendly in receiving those who have business with him, and keeps his office open to all his countrymen, who cannot sufficiently praise his friendly manner. I have not yet heard a single person speak unfavorably of him. His appearance is majestic; he is tall and gray-haired, and his wise facial expression gives him a dignified appearance. He has the right to take as much from the state treasury as he needs for his personal expenses.*

*There are many English diplomats at the Congress, and they believe that their informal manners make them worthy representatives of their free countrymen, and are consequently embarrassing, at times tactless, even shameless, and always boring.*

*Otherwise, the great advantages that England has gained show how successfully its ministers have negotiated, but it is indeed curious that the London cabinet has sent to Vienna, where all the monarchs are gathered, people whose strange behavior has aroused indignation. I will only mention the ambassador to the court in Paris, Lord Stewart,<sup>30</sup> Castlereagh's<sup>31</sup> brother. Once when he had had a disagreement with a driver on the street, he began to quarrel with him, and it ended in a brawl. Another time, when he was leaving a ball intoxicated and met a highly respected woman and her daughter on the staircase, he began to fondle the daughter. When the entire court was to embark on a sleigh ride, he arrived in the courtyard of the palace where the sleds for the highest-ranking personages stood, sitting on the box of a carriage, and he had his compatriots of both sexes with him. Although orders had been given not to let anyone into the courtyard, he gained access to it by might, and the police forced him to drive out again. Lord Stewart's shameless behavior is, however, in a manner of speaking offset by the noble qualities of Lord Cathcart<sup>32</sup> and Lord Wellington,<sup>33</sup> who remain the same whether they are in their office or on the battlefield.*

*Vienna, April 10*

*When His Majesty [Alexander I] gives banquets for persons from the ruling houses, no other subjects than field marshals Wellington, Schwarzenberg,<sup>34</sup> and Wrede<sup>35</sup> are invited, not even plenipotentiaries to the Congress or high-ranking Russian generals, including the noble Dmitri Dokhturov. The field marshal from Bavaria is received on an equal footing with Wellington and Schwarzenberg, an example that the strong powers at the Congress do not assume precedence over the less-powerful states and endeavor to maintain equilibrium among them.*

*I include the list of persons who are normally present when His Majesty gives banquets:*

1. the Emperor
2. the Empress
3. the Emperor of Austria
4. the Empress of Austria
5. the King of Prussia
6. the King of Denmark
7. the King of Bavaria



## “Journalen fra året 1815”

Denne “Journal” begynder med karakteristikkene af de russiske diplomater og militærfolk, der befandt sig i Wien. Forfatterens afsluttende konklusion er usædvanlig skarp, hvilket sandsynligvis kan forklares med hans unge alder og den tendens til fritænkeri, der var karakteristisk for dimittender fra universitetet i Göttingen i de år: “Jeg har på kongressen ikke mødt en eneste russer, som evner at leve op til den betydningsfulde situation, vort fædreland befandt sig i nu”.<sup>16</sup> Var det da ubetydelige personligheder, forfatteren skrev om? Nej, tværtimod drejer det sig om så kendte deltagere som kronprins Konstantin Pavlovitj<sup>17</sup>, Frédéric La Harpe<sup>18</sup>, Fjodor P. Uvarov, Henri de Jomini, fyrst Volkonskij, grev Osjarovskij<sup>19</sup>, fyrst Trubetskij<sup>20</sup>, P. V. Golenisjev-Kutuzov, A. I. Tjernysjev, statssekretær Vasili R. Martjenko, grev Nesselrode<sup>21</sup>, grev Rasumovskij<sup>22</sup>, grev Stackelberg<sup>23</sup>, baron von Anstett<sup>24</sup>, grev Capo d’Istria<sup>25</sup>, grev Pozzo di Borgo<sup>26</sup> og grev Kozlovskij<sup>27</sup>. Også nogle af de europæiske monarker og statsmænd gjorde sig fortjent til en ikke mindre skarp vurdering fra Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskijs side. Forfatteren er kun begejstret for Alexander I, som han bogstavelig talt lovpriser i sin “Journal”.

Wien, den 26. februar.

I begyndelsen af februar måned begyndte man at tale om vor afrejse fra Wien og den blev fastsat til den 28. i samme måned. Kejseren havde til hensigt at aflegge besøg ved nogle tyske hoffere på vejen tilbage til Rusland, men den 24. kom så pludselig underretning om, at Napoleon var flygtet fra Elba. Denne begivenhed er et almindeligt, for ikke at sige det eneste, samtaleemne ved alle spadsereture, ved sammenkomster og møder i private huse og på cafeer: alle spørger, når de mødes, om der ikke skulle være flere nyheder om dette. Intet kan bedre vise, hvor højt man sætter Napoleons begavelse, end den ophidselse, som dette skridt fra hans side har vakt. Det mærkes særligt kraftigt her i Wien, hvor man i fem måneder har levet i uafbrudt munterhed og har hengivet sig i fuldkommen ubekymretthed, og nu er alle som slået af lammelse. Kongen af Bayern<sup>28</sup> har af forskrækkelse mistet appetitten og har i dagevis gået rundt som forstyrret.

Wien, d. 8. april.

Blandt alle ministre, der befandt sig her, er der ikke en, der har et så behageligt ydre som fyrst Metternich. Han er ikke kun leder af diplomatiet og Østrigs indenrigspolitik, men det er også under hans indflydelse, der udnævnes generaler i heren. Man kan i ordets fulde betydning sige, at han styrer både monarkiet og dets kejser, som ikke foretager sig noget uden først at have rådført sig med ham. Hans navn vil altid forblive et smykke i Østrigs historie, thi under ham har landet genvundet alle de besiddelser, det mistede i løbet af tyve års nederlag, og det har opnået mere indflydelse, end det nogensinde har haft, siden den politiske ligevegt blev etableret i Europa. Siden kabinettet i Wien sluttede sig til alliancen mod Frankrig, har han bevaret sit fædreland i en ledende rolle, og skønt mange ved kongressens begyndelse tvivlede på, det ville lykkes ham at holde sig i den position, er alle nu enige om, at han er kongressens virkelige leder. Han har evnen til at omgive sig med begavede folk, han gør lykke hos det smukke køn, og den almindelige respekt for ham høynes fra dag til dag. Østrigerne siger med stolthed, at ingen af deres ministre forklarede sig med så stor fasthed over

for Napoleon, som Metternich, da man førte forhandlinger i Dresden i 1813. Alle hans handlinger vidner om, at han med skinsyge og bekymring ser på Ruslands voksende magt; men kan det være anderledes for en mand, som er minister i en stat, hvis nabo er en kolos, der synes parat til at opsluge hele universet? Man må indrømme, at disse ord, som en af erkehertugerne udtalte ved nyheden om Napoleons flugt fra Elba, ikke er helt ubeføjede: “Uanset hvor stor en fare, der truer os fra Paris, er den mindre end den, vi har i vente fra Warszawa”.

Den preussiske kansler, fyrst Hardenberg<sup>29</sup>, hører til vor tids mest fremragende mænd, idet han i lige grad nyder sin Majestæts tillid, sine landsmænds respekt og sine undergivnes kærlighed. Han styrer alle Preussens anliggender, og ikke en eneste minister har ret til at rapportere til kongen udenom ham. Han lader ikke et eneste papir ligge uden svar, han modtager med venlighed dem, der har ærinde hos ham, og hans kontor er åbent for alle hans landsmænd, som ikke nok kan berømme hans venlige omgangsform. Jeg har endnu ikke hørt en eneste udtale sig ufordelagtigt om ham. Hans ydre er majestetisk, han er høj og gråhåret, og hans kloge ansigtsudtryk giver ham et agtværdigt udseende. Han har ret til af statskassen at tage så meget, som han behøver til sine personlige udgifter.

Der er en mængde engelske diplomater ved kongressen, og de mener, at de ved deres utvungne omgangsform i selskabslivet gør sig til værdige repræsentanter for deres frie medborgere, og derved bliver de pinlige, undertiden taktløse, endog uforskammede og altid kedelige.

I øvrigt viser de store fordele, som England har fået, hvor vellykket dets ministre har forhandlet, men det er dog mærkeligt, at Londonkabinettet hertil, hvor alle monarker er samlet, har sendt folk, der ved deres mærkværdige opførsel har vakt indignation. Jeg nævner blot her ambassadøren ved Pariserhoffet, lord Stewart,<sup>30</sup> der er Castlereaghs<sup>31</sup> bror. En gang, da han var blevet uenig med en kusk på gaden, kom han op at skændes med ham, og det endte med slagsmål. En anden gang, da han forlod et bal i beruset tilstand og på trappen mødte en højt respekteret kvinde og hendes datter, begyndte han at befamle datterens krop. Da hele hoffet skulle på slædetur, ankom han til slotsgården, hvor slæderne til de højfornemme personer holdt, siddende på bukken af en kare, og med sig havde han englændere af begge køn. Skønt det var befalet ikke at lade nogen slippe ind i gården, skaffede han sig med magt adgang dertil, og politifolk tvang ham til at køre ud derfra igen. Lord Stewarts uforskammede opførsel bliver dog så at sige opvejet af lord Cathcarts<sup>32</sup> og lord Wellingtons<sup>33</sup> edle kvaliteter, der er ens, uanset om de er i deres kabinet eller på slagmarken.

Wien, d. 10. april.

Når Majestæten (Alexander I) afholder banketter for personer fra de regerende huse, inviteres ikke andre undersætter end feltmarskalerne Wellington, Schwarzenberg<sup>34</sup> og Wrede<sup>35</sup>, man indbyder endog ikke befuldmægtigede gesandter ved kongressen eller højtrangerende russiske generaler, hvortil den ærverdige Dmitri Dokhturov hører. Et bevis på, at de stærke magter ved kongressen ikke i det ydre tillægger sig nogen forrang i forhold til mindre magtfulde stater og bestræber sig på at opretholde en indbyrdes ligevegt, fremgår af, at feltmarskallen fra Bayern bliver modtaget på lige fod med Wellington og Schwarzenberg.

Jeg meddeler her listen over personer, der normalt er til stede, når Majestæten giver banketter:



8. Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna
9. Grand Duchess Catherine Pavlovna
10. the Crown Prince of Austria
11. Archduke Charles
12. Archduke Joseph Palatin
13. Archduke Anton
14. Archduke René
15. Archduke Ludvig
16. Archduke Rudolf
17. Archduke Johan
18. Archduke Ferdinand
19. Prince Leopold of Naples
20. Archduchess Leopoldine
21. Archduchess Klementine
22. Archduchess Beatrix
23. Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen
24. Prince William of Prussia
25. Prince August of Prussia
26. the Prince of Holstein-Beck<sup>36</sup>
27. the Crown Prince of Bavaria
28. Prince Karl of Bavaria
29. the Crown Prince of Württemberg
30. Prince Ferdinand of Württemberg
31. the Grand Duke of Baden
32. the Duke of Weimar
33. the Crown Prince of Darmstadt
34. the Duke of Coburg
35. the Princess of Thurn and Taxis
36. the Crown Prince of Mecklenburg-Strelitz
37. Prince Leopold of Coburg
38. Prince Ferdinand of Coburg
39. the former Viceroy Eugène of Italy
40. the Crown Prince of Hesse-Homburg
41. Prince Philip of Hesse-Homburg
42. Prince Ludvig of Hesse-Homburg
43. the Duke of Nassau
44. the Crown Prince of Nassau
45. the Prince of Hesse-Philippstahl
46. the Duke of Wellington (field marshal)
47. Prince Schwarzenberg (field marshal)
48. Prince Wrede (field marshal)

Throughout our stay in Vienna, His Majesty has had his own, extremely fine cuisine. He has usually dined with his sisters or with La Harpe, but most often alone. When His Majesty has had the Emperor Francis to dinner, he has ordered for him some of his special favorite dishes from the Austrian cuisine, which is rather modest. The burgundy that is the only His Majesty drinks is shipped here from St. Petersburg by chasseurs, who depart from here three times a week.

When the emperor gives large dinners, each of us in the military who serve His Majesty are charged with inviting two or three princes. Once it was my lot to invite the former Viceroy of Italy, Eugène,<sup>37</sup> and the Prince of Nassau-Weilburg. Hardly had the former been notified of my arrival before he came to meet me through a number of rooms, invited me into his reception room, thanked me for the honor shown him, and said the following words to me, which will always remain in my memory as yet another sign of the vagaries of fortune: "Mettez moi aux pieds de S.M. Impériale." How long ago was it, I thought, that he attacked us in Mali Yaroslavets, and in the western enemy flank on the plain of Borodino? Immersed in thoughts of this

kind, I arrived at the rooms of the Prince of Nassau-Weilburg, where I nearly laughed out loud, for he received me like a Persian or Turkish ambassador. When my arrival was announced, the double doors in one room after the other were opened, and footmen and chamberlains in gold stood at each, and I caught sight of the prince in the fifth room, where he stood and awaited me, immobile and without taking a single step toward me.

Vienna, May 4

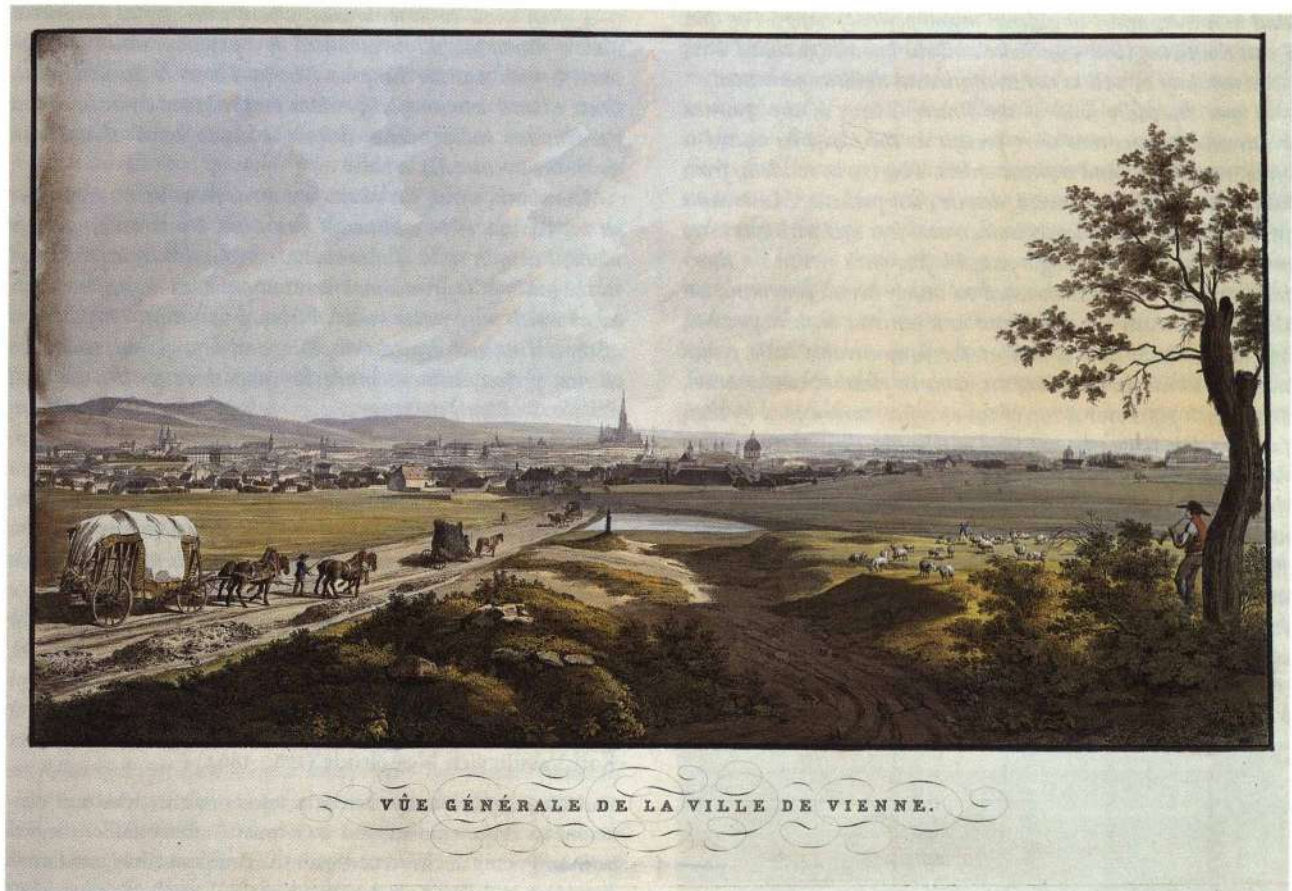
The Danish king left today. He had presented his case very unfavorably since he has been forced to relinquish Norway, the ancient possession of his forefathers, to Sweden, and in doing so, and because of the multiplying state debt and fall in paper money, has his people against him. The Swedish crown prince<sup>38</sup> has benefited from these circumstances and sought to spread unflattering rumors about the King of Denmark, among others that everyone at the Congress poked fun at the king. This was told to me by the head of the royal household, who urged me to help have the money paid that Russia owes Denmark for the period that General Bennigsen<sup>39</sup> and his army had been in and around Altona, and he held firmly to this, as if his personal well-being depended on it.

The first years of the Danish king's rule were characterized by sensible policies, but later, no matter how he struggled, he was drawn into the political storms that raged throughout Europe. He and his officials, of whom he had naturally taken the best with him from Copenhagen, not only failed to impress with their gifts; their curious dress and plain faces also made them the laughingstock. In elegance they moreover lagged behind the rest of the Europeans and did not try to follow the example of others, not even the Russians, who were otherwise copied by all. The king himself is blond, thin, with a pendulous lower lip, and with such awkward manners that once when I had to spend a quarter of an hour with him alone, he hardly knew what to talk about with me. It was around eight in the morning when His Majesty's valet came running in to me and said that the Danish king was in our emperor's reception room and that the emperor, who was not yet dressed, had ordered me to go down as quickly as possible and entertain the king with conversation while the emperor was being dressed. It is said that a prostitute named Caroline,<sup>40</sup> who has quite a pleasing appearance and for whose willing services two gold rubles are paid, was brought back from Vienna to Copenhagen together with her mother and, add others, also with her former lover.

Vienna, May 8

Since I will leave Vienna in a short time, I cannot refrain in my memoirs from recalling various excursions in the surroundings. I have never greeted spring with such joy as this year since the climate here has been so generous that on January first, I was able to write with my windows open only dressed in a coat, and even more so because when I had finished the duties and matters with which I have been burdened more than ever before, it was a genuine pleasure for me to leave the city on foot or horseback. I did not have the occasion to visit Baden, Laxenburg, or Schenau, since they are too far from Vienna, and only rarely was I able to leave the palace for more than an hour or two. But even in my old age, it will always be pleasant for me to remember the Prater, Schönbrunn, and Dornbach, since trips to them gave me an opportunity, a few versts from the clamorous capital, to think about my situation, and at times to let myself be transported into the world of dreams. During these hours I was alone,





Kat. nr. 217.

1. Kejseren
2. Kejserrinden
3. Kejseren af Østrig
4. Kejserrinden af Østrig
5. Kongen af Preussen
6. Kongen af Danmark
7. Kongen af Bayern
8. Storfyrstinde Maria Pavlovna
9. Storfyrstinde Katharina Pavlovna
10. Kronprinsen af Østrig
11. Ærkehertug Karl
12. Ærkehertug Joseph Palatin
13. Ærkehertug Anton
14. Ærkehertug Ludvig
15. Ærkehertug Rudolf
16. Ærkehertug Johan
17. Ærkehertug Ferdinand
18. Prins Leopold af Neapel
19. Ærkehertuginde Leopoldine
20. Ærkehertuginde Klementine
21. Ærkehertuginde Beatrix
22. Hertug Albert af Sachsen-Teschen
23. Prins Wilhelm af Preussen
24. Prins August af Preussen
25. Prinsen af Holstein-Beck<sup>36</sup>
26. Kronprinsen af Bayern
27. Prins Karl af Bayern
28. Kronprinsen af Württemberg
29. Prins Ferdinand af Württemberg

30. Storhertugen af Baden
31. Hertugen af Weimar
32. Kronprinsen af Darmstadt
33. Hertugen af Coburg
34. Prinsessen af Thurn und Taxis
35. Kronprinsen af Mecklenburg-Strelitz
36. Prins Leopold af Coburg
37. Prins Ferdinand af Coburg
38. Tidligere vicekonge Eugène af Italien
39. Kronprinsen af Hessen-Homburg
40. Prins Philip af Hessen-Homburg
41. Prins Ludvig af Hessen-Homburg
42. Hertugen af Nassau
43. Kronprinsen af Nassau
44. Prinsen af Hessen-Philippstahl
45. Feltmarskal Hertug af Wellington
46. Feltmarskal Fyrst Schwarzenberg
47. Feltmarskal Fyrst Wrede

Under hele vort ophold i Wien har Majestæten haft sit eget, overordentligt velmagende køkken. Sædvanligvis har han spist sammen med sine søstre eller med La Harpe, men oftest alene. Når Majestæten har haft kejser Franz til middag, har man tilberedt ham nogle af hans særlige yndlingsretter fra det østrigske, ikke videre prangende køkken. Den bourgogne, som er den eneste Majestæten drikker, bliver fragtet hertil fra Skt. Petersborg af feltjegere, der drager derfra 3 gange ugentligt.

Når Kejseren afholder store middage, får hver af os militære, der er hos Majestæten, til opgave at invitere to eller tre prinser



clad in a coat, and I considered myself perfectly happy. For this, I can thank my clear conscience and the knowledge that I have done my duty as well as my strength and abilities permitted.

I was especially fond of the Prater. Many of the crowned heads and princes that were present at the Congress visited it often, simply clad and without orders. This is why residents from all classes seemed to be mixed, despite their presence. Music came from different places, lovely women and fops met with every step one took, splendid equipages passed before one's eyes in the thousands, young men were sketched on stately horses, charming little girls presented bouquets, and as a contrast to these pictures, one had only to take a look at the innumerable little round tables at which the Germans sat, some in pleasant conversation, others with pipes over a cup of tea or coffee, surrounded by their families. For those who are fond of solitude, there is a wealth of dark side avenues, where one can lie on the fragrant grass in the shadows of the chestnuts or walk along the banks of the Danube and enjoy its curves. Despite the crowds of people who come to the Prater, especially on Sunday, silence and calm prevailed everywhere, and not a single policeman was to be seen; the peaceful inhabitants of fortunate Germany are always equally modest, equally good-natured.

I often came to Schönbrunn, where with special pleasure I always visited the hill surmounted by a pavilion, called the Gloriette, which was the Empress Maria Theresa's favorite place. Once when I was completely alone on the broad avenues of this garden, my independence delighted me so much that I ran down the avenue like a child.

Dornbach, which lies about five versts from Vienna, attracted me because of its wildness. Once when I was walking there alone, I caught sight of a meadow, surrounded by heights, and in the midst of it grew some trees that provided shade for a statue at which pure water bubbled from a fountain. The last rays of the setting sun graced this place, and a profound, unbroken silence, perfect stillness, made me stop there with a sense of delight. Suddenly the tower clock struck six; it reminded me that I was no longer free to use my time as I wished and I returned, remembering how during my travels and at the university I had enjoyed my independence and lived for science and nature, with an innocent heart and ardent imagination. At this moment, after the horrible political upheavals and maelstroms that have carried me away as well, I found myself again in the midst of nature, which is an inexhaustible source of pleasure for us. Woe to him who estranges himself from nature, I thought;



Karl Vassilievich Nesselrode (1780-1862)

Karl Nesselrode was the son of a Jewish mother who had converted to Protestantism, and a German Catholic father; he was born in Portugal, christened with the Anglican ritual, studied in Frankfurt and Berlin, was a friend of the French encyclopædists and had changed nationality five times. He never learned to speak or write Russian and was always a foreigner in relation to the Russia whose interests he was to safeguard for 40 years. His contemporaries characterised him as a person without the slightest interest in choice of occupation or position, so long as the employment – whether in the navy, cavalry, court or diplomatic service – was associated with a good income. During the Congress of Vienna, where the masked balls, evening social events, dinners, theatre performances and not least the female company attracted the large part of Nesselrode's attention, he was Alexander I's chief negotiator, with the title of Minister of State. The Tsar placed a high value, not without justification, on Nesselrode's mild, docile and resigned character.

Russia's National Library. St Petersburg

Karl Vassiljevitz Nesselrode (1780-1862)

Karl Nesselrode var søn af en jødisk moder, der var gået over til protestantismen, og en tysk, katolsk far; han var født i Portugal, døbt efter det anglikanske ritual, havde studeret i Frankfurt og Berlin, var ven med de franske encyklopædister og havde skiftet nationalitet fem gange. Han lærte aldrig at tale og skrive russisk og stod altid fremmed over for det Rusland, hvis interesser han skulle varetage i 40 år. Hans samtidige karakteriserer ham som en person uden ringeste interesse for valg af beskæftigelse eller stilling, når blot ansættelsen - det være sig inden for marinen, kavalieriet, hoffet eller diplomatiet - var forbundet med et godt afkast. Under Wienerkongressen, hvis maskeballer, aftenselskaber, midt-dage, teaterforestillinger og ikke mindst kvindelige selskab havde Nesselrodes store bevågenhed, var han Alexander Is chefforhandler med titel af statsminister. Kejseren satte ikke uden grund pris på Nesselrodes milde, viljeløse og resignerende karakter.

Ruslands Nationale Bibliotek. Skt. Petersburg



dertil. En gang tilfaldt det mig at invitere den tidligere vicekonge af Italien, Eugène [de Beauharnais]<sup>37</sup> og prinsen af Nassau-Weilburg. Knap havde man hos den første af dem annonceret min ankomst, før han kom mig i møde gennem en række værelser, inviterede mig ind i modtagelsesværelset, takkede mig for den udviste ære, og sagde følgende ord til mig, som altid vil stå i min hukommelse som endnu et bevis på lykkens omskiftelighed: "Mettez moi aux pieds de S. M. Impériale" [læg mig for Hans kejserlige Majestæts fødder]. Hvor længe siden var det, tænkte jeg, han førte an imod os i Malij Jaroslavets og i den venstre fjendtlige flanke på Borodinosletten? Fordybet i den slags overvejelser ankom jeg til prinsen af Nassau-Weilburg, hvor jeg var lige at le hølydt, for han modtog mig som en persisk eller tyrkisk ambassadør. Da man havde annonceret min ankomst for ham, åbnede man pludselig begge fløje i den ene dør efter den anden i en suite af værelser, ved hver dør stod lakajer og kammerherrer i guld, og jeg fik øje på prinsen i det femte værelse, hvor han stod og ventede mig, ubevægelig og uden at tage et eneste skridt frem imod mig.

Wien, den 4. maj.

Den danske konge drog herfra i går. Han har ført sin sag meget ufordelagtigt, idet han er blevet trunget til at afstå Norge, sine forfædres urgamle besiddelse, til Sverige, og derved har han ligesom ved den mangedoblede statsgæld og papirpengenes fald fået sit folk imod sig. Den svenske kronprins<sup>38</sup> har draget fordel af disse omstændigheder og søgt at sprede ufordelagtige rygter om kongen i Danmark, herunder at kongen ved kongressen skulle have været genstand for alles morskab. Dette blev mig fortalt af lederen af den kongelige stab, der indtrængende bad mig medvirke til udbetaling af de penge, som Rusland skylder Danmark for general Bennigsens<sup>39</sup> og hans hær ophold i Altona og omegn, og han stod så fast på dette, som afhang hele hans personlige velfærd deraf.

De første år af den danske konges regeringstid udmerkede sig ved en forstandig politik, men senere blev han, hvor meget han end stræbte imod, trukket ind i de politiske storme, der hærgede Europa. Han og hans embedsmænd, hvoraf han selvsagt havde taget de bedste med sig fra København, undlod ikke blot at brillere med deres begavelse, men de blev også til latter med deres mærkelige påklædning og uskønne ansigter. I elegance stod de ligesom tilbage for de øvrige europæere, og de forsøgte ikke at følge andres eksempel, ikke engang russernes, som nu ellers bliver efterlignet af alle. Kongen selv er blond, mager, med hængende underlæbe og i omgang så kejtet, at da jeg engang måtte tilbringe et kvarter med ham på tomandshånd, vidste han næppe, hvad han skulle tale med mig om. Det var om morgenen ved ottetiden, da Hans Majestæts kammertjener kom løbende til mig og sagde, at den danske konge befandt sig i vor kejsers modtageværelse, og at Kejseren, der endnu ikke var påklædt, havde befalet, at jeg så hurtigt som muligt gik ned og opholdt Kongen med samtale, mens Kejseren blev klædt på. Det siges, at den offentlige kvinde Caroline<sup>40</sup>, som er ret så nydelig af ydre og for hvis velvillige tjenester der betales to guldrubler, af kongen er blevet bragt med fra Wien til København sammen med sin moder og, tilføjer andre, tillige med sin tidligere elsker.

Wien, den 8. maj.

Da jeg om kort tid forlader Wien, kan jeg ikke lade være med i min erindring at genkalde mig forskellige udflugter i omegnen. Jeg har aldrig mødt foråret med en sådan glæde som i år, fordi klimaet her har været så velgørende, at jeg den første januar har

kunnet skrive for åbne vinduer kun iført frakke, og endnu mere fordi det, når jeg havde afsluttet de opgaver og sager, som jeg mere end nogensinde var bebyrdet med, var mig en ægte nydelse at tage ud af byen til fods eller til hest. Det lykkedes mig ikke at besøge Baden, Laxenburg eller Schenau, da de ligger for fjernt fra Wien, og jeg kunne sjældent forlade slottet i mere end en time eller to. Men selv på mine gamle dage vil det altid være behageligt for mig at mindes Prateren, Schönbrunn og Dornbach, for turene dertil gav mig mulighed for nogle få verst fra den larmende hovedstad at tænke over min situation, og til tider lade mig henføre til drømmenes verden. I disse timer var jeg alene, ikkledt frakke, og jeg regnede mig fuldkommen lykkelig. For det kan jeg takke min rene samvittighed og visheden om, at jeg havde opfyldt min pligt så godt, som mine kræfter og evner tillod mig det.

Prateren holdt jeg særlig meget af. Mange af de kronede hoveder og prinser, der var til stede ved kongressen, besøgte den ofte, enkelt klædt og uden dekorationer. Derfor forekom indbyggere fra alle lag at være blandet, på trods af deres tilstedeværelse. Der lød musik forskellige steder fra, smukke kvinder og løbse mødtes for hvert skridt man tog, blændende ekvipager passerede forbi øjnene i tusindvis, unge mænd blev tegnet på statelige heste, nydelige småpiger overrakte blomsterbuketter, og som kontrast til disse billeder behøvede man blot at kaste et blik på den utallige mængde af små runde borde, hvorved tyskerne sad, nogle i behagelig samtale, andre med piber over en kop te eller kaffe omgivet af deres familie. For dem, der holder af ensomhed, er der en mængde dunkle sidealléer, hvor man kan ligge på det velduftende græs i kastaniernes skygge eller gå langs Donaus bred og nyde dens bugtninger. På trods af de folkemængder, der kommer på Prateren, især om søndagen, herskede stilheden og roen overalt, og man så ikke en eneste politibetjent: det lykkelige Tysklands fredelige beboere er altid lige beskedne, lige godmodige.

Jeg kom ofte i Schönbrunn, hvor jeg altid med særlig fornøjelse besøgte højen, hvor der står et lysthus, kaldet Glorietten, der var Kejsersinde Maria Theresias yndlingssted. En gang, da jeg befandt mig helt alene i denne haves brede alléer, var jeg så lykkelig i min uafhængighed, at jeg løb af sted hen ad alléen som et barn.

Dornbach, der ligger omkring fem verst fra Wien, tiltrak mig på grund af sin vilde natur. En gang, da jeg spadserede dér i ensomhed, fik jeg øje på en eng, omgivet af bjerge, og midt på den voksede nogle træer, der gav skygge til en statue, hvorved rent vand piblede fra en fontæne. Solnedgangens sidste stråler smykkede dette sted, og en dyb ubrudt tavshed, en fuldkommen stilhed fik mig til at gøre ophold her med en følelse af begejstring. Pludselig slog tårnuret seks; det mindede mig om, at jeg ikke længere var fri til at disponere over min tid, og jeg vendte tilbage, idet jeg erindrede, hvordan jeg under mine rejser og på universitetet med uskyldigt hjerte og flammende fantasi havde nydt uafhængigheden og levet for videnskaben og naturen. I dette øjeblik efter de forferdelige politiske omveltninger og malstrømme, som også jeg var blevet revet med af, befandt jeg mig igen midt i naturen, der er os en uudtømmelig kilde til nydelse. Stakkels den, der fjerner sig fra naturen, tænkte jeg, der kommer en tid, hvor han vil angre det, thi før eller senere skal vi vende tilbage til den.

Til de foretrukne spadsereturene i Wien må også regnes Graben. Det er en simpel plads, der ligger midt i byen. I nærheden er der mange butikker, hvor varerne er udstillet uden sans for smag, men pladsen var interessant for mig derved, at



the time will come when he will regret it, for sooner or later, we will return to it.

The Graben must also be considered one of the favorite places for a promenade in Vienna. It is a simple square in the center of the city. Nearby are many shops where goods are displayed without any taste, but the square is interesting to me because before dinner it is the gathering place of military personnel, diplomats, and many of the secondary rulers such as dukes, princes, and landed nobility.

I cannot pass over the Bastion in silence since it lies directly across from my windows and a wealth of people walk by on it each evening. Last autumn, our emperor was accustomed to walk here at around two in the afternoon arm in arm with the Viceroy of Italy, Eugène, with whom he had a closer relationship at the time than with any other of the princes present, but since Napoleon appeared in France, a great chill has come between them. People say that the reason is a letter that was intercepted from the former Queen of Holland, Hortense,<sup>41</sup> to her brother that seemed to show that he knew of Napoleon's intention to leave Elba.

The view from the Bastion, from which one can see over the entire city, is marvelous, and in the center of the Bastion is a café where music always plays. I often look out my window on the Germans who take their walks here: seemingly no passions affect them; there is not a people who is their match in mild character and faithful friendship and not a people that has more happy marriages. Despite the many armies that are maintained by the German princes, one cannot sense any belligerent spirit among the people, since the Germans do not consider the craft of war to be especially noble. Ask them which era they feel was the happiest for their fatherland and they mention not the years when their countrymen have won honor and victory in war, but a period of lengthy peace and flourishing science. This difference in thinking between the Germans and us derives from our being raised for military service while they are raised for family and private life.

Sundays are the quintessence of genuine festivity for the good-natured Viennese; streets and entertainment establishments inside and outside the city are filled with people from all classes. One cannot avoid noting the local men's handsome looks and the neatness of their attire, even among people of the lowest classes, and especially the ever-present politeness, as a result of which there is none of the rabble in Vienna that fills all the other capitals. In the course of eight months, I have heard neither disturbances nor fighting in the street, and drunkenness is an unknown vice in Vienna. Only rarely have I met a policeman, and the government's respectful trust of the people must in all arouse a desire to be worthy of this trust. Military personnel do not wear uniform except when on duty, and orders, which in Austria are only awarded to the special few and are far rarer here than in any other country, are seldom worn. Here everything is quiet and peaceful, even when large numbers of people are gathered; everyone evidently knows his place.

Alexander Sapozhnikov

- 1 Notes by Countess Edeling, née Sturdsy, *Russkiy Arkhiv* [Russian Archive], 1887, vol. 1, pp. 406-427; A. Potocka: *Memuary* (1794-1820) [Memoirs (1794-1820)], (Petrograd: 1915), pp. 237-265; A. P. Sablotsky-Deshatovsky: *Graf P. D. Kiselev i ego vremya* [Count P. D. Kiselev and his time] (St. Petersburg: 1882), vol. 1, pp. 13-16; by Prince N. V. Dolgorukov: *Sapisok knyasha* [notes], *Russkiy Arkhiv* [Russian Archive], 1892, vol. 3, pp. 263-290; V. M. Ivanov: *Sapiski, vedennye vo vremya puteshestviya imperatritsy Elisabety Alekseyevny po Germanii v. 1813, 1814, 1815 godakh* [notes made during the travels of the Empress Elizabeth Alexeyevna in Germany in 1813, 1814, and 1815] (St. Petersburg: 1833); N. I. Turgenev: *Dnevnik sa 1811-1816 gg.* [diaries for 1811-1816] (St. Petersburg: 1913), vol. 2, pp. 271-296.
- 2 M.-H. Weil: *Les dessous du congrès de Vienne* (Paris: 1917), vol. 1, p. 615. This volume contains the report of the secret agent from November 29, 1814.
- 3 A. I. Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky: *Shurnal 1814 goda* [journal from 1814], Otdel Rukopisey, Rossiyskoy Nationalnoy Biblioteki [manuscript department, Russian National Library] (OR RNB), 488-10, p.151 verso.
- 4 OR RNB, 488-44.
- 5 Prince Peter Mikhailovich Volkonsky (1776-1852), Russian field marshal and statesman.
- 6 Cf. L. I. Buchina: "Dnevnik A. I. Mikhailovskiyogo-Danilevskogo. 1814-1815 gg." [A. I. Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky's diaries. 1814-1815], in *Issledovaniya pamyatnikov pismennoy kultury v sobraniyakh i arkhivakh*, Otdela rukopisey i redkikh knig [studies of written cultural artifacts in collections and archives, department of manuscripts and rare books] (Leningrad: 1987), pp. 34-44.
- 7 A. I. Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky: *Sapisiki 1814 i 1815 gorod* [notes from 1814 and 1815], 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg: 1832).
- 8 Russia's representatives at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 (from A. I. Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky's memoirs): *Russkaya Starina*, no. 6, 1899, pp. 627-650.
- 9 "Die Vertreter Russlands auf dem Wiener Kongress: Tagebuchblätter von Michailowski-Danilewski," in T. Schiemann: *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nicolaus* (Berlin: 1904), vol. 1, pp. 533-553.
- 10 Charles-Joseph, Prince de Ligne (1735-1814), Belgian officer and writer, entered the Austrian military service.
- 11 Francis I (1768-1835), Holy Roman Emperor as Francis II, 1792-1806; Emperor of Austria as Francis I, 1804-1835.
- 12 Henri de Jomini (1779-1869), French general and military historian; entered the Russian service in 1814 after a disagreement with Napoleon.
- 13 Countess Sophie Zichy Széchényi (1790-1865).
- 14 Prince Anton Heinrich Radziwill (1775-1833), Prussian governor.
- 15 These were by the French painter Charles le Brun (1619-1690), who made five paintings with scenes from the life of Alexander the Great, one of which was "Darius's Family in Alexander's Quarters."
- 16 A. I. Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky: *Shurnal 1854 goda* [Journal from 1815], OR RNB, 488-12, p. 9 verso.
- 17 Constantine Pavlovich (1779-1831), brother of Alexander I, Viceroy of Poland.
- 18 Frédéric César de La Harpe (1754-1838), Swiss-born privy counselor, from 1780 to 1795 in the Russian service, where he attained the rank of general.
- 19 Count Adam Ozharovsky (1776-1855), Russian general.
- 20 Count Vassily Trubetsky (1776-1841), Russian general



her samledes for middag militærpersoner, diplomater og mange af de sekundære regenter, såsom hertuger, prinser og fyrster med besiddelser.

Jeg kan ikke forbigå bastionen i tavshed, eftersom den ligger direkte over for mine vinduer, og her ferdes hver aften en mængde mennesker. Vor Kejser havde sidste efterår for vane hver dag omkring klokken to om eftermiddagen at spadsere her arm i arm med vicekongen af Italien, Eugène, med hvem han da havde et tættere venskab, end med nogen anden af de herverende prinser, men siden Napoleon er dukket op i Frankrig, er der kommet stor kulde imellem dem. Man siger, at grunden dertil er et opsnappet brev fra den tidligere hollandske dronning Hortensia<sup>1</sup> til sin broder, hvoraf det synes at fremgå, at han kendte til Napoleons hensigt at forlade Elba.

Udsigten fra bastionen, hvorfra man kan se ud over hele byen, er vidunderlig, og midt på bastionen er der et kaffehus, hvor musikken altid spiller. Fra mine vinduer betragter jeg ofte de tyskere, der går tur her: der er tilsyneladende ingen lidenskaber, der afficerer dem, der findes ikke et folk, der har deres lige i mild karakter og trofast venskab, ej heller noget folk, der har flere lykkelige ægteskaber. På trods af de mange hære, der opretholdes af de tyske fyrster, kan man ikke fornemme nogen krigerisk ånd i befolkningen, for tyskerne regner ikke krigshåndværket for særligt ædelt. Spørg dem hvilken epoke, der efter deres mening har været den lykkeligste for deres fedreland. Da nævner de ikke år, hvor deres landsmænd har rundet hader og sejr i krig, men de nævner et tidsrum med langvarig fred og blomstrende videnskab. Denne forskel i tankegang mellem os og tyskerne kommer af, at vi bliver opdraget til militærtjeneste, men de til familie- og privatliv.

Søndage er indbegrebet af ægte fest for de godmodige wienerere; gaderne og forlystelsesstederne i og uden for byen er fyldt med folk fra alle lag. Man kan ikke undgå at lægge mærke til de lokale mænds skønhed ligesom properbeden i påklædning, også hos folk af de nederste klasser; og især den allestedsnærværende høflighed, der gør, at man i Wien ikke ser den såkaldte pøbel, som fylder op i alle andre hovedsteder. I løbet af otte måneder har jeg hverken hørt ballade eller skænderi på gaden, og drukenskab er en ukendt last i Wien. Jeg har kun sjældent mødt en politimænd, og regeringens respektfulde tillid til folket må i alle vække ønsket om at gøre sig fortjent til den viste tillid. Militærpersoner bærer ikke uniform undtagen i tjenesten, og ordens-tegn, der i Østrig kun tildeles særligt udvalgte og er langt sjældnere her end i noget andet land, tager man sjældent på. Her forbliver alt, selv når meget store menneskemasser er samlet, stille og fredeligt: tilsyneladende kender enhver sin plads.

Alexander Sapozhnikov

- 1 Nogle optegnelser af grevinde Edeling, født Sturdsy: *Russkij Arkhiv* [Russisk Arkiv], 1887, 1. bog, pp. 406-427; A. Pototskaja: *Memuary* (1794-1820) [Memoirer (1794-1820)], Petrograd, 1915, pp. 237-265; A. P. Sablotskij-Desjatovskij: *Graf P. D. Kiselev i ego vremja* [Grev P. D. Kiselev og hans tid], Skt. Petersborg 1882, bd. 1, pp. 13-16; Af fyrst N. V. Dolgorukov: *Sapisok knjasja* [Optegnelser], *Russkij Arkhiv* [Russisk Arkiv], 1892, 3. bog, pp. 263-290; V. M. Ivanov: *Sapiski, vedomnye vo vremja putesjstvija imperatritsy Elisabety Aleksejevny po Germanii v. 1813, 1814, 1815 godakh* [Optegnelser, ført under Kejserinde Elizavetta Aleksejevna's rejser i Tyskland i 1813, 1814 og 1815], Skt. Petersborg 1833; N. I. Turgenev: *Dnevnik sa 1811-1816 gg.* [Dagbøger for årene 1811-1816], Skt. Petersborg. 1913, 2. bd., pp. 271-296.
- 2 M.-H. Weil: *Les dessous du congrès de Vienne*, Paris 1917, bd. 1, p. 615. Her gengives den hemmelige agents rapport fra den 29. november 1814.
- 3 A. I. Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij: *Sjurnal 1814 goda* [Journal fra år 1814], Otdel Rukopisej, Rossijskoj Nacionalnoj Biblioteki (OR RNB) [Håndskriftafdelingen, Det Russiske Nationalbibliotek], 488-10, p. 151 verso.
- 4 OR RNB, 488-44.
- 5 Fyrst Peter Mikhajlovitj Volkonskij (1776-1852), russisk feltmarskal og statsmand.
- 6 Jvf.: L. I. Butjina: "Dnevnik A. I. Mikhajlovskio-god-Daniljevskogo. 1814-1815 gg." [A. I. Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskijs dagbøger. Årene 1814-1815], i *Issledovanija pamjatnikov pismennoj kultury v sobranijakh i arkhivakh*, Otdela rukopisej i redkikh knig [Studier af skriftlige kulturminde i samlinger og arkiver, Afdelingen for håndskrifter og sjældne bøger], Leningrad 1987, pp. 34-44.
- 7 A. I. Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij: *Sapisiki 1814 i 1815 gorod* [Optegnelser fra årene 1814 og 1815], 2. udg., Skt. Petersborg 1832.
- 8 Ruslands repræsentanter ved Wienerkongressen i år 1815 (fra A. I. Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskijs erindringer): *Russkaja Starina*, nr. 6, 1899, pp. 627-650.
- 9 "Die Vertreter Russlands auf dem Wiener Kongress: Tagebuchblätter von Michailowski-Danilewski" i Th. Schiemann: *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nicolaus*, Berlin 1904, bd. 1, pp. 533-553.
- 10 Charles-Joseph fyrst de Ligne, 1735-1814, belgisk officer og skribent, trådte i østrigsk militærtjeneste.
- 11 Franz I (1768-1835), tysk-romersk kejser som Franz II 1792-1806; østrigsk kejser under navnet Franz I 1804-1835.
- 12 Henri de Jomini (1779-1869), fransk general og militærhistoriker; gik efter uoverensstemmelser med Napoleon i russisk tjeneste i 1814.
- 13 Grevinde Sophie Zichy Széchényi (1790-1865).
- 14 Fyrst Anton Heinrich Radziwill (1775-1833), preussisk statholder.
- 15 Det handler om billeder af den franske maler Charles le Brun (1619-1690), der har malet 5 værker over scener fra Aleksander den Stores historie, hvoraf den ene er - "Darius' familie i Aleksanders gemakker".
- 16 A. I. Mikhajlovskij-Daniljevskij: *Sjurnal 1815 goda* [Journal fra året 1815], OR RNB, 488-12, p. 9 verso.
- 17 Konstantin Pavlovitj (1779-1831), broder til Alexander I, vicekonge af Polen.
- 18 Frédéric Césaire de La Harpe (1754-1838), schweizisk gehejmeråd; fra 1780 til 1795 i russisk tjeneste, hvor han fik rang af general.
- 19 Grev Adam Osjarovskij (1776-1855), russisk general.
- 20 Grev Vassilij Trubetskoj (1776-1841), russisk general.



- 21 Count Karl Robert Nesselrode (1780-1862), diplomat and foreign minister under Alexander I and Nicholas I.
- 22 Andrei Kirillovich Razumovsky (1752-1836), count from 1814.
- 23 Count Gustav Stackelberg (1766-1850), Russian general and statesman.
- 24 Johan von Anstett (1760-1835), b. in Strasbourg, Russian diplomat from 1789.
- 25 Count Giovanni Capo d'Istria (1776-1831), from Corfu, in the Russian service 1809-1822.
- 26 Count Carlo Andrea Pozzo di Borgo (1764-1842), from Corsica, diplomat and statesman, in the Russian service from 1799.
- 27 Count Peter Borisovich Kozlovsky (1783-1840), Russian statesman and diplomat.
- 28 Maximilian Joseph (1756-1826), installed as king by Napoleon.
- 29 Count Carl August von Hardenberg (1750-1822), Prussian statesman.
- 30 Lord Charles William Stewart (1778-1854), British envoy at the Congress of Vienna.
- 31 Robert Stewart, Lord Castlereagh (1769-1822), British politician, minister of war 1805-1806 and 1807-1809.
- 32 Lord William Shaw Cathcart (1755-1843), British general and diplomat.
- 33 Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington (1769-1852), British field marshal and statesman.
- 34 Karl Philip von Schwarzenberg (1771-1820), Austrian field marshal and diplomat.
- 35 Prince Karl Philip von Wrede (1767-1838).
- 36 Duke William of Holstein-Beck, from 1825 Duke of Glücksborg, father of King Christian IX of Denmark.
- 37 Eugène de Beauharnais (1780-1824), Napoleon's stepson, general. Withdrew to his Duchy of Leuchtenberg after Napoleon's fall.
- 38 Carl Johan (1764-1844), the French marshal Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, Prince of Pontecorvo; from August 1810, Crown Prince of Sweden and regent under the name of Carl Johan, from 1818, King of Sweden and Norway under the name of Carl XIV Johan.
- 39 Leonty Leontovich Bennigsen, né Levin August Theophile Bennigsen (1745-1826), Hanoverian nobleman in the Russian service, 1773-1815.
- 40 Caroline Seufert, 19-year-old actress, Frederik VI's mistress during his stay in Vienna.
- 41 Hortense Eugénie de Beauharnais (1783-1837), stepdaughter of Napoleon, married Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland in 1802, divorced in 1810.



- 21 Grev Karl Vassiljevitz Nesselrode (1780-1862), diplomat og udenrigsminister under Alexander I og Nikolaj I.
- 22 Andrei Kirillovich Rasumovskij (1752-1836), greve fra 1814.
- 23 Grev Gustav Stackelberg (1766-1850), russisk general og statsmand.
- 24 Johan von Anstett (1760-1835), født i Strasbourg, fra 1789 russisk diplomat.
- 25 Grev Giovanni Capo d'Istria (1776-1831), stammede fra Korfu, 1809-1822 i russisk tjeneste.
- 26 Grev Carlo Andrea Pozzo di Borgo (1764-1842), stammede fra Korsika, diplomat og statsmand, fra 1799 i russisk tjeneste.
- 27 Grev Peter Borisovitj Kozlovskij (1783-1840), russisk statsmand og diplomat.
- 28 Maximilian Joseph (1756-1826), indsat som konge af Napoleon.
- 29 Grev Carl August von Hardenberg (1750-1822), preussisk statsmand.
- 30 Lord Charles William Stewart (1778-1854), engelsk gesandt ved Wienerkongressen.
- 31 Robert Stewart Lord Castlereagh (1769-1822), britisk politiker, krigsminister 1805-1806 og 1807-1809.
- 32 Lord William Shaw Cathcart (1755-1843), britisk general og diplomat.
- 33 Arthur Wellesley hertug af Wellington (1769-1852), britisk feltmarskal og statsmand.
- 34 Karl Phillip von Schwarzenberg (1771-1820), østrigsk feltmarskal og diplomat.
- 35 Karl Phillip fyrst von Wrede (1767-1838).
- 36 Hertug Wilhelm af Holstein-Beck, fra 1825 hertug af Glücksborg, far til den senere kong Christian IX af Danmark.
- 37 Eugène de Beauharnais (1780-1824), Napoleons stedson, general. Trak sig efter Napoleons fald tilbage til sit hertugdømme Leuchtenberg.
- 38 Karl Johan (1764-1844), den franske marskal Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, fyrst Pontecorvo; fra august 1810 Sveriges kronprins og regent under navnet Karl Johan, fra 1818 konge over Sverige og Norge under navnet Karl XIV Johan.
- 39 Leontij Leontivitj Bennigsen født Levin August Theophile Bennigsen (1745-1826), hannoveransk adelsmand i russisk tjeneste fra 1773-1815.
- 40 Caroline Seufert, 19-årig skuespillerinde, Frederik VI's elskerinde under opholdet i Wien.
- 41 Hortense Eugénie de Beauharnais (1783-1837), gift 1802 med Louis Bonaparte, konge af Holland, skilt 1810.