CHAPTER ONE

Peace and Power in Display

In the autumn of 1814, most eyes in Europe turned to Vienna. On Sunday, 25 September, many were fixed—directly or vicariously—on the parade route by which Tsar Alexander and King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia would enter the city. The Tabor Bridges formed the cynosure of attention, where the pair was greeted by Emperor Franz of Austria. That liminal moment on the far side of the bridge, within the suburbs but just outside the city proper, gave rise to numerous verbal and visual depictions of "the three monarchs" or "the three allies" and still provides some of the most-reproduced images associated with the Congress of Vienna (Figure 1.1). Prince Trauttmansdorff and the court officials in charge of etiquette and festivities had of course carefully choreographed the ceremonial details beforehand (out of deference to the tsar's hearing-impaired left ear, the tsar rode on Franz's left rather than his right).[1] Yet the entry represented a celebration not just of the court but also of the city and its citizenry. The military escort and associated parade constituted a major part of the event, beginning with the early-morning cannon salvos that announced the approach of the foreign sovereigns several hours in advance (needlessly early, complained a rudely awakened Prince Metternich). Leading and concluding the procession, however, came units not just of the regular army and its marching bands but also of the civilian militia. The citizen military units and their role in ceremonial can be traced back to early modern and medieval times, but in this case they also reflected the brand new institutions of the Wars of Liberation and the dawning age of mass armies, patriotic participation, and total

FIGURE 1.1 *Reception of Tsar Alexander I of Russia and King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia near Vienna on 25 September 1814.* Colored lithograph by Franz Wolf after Johann Nepomuk Hoechle, Vienna, 1835. (ÖNB/Vienna, Pk 187,12)

war during the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. The parade continued to the great star of the Prater park and then wound through the narrow streets of the old city center to the Imperial Palace, waiting ready to house the imperial and royal guests. Gathered to greet them stood thirty white-clad young maidens, who presented the tsar and the Prussian king with wreaths and a poem. Classic symbols of innocence and futurity, reminders of what one had been fighting to defend, the girls were led by their French instructor, suggesting reconciliation within the European family after decades of war.[2]

This sort of monarchical meeting and associated pomp might seem perfectly normal from a twenty-first-century perspective, with its frequent photo-op encounters and summit meetings between heads of state, and with two centuries of such intersovereign moments to draw on in the collective memory, be it monarchical or republican. In the

eighteenth century, however, such a coming together of sovereigns was extremely rare, and almost unthinkable. Instead, eighteenth-century rulers typically remained in their territories and left it to their mostly not-yet professional ambassadors and envoys to communicate with other rulers and to represent them at their courts—not just presenting their views, but serving as a representation of their sovereign persons in the more richly symbolic sense. If rulers had met, it would simply have heightened the dangers of tension, insult, and resultant war. Status, reputation, and ceremonial protocol remained all-important points of conflict. Attitudes began to change during the Napoleonic period, in gatherings such as the Congress of Erfurt or the famous encounter between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander at Tilsit. But it was the Congress of Vienna that first fully explored the possibilities of such meetings, in conditions more or less freely chosen rather than coerced, and with the expectation that it might promote lasting peace rather than imminent war.[3]

The choreographers of Congress events like Prince Trauttmansdorff of course drew heavily on the fund of traditional display and representational culture from the old courtly-aristocratic public sphere, even as the novel presence of so many royals offered opportunities for creative experimentation and potentially headache-inspiring conundrums of etiquette. At the same time, however, the sovereigns' presence in Vienna during the Congress shone a spotlight on a preexisting web of institutions, mechanisms, and languages of political culture involving voluntarist civic elements of representation and display and driven in part by grassroots patriotism and market forces in entertainment culture of the sort associated with the new, socially and communicatively broader public sphere, sometimes called the bourgeois public sphere, though more recent literature has shown the extent to which it was constituted by middle-class and aristocratic elements in combination.[4] This public web was comprised to a significant degree of actors positioned in both systems, the state or courtly and the voluntary or market-driven.

In taking the culture of display as the subject of investigation, this chapter adopts a somewhat different approach from much of the existing literature on the "new political history" or court culture. Such studies tend toward analyses of symbolism and ritual grounded in anthropological theory. They focus on long-term continuities and gradual transitions in the symbolism of power, and often emphasize the differences between the representational public sphere on the one hand and the realm of print culture and political debate on the other (with its own manner of

legitimating or contesting power). Here, the aim is rather to illuminate the similarities and interconnections between the two arenas of representation, as both emerged from a common overarching political culture made up of elements of display, print media, and visual, musical, and material culture in the new world of broader publics and efficient markets. In that realm, elements of tradition and references to the newest cultural trends and political events coexisted and coalesced in crucial ways that were stimulating for contemporaries and are revealing to historians. The mixture of religious and military display in particular stands out in this regard, each reflecting newer meanings in contemporary contexts as well as those inherited from tradition. In a social sense too, festive culture in Vienna tended to bring the classes closer together and to shrink rather than exaggerate the distances within social hierarchies and between rulers and subjects. This chapter also contributes to debates about the significance of gender and the role of women in public and politics during this period. As we shall see, while the militarization and democratization that helped blur class distinctions did promote a partial masculinization of the public sphere, opportunities for women's presence increased as well.

If this chapter's recognition of the extent of mixing of court, state, and private initiatives in the production of festive culture and display marks relatively new ground, it also intervenes in an older but ongoing debate about the level of public participation in representational culture and its political effects. Jürgen Habermas's relative praise for the bourgeois public sphere of print culture, civil society, and parliamentary politics formed only a small part of a larger critique of post–Second World War society and politics as being simply acclamatory and focused on the admiration of celebrity in ways not unlike the court-based aristocratic representational culture of the medieval and early modern public sphere. Slogans rather than reasoned arguments shaped political debate, and glitzy campaigns and advertising swayed potential voters emotionally and viscerally more than intellectually, analogous to the legitimation of power in older ceremonies and festivals. In France during the radical 1960s, Guy Debord and the Situationists similarly critiqued the modern "society of the spectacle" and the mass culture of entertainment and consumption that fed it. In their analysis, atomized individuals cling to the illusion of agency in choosing what they have been led to desire, isolated from collective experience, and distracted from pushing for social and political change. Both points of view remain influential among historians and contemporary social and cultural crit-

ics. Other scholars, however, have begun to rehabilitate the realm of spectacle and entertainment culture as potentially more empowering and liberating than merely mind-numbing, both for its classic phase in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and for Napoleonic pageantry and festivities. For some, the public's role in early modern and nineteenth-century parades and display was to line the streets, behave, and make plenty of cheerful noise when the great and the good passed by. But considerable room for popular input and participation remained as well, in ways that bore implications for the liberalization or democratization of politics in the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. Monarchical representation could itself function as a form of political communication that involved spectators' active interpretation.[5] The present discussion too highlights the participatory rather than simply acclamatory side of the culture of display after Napoleon.

Even contemporaries sometimes proved keen to contest the idea that spectatorship implied mere gawking, or slavish fawning. Referencing the array of accounts and images of the three allied rulers that had preceded their entry to Vienna on 25 September, the coverage in the new Viennese cultural periodical the *Pages of Peace* claimed:

> It was not three monarchs, surrounded by the trappings [Prunk] of majesty, stared at with senseless curiosity: it was the sight of these three, blessed by all the peoples of Europe, worshipped in particular by their own peoples, honored by all men of heart and spirit for their own sake; it was *these* three, friends bound through fate, through sufferings and joys, through their own hearts, which captivated all gazes and made their appearance an angel's apparition for every joy-drunk eye and for every delighted heart.

By this account, the acclamation represented not obedient noise to play a part but instead something deeply felt, involving close identification with the rulers as human beings, and broader sentimental and patriotic discourses by "men of heart and spirit" in this era of war and peace.[6]

Military and Religious Display

Although the image of the dancing Congress often comes first to mind when one thinks of its festive culture, the Congress offered almost as many opportunities for military as for terpsichorean display. Troops on parade, as we have seen, already marked the arrival of Tsar Alexander and the king of Prussia on 25 September, and further military displays

occurred on 30 September and 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 18 October, just to take examples from the Congress's first weeks. The pace slackened thereafter but never halted. If anything, the Viennese and their visitors experienced an even greater density of display after Napoleon's return, as from late March to early May an almost unending succession of reviews and parades took place for the troops marching through Vienna on their way to the Rhine.[7]

It is important to note in this context that such militarized political spectacle, ancient though it might seem, for the most part falls under the heading of "invented traditions" and has more recent origins than one might think. This is not to say that kings had not paraded their troops before, or that crowds had not watched them do so—the spring troop revue in the Berlin Tiergarten by Prussia's "Soldier King," Friedrich Wilhelm I, already represented a "spectacle for the entire city" in the early eighteenth century, and Prussian style sparked imitations later in the century elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire, in parades and in the increasingly standard wearing of uniforms by rulers, courts, and even civilian officials.[8] Yet such exercises began to assume more modern forms and meanings at about the same time as the changes in the public sphere of the later eighteenth century, and did not get into full swing until the Napoleonic wars, in part through imitation of Napoleonic rule and display itself, where reviewing troops in choreographed spectacle constituted a crucial aspect of his appeal to legitimacy. Such militarized display also drew on the seminal role of the French National Guard and other military units in stagings or representations of the nation during the French Revolution.[9] It was significant in this regard that along with planning the Congress and negotiating peace, one of the preoccupations of Prince Metternich and Emperor Franz in the year 1814 was to introduce a new set of uniforms for government officials, making sure that everything looked just right and in the best of taste. Such a move would both boost morale and self-image among the bureaucrats and make the desired impression on state occasions.[10]

It is worth emphasizing that such festive and patriotic use of soldiers, uniforms, and martial music did not have to wait until the classic age of "invented traditions" in the late nineteenth century to find eager promoters or enthusiastic publics. If anything, the main difference in 1814 was that the spectacle did not need to come bearing the blatant trappings of the traditional but proved all the more effective when making the regime seem to be working in the spirit of the times and at the cutting edge of postrevolutionary political culture. The Prussian diplomat

and litterateur Karl Varnhagen von Ense underscored these trends, observing that "the modern festival is essentially military; the earlier religious, the later courtly character of public opulence is entirely merged in the military, which speaks most clearly to the crowd and still commands from it the most respect, through earnestness and efficiency."[11]

Military spectacle also made up the lion's share of public display at the Napoleonic precursor to the Vienna Congress, the Congress of Erfurt of 1808. If the Austrians were to put on a better, and more legitimate, show in Vienna in 1814, then they needed to surpass the revolutionary Corsican on the same field—the parade ground—even as they emphasized the courtly and religious dimensions of display as well. In this way, too, restoration governments could combine reinvention of tradition with assertion of their fully modern and up-to-date status. Since Tsar Alexander cherished a well-known love of troop reviews and parades, the planners also served the parallel goal of playing to the preferences of their most important guest.[12]

Military display performed a variety of functions and was more than just a vehicle for eliciting acclamation. Most important here, military display served immediate political purposes. It too represents a "speech act" with an illocutionary force, or intended effect among its observers, and indeed among those performing. A good review or maneuver could showcase the military capacity, skill, and efficiency of the army in question, as well as allow it to demonstrate its esprit de corps and its patriotic commitment to both ruler and country (pater and patria, father-figure and fatherland). Done right, such display could even help build those very qualities, in practicing for the events and in receiving praise from commanders, rulers, and cheering crowds.[13]

Even the acclamation of subjects or citizens could serve a useful purpose, as a reminder for watching foreigners of the populace's patriotic sentiment, itself not just a mark of the power of the throne but a source of that power, at least in the new era of nations and states. When the veterans being honored at a festival on 6 October toasted the visiting rulers, they included a pointed reminder: "To the friends and allies of our monarch. They are witnesses of our veneration of him."[14] The role of the public was in any case different in the age of large citizen armies than it had been in that of mercenary or small standing armies, with its sharper differentiation between the "military estate" and civilians. Now a much closer identity between populace and soldiers played out, and the cheers became in part a recognition of self and an acclamation of

dynasty and of nation alike. As a German ladies magazine observed of the festival commemorating the one-year anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig, "innumerable spectators surrounded this happy scene, and formed with the soldiers a true people's festival [Volksfest]."[15] Popular sovereignty in the strict constitutional sense remained an object of post-revolutionary distaste to most European rulers, but they knew that their power rested in part on the goodwill and even at times on the more or less enthusiastic support of the populace. The latter in turn primarily acclaimed and legitimated the monarchs' sovereignty through their participation in festive culture, but in part they celebrated their own role in sovereignty as well.[16]

The fact that civic militia units enjoyed a prominent part in the military display served to reinforce this tendency. Now that the breadth of popular mobilization and the degree of patriotic commitment had become measures of state power and military strength, it was all to the good to gesture to the enthusiasm of and for the militia when putting on a show to impress foreign observers. Many remarked on the impressive appearance made by the Viennese civic guard on parade duty, from the minor Viennese official Matthias Perth to the Prussian official and writer Carl Heun and the imperial aristocrat Count Henrich Stolberg.[17] Patriotic painters like Peter Krafft took up such subjects, as in his acclaimed *Departure of the Militiaman,* shown to adoring crowds in the gallery of Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen (the Albertina), and reaching an even wider audience in the pages of the *Friedensblätter,* which featured the work as the first of its special edition copperplate engravings for subscribers (still a relatively new gimmick at the time, particularly in Austria). An article lauding the militia accompanied the plate.[18] Even Tsar Alexander had a soft spot for volunteers and militias, particularly if they came with pretty uniforms. The tsar had the Saxon Volunteers—with uniforms and insignia designed by the Romantic painter and sometime official Friedrich August von Klinkowström—declared part of his corps of body guards.[19]

It is important to keep in mind that the public or audience for such displays comprised different layers. Such events were staged not just for the watching crowds and dignitaries but also for more remote audiences. The diplomatic corps always attended and often reported back on the state of the army, and the state of public opinion. During the campaign against Napoleon in 1813, for example, Metternich's deputy in Vienna, Joseph von Hudelist, thought that the sight of Austrian units parading through town on their way to the front had a salutary effect

on observers, cheering crowds and diplomats alike. During the Congress this effect worked still more directly, in that not just the ambassadors but the rulers and generals were right there, able to take in the scene and its significance for themselves. Such concerns occupied the minds of Emperor Franz, Field Marshal Prince Schwarzenberg, and even Metternich, since the uniforms, equipment, and performance of Austrian troops had not been as inspiring as they might have wished during the recent campaign. Congress display and ceremonial offered opportunities to correct that impression among the assembled rulers and watching publics. Metternich received similar advice from his ambassador in London, who thought it "most essential to remedy this opinion in Europe generally," and the Congress a good occasion for it. Hence the Vienna garrison was strengthened and received new equipment and uniforms, plus extra duty pay for the duration of the Congress. More tickets for officers to court festivities were requested too. Schwarzenberg hoped the measures would also bolster the army's "spirit."[20] There is even some evidence that the military and patriotic displays achieved the desired effect. The tsar's advisor Baron Stein recorded in his diary that according to the nearby observer Crown Prince Wilhelm of Württemberg, Alexander was "unpleasantly moved" by the grand festival of 18 October. "In the carriage of the troops, in the lively participation of the spectators, in the opulence that showed itself in the whole, he found something that contradicted his opinion of Austria's weakness, and that disturbed him in his high ideas of invincibility."[21]

Newspaper reports played their part in spreading the word, too, for a socially as well as geographically wider audience. Even the *Diario di Roma*—likely with a little assistance from Austria's Vatican representative—included a laudatory account of the artillery maneuvers in Bruck an der Leitha on 7 October. The article praised the power and precision of the destruction wreaked on the specially constructed target fortifications, evidence, it claimed, of the continued fame and skill of the Austrian artillery and pioneer corps. Such acclamation could only reach so far, however, particularly when lacking the helping hand of the state in question. The *Vossische Zeitung* in Berlin proved less impressed with the artillery maneuvers of 3 October near Vienna. The once and potentially future Austro-Prussian rivalry shone through.[22]

For all that the more purely military maneuvers and parades performed a number of functions, probably the most striking thing about the public displays of the Vienna Congress was the mixture of the military and

the religious. This combination could be seen in the special hybrid category of the *Kirchenparade,* or parade joined with mass, but also characterized the various Te Deum services and above all the grand celebration of the first anniversary of the victory over Napoleon at Leipzig on 18 October. Impressive "solemn Kirchenparaden" took place on the first two Sundays following the entry of Alexander and Friedrich Wilhelm and helped set the tone for the Congress. Several battalions of infantry and cavalry marched out to the exercise grounds beyond the city gates and formed massed squares around the marquee erected to serve as chapel. They were reviewed there by four rulers on horseback, who then dismounted and celebrated mass in the tent. The troops for their part sang in German during the service, accompanied by military band.[23] According to a newspaper account, the "sublime moment" when the sovereigns knelt together as they had at Leipzig the year before made a "deep impression" on the thousands of spectators.[24]

Religious display of course frequently came unconnected to military, just as military display most often came without religious trappings. Since the Congress lasted so long, visitors were able to witness the full pageantry surrounding the cycles of the Roman Catholic religious calendar in the Habsburg capital. Advent and Christmas, Lent and Easter, even Ascension and Corpus Christi: church services and communal processions put both the Habsburg dynasty and the old corporate world of church, town, and court on colorful display throughout the Congress.

These ceremonies highlighted the Habsburg dynasty's noted Baroque piety or *Pietas Austriaca.* The Christian religious calendar helped frame the rhythms and symbolism of display and court life at most European courts in the early modern period, but it proved particularly central among the Habsburgs. Austrian culture as a whole has been analyzed in part as an outgrowth of the peculiarly sensuous version of Baroque piety, symbolism, and religious art of the Catholic Reformation, with ramifications through the period of fin-de-siècle Viennese modernism and beyond.[25] In this sense religious ceremonial and display emerged as the most traditional component of Congress festive culture. Even here, though, it is important to realize that the pageantry in part represented a reinvented tradition or at least a tradition with discontinuities. During the Enlightenment, Joseph II had begun to curtail the number of festive occasions and the dynasty's involvement in them. Only during Leopold's and Franz's reigns in the postrevolutionary 1790s did the court reemphasize religious ceremonial and the ruling family's role within it, as with the revival of the Maundy Thursday foot-washing

ritual that made such an impression at the Congress.[26] The sight of the emperor and empress serving food and drink in "Christian humility" to a collection of the oldest men and women of the city, septuagenarians and octogenarians to a man and woman, and then bathing their aged feet was found moving and religiously sublime by Catholic and Protestant alike.[27]

The juxtaposition of religious and military elements came together particularly strongly in the celebration on 18 October in the Prater of the first anniversary of the victory over Napoleon at the great Battle of the Nations near Leipzig. At once a religious ceremony and a mixed imperial and populist national military festival, this event was in the words of a Berlin newspaper "a religious and military festival of joy."[28] As with much other nationalist symbolism throughout the nineteenth century, the conjunction of religious ritual and nationhood helped undergird the idea of the sacrality of the nation, without meaning that nationalism somehow replaced Christianity as a substitute religion. Both the religious and the national dimensions promoted the blending of hierarchical and democratic elements in the festival, as the shrinking distance between rulers and populace characteristic of Congress festivities was much on display.

Surprisingly, this grandest of all Congress festivals boasted the least prior preparation. It was actually conceived and approved quite late on, less than two weeks before the event. The "Grosses Militärisches Praterfest" was staged for the most part not by officials of court and state but by the army. They enjoyed access to the relevant experts in the court service, caterers and interior designers and so on, but they carried out the work of organizing, constructing, and decorating themselves, under the command of General Langenau. The Leipzig festival represented the wishes of the Austrian commander, Prince Schwarzenberg, who even at the time of the battle had felt a deep desire to commemorate the occasion, and charged his wife to begin making arrangements on his estate to do so. In October 1815, after the final victory over Napoleon, Schwarzenberg indeed celebrated the second anniversary on his estate (notably, again in the company of Tsar Alexander), but for the first he wanted to honor the soldiers, the real heroes of the day, in a fitting manner before the Congress and the eyes of Europe. On 15 October he could finally report to his wife Franz's approval of the festivities, and only on 12 October does the first documentary evidence show the organizers swinging into action.[29]

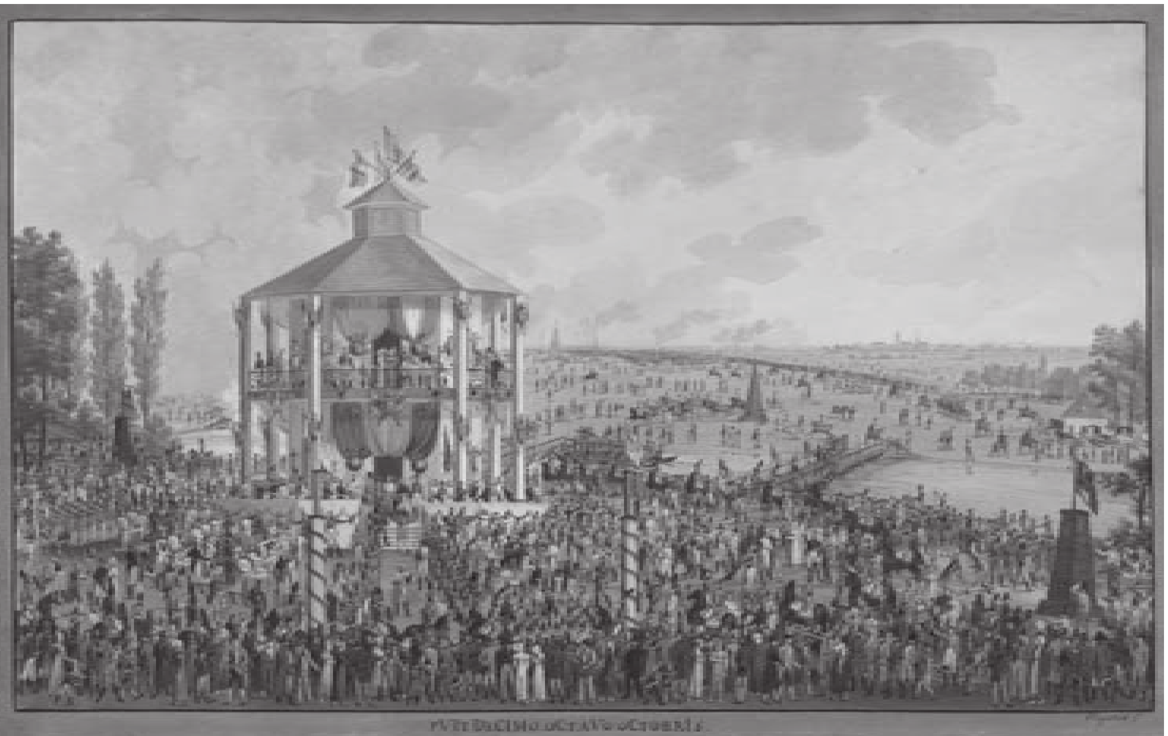

FIGURE 1.2 *It Was the Eighteenth of October.* Gouache and chronogram by Balthasar Wigand of the celebration of the first anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig, 1814. (Image © Wien Museum)

Why the emperor had a late change of heart or mind is unknown. Perhaps Schwarzenberg's entreaty proved decisive, or his own desire to do something for the soldiers; perhaps the notion of putting on an imposing if expensive show that could at once appeal to Tsar Alexander and give him pause for thought about Austrian strength and patriotic fervor became increasingly attractive as the standoff over Poland and Saxony hardened. Perhaps the emperor even in part wanted to do something to overshadow the planned celebrations of the day in so many parts of Germany by German nationalists inspired by the anti-Napoleonic propagandist and would-be national awakener Ernst Moritz Arndt. Any or all of these are possible; for lack of evidence we cannot know. In the event, the festival served all these purposes. The Praterfest ended up being the only Austrian entry in the subsequent patriotic book compilation of all the Leipzig celebrations across Germany, but that single item was made to count, its five-page description the longest and most impressive in the whole work.[30]

The festival involved a religious service as well as a massive review and banquet for the fourteen thousand regulars of the newly strengthened Vienna garrison (relieved of duty by city militia units for the occasion). Pontoon bridges were flung across the Danube arm to connect the Prater proper with the Simmering Heath and contain all the tables and troops. Captured French arms adorned the bridges, and dotting the park stood numerous smaller pyramids and columns of French cannons, rifles, and banners; the troops also constructed a seven-story tower from the same materiel. The organizers likewise decorated the *Lusthaus,* or pleasure house, at the center of the Prater with the detritus of the Napoleonic war machine, along with medieval weapons and knights in armor from the Vienna arsenal, as well as readying it for an opulent repast for the rulers and entourages. The Lusthaus sported imperial and Habsburg banners and eagles, as did the barges and pontoon bridges on the Danube (yellow and gold, and red and white). A festival atmosphere reigned among the thousands of soldiers and the even larger number of spectators (Figure 1.2).[31]

The mass for the dead and victory Te Deum took place right by the Bach equestrian circus and the Panorama, but this reminder of entertainment culture did nothing to impair the occasion's religious solemnity. The myriad troops defiled into squares surrounding the chapel tent, in which the service was celebrated and in which the rulers, generals, and ladies participated in the mass. As in the parade masses of preceding weeks, the sight of so many soldiers kneeling and baring their

heads for the service, and the sound of them singing the German responses and hymns, produced a profound impression. Young Anna Eynard of Geneva recorded in her diary that the effect of the army on its knees, and of the crowds, was "impossible to express." The writer, official, and Goethe relation Carl Heun reported that at that "truly heavenly moment" there was a silence as if no one else were present in the Prater. When during the Te Deum massive cannon salvos resounded, on the contrary, "the earth moved beneath one's feet, the heart in the breast, the tear of joy in the eye." All of this made it for him "one of the most blessed moments of my life."[32]

The festivity's religious emphasis proved equally pronounced in the published representations that followed, whether in the newspapers or in music. Anton Diabelli, in a section marked "Andante religioso" in his "Tone Portrait" written for the occasion, also captured the contrasting silence of the crowds and crashing of the cannons, along with the moment when the monarchs and entourages "kneel before the altar in humility, to bring their thanks to the Highest." The rival composition by Adalbert Gyrowetz similarly portrayed in a stately andante how the "most heartfelt emotion gripped all souls at the conclusion of the solemn thanksgiving offering."[33]

Though most on balance experienced and remembered the day as a joyous celebration of returning peace and victory, for many there were also moments of remembered pain and suffering, above all during the initial solemn mass for the souls of the dead, which preceded the Te Deum and subsequent festivities. The festival was after all first and foremost to honor the survivors, and the fallen. Numerous families and friends that day mourned loved ones lost in the wars, even in the Battle of Leipzig itself. Dorothea Schlegel shed "many tears of thankfulness" as well as of "sympathy" during the ceremony. Happily, she was not among those who had lost a child; her son Philipp, a volunteer in the famous Lützow rifle corps, had seen action at Leipzig and elsewhere but came through safely. Yet she remained acutely sensitive to the many present who were less fortunate.[34]

The festival in the Prater was obviously an Austrian production, designed to showcase Austrian prowess and patriotism and to serve its political goals. This did not, however, prevent Tsar Alexander from intervening in the event to score political points of his own. First, both he and his brother Grand Duke Constantine elected not to remain among the guests but rather to don the appropriate uniforms of the

regiments of which they had been presented honorary command and lead them personally during the review. When the regimental columns drew even with the Austrian emperor, the Russian ruler saluted, just as would a general in Austrian service. In a dramatic moment, the tsar also came forward for a public embrace with Franz. All of this served to emphasize the solidity of the alliance between the rulers and the depth of feeling between them, at the same time as it was offered in a spirit of (for the most part falsely modest) deference of the younger tsar to Europe's elder sovereign, and of guest to host. Each move garnered suitable cheers from the closely watching public. Such an effort to create good feeling may simply have been one of the tsar's typical public gestures, but neither was it impolitic at a moment of increasing crisis between the Great Powers over his Polish plans, when he may have felt his initial popularity in Vienna beginning to wane. Alexander continued to curry favor with the Viennese public and veterans later in the afternoon, when at another dramatic moment he toasted the health of both from the balcony of the Lusthaus where the high dignitaries were being fêted, again to loud acclaim. The watching Austrian official Matthias Perth thought this "beautiful moment . . . forever unforgettable for me." The tsar's act was even immortalized in one of the copperplate prints celebrating and capitalizing on the occasion and hence extended its communicative effects in time, space, and society.[35]

In reaching out to the public the tsar in some ways simply followed the symbolic lead of the Austrian authorities, who to an even greater extent than in other festivities encouraged a lessening of the distance—symbolic and real—between citizens and crowned heads. Citizenry, soldiers, and exalted guests literally at times rubbed elbows. Here, the rulers and generals mingled with the soldiers after dining, including exchanging toasts. Nor was this solely a matter of military courtesy, as civilians among the crowd—men, women, and children—themselves intermingled amid the ranks of soldiers. Visual representations of the festival reinforce this picture, confirming the fact of such mixing in the event itself, and showing that social mixing featured in the way the festivity was remembered, and was meant to be remembered. The proximity of sovereigns, soldiers, and crowds at the Leipzig anniversary also received due praise in the poem by Friedrich Kanne that provided the text for Anton Diabelli's tone portrait: "The sublime ones near the joyous tables and drink to their brothers' well-being"; "Look yonder, the emperors and the kings, they pass through the warriors' ranks."[36]

"Sublime" the rulers remained, but they were also now the soldiers' "brothers."

Along with lines of class, those of gender also blurred in the Congress festivities. That a militarized public realm would also be correspondingly masculinized is not a false impression, but neither will it do to overstate the exclusion of women or their restriction to purely domestic roles (even when in public). At some ceremonies women, or sometimes girls, played important symbolic or even active roles. White-clad maidens, already noted at the arrival ceremony for Alexander and Friedrich Wilhelm, were rarely missing from any festival or display. They could always function as symbols of purity to reflect on whatever was being celebrated, and in the military context they also served as reminders of what the soldiers were to defend, or had defended. Socially, the girls could come from orphanages, the families of the high aristocracy, or the middle classes in between.[37] Even at purely military events, women could step forth. Grand Duchess Catherine and Tsarina Elisabeth of Russia, for example, "honored" the military maneuver on the Simmering fields in early October, and in April 1815 during the new campaign against Napoleon, Empress Maria Ludovica of Austria and Grand Duchesses Catherine and Marie similarly observed a troop review.[38]

Royal consorts also played more active public roles. Maria Ludovica supplied a gold-embroidered silver ribbon for the standard of the Austrian infantry regiment of which Tsar Alexander had been given honorary command. In addition to her name and "the 18th of October," the empress had with her own hands (at least allegedly) embroidered the inscription: "Alexander and Franz this very day formed an inseparable bond."[39] Tsarina Elisabeth had for her part done the needlework for the banner itself—the word "Eintracht," or "concord"—which was presented to the regiment on 12 December. She had participated in similar ceremonies in Russia at the beginning of the 1812 campaign. In this instance, Elisabeth handed over the banner to a detachment of officers who rode to the Hofburg to retrieve it for the occasion. At the benediction ceremony, Maria Ludovica affixed banner to pole, and "with a loud and firm voice" (if allegedly also with a blush) she addressed the men with the appropriate words, "what a great honor it was for them, that the autocrat of Russia had recognized the regiment by being its commander, and that this consideration would bind the already existing friendship between the two empires even more tightly."[40] In this the empresses imitated the seamstresses of the women's patriotic associations

of the Wars of Liberation in many parts of Germany, as indeed in Britain. Not only did these Betsy Rosses sew and/or embroider military banners themselves, but they often assumed significant parts in the ceremonial display surrounding their benediction.[41]

The representations of the festivities in words, image, and music did not hide the active presence of women, and in some ways emphasized it. By Caroline Pichler's account, she and her family featured among the civilians who sat down to dine with the soldiers being fêted at the Leipzig anniversary festival, and the memoirs of Roxandra Stourdza also noted the mixture of soldiers, citizens, and foreigners.[42] This experience, too, found an echo in the recounting of the climactic postprandial toasts in the poetic accompaniment to Anton Diabelli's piano portrayal of the festivity: "The beauties of Vienna glorify this festival, and array themselves amid the rejoicing gathering. They too swing the glass high, with sweet modesty and joyous blushing."[43] The visual depictions of the event do not show women actually sitting at the tables in the way described by Pichler, but most do clearly depict women (and children) in close proximity, sauntering with other male spectators, and even placed amid the serried rows of soldiers' tables. This holds true of the title-page copperplate of the Diabelli piece, with ladies prominently displayed in the crowd, some with male companions, others without, but one can also see them in the title plate of the competitor to Diabelli's work by Gyrowetz. The more sumptuous color print from Artaria also depicted a mixed crowd. Tensions surrounding gender relations register, as with the emphasis on blushing, but without obscuring women's participation in public display.

Court, City, and Nation on Display

The grand performance of Handel's oratorio *Samson* on 16 October offers a classic instance of the joining of court and city, middle class, gentry, and high aristocracy in a blend of older representational culture and newer civic associational life and concert culture. The concert was staged by the recently founded Society of Friends of Music, itself an outgrowth of another charitable association founded during the wars, the Society of Noble Ladies for the Promotion of the Good and the Useful. The Musikfreunde formed a mixed group of male and female, aristocratic and bourgeois dilettantes and assembled a massed chorus and orchestra of over seven hundred performers for the occasion. The performance surpassed even the London Handel concerts mustering

around six hundred, and thus presented the opportunity to demonstrate the robustness of Austrian associational life and civil society as well as of its aristocratic culture, through a "musical festivity that no other capital is capable of giving on such a scale." The choice of oratorio disappointed some, but did show Viennese connoisseurship at the forefront of taste, as *Samson* had been the only Handel oratorio not yet performed outside England. The Old Testament context and the themes of overthrowing false gods and mourning a patriot hero also made the selection particularly appropriate for the Vienna Congress.[44]

The so-called Volksfest, or People's Festival, provides perhaps the best example of the blending of elements of the older court-based representational and newer bourgeois public spheres, in the persons and institutions involved as in the political and cultural languages being communicated. Held in the Augarten, another of Vienna's main parks, opened to the public by Joseph II in 1775, the Volksfest featured among the most important and spectacular of the official festivities. The court and government under Prince Trauttmansdorff, however, did not directly plan and stage it. Rather, it showcased the patriotic and entrepreneurial initiative of one Franz Jan, who had been putting on similar large-scale popular entertainments for several years. At the same time, though, neither was the Volksfest a pure outgrowth of the new market-driven public sphere. Jan himself additionally held the position of court caterer, and as it turns out, he also accepted a partial subsidy from the emperor to help finance the extravaganza. When the Congress was postponed from July to the autumn, officials presented Jan with the option of either staging the festival as planned in July or waiting for the august foreign visitors and promoting the event on his own tab come fall, with no further subsidies. Jan, not an entrepreneur to let slip a historic opportunity, chose the latter course.

In the event, he claimed to have lost so much money that he repeatedly petitioned for another subvention to cover the difference. Despite Prince Trauttmansdorff's support, the emperor and his primary advisor, Count Wallis, remained unmoved by Jan's pleas, relenting neither when he piteously pointed to his potential financial ruin nor when he invoked the language of patriotism. The Volksfest, he claimed, truly constituted a national festival, and it had been a matter of "national honor" to put on an impressive (read sumptuously expensive) show. The emperor, already angry at the overcrowding and consequent public order problems, simply responded that he shouldn't have overspent.[45]

At the center of the Volksfest stood the celebration and feasting of four hundred injured Austrian veterans. For their and the other spectators' entertainment, Jan arranged a variety of displays, from equestrian trick-riding and circus acrobatics to ballroom dancing and demonstrations of folk dances, plus a large series of fireworks and figurative illuminations. The kaiser and his illustrious foreign guests also graced the event, partly to honor the soldiers, partly to enjoy it, and partly to enhance its entertainment value. The veterans, as well as the rulers and their entourages, were admitted without charge; the rest paid admission. In the spirit of market economics, ticket prices varied with quality: least for standing room, most for seats on the specially erected tribune, and standing room on the tribune for those in between. The banquet followed the entertainment, and after the meal an exchange of toasts, wherein the monarchs mingled with the crowds and soldiers, receiving toasts from the wounded veterans, including from one Sergeant Platzer, who had lost an arm in the recent wars but raised the remaining one to honor the rulers and generals, as well as the troops. "Long live the allied soldiers, our brothers! May their mutual respect, love, and unity endure forever!" Platzer exclaimed in his final pledge. The sovereigns then toasted the veterans in turn, with Tsar Alexander seizing a glass and leading the way.[46]

Perhaps in part because it represented more a private than an official initiative, the Volksfest proved more controversial in its reception. The government and some spectators felt aggrieved chiefly through the breakdown in crowd control; Jan sold too many tickets for the space and arrangements. Stories circulated of noble ladies with dresses torn or jewels gone missing in the crush. Other critical voices pointed to the sluggishness of the fireworks displays (much slower, some thought, than those in Paris). The folksy and popular *Eipeldauer Letters* also chronicled the difficulties faced by Jan and his crew, as wind and weather wreaked havoc with the preparations for the fireworks, and as the delayed start occasioned by the sovereigns' late arrival meant that encroaching darkness brought an early end to the sporting entertainments. On the whole, though, the fictitious provincial from Eipeldau defended Jan, pointing out that if a foreigner had organized the same event, everyone would have said it was "superb," but since he was a mere Austrian, everyone complained instead.[47] It was, after all, not just in the privately sponsored festivals that things occasionally went wrong. The court-staged fireworks display a few days prior on 29 September certainly impressed, but a few glitches gave rise to some acerbic humor. In

the representation of the temple of liberation there appeared, instead of an allegorical figure of Germania as companion to that of Gallia, a second Gallia. And an extinguished lantern in the belt of the illuminated allegorical figure of "Concord" (gendered female of course, as allegorical figures generally were) led to what the editor of the Prague periodical *Hesperus* termed "an ominous void." Whether it was ominous with respect to sexual modesty or to international politics he left unclear.[48]

The range of activities and symbolism in the Volksfest shows its mixed origins in the realm of courtly representation and modern entertainment culture and populist politics. The centerpiece and ostensible occasion for the event, the celebration and feeding of the disabled veterans of Vienna's Invaliden hospital, involved one of those patriotic and charitable gestures that abounded in the years 1813 and 1814. Many were the charitable associations founded, collections taken up, benefit concerts staged, and patriotic and celebratory texts printed whose proceeds went to support wounded soldiers or the widows and orphans of the fallen. Both entertainment culture and political culture were shaped in these years to a large degree by just such public demonstrations emerging from within civil society.[49] The concert in which Beethoven conducted his Seventh Symphony and *Wellington's Victory* and premiered his cantata honoring the Congress, *The Glorious Moment,* undoubtedly proved the most famous such occasion, but it was one among many. Aloys Weissenbach, the cantata's librettist, was himself a former military surgeon and had offered one of his previous patriotic productions, a poem celebrating the return and ceremonial entry of Emperor Franz to Vienna back in June, for a similar charitable purpose. For that matter, the grand concert performance of Handel's oratorio *Samson* by the Society of Friends of Music in the Hofburg's Winter Riding School on 16 October represented an extension of previous benefit concerts in the same format by that new-style association within civil society and its parent institution the Society of Noble Ladies for the Promotion of the Good and the Useful. At the same time, like Jan's festival, it belonged just as much to the official cycle of court festivities that opened the Congress, accounted for in the court's planning by figures such as Count Moritz von Dietrichstein, who was also a Society board member.[50]

The patriotic symbolism at the Volksfest referenced several levels of identity and helps make a broader point about the potential for coexistence of local-civic, regional, ethnically or historically national, and

state-based and dynastic varieties of patriotism. Excepting the municipal level, any of the other scales can merit the appellation "national" and "nationalist"—it is anachronistic to employ late nineteenth-century definitions of nationhood alone. Moreover, these do not have to be competing identities but can rather be multiple, even at times mutually reinforcing. The symbols chosen for the illuminations paid homage to the notion of Europe as a collection of dynasties, with the initials of the three main allied sovereigns and the august spouses of the emperor and tsar. But they also paid tribute to the notion of a Europe of nations, adding certain images associated with these states, either existing or emerging sites of memory. Hence the monarchs walked through a glowing representation of Berlin's Brandenburg Gate with its newly restored Victory Quadriga (recovered from Napoleon's Paris) on the way to view an illumination of the Cannon Monument of Moscow, constructed from captured French arms after the French defeats and turning of the tide in 1812, and here surrounded by "groups in Russian costume." The Metternich-controlled daily the *Oesterreichische Beobachter* duly publicized all of these alliance-building details, which were then reprinted in other European papers.[51] The third image or symbol represented the spire of Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna. It served as much as an icon of Viennese civic identity as of Austrian—and/or German—national identity, but in the present context it stood for all. The Catholic priest and Romantic playwright Zacharias Werner found the less-than-life-size illuminated transparency of the tower considerably less inspiring than its real-life counterpart by moonlight (as he noted in one of his Congress sermons), but the choice of symbol for mixed civic and national identities was still a felicitous one.[52]

The juxtaposition of various levels of identity, German, Austrian, and even local, is significant. Scholars often cite the existence of state-based or dynastic identities and patriotism in this period as evidence against the possible existence of an overarching German nationalism at this early date, in opposition to old nationalist myths of a national awakening during the Wars of Liberation. But the various levels of patriotism were not mutually exclusive, and as recent scholarship from the German case suggests, could coexist or even reinforce one another in federative conceptions of nationhood: German, Saxon, Lusatian; Brandenburger, Prussian, and German. Elements of such synchronicity emerge at the level of display in this chapter and become even more central in the discussion of the role of nationalism, in Germany and generally, in Chapter 6.[53]

The Volksfest imagery bears similar implications for the problem of Austrian identity. There historians typically stress the dilemma that Austrian identity could really only be supranational, equivalent to Habsburg dynastic patriotism. Both were threatened by the competing presence of ethnic or national identities in the multilingual Habsburg Empire. And yet, just as various local, regional, provincial, state, and dynastic identities (including Austrian) coexisted with an overarching German national identity, the same held true within the Habsburg lands. Federative conceptions of nationality proved paramount there too. One could be Styrian or Carinthian or Hungarian and at the same time Austrian (and German, Slovene, or Magyar).

In fact, according to prevalent ideas at the time, one came to be a Habsburg or Austrian patriot in part through experiencing provincial or "national" patriotism. During the campaign of 1809, when the government and its publicists deliberately invoked nationalist rhetoric and identity as a means of mobilizing resources for war against Napoleonic France, the official policy had partly relied on that scheme (they did not appeal to German nationalism alone). Officials and publicists attempted to inspire regional and ethnic patriotism as stepping-stones to the higher level—call it national, or supranational as one will, so long as one recognizes that the two levels did not only stand in competition, and that the term "national" remains a proper one for this kind of mixed civic and ethnic, as opposed to exclusively ethnic-based version of large-scale state and popular identity. The goal of broad patriotic mobilization and participation remained the same as in "normal" nationalism, and appeals to symbols of historical memory, language, and folklore worked similarly, too, whether the subject of the patriotic sentiment was a province (Land), or a people within a province. References to the "Tyrolean nation" or the "nation of Vorarlberg" had appeared already in the late eighteenth century, even as overlain and partly competing German, Catholic, and Habsburg identities kept these provincial "nations" internally disparate.[54]

The program of the *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* of 1809, for example, associated with Count Stadion's foreign policy, aimed to create "love of the fatherland" (a dynastic Austrian patriotism) through "knowledge of the fatherland," which could only mean through knowledge of the various provinces and peoples of the monarchy. From the many provincial and ethnic patriotisms would come the overarching national one: Austrian. As Stadion informed the Russian chargé Baron Anstett in 1808, "We have constituted ourselves

as a nation." The group around Archduke Johann and Baron Joseph Hormayr, with the latter's ideal of a "federation of peoples with equal rights and autonomous provinces," likewise worked to instill knowledge and love of the various fatherlands in pursuit of an ultimate Austrian identity. Landscape, history, natural history, and—significantly in the present context—national costumes all provided imagery suitable to the task. Hence publications like the *Vaterländische Blätter* included pieces on the various portions of the realm, from Hungary and Bohemia to Tyrol.[55]

The process and the policy worked most clearly in the realm of music. Heinrich von Collin's *Songs of Austrian Militiamen* specifically avoided German nationalist rhetoric, and these songs were translated into other languages of the empire; Collin's preface reinforced the idea that Austria itself formed a worthy object of patriotism, in part because "under no other government would the constitution, language, customs, and distinctive qualities [Eigenthümlichkeiten] of each particular people be so nurturingly honored." The famous final concert of Haydn's *Creation* with the elderly composer in attendance analogously featured an Italian translation and united Italian and German performers, with an eye or ear to Austria's lost Italian possessions. In 1814, Joseph Sonnleithner and the high official Count Saurau similarly called for the new Society of Friends of Music to begin collecting folk songs from the various peoples of the empire.[56]

These relationships looked and played distinctly in a Habsburg monarchy and a Europe of rising national discourses and practices, but at the same time, they still fit partly within a context of "composite states" or "composite monarchies," that is, states compounded of various historic provinces or principalities, which individually enjoyed considerable privileges of autonomy, separate laws, and estates-based representative bodies. As J. H. Elliott suggestively remarked at the conclusion of his seminal essay on composite monarchies, the development of Romanticism and nationalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries gave impetus to the drive to centralize nation-states, but it also spurred a strengthening of attachments to their component parts, the regions, provinces, and ethnic groups; the countervailing tendencies toward unity and diversity led to "complex and constantly changing shifts in the balance of loyalties."[57] The tense relationship between provincial elites and central governments, hovering between mutual support and mutual contestation, had also marked the early modern phase of state-building, in that Europe of composite monarchies. The difference

FIGURE 1.3 *Peace Festival of the Peoples of Austria*, by Johann Josef Schindler, oil on canvas, c. 1815. (Image © Wien Museum)

in the Congress period of Romanticism and a gradualist, historicist liberalism (or reform conservatism) was that one might think of such diversity as a strength, as something to be cultivated rather than simply tolerated. The German lands stood out in this context, with their stronger tradition of federative national identity, but similar practices and patterns of thought held elsewhere in Europe as well. As Archduke Johann wrote to the curator of the Johanneum museum in Graz devoted to Steyermark's history, peoples, and land, "Austria's strength consists in the provinces' difference . . . which should be carefully preserved," since the provinces still "saw themselves as independent from the rest, but worked loyally toward the common goal."[58]

Against this backdrop, it is telling that Jan arranged for a display of "national dances" as part of the Folk or People's Festival, and that the newspapers, including Metternich's semiofficial *Austrian Observer,* publicized these details. Tents like columned temples were erected in which men and women in appropriate costumes of the component national, regional, or ethnic groups of the Habsburg Empire performed their traditional dances for the spectators' entertainment, but also edification. In this instance, the tents offered a taste of Tyrolean, Hungarian, Bohemian, and Lower Austrian folk dance, to give a sense of the realm's geographic and ethnic reach. Such a gesture had a whiff of older styles of representation, in which displays of subject peoples in traditional peasant garb helped demonstrate the extent of power and dominion. But in 1814, as portrayed in the Augarten, the display of national dancing projected much more the tone and language of the new public sphere and its attendant patriotic, or nationalist, political culture. The new interest in folklore and folkways associated with Romantic nationalism certainly played a role, as did the assertion of a populist, specifically national identity. The display's cross-class and mixed-gender dimensions also stand out, for performers and public.[59]

The Volksfest dancing was not an isolated instance of such juxtaposed regional-ethnic and broader national or dynastic identities and patriotism. From the realm of visual culture, Johann Josef Schindler's painting *Peace Festival of the Peoples of Austria* featured a cornucopia and an altar with burning hearts celebrating Emperor Franz, all ringed by a semicircle of masculine figures representing twelve national or regional groups in appropriate native costumes and coiffures (Figure 1.3). Saint Stephen's Cathedral of Vienna rises iconically on the horizon. A board or "society game" sought the patriotic market, for three to fifteen players, with fifteen copperplate images of "inhabitants of the Austrian

empire" (all couples) in their "national costumes," from Viennese, Upper Austrian, and Tyrolean to Polish, Hungarian, Bohemian, Transylvanian, Slavonian, and Croatian.[60] From the home of spectacle on the stage, the acclamatory musical play *The Consecration of the Future* by the previously noted Joseph Sonnleithner, with which Emperor Franz had been welcomed back to his capital in June 1814, paraded across the boards both allegorical female figures of "Austria" and the empire's component provinces, plus fifty pairs of men and women in even more precisely located regional and ethnic garb. The couples in "national costume" allegedly drew "the greatest attention" of the whole show. Many even boasted speaking parts and hence did not appear completely passive before the public. The public itself, that is, the audience, proved similarly active, collective, and vocal, when on this occasion, as so often in these years and months, they joined the fifty couples in Austrian *Tracht* in a rendition of the Austrian national anthem "God Save Franz the Kaiser," with lyrics by Viennese poet Lorenz Leopold Haschka and music by none other than Joseph Haydn. The anthem was of course partly modeled on the English "God Save the King," and its music was later borrowed for the German national anthem. The Austrian version was no less national than the British for being, like it, simultaneously a demonstration of monarchical and dynastic sentiment. Commissioned by the above-mentioned Count Saurau, it was translated into all the main languages of the Habsburg monarchy.[61]

Perhaps surprisingly, given his reputation as an antinationalist, but in line with his newspaper's coverage of the Volksfest folk dancing, Metternich adopted a similar measure at one of the most impressive balls he gave for Congress high society. For a costume theme, Metternich requested guests to attend in the traditional dress of one of the peoples of the Habsburg Empire. If possible, they were to coordinate their efforts so as to offer visually compelling full quadrille sets in the same attire. Even, or perhaps especially the foreign guests were expected to play along and contribute to this display of Habsburg dynastic power and supranational national identity. Countess Elise Bernstorff, for example, wife of the Danish ambassador, joined with others to make up a set representing Transylvanian folk dress; Hanne Smidt, teenaged daughter of the delegate from Bremen, received help from Sophie Schlosser of Frankfurt and an Italian painter to attend as an Italian peasant. All of this gave Metternich's press organ the opportunity to observe of the fifteen hundred guests that "one was tempted to believe that all the provinces of the Austrian Empire, particularly those that an envious

fate had for a short time separated from the beloved motherland, had sent the flower of their youths and ladies in their richest and most splendid festive adornment in order to express worthily their joy and premonitions of a happy future."[62]

The patriotic Genevan republican Anna Eynard chose not to play along, or at least not quite. In keeping with the rustic and patriotic peasant garb concept, but breaking with the request that it be Austrian, she instead donned the dress of the mountain Swiss from her own region. Her costume did not, therefore, obtrude or detract in a general way, but on the finer scale her expression of Swiss-Genevan patriotism stood out clearly enough. She received many compliments, not least from Tsar Alexander, and as the Swiss were expected to be patriotic and independent, no one took offense, with any remarks confined to good-natured teasing.[63] The mixture of Genevan-local and Swiss-national patriotism points to the coexistence of such layers of identity in wider European contexts as well. The fact that this was at heart a European elite, with all the implications for culture transfer that that entails, made such a spread of ideas all the more likely (something that will be seen again in the chapter on salon sociability and subsequently).

Along with the pointed inclusion of Tyroleans in the Volksfest dancing and the other occasions for displaying the component parts of the Habsburg Empire, the Volksfest also featured the popular Tyrolean singers of the Kaerntnertor Theater.[64] Display usually tends not to point quite so directly to diplomatic disputes, but in this instance one has to imagine that both the Austrians and the Bavarians saw the point in their continuing wrangling over the return of the Tyrol and Inn region to the Habsburgs (the area having been given to the newly minted Kingdom of Bavaria in 1806 by Napoleon). It has even been claimed that the Volkfest boasted an archery contest among Tyrolean bowmen, won by none other than the son of Andreas Hofer, martyred leader of the insurrection of 1809 against their new Bavarian overlords and the latter's Napoleonic allies. This would make the point about the political implications of the Tyrolean symbolism still more fully, but for lack of a reliable confirming source, this seems to be one of those historical facts that truly is too good to be true.[65]

While the festivity in honor of the Battle of Leipzig put on by Metternich on the evening of 18 October in the garden of his suburban villa on the Rennweg is often seen as an afterthought following the stirring events of the morning and afternoon, it had in fact been in preparation

for months, even before Metternich's return to Vienna that summer. The festival in the Prater, as we have seen, was actually the afterthought. It has also often been presented as the festival of peace, Metternich's counterpoint to the militarist atmosphere in the Prater earlier that day, but this does not really hold either.[66] Partly with respect to the occasion, and partly to the tsar's preferences, Metternich always intended to incorporate a pronounced military component in its décor, with wreaths of laurel and oak rather than olive branches or rainbows to bracket its blazing illuminations of the Allies' initials and the massive word "Leipzig." At the entrance even stood a large field tent bedizened with "weapons and trophies."[67]

Metternich's festival, though heavily subsidized by the court, was a private event, not a public one in the same way as that in the Prater, or at least, it was aimed primarily at that "courtly-diplomatic partial-public" representing the important European opinion- and decision-makers, and only secondarily at the milling crowds outside the gardens or the reading publics further afield. Female guests contributed to the atmosphere, too, by wearing white or blue gowns and laurel, oak, or olive leaves, in the spirit of both victory and peace.[68] A grand ball provided the occasion's centerpiece, in the eyes of some observers approaching or even surpassing the beauty and glitz of the splendid court balls. Tsar Alexander, pursuing his vendetta against Metternich, stood almost alone in having dismissive words for the display, telling Princess Esterhazy that the commemorative day would have been better served without the evening encore after the moving events of the morning and afternoon.[69] Given the effort and expense to flatter him and his tastes, this was rather uncharitable of the tsar, but not unexpected.

Metternich's ball constituted a sort of hybrid between official and unofficial, an outgrowth of court life, ministerial duties, and salon sociability among the high aristocracy. The Vienna Congress lives in popular memory today as much as anything for the glittering parties and dancing, these too located somewhere in that middle area between the two types of representation and sociability. The court offered many memorably lavish balls and receptions during the Congress. Court functions, these were closed to the wider public if recounted in the newspapers, and organized by the officials in charge of ceremony, though still dependent in part on the magnates of the realm playing their part, above all in the display of their wealth (in the Habsburg case typically in jewels more than in fashionable attire; the traditional garb of the Hungarian nobility in their national dress, was however by all accounts as or more

impressive). Similarly, since the court could not afford to keep the illustrious guests sufficiently entertained on its own account, it relied on the high aristocrats to step in with their own occasions for diversion and display.[70] Hence the Zichys and the Trauttmansdorffs in particular joined the Metternichs in throwing luxurious parties and fêting the foreign notables.

The court also, however, maintained its distinctive tradition during the Congress of staging opulent balls for a mixed public of nobles and Viennese citizenry. These ridottos or *Redouten* took place in the smaller or larger Redoute Halls (or both at once plus the Riding School for the largest occasions). Of the first two ridottos early on, the smaller on 9 October was planned for four thousand guests; the larger on 2 October boasted tickets for ten thousand. On each occasion, extra attendees may have found their way in too, but unlike Jan's Volksfest in the Augarten, crowd control never became a problem (unless one counts the rather large quantity of imperial silverware that went missing, whether as souvenirs or as items for pawnshops during difficult financial times is unclear).[71] Finally, the court could count on the resources of various public, admission-charging establishments such as the luxurious suburban Apollo Rooms in the Zieglergasse to stage large parties of their own, which the noble and even crowned guests could also attend alongside the wider public, including the shopkeeper class.[72]

In such teeming mixed venues, and in the larger high-society balls and soirees themselves, it naturally occurred that the crowned heads and their families often came into close contact with the wider public, wealthy and less wealthy alike. That the same occurred in some of the larger outdoor festivities, as at the Prater and the Augarten parks, has already been noted, with the crowds and press coverage wildly enthusiastic about such proximity. For the indoor entertainments, however, the propinquity provoked considerable negative opinion. The critical comments came from varied geographic and social locations. Talleyrand, that powdered product of Old Regime etiquette, wrote his royal master that he did not like to see royals at teas and balls among "simple private individuals," as they lost "grandeur" in the process, and went on to flatter Louis with the remark that in order to see proper royalty one had to go to France. But this was not solely flattery, as he expressed much the same sentiment to Jean-Gabriel Eynard.[73] The republican Eynards of Geneva came down almost equally sharply against this kind of royal condescension. Jean-Gabriel thought "the masters of the world" should show "more dignity" rather than mingle. His wife, Anna, had the same

reaction. "How wrong they are, these potentates, to show themselves like this without dignity, without anything that distinguishes them." She went on to explain, "monarchs should not be seen up close, there always needs to be a distance between them and us that we could suppose to be the result of their superiority."[74] This was perhaps somewhat ungrateful of the pair since they benefited from the trend, becoming sought-after companions of the tsar and his sister Grand Duchess Catherine; by January Anna was even dancing with Alexander and King Friedrich Wilhelm. Eynard maintained his opinion, however, even debating the matter with Alexander and Prince Eugène Beauharnais. They thought it "convenient" to be able to escape being continually on regal display, but Eynard claimed they were "almost obliged to admit I was right," with Napoleon's protégé Eugène at least conceding that "royal dignity had received a very large check" and that "the people need prestige."[75]

Among the voices supportive of monarchical promiscuity, the Viennese *Friedensblätter* noted that the sovereigns appeared in civilian clothes at the benefit ridotto for the university medical faculty's widows' fund and "mingled with the crowd of happy people of all estates." The royals thus had the "rare pleasure" to escape "the restriction of representation" and to move according to their "free personalities." At the splendid ridotto of 2 October, the crowds were said to be "in transports" at seeing the rulers in civilian clothes and in "friendly proximity."[76] The Russian officer and memoirist Alexander Ivanovich Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky, adjutant to Tsar Alexander, also wrote approvingly of the monarchs "getting to know their subjects and socializing with them on a friendly footing."[77] Johann Smidt and his family, from the city-state of Bremen and just as republican as the Genevan Eynards, also praised the opportunity to see the sovereigns up close; Smidt's daughter, like Anna Eynard, even participated in dance sets with the tsar and the Prussian king. "One could hardly distinguish them from private persons," Smidt wrote, with approval rather than consternation.[78]

Scholars have recently emphasized that European rulers did not often set out to craft a simpler image or to use royal display or royal memorabilia in order to appeal to broader bourgeois or plebeian publics; the "humanization" of European monarchy just happened, an unintended consequence, without their effort or even despite them.[79] In this instance, it may simply be that the rulers were pleased to feel on vacation during the festivities and to shed the constraints of normal court etiquette. Insiders such as Roxandra Stourdza and Baron Nostitz certainly

thought so, and perhaps just as significantly were echoed in press coverage as in the example quoted above from the *Friedensblätter.* The decreased distance did, however, have the effect of increasing popularity and goodwill, whether rulers behaved that way calculatedly or from their own desires.[80] The proximity of rulers and publics also fits with the moves toward making diplomatic etiquette and precedence rules simpler and less formal that marked the Vienna Congress and proved one of its more lasting diplomatic legacies.[81]

The extent and limits of cross-class sociability also show through in examining the dancing. Of the Prince de Ligne's lifetime of noted bon mots, perhaps the most remembered these days remains his pointed critique of Congress diplomacy, or rather of its lack of progress: "The Congress dances, but does not advance." As with the festive life generally, dancing abounded there. When authors mention dance at the Congress, they often reference the waltz, that hallmark of Viennese culture, later immortalized in the melodic strains of the Strausses and traditionally associated with the middle classes and the growth of bourgeois cultural influence.[82] Waltzing did go on, and one could say quite a bit about it in connection with the Congress, but its distinguishing dance was actually the polonaise, considered at the time the epitome of aristocratic elegance. The polonaise craze swept through the city's ballrooms and into the market for sheet music discussed in the next chapter. A stately line dance on a grand scale, the polonaise offered ample opportunity for conversation, and even at times for a certain amount of hilarity—on one occasion, the line through the rooms of Russian representative Count Rasumovsky strung out so far that the head and the tail suddenly found themselves face-to-face and didn't know which way to go. With considerable laughter, the tsar and the other guests managed to extricate themselves from this almost unprecedented difficulty.[83] For the most part, however, the polonaise connoted order and hierarchy, as participants' social ranks were clearly legible in the order of the promenading pairs. The visibility of the famed rulers and heroes contributed for a time to the polonaise's popularity, as spectators could gaze their fill upon the celebrities. Before long, however, monotony and boredom dominated the public response to the seemingly never-ending traipse through the rooms of various venues. Having exercised their eyes sufficiently, most instead grew eager to exercise their feet on some other dance, livelier and with wider participation. Already at the Grand Redoute of 9 October, Anna Eynard professed herself "bored by the monotony of the dance of the sovereigns." Her husband Gabriel also found

the incessant polonaising “insipid” and “monotonous,” and by November he declared the dance the “mortal enemy of the spectator.”[84] Baron Nostitz likewise bemoaned the “boring” change in Viennese dance culture, previously all waltzes, with the occasional quadrille and Scottish reel, “now almost nothing but polonaises.”[85]

Courts, Europe, and Encounters with History

Even beyond the dancing and the marching, the concerts and the grand festivals, the court- and state-based festive culture showed great splendor and variety. This culture was filled with references to history, sometimes to recent history, in either case with political implications. And even amid the meticulous planning for such events, external political actors could nudge the political messages and symbolism in alternative directions.

Through the glittering and opulent court balls, ridottos, court theatricals, tableaux vivants, and other events staged for restricted or broader publics, the Viennese planners were in part making a declaration of the capacity of the court, state, and dynasty to put on such affairs, ideally, in a way that would surpass other capitals. They staked Habsburg Vienna’s claim to be the arbiter of taste—hence on the cutting edge of the modern—and to be the bearer of tradition, with all that that implied for its historical legitimation at a moment of political restoration. Balancing the notably novel with the patina and aura of the time-honored was the goal, much as with the military exercises and parades. The closest the Congress and Prince Trauttmansdorff came to the invention or at least revival of tradition probably involved the banquet, opera, and illumination in the Orangerie of Schönbrunn Palace on 11 October, and the grandly staged Carousel or medieval tournament that remains perhaps the best remembered Congress festivity. The prince *Obersthofmeister* wanted the fest in Schönbrunn to recapture the glory days of Joseph II for its illustrious participants, and its exquisite decoration and day-bright lighting may have succeeded. The event was exclusively for the court, but at the end, after the great ones had headed back to Vienna and the Hofburg for the night, the doors were opened to the curious crowds who had gathered to witness the event.[86]

The greatest and most eagerly anticipated of the court spectaculars was the medievalizing Carousel, with members of the resident and visiting aristocracy appearing as knights and ladies in a grand evocation of the age of chivalry. The excuse to show off wealth, above all glittering

jewels, also constituted a noted feature of the occasion. The event was originally to have been staged outdoors at the perfectly appropriate setting of the recently renovated neo-Gothic castle in Laxenburg park a few kilometers outside the city. But with the delay to the Congress pushing the date back into November, it had to be put on indoors instead in Fischer von Erlach's great Winter Riding School, attached to Vienna's Hofburg palace, where the Lippizaner stallions still perform their "airs above the ground" today.[87] Such was the pent-up demand to see the spectacle that when illness forced Tsar Alexander to miss the performance, it was repeated not just once, for him, but twice.

The Carousel certainly entailed an element of invented tradition, but at the same time it was presented with a rather self-conscious historicism and at times a slightly postmodern staginess as if everyone was in on the joke, that however grand and entertaining, this was not the real thing or the past brought back to life. The skeptical Prussian official and poet Friedrich August Staegemann thought the knights looked like "heroes from a stage comedy," but even he had to admit that the spectacle exceeded his expectations.[88] One element of tradition, or historicism, that did not always come across as playful involved the continued use of Turks' heads as targets for the demonstrations of the horsemen's skill with the lance (Figure 1.4). At least according to the commentator in the periodical *Hesperus,* an Armenian sitting next to him became angry at the circumstance, observing that since Europe had arrived at a higher level of "culture" since the days of the Renaissance carousels, they could have done without such an exhibition.[89] Here, progress and historicism may have come into conflict.

Room for interpretation also remained in the representation's meaning, both in the reception of the symbols provided by the choreographers and in a certain jockeying for symbolic position on the part of participants and spectators. On the latter score, Dorothea de Talleyrand-Périgord decided to embellish her costume as one of the tourney's ladies of honor by adding the golden lilies of the House of Bourbon to the scarf that she would grant as a favor to her knight-escort. Already significant as a declaration of loyalty to the restored Louis XVIII and Bourbon dynasty in France, the move was all the cleverer in linking the dynasty to the tournament, and to the aura of dynastic legitimacy attached to the medieval history that was to be performed and reimagined that night. Moreover, the gesture pointed not only to the position of France itself, still struggling to reclaim its place among the Great Powers and the nations of Europe, but also to the fortunes of the

FIGURE 1.4 *Carousel Given in the K. K. Winter Riding School in the Presence of the High Allies in the Year 1814*. Copperplate by Artaria and Co., Vienna, 1815. (ÖNB/Vienna, LW 72588-C)

dynasty in Naples (still controlled by Napoleon's marshal, King Joachim), and perhaps even of Louis's relation the king of Saxony, still held prisoner by Prussia at the height of the contestation over Poland and Saxony. In all of this Dorothea acted with the full and admiring approval of her uncle-in-law, who reported back on this symbolic act to her mother (and his mistress) the Duchess of Courland. At least in Talleyrand's account, Dorothea's lilies made a "great impression."[90]

The bourgeois literary star and official's wife Caroline Pichler did not feature among the ladies and knights, but she too thought to exploit the occasion for a public symbolic gesture. Inspired in part by the Carousel, she entered the lists in the ongoing and vibrant debate over the adoption of "German national dress" as a leading proponent of such a move, arguing that German women should wear "old-German" costume, reflecting the modes of Germany's glory days during the "romantic Middle Ages." The designs suggested actually followed more closely those of the fifteenth century and Renaissance, but then, most Romantic medievalizing tended to conflate early modern and medieval, from Wackenroder and Tieck's pathbreaking celebration of the art of Albrecht Dürer and Raphael to the very tournament everyone was about to watch. Pichler specially composed a poem for the event, "Viennese Women of the Sixteenth Century," and she and her daughter intended to seize the occasion of a subsequent court-sponsored ball to advertise their campaign further by appearing in appropriate garments and distributing copies of the poem. With suitable medieval allusions, the verses depicted the wonder of these honored ancestors as they awoke from the crypt to witness the pageantry of the Carousel and to adjure nineteenth-century German women to turn from foreign fashions and return to "German dress."

Unlike Dorothea's, the scheme did not ultimately come off, since on the night of the *Redoute* Caroline fell victim to one of her debilitating migraines and could not attend. She had to content herself instead with publishing the poem in the Viennese literary-political journal the *Sammler* and as part of the coverage of the Carousel in the popular German *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* of Justin Bertuch, whose son figured among the spectators that night (Bertuch's journal also published Pichler's essay on German national costume).[91] Just as Anna Eynard had elected to wear Swiss costume to Metternich's Habsburg-themed ball to mark her patriotic loyalties, Pichler and Dorothea could even co-opt major court festivities for their political purposes.

That private figures should think to use such occasions for political self-expression is not so far-fetched as it might seem for the early nineteenth century. For certain types of representational display it constituted almost normal practice, particularly with urban celebratory illuminations. Though ordered by the court, the design of the lighting displays on individual houses was left to the proprietors or inhabitants. The displays by a Prince Trauttmansdorff or Field Marshal Prince Schwarzenberg of course did double duty in setting a tone as officials and private individuals. All drew on an established cultural-political repertoire of symbols and language, but with space for significant variations on the themes. At least a few bold Viennese, for example, found ways to work expressions of dissent into the illumination in honor of Napoleon's birthday during the French occupation of 1809. One resident placed in his window the words "O, Napoleon, how great is thy fame! / But we prefer Franz just the same." Through an acrostic display, another homeowner wrote, "Zur Weihe An Napoleons Geburtstag" ("For dedication on Napoleon's birthday," the initial letters reading "ZWANG," or compulsion). The initials (and the message) stood out even more as they were unsubtly painted blood red.[92]

In 1814 illuminations of the city took place in honor of Emperor Franz's return in June and of Alexander's arrival in September. While as a rule little is known of the details of such displays, for Franz's homecoming an extraordinary patriotic book publication preserved precisely that. The expressions of patriotism could employ suitably paternalist language, with reference to "subjects' love" and "the happiness, O Franz, to be ruled by you!" But they could also be cast in the language of German nationhood, from which the government was attempting to retreat in these years: "Rejoice, ye Germans!" or Franz denominated "Germany's savior."[93] The illuminations additionally offered a public space in which women could make themselves heard. The professor's widow Julie Sebald, for example, offered her own acrostic: "Friede Ruhm Anfang Neuer Zeiten" (FRANZ—"peace, glory, the beginning of a new age"). Frau Sebald's was just as patriotic, if considerably less subversive, than that above, though it too indicated a desire for change with its final phrase. The widow Burkhard was another who expressed her preference for German over dynastic patriotism with her invocation of "our German Reich."[94]

Despite all the similarly independent symbolic action taking place alongside the Carousel, most eyes focused on the spectacle itself. Prince Trauttmansdorff and his staff divided the participants, ladies and knights,

into four quadrilles, the ladies decked in pearls and diamonds and appearing in costumes of a particular color: black, white, blue, and red. The "old-German knights" rode forth in Renaissance finery of embroidered black velvet and bright plumage to demonstrate their prowess with lance and sword and to put the gleaming white horses through their military and dancing paces, from contredanse and quadrille to (it had to be) a polonaise. The color, the pageantry, and the quasi-medieval costumes were much admired—"Quelle fête, quelle magnificence!" enthused young Anna Eynard to her diary. The Russian officer Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky, almost blinded by the ladies' jewels, thought it a festivity "whose like I had never seen," showing the glory of the Habsburg Empire, whose "nobility has no match in Europe, brilliantly clad and on the most marvelous horses."[95] The panegyric author Christoph von Felsenthal celebrated the Carousel as a high point of Congress display with appropriate references to imperial traditions dating back to the great medieval and Renaissance Habsburgs Rudolph and Maximilian, to courtly troubadour or "Minnesänger" chivalry, and to "German virtues" and "loyalty." Or as Cotta's popular German cultural periodical the *Morning Journal for the Educated Classes* put it, "the old knightly world, the cradle of the splendid families whom we now see on the thrones and in their vicinities, was to be called forth from the mouldering parchment, from the history books, and to be paraded, not unworthily, before the heroes of the day."[96] Government officials could not have affirmed the link between the Romantic glorification of the Middle Ages and that of the present rulers and nobles any more effectively, or probably even as effectively.

Here, too, reception allowed room for interpretation of the symbols, as with Felsenthal's Germanic emphasis to accompany the Habsburg dynastic language. One contemporary illustrator and a subsequent strand of historical interpretation on the other hand built on the Carousel's colorful base to imagine a pageant of a Europe of Nations, with each quadrille signaling the medieval (or Renaissance) past of a major European state or people. The first quadrille offered "old-German knights" in yellow fifteenth-century garb with lances and ostrich plumes, and the second presented riders in "Polish costume," of later date, with ulan lances and shako-like hats (Figure 1.5). Hungarians appeared in their leopard-skin capes, while the French quadrille in the oldest-looking "knightly costume" with broadswords (and more ostrich feathers) completed the cycle. In this guise, the legitimating medieval imagery not only looked back to the Middle Ages as a time of chivalry, social hierarchy,

FIGURE 1.5 "Polish Costume." Second quadrille from *Four Groups from the Carousel.* Colored stipple engraving by Tranquillo Mollo after Matthäus Loder, Vienna, c. 1815. (Image © Wien Museum)

and a vivid court life of anointed kings and vassal lords but also represented the pan-European dimension of this aristocratic and royal culture and society. The more famous Artaria prints of the Carousel focused instead, more traditionally, on simply giving the names of the noble knights who formed each group (Figure 1.4).[97] Perhaps of some solace to Caroline Pichler as she recovered from her migraine and her disappointment, the Viennese *Friedensblätter* and a premier German cultural periodical both reported on the Carousel with the observation that the knights and ladies all appeared in "old-German costume," thus claiming the Middle Ages as part of the German national past.[98]

When placed alongside the troubadour revival in the court theatricals, the knightly decorations at the main pavilion during the Leipzig anniversary fest in the Prater, and the tours and displays at the imperial neo-Gothic Franzensburg in Laxenburg park, medievalism certainly emerges as a leitmotif of Congress political culture. If one also adds the religious ceremonies celebrated during the Congress, particularly those in the Gothic-spired Saint Stephen's Cathedral, the theme becomes still more prevalent. It represents an important respect in which Romantic cultural currents shaped European political culture in these years.

Yet encounters with the past in ceremonial did not always mean looking to tradition; they could also involve working through contemporary history. One of the most noted fests or ceremonies of the Vienna Congress was the memorial put on for Louis XVI by Prince Talleyrand on 21 January 1815, the twenty-second anniversary of his execution by guillotine during the French Revolution. It did not really form part of the Congress program but was accepted as such even by the authorities, and certainly by most of the public. The Austrian government did not stage it, but Talleyrand acted not as a private individual but rather in his capacity as representative of the French king (with considerable cooperation from local church, municipal, and court officials, also in their official capacities). Talleyrand pulled out all the stops for the occasion, bringing in the leading architect and designer Charles Moreau and the noted painter Jean-Baptiste Isabey to decorate the church and catafalque, and putting his house pianist and composer Sigismund Neukomm to work composing a funeral mass for large choir. Codirecting the chorus stood none other than Habsburg Court Kapellmeister Antonio Salieri, while the Archbishop of Vienna, Prince Hohenwart, performed the service of the dead. All the clerics of Saint Stephen's were to join in the singing of the service, and all the church bells in the city were to ring.

City officials also helped coordinate tickets and crowd control, with three separate doors: for the high guests; for those with tickets; and for the general "public," admitted without charge.[99]

Most of the sovereigns and illustrious guests attended the event, many likely with some skepticism, given Talleyrand's revolutionary and Napoleonic associations. As Henrich zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, a pointed nonattendee, noted with pithy acerbity in his diary, "very touching, the murderer for the murdered."[100] That Moreau had a revolutionary chapter in his biography and Isabey a Napoleonic one may have reinforced that impression, but then, more than Talleyrand himself, the two had been rehabilitated and warmly embraced at the Congress. Moreau had renovated palaces and designed fests in the Habsburg monarchy for over a decade (most recently doing sets for the court theatricals and preparing Metternich's garden festivity honoring the Leipzig anniversary on 18 October); Isabey for his part became more or less the official Congress portraitist and commemorative painter, his well-attended atelier itself almost a salon. As such, and as with Talleyrand's royal service, their activities spoke to the *ralliement,* or conjunction of republican, Napoleonic, and royalist elites, that had begun under Napoleon and continued under the first restoration in what amounted to a far-reaching amnesty.[101] Neukomm hailed from Salzburg and had studied with both Michael and Joseph Haydn in Vienna, hence Talleyrand could hope for some hometown favoritism in his case.[102]

The ceremony was essentially a service for the dead, and as such a religious event, but as much or more than many of the other festivals, it also carried a self-consciously political edge. Talleyrand intended it to offer "a great lesson," to "an end moral and political." Talleyrand's deputy in Paris Count Jaucourt deemed the occasion "entirely political" and a "true Congress affair"; with flattering hyperbole, Jaucourt thought it would do more against Joachim Murat's regime in Naples than would the Austrian army.[103] It did, after all, put the spotlight on the principle of monarchical legitimacy, and provide a poignant reminder—likely superfluous for most attendees—of the dangers of revolution. The sermon, ghostwritten by Talleyrand and the royalist member of the French delegation the Comte de Noailles for the Abbé Zaignelins, who presided on the occasion, formed the most clearly political element of the ceremony, underscoring the principle of legitimacy and the legitimacy of the Bourbon dynasty in particular, in France and beyond (including Naples, but also with implications for Saxony). Most accounts agree that the abbé's sermon—or as the Sardinian representative Saint-Marsan called

it, "discours semi-politique"—did not come off well, being nearly inaudible and in any case pronounced in a strong Alsatian accent.[104] Those who could not follow the discourse on the day, however, were able to catch up a few weeks later when on Talleyrand's instructions the text appeared with the account of the service in the Parisian daily the *Moniteur.* While the sermon may have struck some as overly political, it need not have seemed out of place in an ecclesiastical context, as loyalist sermons remained a staple of polities with established churches across Europe. In a manner that would likely have pleased counterrevolutionary religious conservatives such as Joseph de Maistre and Louis Bonald, the sermon decreed religion conjoined with royalty to be the necessary and essential condition for the foundation of states and blamed the Revolution above all on the influence of irreligious Enlightenment philosophes. The abbé also strongly asserted Louis XVI's status as martyr, indeed a Christ-like figure: "Louis was the victim of his love for his people, according to the example of his divine master, who offered himself in sacrifice for humanity, however unworthy." That the sermon was not wholly reactionary, and therefore in line with Talleyrand's own approach to the Bourbon restoration, emerged in the stress on the previous king's willingness to compromise, to listen to his people, and to insist on ruling according to the law, as reinforced through quotations from his political testament penned at the time of his execution. But on balance the emphasis clearly lay on the role of Louis and the Bourbons in monarchic revival, whereby Louis "had to show to Europe a Christian and a martyred king, to sanctify royal power by his sacrifice, to consecrate the principles of authority and legitimacy by his torment, and by the holiness of his death, to give to the blood of the Bourbons a new luster."[105]

The more purely symbolic or traditional dimensions in Moreau's décor received frequent but by no means universal acclaim; the music and its performance as conducted by Salieri and Neukomm on the other hand seemed to win over even the skeptical. Senator Hach of Lübeck found the cathedral "excellently decorated" and the catafalque "beautiful." Baron Nostitz on the contrary deemed it "bad theater decoration," and Saint-Marsan "petty grandeur." In his diary, as in his published account a couple of months later, the editor Carl Bertuch critiqued the décor but lauded Neukomm's Requiem. The Congress *Chronicle* found the decoration "wholly in the spirit of simple majesty and a sublime taste" and the music "splendid."[106] Around the corners of the funeral catafalque, Moreau had placed four allegorical figures: mourning France;

Europe weeping; Hope, with an anchor; and finally Religion, with the testament of Louis XVI, and her eyes upon heaven.[107] The inclusion of Europe alongside France allows various readings: that Europe shared France's feelings on this occasion, or that France was now reintegrated as a part of postrevolutionary Europe. The cruciform anchor's hopeful desire for stability after the stormy seas of the revolutionary era, and the role of religion in buttressing that stability and in upholding the legitimacy of the Bourbon kings in France (and elsewhere), were neither subtle nor ambiguous.

Neukomm's Requiem setting stands out in part through its lingering and deeply felt *Dies irae* section. Whether listeners identified the terrors of the Day of Judgment with the harrowing experiences of the revolutionary and Napoleonic years is hard to say, but it would not have represented such a stretch for Tsar Alexander or other evangelicals, who often sought and found the signs of the times in that turbulent recent history. Such an interpretation would also have dovetailed with the theodicy of the ghostwritten sermon—on the text 1 Kings 8:43, "That all the peoples of the earth may learn to fear the name of the Lord"—according to which the Revolution and its tribulations formed part of the providential plan.[108] The *Moniteur* account at least claimed that the *Dies irae* and immediately following offertory proved the section of the mass that most struck the audience, a comment that gives some hint as to how those who staged the event hoped it would be interpreted and remembered. The minor Austrian official Matthias Perth also singled out the *Dies irae* and Neukomm's sister's solo for praise, and felt all the music demonstrated "simple dignity with emphasis and effect."[109]

Similarly, one cannot know whether any of the attendees heard in the pleas for eternal rest an echo of desires for earthly peace and repose in Europe. The "crescendo of jubilation" in the "Pleni sunt coeli et terra" reference to the glory of God in the Sanctus would not have been out of place in the various Te Deum settings that had celebrated the victory and peace in recent months.[110] What does seem clear is that many were moved to contemplate not simply the service's religious dimension but also the experience of Louis XVI and its political and historical implications for their generation. Perth in his diary thought back on how much blood and upheaval had flowed from this source over the past twenty-two years, and believed a new age was beginning. In the press, the Congress *Chronicle* found that the service stimulated reflections on the Revolution and on "the royal martyr Louis."[111]

If on the whole more welcoming than the reception in Congress diaries, the ceremony's reception in print was not completely unproblem-

atic from the French perspective. The emphasis on legitimacy and antirevolutionary sentiment came through well enough, but in at least one instance, with a more anti-French echo than was probably desired. The commemoration was taken up into a series of prints of Congress festivities published in Nuremberg, which was certainly a mark of success, and the catafalque and Bourbon lilies received their imposing symbolic due, but the accompanying text still did less to rehabilitate France than Talleyrand might have hoped. The caption interpreted the service as an "expiatory offering" that finally "cast the veil" over twenty years of French "errancy" (Figure 1.6).[112] The author of the coverage in Metternich's *Oesterreichischer Beobachter,* Congress secretary and Metternich's trusted collaborator Friedrich Gentz, could not have been more flatteringly chosen but had to defend himself against the complaints of the French number two, Dalberg, about the account's religious rather than political emphasis. The French delegation could at least take heart in the fact that while Gentz highlighted the event as a moment to contemplate the tumult and sufferings unleashed by the Revolution, he went out of his way to stress that these were the result of failings not in the French alone but in a whole European generation. And whatever Dalberg's criticisms, Gentz's essay pleased Talleyrand and King Louis sufficiently that they ordered a translation in the *Moniteur.*[113]

Talleyrand and the two churches involved all ultimately had reason for satisfaction. The Cathedral of Saint Stephen got to keep over a hundred kilos of wax remaining from the ceremony's lighting, and Talleyrand had all the other decorations sent to Abbé Zaignelins's Church of Saint Anne, the French national church in Vienna. The French government rewarded old Archbishop Hohenwart with a special jeweled crucifix and ring, while Talleyrand received the congratulations not only of his deputy Count Jaucourt, but more importantly of his king, Louis XVIII, brother of the departed.[114] In order to enhance the festivity's resonance even beyond the press, Jaucourt sent a circular note to French diplomats abroad celebrating the occasion as a tribute to "the sacred principles" on which rests "the happiness of nations," and as a "touching homage" to the French royal house. He instructed France's diplomatic agents to talk up the festivity in this sense, in order to "render durable . . . the salutary impression that this event could not have failed to produce upon peoples and governments."[115]

With the Carousel, the requiem for Louis XVI, and the opulent court sleigh ride of 22 January, the most famous Congress festivities had come

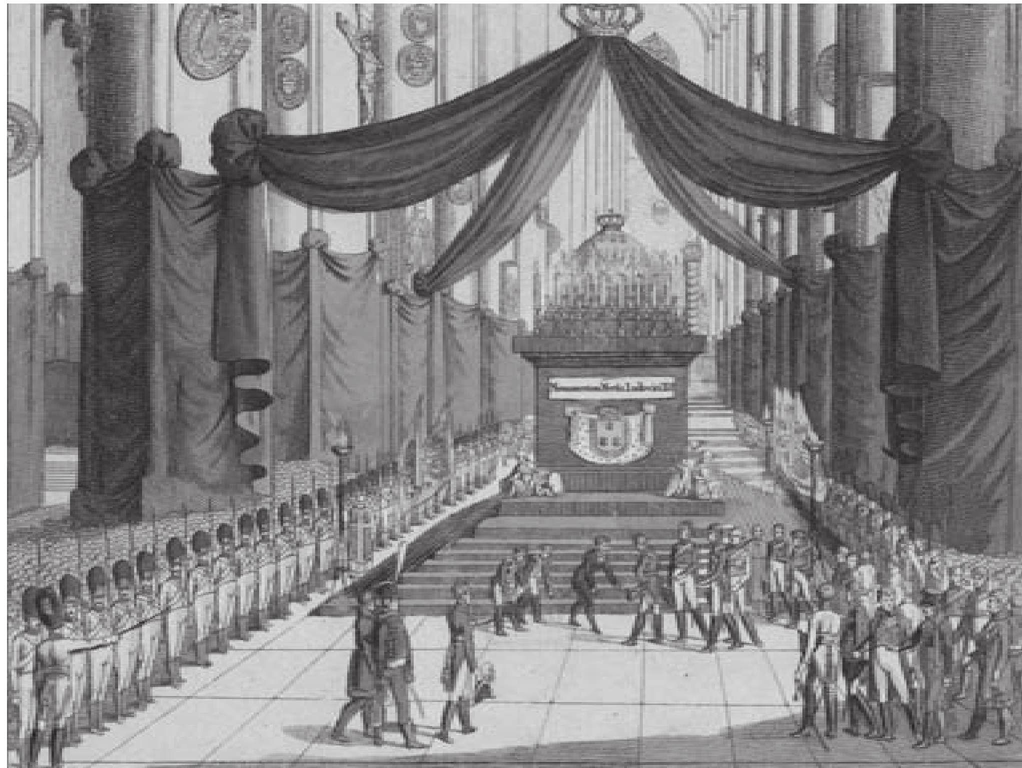

FIGURE 1.6 *Solemn Service of the Dead for His Former Majesty Louis XVI on 21 January, 1815*. Colored engraving by Friedrich Campe, Nuremberg, 1815. (Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library)

and gone, but the display and entertainments continued. The sleigh ride became a court coach ride with approaching spring, and religious ceremonies displaying Habsburg piety came to the fore during Lent and Easter. The parades and military panoply also returned in force following Napoleon's escape from Elba, as troop units destined for the Army of the Rhine were routed through Vienna. What kind of impressive festivity and display would have closed the Congress of Vienna with the signing of the Final Act had Napoleon not reappeared will never now be known. That it would have been created and contested on various social levels, and been instructive as to the way that Congress politics was meant to be interpreted and remembered, should however be clear.