

Emperor Alexander I's Project for a United Christian Nation in Europe

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ABSTRACT

During the Congress of Vienna, Napoleon's victors, the rulers of Austria, England, Prussia and Russia, gathered to discuss how to deal with the revolutionary threat. They organized several meetings during which the Russian Emperor Alexander I and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ioannis Kapodistrias, expounded their idea for the creation of a united Christian nation in Europe. The original proposal, tendered by Kapodistrias (who was actually a liberal) was for the union to be founded by the peoples of the allies, who would be like brothers. However, this project was not approved by the others, who considered it too revolutionary, arguing that they had gathered to prevent future revolutions, not to foster them. As for England, it refused altogether to be part of such alliance, wanting to retain its freedom to act alone without serious commitments.

Nevertheless, the others agreed with the Russian proposal on condition that the document should focus on the emperors rather than on their subjects. The idea was that the three empires would unite into one, with their peoples becoming one nation. The laws of this nation would reflect Christian principles and their main goal would be to enable the people live a life of virtue and achieve happiness. That is to say, the state would provide the opportunities for every man to live a righteous life, therefore helping him reach salvation, on the grounds that this would be a way of preventing revolution.

This idea of a united Christian nation in Europe was not a 19th-century invention. After Christianity had become the official religion of the Roman Empire, a new state ideology began to develop, according to which the Roman Empire was assumed to be the legitimate Christian state and that its nation was a Christian one. This meant that there would be one emperor, ruling one empire and one Christian nation, which, if united, would be able to withstand the forces of chaos. This theory was also used later in the Eastern Roman Empire, which contained many different peoples, though all Christian; indeed, anyone could be a part of the government of the state and even become an emperor provided he was a Christian.

Today, there is unity of European states in the EU, but many problems still persist and there is no common constitution. One of the main problems faced by the member states and their peoples is to find principles that are universal for all. On the other hand, they are all Christian in culture and civilization; their laws are based on Christian principles, and even their everyday life, customs and habits are strongly influenced by Christianity. This raises the question of whether Christianity, or at least its principles and ideas, might not be the philosophy that could unite all European states.

По време на Виенският конгрес победителите на Наполеон – владетелите на Австрия, Англия, Прусия и Русия се събират, за да обсъдят как да се справят с революционната заплаха. Те организират серия от срещи, по време на които руският император Александър I и неговият външен министър излагат идеята си за създаване на единна европейска християнска нация. Народите на съюзниците трябва да основат тази супернация и трябва да станат като братя. Такова е първоначалното предложение на руския дипломат Йоан Каподистрийски, който освен това е и либерал. Проектът не е одобрен от останалите, защото те не могат да приемат официален документ, в който основните обекти са народите, а не техните монарси. Според съюзниците това би било твърде революционно, те са се събрали да предотвратят революцията, а не да създават предпоставки за нова. Англия се отказва да се присъедини, защото не иска да поема сериозни ангажименти и иска да има свобода на действията.

Въпреки всичко останалите се съгласяват с руското предложение, но поставят условия договорът да се подпише от името на императорите, а не от името на народите. Според новия вариант трите империи продължават да съществуват отделно, но народите им образуват единна нация. Законите на тази нова супернация ще бъдат изградени върху християнските принципи, а главната цел е да помогне на хората да живеят благороден и смислен живот. Държавата трябва да дава възможност на хората да водят праведен живот и така да постигнат спасение. Създаването на добри условия за живот е начин за защита от революцията.

Идеята за създаването на единна европейска християнска нация не е дете на XIX век. След като Християнството става официална религия в Римската империя започва и изработването на нова държавна идеология. В резултат Римската империя почва да се разглежда като истинската християнска държава, а народа и като единствения християнски. Според новата идеологията трябва има един император, който да управлява империята и да ръководи единна християнска нация и те обединени трябва да се противопоставят на Хаоса. Подобна теория се използва покъсно и в Източната Римска империя. В нея живеят много народи, но нещото което има значение е, че са християни. Всеки, стига да е християнин може да участва в управлението ѝ и дори да стане император.

Днес има обединение на част от Европейските държави – Европейският съюз, но той е изправен пред много проблеми и няма единна конституция. Основният проблем, пред който, държавите и техните народи са изправени е да открият принципи, които да са общи за всички тях. От друга страна, всички те са християни или поне са били, но дори тези, които се считат за атеисти, те също имат християнска култура и са част от християнската цивилизация. Законите им са изградени на християнски принципи и дори всекидневният им живот, маниери и навици са силно повлияни от християнството. Всичко това логично повдига въпроса възможно ли е християнството или поне неговата философия да стане обединяващ фактор за Европейския съюз?

The end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century was a time of great upheaval as regards international relations across Europe. The main goal was to protect the interests of individual countries against French aggression. For this purpose, a union was created amongst European states to stop the revolutions and defeat Napoleon. Indeed, it was this common threat that forced the European monarchs to become allies, because revolution, they believed, led to political instability and even to anarchy, breaking with the traditional legitimacy of the existing political regime. This was why Napoleon was not recognised as a legitimate ruler and pronounced a destroyer.

After the Napoleonic wars were over, a new European order had to be built. The turbulent events of the period had had a great impact on the political relations between states and also on their ideologies. There was opportunity for a reorganization of the powers in Europe in order to replace Napoleon's hegemony with a regime led by the four allied victors, Austria, England, Prussia and Russia. This new order was created and constitutionalized during a series of meetings known as the Congress of Vienna. This was a conference of ambassadors of European states chaired by the Austrian statesman Klemens Metternich, and held in Vienna from November 1814 to June 1815. The Russian emperor, Alexander I, also took part in this meeting because he wanted to monitor the negotiations personally. In fact, the tsar claimed that that it was due to Russia and its army that Napoleon had been defeated and Europe liberated.

During and after the Congress of Vienna, Alexander I expounded his ideas for the protection of the new European order by means of joint covenants that would prevent power imbalances that could lead to a new European war. The theoretical basis of this project was the idea of a European union, something that had occurred to him during the final stage of the wars with France. He presented his reasons in the form of an ideological basis against Napoleon, which was later used by the creators of the Holy Alliance. The victors had to respond to the threat brought by the French ruler – revolution, its ideas, the Napoleonic Code – by offering an alternative that brought clear benefits for the peoples. That is why they created a new conservative ideology based

on the principles of obedience to Reason and the Holy Church. Christianity was the main value, which guaranteed the correct normal development of human society and the state, indicating the path of righteousness, saving man from delusion and protecting him from falling into the abyss of chaos. The events of the Napoleonic era had deeply affected the people's religious feelings, and as a result, this vindication by Christianity was welcomed, even leading to cases of religious fanaticism and mysticism.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The reign of the Russian emperor Alexander I has provoked great interest amongst scholars. He was very influential in international affairs at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, given that Russia was probably the most important factor in the defeat of Napoleon. The other aspect that has inspired interest was his complex personality. His mystic-religious ideas about the Holy Alliance were combined with concrete practical political practices, which meant that he was something of a riddle for his contemporaries, including foreign politicians and ambassadors. He was called “the Northern Sphinx”, because his stony face revealed nothing of what was in his mind.

Alexander's project for the Holy Alliance and the creation of a united Christian nation in Europe began to attract interest amongst scholars shortly after his death. Naturally, many of these were Russians. The most important works (by Zotov¹, Bogdanovich², Schilder³ and the Grand Duke Mihaylovich⁴) all share the same opinion – that Alexander was the creator of the Vienna system and the Holy Alliance. According to Schilder, the Holy Alliance was very well received at first, but then, due to the actions of the Austrian statesman Klemens Metternich, fell into disrepute. As for Bogdanovich, he is confident of the goodwill underlying the Alliance's aims. According to him, Alexander, who supported constitutionalism in France and freedom in Poland, would not have created a union that was diametrically opposed to liberal institutions. But unfortunately, the union “became a weapon of the Austrian governmental system, opposing any progress”⁵.

The very title given to the book by the Grand Duke Nicholas Mikhailovich Romanov (*Emperor Alexander I. Attempt at historical research*) speaks for itself. The author does not just tell the life story of the tsar, but also tries to analyse his policy. According to the author, the emperor's aspirations to develop Christian policies resulted from guilt at his own religious deviation during his youth, with which he struggled after the death of his father. According to the Grand Duke, Alexander I was not at all a great ruler of Russia, because he focused solely on foreign policy. The author's assessment of the Holy Alliance is similar to that of the liberal camp, i.e. “it did not result in prosperity for Russia and any results were only negative”⁶.

One of the most prominent historians is Nadler. In his work, *Metternich and the European Reaction*⁷, he stresses that the Holy Alliance embodied a new programme aimed at better times, which tried to close forever the terrible era of hatred and bloodshed. He

also conducted serious research on the topic. *Emperor Alexander I and the idea of Holy Alliance*⁸, a five-volume work, states, in the preface to the third volume, “The author believes that, in the life of peoples, Divine Providence is manifested in all its splendour”. Using this as a starting point, the author proceeds to divide Alexander’s reign into two halves, depending on his attitude to religion: in the first half, “the absence of true faith led him on a long pathless wandering”, while in the second, “he was chosen by Providence, purified and enlightened”⁹.

Nadler explains Alexander’s ideas for a Holy Alliance, his religiosity and mysticism, with the general situation in Europe and his cosmopolitanism, and describes the spread of religious and mystical ideas to the continent with the continuing series of bloody wars. In his opinion, a natural consequence of such a situation was the desire for universal peace based on “high evangelical morality”. Nadler considers the Holy Alliance to be a primarily spiritual organization, and dismisses as groundless the accusations that the tsar wanted to reap political gains. Indeed, he believes that Europe and its rulers had not reached the moral and spiritual heights of the Russian emperor and were therefore unable to take his ideas seriously.

Another interesting historian is Solovyov. Despite his liberal opinions, his book *The Emperor Alexander I. Politics – Diplomacy*¹⁰ expresses the opinion that the Holy Alliance was a logical outcome of the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, and that its absence would lead to terrible consequences – the bloody memories of the revolution and Napoleon.

Pipin¹¹ also examines the life of Alexander I and his internal and external policies. One of his books is dedicated to the Russian Bible Society and the emperor’s religious policy¹², which sheds light on the idea of a United Christian Nation.

Mention should also be made of some modern researchers, such as Cimbaev¹³, Orlik¹⁴, Chubaryan¹⁵, Nechiporenko¹⁶ and Strahova¹⁷, whose works illustrate contemporary tendencies in the studies of this matter.

ALEXANDER I AND THE ORIGINS OF HIS IDEA FOR A UNITED CHRISTIAN NATION IN EUROPE

Alexander I (Alexander Pavlovich) was born on 12 December 1777. He was the eldest son of Paul I and reigned as Emperor of All Russia from 1801 to his death in 1825. Like most of Paul I’s children, Alexander was raised by his grandmother, Catherine the Great. Upon the murder of Paul I (12 March 1801), Alexander was crowned in the Dormition Cathedral in Moscow (5 September 1801). He died on 19 November 1825, in Taganrog and is buried at Sts. Peter and Paul Fortress, St. Petersburg.

After the French revolution and the Napoleonic wars, a new conservative ideology arose across Europe in reaction to the atheism and republicanism brought by the revolution.

Two of the most prominent proponents of the antirevolutionary ideology were Joseph de Maistre (a public figure, philosopher and ambassador of the Kingdom of Sardinia in Russia) and Chateaubriand, the famous writer.

Joseph de Maistre¹⁸ saw revolutions as evil because of their destructive force and repudiation of traditional morality. According to him, it is religion that has absolute moral authority, and state institutions based on the role of providence and religion are eternal. Revolution destroys the very basis of the state, and as such, is a crime not only against the people but against God. It is therefore unnatural because it violates the will of the Almighty, that is to say, tradition, the established order and the absolute law. As for Chateaubriand¹⁹, he also helped foster the opinion that Napoleon was a bearer of destructive forces, to which he himself fell victim in the end.

Such public perceptions not only formed public opinion in the most powerful countries across the continent but also helped define the main diplomatic and ideological principles underpinning the relations between the countries participating in the anti-Napoleonic coalition. Russia also took part in those processes, and thanks to emperor Alexander I, was an active participant in them. In many respects the tsar's ideas were close to those which floated around Europe – universalism and the quest for Christian truth. The emperor was not very concerned about the particular form of Christianity that could achieve unification. His government pursued a policy of religious tolerance, and the Department of Spiritual Matters and Education was led by Golitsin, a man close to mysticism and freemasonry, who was also head of the Russian Bible Society from 1812. For Alexander I, such a policy was fully justified, given that he wanted to create a universal Christianity without any one confession dominating over the others. In this regard, he acted as a true autocrat, maintaining the title of leader of the universal church for himself. In response to Joseph de Maistre's question of whether he mixed all religions, he replied: "in Christianity there is nothing more than that" (and he drew a circle in the air depicting the dome of universal church). "We follow the Gospel. I believe that one day all Christian confessions will join together and I do not doubt that, but that time has not yet come"²⁰.

One source of evidence for the universal religious and political tendencies of Emperor Alexander was the Russian Bible Society, created in 1812 with his active support and participation, through analogy with the British Bible Society. The 1818 report illustrates the ideology of this society: "heavenly union of faith and love organized by the Bible Society in a great Christian family which will lead to wonderful era for Christianity, when there will be one shepherd and one flock, i.e. when there will be one divine religion for all Christians"²¹.

The Bible Society in Russia sought to develop philanthropy and enlightenment, and to create an enlightenment morality that involved religious tolerance, and ideas that would lead to the elimination of class and religious differences among the representatives of

various Christian denominations. Similar aspirations were very popular during the reign of Alexander and were closely connected with the notion (cultivated not only by the emperor himself, but also in Europe) of making Russia into an Evangelical kingdom.

In promoting the Evangelical idea (that is to say, the idea of a universal Christianity, rather than a specifically Orthodox one), Alexander and his government tried to resolve the problems arising in Russia after it became a multi-Christian country. This was particularly evident after the victory of Napoleon. Alongside the Baltic provinces, inhabited mostly by Protestants and in parts by Catholics, there was also Finland, populated by Protestants, and a significant part of Poland, which was Catholic. Therefore, there were great expectations for the Bible Society, that it would help in the pursuit of political, public, community and social change on the basis of universal moral values, without religious violence and revolutions.

In attempting to put his religious interests into practice, Emperor Alexander wanted, among other things, to create a religion that was alien to dogmatism and intolerance, in order to unite his multi-Christian empire and protect it from shocks, including that of revolution. Ensuring domestic tranquillity was one of the keys of his policy and the idea of a universal Christianity appeared to be a good basis for this task. The Russian Bible Society prepared the ground for the acceptance of common Christian values amongst the people and Alexander I later used this for the creation of the Holy Alliance.

Struggling against Napoleonic France, the allies were united not only against the aggressor as such, but also against his ideas. They tried to create their own counter-revolutionary ideology. The Act of the Holy Alliance was an attempt to formulate this under the instigation of (mainly) the Russian Emperor Alexander I.

To grasp the concept of the Holy Alliance, it is necessary to understand Alexander's motives. Turning to religion was one of the milestones in his development as a person and later became the main reason for his desire to create a united Christian nation. According to his contemporaries, his first main religious conversion occurred in 1812. There are several versions of it. One says that the Countess Tolstaya had led him to read Psalm 91 which made a strong impression on him. This seems plausible because it speaks of the transgressions perpetrated by the enemies of God (as the French Revolution and Napoleon might be interpreted) and of others who praise and glorify the Lord's truth (the way for the salvation of Russia). Another version says that Alexander began to read the Bible on the advice of the head of the Russian Bible Society, Golitsin. Both versions are quite fitting.

Another event that had a great impact on Alexander I was the war with Napoleon. He himself acknowledged the exceptional influence of the events of 1812 and amended his ideology as a result: "Fire in Moscow has sanctified my soul, and my heart filled with the warmth of faith as I had not until now felt"²². This fact is confirmed by the words of the Countess Edling, who was one of the emperor's closest friends: "The amazing

events of this terrible war finally convinced him that, for nations and emperors, the only salvation and glory could come from God²³. According to Grand Duke Nikolai Mikhailovich: “It was during the Patriotic War that the first changes occurred in Alexander’s mentality. That is to say, he began to read the Holy Bible and became religious, something that had not interested him before”²⁴.

Alexander did not have strong affiliations to any of the variants of Christianity and was irritated by the external aspects of religion, its rituals and rites. What interested him was the quest of the soul, something common to all Christian confessions. This was why he was attracted to the various mystical sects and Protestantism.

Interesting information about Alexander’s religiosity is found in the memoirs of Grella, the Quaker, excerpts of which are published in the appendix of Pepin’s book, *Social movements in Russia during the reign of Alexander I*. Grella notes that: “the Emperor was well acquainted with the laws of the Bible and loved to converse about the specifics of internal actions and the influence of the Holy Spirit, which he called a cornerstone of the Christian religion”²⁵. This passage reiterates Alexander’s interest in the inner essence of religion, and testifies to his desire to give mankind a fair organization based upon a truly Christian spirit. Grella recalls how “the ruler told us how his heart was filled with a desire to stop warfare and bloodshed on earth. He also spoke about how he would fulfill his covenant and about the great sorrow he felt when he thought about the countless calamities and misfortunes caused by war”. In early 1815, shortly before the Act of Holy Alliance, Grella says, the tsar “decided to call all the monarchs together to create a sacred union, before which all future differences could be reconciled, instead of resorting to the warfare and bloodshed”²⁶.

THE HOLY ALLIANCE AND THE CHRISTIAN NATION IN EUROPE

The ideas of a united Europe and “eternal peace” had been very popular in 18th-century Russian society, and during the reorganization of European political systems in 1814-1815, they again received a great deal of public attention. Emperor Alexander I, who had received a broad humanistic education from the Swiss republican and Enlightenment thinker, Laharpe, could not remain indifferent to them. His tutor had spoken to him about “the rights and duties of man and the statesman, awakening in him noble aspirations, and taught him about universal equality and love, human prosperity, primal truths and justice”²⁷. When he became emperor of Russia, Alexander organized his internal and external political affairs in accordance with Laharpe’s teachings and the noble ideals of the Enlightenment. But over time, it became increasingly difficult to implement them. The theoretically humanitarian formulas clashed with reality and Alexander I realized that good intentions were one thing, but reality was something else.

During the Napoleonic era, an attempt had been made to create a united Europe along Confederal lines, ruled by the Napoleonic Code. Napoleon tried to achieve this

through wars and conquests, without taking account of national particularities. He wanted all European nations to form “one unified nation” which could become “an organization for all European nations like the American Congress or the courts of the Greek *amphictyony*”²⁸.

Alexander I had to demonstrate that he wished to build European policy on other moral principles. The most important one was the use of peaceful measures to resolve international problems, including the implementation of the “European idea”, paying special attention to the national traditions of the various European nations.

Therefore, the idea of creating a Holy Alliance came from Alexander. It resulted from a long serious thought process and reflected deep personal beliefs. The emperor clearly had the political will to put this idea into practice. His contemporaries noted his superb qualities as a diplomat, and his ability to bluff, while not allowing himself to be deceived. Alexander considered all the troubles and misfortunes that had affected his country and Europe as a sign from God. That is why the war with Napoleon was proclaimed as a struggle for the restoration of Christian values in people’s lives, why triumph over Napoleon meant the victory of Christian morality over the revolutionary, the triumph of order over chaos, a divine victory as such.

The Holy Alliance of 1815 was an agreement between the emperors of Russia, Austria and Prussia, who vowed, out of gratitude to God for the downfall of Napoleon, to reign in accordance with the Christian principles of peace, justice and love. They declared that Christian morals had a place in public life and government, and vowed to treat each other as brothers, not to wage war against each other and to acknowledge Christ as the only Lord of the nations.

The Act of Holy Union is a highly abstract document that is also politically and ideologically complex, as examination of the text shows. Even before the end of the Napoleonic wars, Alexander I had started to promote his idea of union between the Allied monarchs in the form of a “fraternal alliance”, which meant excluding the use of force in resolving conflicts between them, creating living conditions according to Christian values, and unifying Europe. These religious-mystical principles were reflected in the preamble to the Act of the Holy Alliance and the tsar’s subsequent acts.

Overall, the ideas of legitimism, constitutionalism, sovereignty of the people and Christian dogma were taken into account by European monarchs in the creation of the Vienna system and construction of “new Europe”. This philosophy was expressed in the preamble to the Act of the Holy Alliance, signed by Francis I, the Emperor of Austria; Frederick William, the King of Prussia; and Alexander I, the Emperor of Russia in Paris in September 1815. The rules of the holy faith, “the commandments of love, truth and peace”, valid for private life, became official laws enshrined into state policy from that moment. These principles would “guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions and remedying their imperfections”²⁹.

According to the text of the Act, “the three contracting Monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and, consider each other as fellow-countrymen ...”³⁰. Rulers and subjects should “consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation – the three allied Princes, looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of the one family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia”³¹.

England had reservations about Alexander’s idea for a sacred union of European rulers, led by Russia, although the main aim was to ensure peace in Europe, and its main principle was legitimacy. It ultimately refused to join, mostly because it wanted to have the freedom to act in Europe without any specific commitments, though the official reason given was disagreement with some items of the contract.

The signing of such an important pact could not pass without controversy, and problems appeared during the preparations for the signing of the Act. The initial version of the contract was drawn up by Alexander I with the help of one of the brightest politicians of that time, Ioannis Kapodistrias, who was in Russian service. At that time, he was among the most influential advisers to the Russian Emperor and took an active part in the affairs of the Congress of Vienna. The first version of the text of the Holy Alliance, prepared by Alexander, concerned a treaty between “the subjects of the three contracting states”³². In other words, the contract was between the peoples of the empires, not between their rulers. This wording was too democratic, but it was an important step towards the creation a Christian nation. Obviously the Russian emperor and his government realized that a nation could not be built if the people were not an active factor in state life.

Unfortunately, there was resistance to this from the Austrian side, particularly from Chancellor Metternich, who amended the text to include the formula: “the three contracting Monarchs” (i.e. the contract was no longer between peoples, but between their rulers). According to Metternich, this correction was very important, because the first version of the Act could have given the impression that the peoples were the bearers of power (“imperium”) together with the monarchs, which could have led to complications. The peoples could have sought responsibility for the actions of the monarch or want to take real part in the government of the state. This was generally agreed to be a revolutionary formulation that could lead to war. Overall, the Alliance was created to oppose the Revolution and Napoleon, not to create conditions for a new one. With these arguments Metternich succeeded in imposing his will and the new contract therefore legitimized monarchical rule.

Alexander I, proclaiming how Divine Providence saved Russia during the wars with Napoleon, also understood and valued the spirit and heroism of his people in defending the fatherland, while acknowledging the role of the other European peoples in the march of liberation in 1813. However, he was nevertheless committed to the great goal of establishing a United Christian Nation.

In the eyes of the European monarchs, Napoleon embodied the “enthronement of the revolutionary principle”. Therefore, Alexander considered that the main task of the Holy Alliance was to protect the rulers and their subjects from revolution, and as a result, his counter-revolutionary activity gradually increased. This opportunity was given by the very text of the Act of Alliance, which declared the legitimacy of royal power, as “delegated by Providence” and the infallibility of the monarchy in all its dimensions.

The acclaim that Alexander received as liberator of Europe greatly influenced his attempts to formulate “the European idea” and put it into practice. He believed that monarchy, which acts in accordance with God’s wisdom, was the only political system that could benefit society, and that the union of such statesmen would be an ideological guarantee for the prosperity of mankind. This idea was not new, but Alexander I pursued it with new political direction and success.

The Holy Alliance did not work for long. By the middle of the century, with the Crimean War (October 1853 - February 1856), its unity was destroyed. Nevertheless the Russian emperor managed to unite the leaders of three European empires and three Christian confessions (Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant), if only for a short time. His attempt is a precedent which shows that if there is a will there is a way. Clearly the time was not right, and the 19th century went down in history not as a period of unity but of revolution and nationalism. Nevertheless, the experience of the Holy Alliance and the ideas and principles enshrined in it could be used today as an example for the efforts to create the European Union.

NOTES

- ¹ R. Zotov, *Dvatzatipetletie Evropa v tzarstvovanie Aleksandra I* [A quarter-century in Europe during the rule of Alexander I], St. Petersburg 1831.
- ² M. Bogdanovich, *Istoria tzarstvovanja imperatora Aleksandra I i Rossia v evo vremja* [History of the rule of Alexander I in Russia], vol. 1-4, St. Petersburg 1869-1871.
- ³ N. Schilder, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervij: Evo zhizn i tzarstvovanie* [Emperor Alexander I: His life and reign], vol. 1-4, St. Petersburg 1904-1905.
- ⁴ N. Mihaylovich, *Grand Duke, Imperator Aleksandr I. Opit istoricheskovo izsledovania* [Emperor Alexander I. Attempt at historical research.], Petrograd 1914.
- ⁵ Bogdanovich, *Istoria* cit., vol. IV, pp. 267-268.
- ⁶ Mihaylovich, *Grand* cit., pp. 23-26.
- ⁷ V. Nadler, *Meternih i evropejskaja reakcija* [Metternich and the European reaction], Kharkov 1882.
- ⁸ Id., *Imperator Aleksandr I i ideja Sujashtennovo sojuza* [Emperor Alexander I and the idea of Holy Alliance], vol. 1-5, Riga 1886-1892.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 179-180.
- ¹⁰ S. Solovyov, *Imperator Aleksandr I. Politika – diplomatia* [The Emperor Alexander I. Politics – Diplomacy], St. Petersburg 1877.

- ¹¹ A. Pipin, *Obshtestvenoe dvizhenie v Rossii pri Aleksandre I* [Social movements in Russia during the reign of Alexander I], St. Petersburg 1871; Id., *Izsledovania i statii po epobe Aleksandra I* [Research and articles dedicated to the era of Alexander I], St. Petersburg 1916.
- ¹² Id., *Religioznie dvizhenia pri Aleksandre I* [Religious movements during the rule of Alexander I], St. Petersburg 2000.
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- ¹⁸ About the ideas of de Maistre: J. de Maistre, *Consideration sur la France*, Paris 1854; Id., *Quatre chapitre inedit sur la Russie*, Paris 1854; Id., *Du pape*, Paris 1893.
- ¹⁹ About the ideas of F. Chateaubriand: F. Chateaubriand, *Memoires d'Outre-Tombe* [Memoirs from Beyond the Grave], Paris 1848-1850.
- ²⁰ Kinjapina, Koshman, *Rossia* cit., p. 112.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.
- ²² Schilder, *Imperator* cit., vol. 2, p. 117.
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ Mihaylovich, *Grand* cit., vol. 1, p. 181.
- ²⁵ Pipin, *Obshtestvenoe* cit., p. 469.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 472.
- ²⁷ Orlik, *Rosia* cit., p. 15.
- ²⁸ Chubaryan, *Evropejskaja* cit., p. 162.
- ²⁹ Text of the Holy Alliance, extracted from: J.H. Robinson, C. Beard (eds.), *Readings in Modern European History*, vol. 2, Boston 1908, pp. 354-355.
- ³⁰ Text of the Holy Alliance, extracted from Robinson, Beard (eds.), *Readings* cit., pp. 354-355.
- ³¹ Text of the Holy Alliance extracted from: *Ibid.*, pp. 354-355.
- ³² See the first version of the text of the Holy Alliance in *Vneshnaya politika Rossii XIX i nachala XX veka: Dokumenti rossijskovo Ministerstva inostranib del* [Foreign policy of Russia in 19th and the beginning of the 20th century: documents from the Russian foreign ministry], series I, 1801-1815, vol. 8, Moscow 1972, doc. 225, 231, note 268.

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SOURCE

The Text of the Holy Alliance, 1815 [taken from *Readings in Modern European History*, ed. Robinson J.H., Beard Ch., vol. 2, *Boston: Ginn and Company, 1908*, pp. 354-355].

In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity.

Their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, having, in consequence of the great events which have marked the course of the three last years in Europe, and especially of the blessings which it has pleased Divine Providence to shower down upon those States which place their confidence and their hope on it alone, acquired the intimate conviction of the necessity of settling the rules to be observed by the Powers, in their reciprocal relations, upon the sublime truths which the Holy Religion of our Saviour teaches: They solemnly declare that the present Act has no other object than to publish, in the face of the whole world, their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective States and in their political relations with every other Government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion, namely, the precepts of justice, Christian Charity, and Peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the councils of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions and remedying their imperfections. In consequence, their Majesties have agreed on the following Articles:

ART. I. Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting Monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and, considering each other as fellow-countrymen, they will, on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance; and, regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them, in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated to protect Religion, Peace, and justice.

ART. II. In consequence, the sole principle of force, whether between the said Governments or between their Subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying by unalterable good will the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation – the three allied Princes, looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of the one family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, thus confessing that the Christian world, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other Sovereign than Him to whom alone power really belongs, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom, that is to say, God, our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life. Their Majesties consequently recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that Peace which arises from a good conscience, and which alone is durable, to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind.

ART. III. All the Powers who shall choose solemnly to avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present Act, and shall acknowledge how important it is for the happiness of nations, too long agitated, that these truths should henceforth exercise over the destinies of mankind all the influence which belongs to them, will be received with equal ardor and affection into this Holy Alliance.

Done in triplicate and signed at Paris, the year of Grace 14-26 September.

(L. S.) FRANCIS

(L. S.) FREDERICK WILLIAM

(L. S.) ALEXANDER