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**MILITARY HEROIZATION IN THE EPOCH
OF WWI: THE RUSSIAN CASE OF FIELD
MARSHAL-GENERALISSIMO SUVOROV
IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE, 1900–1917**

Розкрито образ О. Суворова, створений російською державною та військовою пропагандою перед Першою світовою війною та після її початку. Проаналізовано вплив цих заходів на патріотизм солдатів.

Ключові слова: О. Суворов, героїзація, Перша світова війна, полк.

Раскрыт образ О. Суворова, созданный российской государственной и военной пропагандой перед Первой мировой войной и после ее начала. Проанализовано влияние этих мер на патриотизм солдат.

Ключевые слова: О. Суворов, героизация, Первая мировая война, полк.

Das Bild A. Suvorovs, wie es von der staatlichen und militärischen Propaganda Russlands vor und während des Ersten Weltkriegs geschaffen wurde, wird untersucht. Analysiert wird der Einfluss dieser Massnahmen auf den Patriotismus der Soldaten.

Schlagwörter: A. Suvorov, Heroisierung, Erster Weltkrieg, Regiment.

The article is devoted to commemoration of A. Suvorov in the Russian empire on the eve of World War I. The author tells about the tradition to erect monuments to the heroes of war, particularly to especially successful military leaders, starting since Katherine II. The exceptionality of the Suvorov monuments in Petersburg is stressed – they were unique both in technique of production, and in place of erection.

The Commission work about memorialize Suvorov, which among other things collected relicts, related to the European campaign of the military leader in Switzerland, are described. The short history of the Suvorov museum is represented.

The author analyses how accents in the image of the commander changed during the Russo-Japanese War, and noted the phenomenon – the places of battles under Suvorov's command were added to the names of Russian regiments.

The author also shows how the image of A. Suvorov was used in «military pedagogy» to rise patriotism of illiterate masses of soldiers directly during World War I. The author dwells on the fact that the heroes-military leaders from the Russian past overshadowed contemporary heroes, what can be clearly seen at

the example of general A. Brusilov. Despite recognitions of his merits both by antagonists and allies of Russia, he was not elevated to the rank of marshal, and the battle, which foreign reporters called «Brusilov Offensive», in his native land was called «summer offensive».

The author emphasizes the artificiality of the images of military leaders, created to rise the fighting spirit of soldiers on the battlefields of World War I. These manipulations with perception of historical past, when Russian society rejected the war and didn't understand it, could not successfully prevent the revolutionary events of 1917.

Keywords: A. Suvorov, Heroization, World War I, Regiment.

In terms of cultural studies, the epoch before World War I had been characterized by historicism in the arts and in the intellectual self-understanding of the European nations. In the decades preceding the war most nations went through a long period of peace, full of social improvements, relative political stability, a rising standard of life and cultural blossoming. This offered opportunities of self-assertion and retrospection. Military conflicts happened almost exclusively on foreign continents or on the edge of Europe. Whereas around the turn of the century a rearmament race started with the latest machinery of mass destruction, in some countries existed or evolved a «heroizing military historicism» which was retrospective, nationalist and patriotic. According to the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, in his «Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben» «Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life» («О пользе и вреде истории для жизни»)¹ this attitude towards one's own heroic national past was «archivic» as well as monumental («archivarisch und monumentalisch»), but it lacked a critical attitude to the objects of heroization. Germany as a technically highly developed country was a leading exponent of this attitude towards her heroic past. The memory of a short and victorious war against France in 1870/71 was kept alive by the «Day of Sedan» commemorating a German victory over the French army,

* Предстоящая статья является исследовательским трудом крупного исследовательского центра SFB 948 Helden – Heroisierung – Heroismen, Transformationen und Konjunkturen von der Antike bis zur Moderne (Герои – Героизации – Героизмы. Трансформации и конюнктуры с античности до современности) Университета им. Альберта-Людвига, Фрайбург/Германия (www.sfb948.uni-freiburg.de), отдельный проект «Национальный герой, народный герой. Александр Суворов и Емельян Пугачев с XVIII до раннего XX века».

¹ Published in 1874 in a collection of essays under the title «Untimely thoughts»/ «Несвоевременные размышления».

by monuments of victory, war memorials, unions of war veterans, and, most presently, in street names.²

However, the great generals of Germany's wars of the 19th century were not pronouncedly heroized,³ other than in Russia.

Militarily less victorious Austria-Hungary similarly looked back to her earlier military glory in street names, regiments of ancient traditions and, foremost, in gigantic iron monuments of the architectonic ensemble of Vienna's Ringstrasse. There, on their high horses, rode Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736), Archduke Charles (1771–1847), Prince Schwarzenberg (1771–1820), Field Marshal Radetzky (1766–1858) and, apart from the Ringstrasse, Archduke Albrecht (1817–1895). For Admiral Tegetthoff (1827–1871) a monument on a high column on the prominent Praterstern square was erected in 1896. Contrary to the Romanov dynasty in Russia, Habsburg rulers were much less highlighted by monuments in Austria when referring to the empire's military fame. In Russia monuments of the tsars had a standing tradition since Catherine II, and in quantity these monuments definitely ranged over such for victorious, distinguished military heroes.

This notwithstanding, the tsarist empire did practice heroization of its military leaders, with Peter the Great as the forefather of this tradition. In 1801 this tradition was the first time extended to monuments for two Russian field marshals, Count Peter Rumyantsov (1725–1796) and Alexander Suvorov Prince Italiyskiy (1730–1800). Either of them received a monument on Petersburg's Field of Mars: Rumyantsov was dedicated an obelisk which later was transferred to a site on Vassili-Island. For Suvorov, however, a figurative monument in life size was erected presenting him as the God Mars. It was only the third figurative monument in Russia: the two other were monuments for Peter the Great (by Catherine II and her son Paul I). Generals of the Catherine epoch followed next during the time of Nicolas I. Successful generals of the more recent past continued the tradition since the second half of the 19th century: Nakhimov, Skobelev, Kaufman-Turkestansky, Admiral Makarov and the Grandduke

² Though this was not a cause which in 1914 made Germans particularly prone to war. Cf. **Jörn Leonhard: Die Büchse der Pandora. Geschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs.** –München, 2014. – P. 77–79 on «military culture» in Germany.

³ With the exception of street names for Blücher, Moltke and a few other generals of the Franco-German war. Presumably, after 1871 Helmut von Moltke (the Elder, 1800–1891) enjoyed most of the monuments erected for generals in Germany, though few on a horse: de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_Moltkedenkmäler.

Nikolai Nikolayevich the Elder.⁴ At the turn of the century Russian medieval heroes like Alexander Nevsky, Yermak and Minin-Pozharsky had become cloudily legendary and rather stood apart in this genealogy, though public monuments had been erected for them since the rule of Nicolas I. Most of the generals of the time of Catherine and the Patriotic War of 1812 equally tended to remain marginal in the public sphere, though there were monuments for some of them: Rumyantsov, Potemkin, Kutuzov and Barclay de Tolly.⁵ We should not be deceived by the highlighting of the generals of the Patriotic War in present Russia. This is owing to the recent anniversary of that war, which is reflected in an overabundance of publications dedicated to them. Russian book stores are full of them. Similarly, it is eye-catching that figurative monuments for patriotic military heroes have increasingly been erected in Russia during the past 15 years or so.

And still, late in the 19th century, Russia remembered a feat of Russian troops which had taken place a hundred of years ago under the leadership of Alexander Suvorov. Until now Suvorov is perceived as a great general who according to tradition never lost a battle and therefore still nowadays is equalled with Alexander the Great, who counts for the most successful military leader in world history.

Suvorov's name is connected with famous victories in Russia's wars with the Ottoman Empire (Focsani, Rymnic, Ismail) on the lower Danube, and against the Poles at Cracow and Warsaw. But not these or the 100th anniversary of his death in 1800 made for an exemplary heroic memoriza-

⁴ In a new heroization wave of Russian military leaders, successful generals of the 18th century received busts instead of monuments, a process beginning around 1890. Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj Voenno-istoričeskij archiv (further: RGVIA) F. 401 op. 5 d. 46. Busts were to be erected in non- or semi-public places like the Main Staff building, other military institutions like cadet schools or Romanov residences: Sheremetev, Menshikov, Potemkin, Rumyantsov, Suvorov and Kutuzov. The file displays a hierarchy of military heroism, with both the latter field marshals leading!

⁵ For Potemkin a monument was erected in 1836 in Kherson (removed in 1927). Figurative monuments for Kutuzov and Barclay were erected in front of Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg a year later. The generals of the Catherine time were included in the lower tier of the monument for Catherine the Great on Petersburg's Nevsky Prospect, inaugurated in 1873 («Katya and her Lovers»). The only great general of the Patriotic War who during tsarism was not awarded a figurative monument is Bagration. However, he was included in the lower tier of the Novgorod monument «Tysjačletie Rossii», which displays all national heroes of Russia's past, including non-military. The monument was unveiled in September 1862.

tion of him. And possibly, it even weren't his similarly remembered victories in Northern Italy against the French revolutionary armies, for which he earned his eternal fame. In 1799, Suvorov and the Russians were celebrated by the ancient conservative powers in Europe as «liberators», as wardens of the Christian faith and its values. But what earned both of them international reputation was the legendary crossing of the Swiss Alps during the autumn of that year. Ordered to return home by Paul I, Suvorov was not received by his Tsar and soon died in Petersburg.

However, his heroization started directly during these events, with his elevation to generalissimo in November 1799 and, much more, by the award of the agnomen “Prince Italiiskiy” (August) by his tsar only months before his death. In 1801 Tsar Alexander I saw to the erection of the Suvorov monument on Petersburg's Field of Mars, a parade ground in front of the barracks of the Pavlov Guards' regiment. Until now the monument alluding to antiquity is situated there. It was the first monument in Russia dedicated to a national hero not belonging to the ruling dynasty. Moreover, it was initiated still at Suvorov's lifetime by Paul I, who owing to his flickering attitude towards the successful general disfavoured Suvorov in the last months of the hero's life.

After that Suvorov partially fell into oblivion, because of new heroes of the Patriotic War 1812–1815 and its long-lasting consequences dragging well into the time of Nicolas I (1796–1855). Russian officers of the general staff («genshtabisty»), however, honoured his tactics of «bayonets before bullets» and ruthless attack, as described in Suvorov's «Science to be victorious». They cherished this 18th century tactics until well over the Crimean War on, indeed with due results, fatal as they were: The introduction of the needle gun brought a higher rate of fire and increased the fire power not only by the rate, but also by its spatial range. Russian authors published biographies and anecdotes on him all over the 19th century. Thus, Suvorov's fame ever lurked like a shadow behind Russia's recent warlike history.

But around 1900 Suvorov had his public revival. Already in 1892 Russian officials of the Foreign Ministry started to bother about the physical state of memorial monuments, mostly plates, of Suvorov's trail in Switzerland, which had been erected over the 19th century.⁶ In September 1898 in addition to renewed memorials along Suvorov's trail in the Swiss Alps,

⁶ RGVIA F. 401 op. 5 d. 50. One of the first commemorative monuments had been sculptured into the rock at the St. Gotthard Hospice in 1806 (l. 6). In 1893 the Russian Main Staff decided to erect the large cross at the Devil's Bridge, which in 1894–1898 was sculptured there into the rock (ibid. ll. 17).

a huge memorial cross was unveiled close to the Devil's Bridge (Čortov most) in the Schöllenschlucht (Andermatt/St. Gotthard). In spring 1900 the wooden village church of Konchanskoye, the place in Novgorod province of Suvorov's property, to which Suvorov had been exiled by Tsar Paul in 1797, was triumphantly transferred to Petersburg's Preobrazhensky place and inaugurated by a festive service.⁷ Besides, the 12th February 1900 (old style) was commemorated as «Suvorov's day».

Next to this event, Suvorov became the only Russian general to whose memory a whole museum was dedicated: from 1901 until 1904 it was built in the rear of the Tauric Gardens in Petersburg, in the prominent vicinity to the Preobrazhensky Guards' Regiment. The decision for the construction of the museum was taken in March 1898 by the Russian government which ordered the foundation of the *Komissiya po uvekovečeniju pamyati Suvorova* by the Main Staff (Glavnyi štab).⁸ The «Suvorovskaya komissiya» collected money from army units, officers and soldiers as well as from private persons, but it needed three years just to find a suitable place for the museum in the capital. It took another three years for the completion of the building.

To a great deal the museum was filled with items which a Russian scientist and high ranking civil servant had collected for many years on the traces of Suvorov's Swiss campaign. From the 1890ies Imperial Court Councillor Vasilii Engelhardt (1828–1915) had seen for the installation of memorial plates on houses, passes and roads along the Russian army's trail in Eastern Switzerland in 1799.⁹ His research for archival sources and relics took almost two decades, and it eventually was graciously received by the museum whose founding committee was composed by members of the general staff's academy.¹⁰ In November 1904 the museum was inaugurated by the tsar, but only in 1911 it had eventually been furnished with objects of relics and art. In comparison, contributions of relics from the museum of the Nicolas General Staff Academy and the Artillery Museum of Petersburg, which had collected some items in earlier decades, tend-

⁷ Suvorov v slove pastyrej cerkvi. Čistyj dochod postupit' v pol'zu Suvorovskogo muzeja. St. Peterburg 1900.

⁸ A short history in www.asninfo.ru/magazine/138/uroki-istorii-i-tekushchiy-moment.

⁹ Dubjago, I. A. Ju. A. Nefel'ev: Vasilij Pavlovič Engel'gardt (1828–1915) I. A. Dubjago. – Kazan', Izd. Kazanskogo gosud. universiteta, 2008.

¹⁰ GARF F. 1824 Ličnyj fond Engel'gard(t), Vasilii Pavlovič. However, the genshtabisty disapproved of Engelhardt's collection work since he was interested only in Suvorov's crossing the Alps and not in his victories in Northern Italy.

ed to be smaller in amount.¹¹ However, the Academy had early started the search of old portrait paintings. All of these activities bore the character of religious adoration of relics and may well be called acts of heroization.

During that decade some events took place in Russia which should have opened a critical view on Suvorov and his tactics, in particular to Russia's military leadership.¹² The earlier chief of the Nicolas General Staff Academy and lecturer of tactics, Mikhail Dragomirov (1830–1905), a stout admirer of Suvorov, valued it, obviously the Russian victory over the Turks of 1878 in mind. But the Russo-Japanese War carried another message, actually a warning.¹³ After the lost war Russia started a full-fledged rearmament programme. However, more important for the heroization of Suvorov in the epoch of the approaching war, the General Staff reorganized the military structure of the army. While in Petersburg the Suvorov museum faced its eventual completion, the Main Staff and the General Staff were reshuffled. Since 1909 first regiments of a new Russian military tradition were being established, which were meant to become part of a **«Fanagoriiskaya diviziya» of a newly established tradition leaning on Russia's military glory of the 18th and 19th century.** However, that division never came into being. Nevertheless, the **«Otchakov regiment»** along with the **«Ismail», «Kinburn» and «Rymnik» regiments arose, all remembering Suvorov's victories.** The **«189-y Izmail'skiy», «190-y Otcha-**

¹¹ Opis' pamjatnikam i predmetam vo vremennom pomeščenii Suvorovskago muzeja pri Nikolaevskoj Akademii General'nago Štaba (sost. S. D. Maslovskij). St. Petersburg 1901. The catalogue displays various categories of Suvorov-related objects with the persons or institutions from whom the objects were obtained. The assessment of the amount of Engelhardt's collection in RGVA F. 401 op. 5 d. 47 l. 593 (14th March 1902 old style, podpolkovnik Agapeev).

¹² Suvorov's Italian campaign had been the object of strategic research by genshtabisty like Nikolay Muravyev, Dmitriy Milyutin and even Karl von Clausewitz. According to Dietrich Beyrau, the initial presentation of Suvorov as leading master of Russian generalship and his national heroization might have been promoted by a lecturer of the Nicolas General Staff Academy, Dmitriy Milyutin (1816–1912), who in 1861 became war minister. Cf. his review of *Vospominanija general-fel'dmaršala grafa Dmitrija Alekseeviča Miljutina 1843–1856* (pod red. L.G. Zacharovoj). Moskva 2000 / Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas 51 (2003).

¹³ Steinberg John W.: All the Tsar's Men. Russia's General Staff and the Fate of the Empire, 1898–1914 John W.: Steinberg. – Baltimore, 2010. – P. 49 and Reforming the Tsar's Army. Military Innovation in Imperial Russia from Peter the Great to the Revolution (Hgg. D. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye/B. W. Menning). Cambridge 2004.

kovskiy», «192-y Rymnikskiy» infantry regiments together with the «191-y Largo-Kagul'skiy» regiment, dedicated to a victory by Rumyantsov over the Turks in 1770, all of which since 1910 formed the 48th infantry division.

A still older tradition owned the «189th Izmailskiy Infantry Regiment»,¹⁴ which stretched well into the First World War. Originally the unit was founded in 1811, but only in 1878 it received the town name of Suvorov's victory, then still a reserve battalion. In 1903 it advanced to a reserve regiment with its name, and only in 1910 it became the full regiment with its aforementioned name.¹⁵ All the regiments whose name was dedicated to a Suvorov victory, as well as the Fanagoriyskiy Grenadier Regiment, shared the same regimental «Suvorov march»¹⁶.

Formed out of an existing older unit the «192nd Rymnikskiy Infantry Regiment» came into being in February 1910¹⁷.

During the First World War the whole division experienced a rather un-heroic end under its commander, lieutenant general Lavr Kornilov (1870–1918), who in 1917 was to become a military hero in the effort to re-establish discipline and capital punishment in the Russian army. In an imprudent tactical manoeuvre in the Carpathian mountains in May 1915, Kornilov led most of the regiments into Austrian war captivity. Only the Largo-Kagul'skiy regiment and a battalion of the Otchakovskiy regiment evaded this fate.¹⁸ Kornilov himself succeeded in escaping from captivity only in summer 1916 from a Hungarian military hospital. Instead of ex-

¹⁴ This regiment must not be confounded with the «Izmailovskiy Guard Regiment» from the time of Peter the Great.

¹⁵ Among the archival documents in RGVIA F. 2803 there is no material on the regiment's history. In 1918 it was dissolved like the other units.

¹⁶ There are two Suvorov marches, and so far it remains unclear which of them was thought of. Cf. Mikhail Čertok: *Russkij voennyj marš: k 100-letiju marša «Proščanie slavjanki»*. – Moscow, 2012.

¹⁷ Again, archival documents of RGVIA F. 2806 do not contain material on the regiment's history. In the same year the «198th Alexander Nevsky Infantry Regiment» came into being. Archival material on its history is more telling than for any other mentioned regiment and indicates the general pedagogical orientation of the General Staff's designs relating to the regiments of «new tradition». F. 2812 op. 1 d. 58 deals with the printing and distribution of a short regimental history for the rank and file: *Ukazaniya Glavnogo Upravleniya General'nogo Štaba ob izdanii dlja soldat kratkikh pamjatov po istorii polkov*. After action on Russia's western front the regiment was dissolved by the Bolsheviks in 1918. As an exception, that regiment bore the name of a military hero of Russia's middle ages.

¹⁸ RGVIA F. 2378 opis' 2-5, p. 4-6. Subsequently, the archives of the divisional staff were lost as well as a war history of the single regiments.

empharilly guiding the Russian armies to victory, much of the glory and aura of Suvorov's victories was literally lost already in an early stage of the war. Other unsuccessful military operations during the course of the war enhanced this effect.

A few other regiments were allotted the names of Alexander Nevsky, Rumyantsov or places of that field marshal's famous victories. The «7th Kinburn Dragoon Regiment» was another unit connected with a Suvorov victory.¹⁹ None of these was able to make good the loss of the general failiures of the army from 1914 onwards, similarly like the Guard regiments.²⁰

Before the background of the re-structuring of the Russian army units the military leadership started to emphasize the need for more patriotic education of the rank and file, many of whom were, however, illiterate. Thus a «**military pedagogy**» evolved which heavily leant on regimental history²¹ and heroic battles. The need was pronounced from army and divisional staffs down to regiments, so it can be assumed that these staffs forwarded an instruction from above. However, from the faint response and the later events it becomes clear that these efforts bore no fruit, in spite of the fact that the decade before 1914 was full of imperial heroization in Russia, e.g. the 300th anniversary of Romanov rule in 1913.²² Foremost, heroization processes were reflected in an inauguration wave of figurative monuments dedicated to historical military leaders.²³ Besides of patriotic instruction Russian «**military pedagogy**» relied much more on practical advices fostering an honest and sober way of everyday life and service

¹⁹ Most of its archival material has been lost (RGVIA F. 3559), but it seems that from all Suvorov units the dragoons shared the least of Suvorov tradition: Prošloe Kinburnskich dragun (1788 – 1796 – 1798 – 1898). Sostavil Poduškin. – Kovel 1898.

²⁰ What German and Austro-Hungarian soldiers on the Eastern front most feared of their Russian enemies were the cossacks. But this was not because of a Cossack reputation of fighting victoriously.

²¹ E.g. for the Otchakovskiy regiment: Pamjatka dlja nižnich činov 208-go pechotnago rezervnago Očakovskago polka. – Očakov, 1908 (20 pages).

²² During the years before WWI Russia indulged in heroic commemorations and jubilees which were planned as national-patriotic festivities. Cf. Konstantin Tsimbaev: »Jubiläumsfieber«. Kriegserfahrung in den Erinnerungsfeiern in Russland Ende des 19. bis Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts, in: Gründungsmythen, Geneologien, Memorialzeichen. Beiträge zur institutionellen Konstruktion von Kontinuität (eds. Gert Melville, Karl-Siegbert Rehberg). – Köln et alt. 2004. – P. 75–107.

²³ It becomes obvious that Suvorov was the main object of such monuments, with at least three unveilings in Otchakov, Odessa and in Rumanian Rymnic, two of which were sculptured by Boris Edvards/Eduards (1860–1924). The erection of monuments for Suvorov is the object of a separate study by the author of this article.

with the rank and file.²⁴ Suvorov's military pedagogy, as it is manifested in his *Nauka pobeždat*, is strangely absent from such efforts.

The «11th Fanagorijskiy Grenadier Regiment» owned a pronounced Suvorov tradition since the date of its foundation in 1790. In that year the Regiment had bravely fought during the siege and defeat of the Turkish fortress of Izmail under Suvorov, who became fond of that unit and thus a kind of its godfather. The geographical epitheton «Fanagorijskiy» was allotted to the regiment only in 1801, in August 1826 it became the «Grenadier Generalissimo Suvorov Regiment», in 1857 the «Fanagorijskiy Grenaderskiy Generalissimo Suvorov Regiment» which it remained until its dissolution in April 1918.²⁵ It is not incidentally that the regiment's commander in summer 1910 founded a regimental «historical commission» staffed by the regiment's officers, the object of which was to create and complete a regimental museum.²⁶

Similar older regimental traditions connected with Suvorov and his campaigns respectively his victories existed already before the reshuffle of army structure after the Russo-Japanese War. Thus the infantry unit Suvorov had commanded as a young colonel from 1763 to 1768, the Suzdal Regiment, bore his name and title from the 100th anniversary of Suv-

²⁴ Benecke, Werner: Kopekenliteratur für Russlands Wehrpflichtige. Die «Soldatskaja Biblioteka» 1896–1917, in: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 50 (2002) 246–275. His analysis of the «Soldatskaja biblioteka» by V. A. Berezovskiy is silent on any results of patriotic instruction. Benecke emphasizes the practical (ethic) issues of that rank and file journal.

²⁵ RGVIA F. 2601, op. 5 contains the regiment's history. Cf. Čudo-Bogatyř. Russkij vitjaz'. Fanagorijskij Suvorovskij grenader. Razskazy iz boevoj žizni II-go Grenaderskago Fanagorijskago Generalissimusa Knjazja Suvorova polka (sost. kapitan Šavrov). – Moscow, 1890. – P. 5 the award of Suvorov's name as «eternal chief of the regiment» in 1826 together with the award of the honour name. Since then the soldiers of the regiment bore the name of «suvorovtsy», an expression nowadays applied exclusively to the cadets of the Suvorov cadet schools. Similarly: Pamjati bezsmertnago šefa Fanagorijskich Grenader A. V. Suvorova i ego otnošenie k Fanagorijskomu polku. Soobščenie poručika Ostaškeviča 5-go maja 1900 g. Jaroslavl' 1900.

²⁶ RGVIA F. 2601 op. 5 d. 1 ll. 3 describes the tasks of the commission and the museum in 11 parts (otdely): «Заповедный, СУВОРОВСКИЙ [sic! My capital letters], Портретный, Вооружения полка и т. д.». In the following years Suvorov featured in the commission's activity which spoke out for the erection of a Suvorov monument within the precincts of the regiment's barracks in Moscow (Sokol'ničnye i nemeckie kazarmy). The files of this inventory end in December 1914, after which obviously no more activities occurred.

orov's death onwards: «62nd Infantry Suzdal Generalissimo Prince Suvorov Regiment».²⁷

Besides of the patriotic policy by the Russian military leadership before WWI, there were efforts to establish more regiments of that new tradition during the war, which all bear the feature of a desperate attempt to foster patriotism and heroism among Russian WWI soldiers: at least two more regiments were allotted victories of Field Marshals Rumyantsov and Suvorov. As a climax, in February 1917, just weeks before the Revolution, the nomination of «**Suvorov Regiment**» and «**Rumyantsov Regiment**» was decreed.²⁸ All these regiments seem to indicate an ever more urgent need for heroization of Russia's ancient military glory. In 1918 they were disbanded by the Bolsheviks.

We do not yet know much of these late tsarist efforts to invest a new heroic tradition with the troops, reaching back to Russia's glorious 18th century history, while strangely not alluding to the Patriotic War of 1812/13. And still these regiments, as well Suvorov or other historical military heroes, did not play a prominent role in the empire during WWI, neither in terms of historization, nor in memory or heroization of Suvorov himself. The reason for this omitted chance does not seem to lie with lacking successes of the Russian armies in the Great War or real heroic feats which did take place, particularly among rank and file of front units. Though the reasons for this failure had to be researched more into depth, it is clear that there was no response of the addressed audience, the front soldiers and the home front! The masses similarly did not response to the attempt to dub the war beginning in August 1914 as «**Great Patriotic War**», in allusion to the «**Patriotic War**» of 1812/13. **In this context it should be emphasized that the 1812/13 war was a liberation war for Russia, whereas in the present historiographic WWI discourse it is sometimes ignored that in summer 1914 the Russian army entered Germany's Eastern Prussia as an aggressor. Did the masses understand this better than the patriot Brusilov, who after the war complained in his memoirs about lacking «national education» and patriotism of the masses of soldier-peasants?**

Nor were there any elevations to the rank of field marshal among army commanders in Russia. Even General Brusilov was not heroized after his

²⁷ Here a 6-volumes history exists, compounded by captain L. Plesterer: 1790–1900. Istorija 62go Pechotnago Suzdal'skago Generalissimusa Knjazja Suvorova Polka. – Belostok [in Polish: Białystok], 1902. – Vol. 6 (Belostok 1903). – P. 504.

²⁸ RGVIA F. 2611 (Rumyantsov regiment) and F. 2612 «22nd Grenaderskiy Suvorovskiy Regiment». The around 20 thin files of each regiment do not contain material to a regimental «history».

break-through during summer 1916. His offensive, in western historical literature named after him (Brusilov Offensive, in Russian: летний прорыв, but rarely: Брусиловский прорыв), in military history counts as the most successful strategic achievement of all Entente operations during WWI.²⁹ There were promotions of generals to the rank of field marshal in Germany and even in Austria-Hungary. But in Russia decorations for higher military leaders remained sparse, and the tsar himself was clothed in the uniform of an army colonel, well into his exile to Siberia. Orderly soldiers were decorated and promoted, and may it be after their heroic victimization.

Sparse heroization of military persons seems to emanate as a typical phenomenon of WWI with most of the other war faring powers. In the early stage the war was popularized in Russia by *lubki*, a kind of folklore cartoons ridiculing the enemy and mostly encompassing the heroic rank and file soldier or ordinary Russians. But other than during the Patriotic War of 1812,³⁰ in 1914/15 the *lubki* did not succeed in heroizing the Russian soldier or army in WWI.³¹ Why was this so? Did it lack a collective attraction? Under the Provisional Government «women battalions» were established, ostensibly to foster male heroism of the soldiers. Again, this bore no fruit. So there remains only one assumption: among the masses of soldiers and home front, the *narod* did not understand the reason for the war and eventually did not approve of it.

One may wonder whether a different, more effective propaganda would have convinced the masses. During the war Tsarist Russia embarked on propaganda similar to the French and British propaganda. The British propaganda is now perceived as the most effective, though it was increased to an effective grade only in the latter stage of the war and was not thinkable without abstruse atrocity stories, the main reason for its eventual success. But stories of this kind ever more fell on deaf ears in

²⁹ The attempt to heroize Aleksej Brusilov is rather new in the Russian Federation, though he was shortly heroized from 1941 until 1948. Cf. Boris Kolonikij: 100 Jahre und kein Ende. Sowjetische Historiker und der Erste Weltkrieg, in: Osteuropa 2-4 (2014) (Themenheft: Totentanz. Der Erste Weltkrieg im Osten Europas) 369–388, here pp. 371, 378–380. Ibid. p. 386 on Sergej Nelipovič's studies dismantling Russian efforts to mystify Brusilov.

³⁰ Višlenkova, Elena A.: Picturing the Russian National Past in the Early 19th Century / Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas 60,4 (2012) 489–509.

³¹ A concise representation of Russian WWI *lubki* by Hubertus F. Jahn: Patriotic Culture in Russia during World War I. Ithaca 1995, pp. 12–29, and with regard to historical military heroes p. 117.

Russia.³² In Russia the war became unpopular not later than 1916. Soldier-peasants failed to identify their personal destiny with the war or the country. And obviously, conscious remembrance of the soldiers' military feats under Kutuzov, Skobelev or at Sevastopol during the Crimean War would not have overcome this imperial dilemma.

In this context the publication of specific Suvorov literature, biographies as well as anecdotes, should be mentioned. Books and brochures of this kind mostly leaned on 19th century literature which saw new editions in an eye-catching manner.³³ A climax of Suvorov-related publications was the *Suvorovskij Sbornik*, edited by the staff of the Warsaw Military District in 1900, though it hardly was occupied with Suvorov's heroization, but rather offered tiring descriptions of his battles.³⁴ Other books on Suvorov similarly refrained from heroization in favour of a description of single campaigns and battles. Another author, however, distinctively complained in 1908 that patriotism in Russia was not fostered in primary school already.³⁵ He compares the Russian primary education with that of Western European nations, and for illustration of Russian patriotic events and persons enumerates Russian heroes. But Suvorov is strange-

³² This complex phenomenon, long enough ignored by Russian research, has now been laid open by two studies of Aleksandr B. Astašov: *Propaganda na Russkom fronte v gody Pervoj mirovoj vojny*. Moscow 2012 and *Russkij front v 1914 – načale 1917 goda*. – Moscow, 2014. Both of them are based on ample archival material from RGVA. Cf. the Jahn: *Patriotic Culture in Russia during World War I*. According to Jahn, «national» music was the element which came closest to Russian heroic patriotism, though during the war Russian national operas tended to step back for Italian operas: pp. 115–124 and 139–149.

³³ E. g., Aleksandr Fomič Petruševskij's solid biography of 1884 (in 3 vol.s) was newly edited in 1900. His collection of Suvorov anecdotes *Rasskazy pro Suvorova* seems to have been very popular and widely spread: from its first edition in 1885 it underwent five more editions until 1903. A small book, *Graf Aleksandr Vasil'evič Suvorov, znamenitij geroj Russkij. Razskaz Kukelja*, Moscow 1897, saw two reprints in 1900 and 1914. Cf. Colonel P. N. Simanskij's survey of Suvorov literature in *Žurnal Imperatorskago russkago voenno-istoričeskago obščestva* [ŽIRVIO] vol. 1911 kn. 1, p. 1–40. The journal featured quite a few articles related to Suvorov's campaigns and literature on him in the last volumes edited before WWI.

³⁴ *Suvorovskij Sbornik* (ed. Varšavskij voennyj žurnal). Warsaw 1900, over 300 pages. The same is true with two thick volumes *Suvorov v soobščeniach professorov Nikolaevskoj akademii General'nago Štaba*, kniga 1, St. Petersburg 1900, and kniga 2, St. Petersburg 1901.

³⁵ Bogdanovič, E. V.: *Škola patriotizma*. St. Peterburg 1908 (40 pages). He recommended the introduction of «otečestvovedenie» in Russian schools.

ly absent in his pamphlet as well as any of his great victories, leave alone his *Nauka pobeždat*'.

Generally it seems fair to conclude that state-promoted patriotism in Russia was orientated to Russia's military past and in particular on its historic military leaders. This again concentrated on Suvorov, but failed already before the beginning of the war to reach the ordinary soldiers. (Heroic) patriotism remained a phenomenon of the higher military establishment (the officers), and partly of the bourgeois classes. Suvorov did not reach the masses and during WWI became obsolete with the army, though the higher leadership still in early 1917 favoured Suvorov as a symbol of military success, of which Russia remained detached until the truce of December 1917.

Did heroization of military leaders, historical as well as present-war ones, occur with the other powers? As it seems, it did so only to some degree. The Western Entente did not have reason for it, similarly like Russia or Austria. In Germany alone, the oversized, monumentalized figure of Hindenburg (1847–1934) literally shadowed even the military glory of Germany's history after the Battle of Tannenberg in 1914. Wooden Hindenburg sculptures (the "Wooden Titan") were frequent in German towns and served as local monuments to which iron nails could be hammered in change of a little financial contribution for Germany's war effort. Submarine commanders and aviation asses were present, but they often underwent heroization only after there heroic – or less heroic – death, and particularly after the war, when streets were named after them, and later army barracks. After the lost war there were war-memorials only for the fallen soldiers, none for victors or victories.³⁶ The country joined in the cult of heroization of the fallen soldier and the war deads similarly to the victorious powers, or Austria and Hungary. Britain and France had enormous losses in dead, wounded and invalids, so it comes as no surprise that all the powers of Europe's Western front concentrated on mourning and remembering the dead. War-memorials and war cemeteries became typical in Western Europe's post-war bourgeois landscape, whereas in Russia military conflict continued into 1921, and in the Soviet State the Great War of tsarist Russia disappeared from the public space, and memory to the fallen soldiers and deceased was banned to the realm of the individual.

³⁶ A striking exception was the huge Tannenberg Monument in Eastern Prussia, close to the battle of August 1914. The construction of this explicit victory monument was begun in 1924, which after its completion became the grave of unnamed soldiers, and, after the death of Hindenburg in 1934, his tomb burial place.

In France and Britain the First World War still nowadays is labelled the «Great War». When Russia tried to «patriotize» it as «*Velikaya otechestvennaya*» already in 1914, this was to no avail, since it was practically not accepted by society, obviously a hint for a lacking collective identification with the war.

Hindenburg's role in Germany in the intermediate years between the world wars was paralleled in France by Marshal Henri Pétain (1856-1951) as «saviour» of France in 1916, and as the president of the Vichy-Republic 1940, that marked a national crisis. Either of them had reached a high age when they assumed their last patriotic role as saviours of the fatherland, Hindenburg in 1925, Pétain in 1940. Either of them was a skilful military tactician and combined authoritarian behaviour with a saviour role during national urgencies. Both of them were present as folk heroes who relied on earlier feats of arms and on their role of victors in WWI battles. So their meaning for the masses surpassed the meaning of Suvorov in late Tsarist Russia. During WWI France refrained of heroization of historic leaders, though she might have made use of Joan of Arc.

When Britain recalled her old colonial general Horatio Kitchener (1850–1916) on the post of war minister in August 1914, the reason for this lay also in the circumstance that national service did not exist at that time. It was introduced only in May 1916, almost two years after the war had shown that there weren't enough volunteers to fill the ranks of the British Expeditionary Corps in Northern France. At home, the British army never had been and until now never has been appreciated, other than the British navy. The militarily successful Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, as the old trooper was honoured with an English Earldom in a heroic manner, was popular enough in Britain as to rally for the cause of the war in its early stage. His moustached face became famous on the patriotic recruitment poster of the British army before the introduction of conscription, and it is clear that it had been chosen because of its heroic hue. After his unheroic death on the mined war ship «*Hampshire*» in **June 1916, bound for Russia** where he was supposed to attend an Allied war conference, he largely disappeared from public memory in Britain. The country hardly knew a heroization of earlier or present time military leaders, though it might have made use of such leaders like Marlborough, Nelson or Wellington. All the more, the last two had obviously been fighting (and one even dying) for a justified case of England and the whole of Europe. However, the fact that they had fought and eventually defeating Napoleonic France did not fit for the case of allied war fare in WWI, when France was an important ally to Britain. Though the British society did heroize its simple soldiers dur-

ing and after the war, mainly as war victims (the memorial «Gates of Thi-eppval» or Menin), it must bewilder that there even weren't any attempts to heroize any historical leaders in practically no European country.³⁷ But British war time propaganda filled this gap to a large degree, since with the Entente it was Britain which built up the most effective propaganda machine. As it seems, to a great deal refined propaganda against the enemy replaced much more efficiently an uncouth and shady heroization of historic or present heroes, whose role as social models would possibly not have been understood by a civic society early in the 20th century. Russian war propaganda in the early stage of the war was similar to the British one, but it soon failed to reach the masses.

Generally, with the western powers heroization took rather place in the final stage and after the war: monuments were erected for the mourning for and memory of the fallen soldiers. Owing to the Civil War in Russia and the eventual victory of the Bolsheviks mourning and remembering the fallen remained with the individual (and for the émigrés in foreign countries), and the First World War as a whole became a «zabytaja vojna» for most of the rest of the time of the Soviet Union.³⁸

In Russia heroization of military leaders was attempted in the epoch of the Great War with historic figures, but these efforts were doomed already in an early stage of the war, not the least because there was no sign of victory or at least success during the war – rather the contrary. Instead, the simple soldier became a hero, though he remained «unnamed» and thus fell into oblivion in a new collectivist ideology. Heroism was transferred

³⁷ There were «paramilitary» British heroes like captain Charles Fryatt from the British merchant marine and the Red Cross nurse Edith Cavell who both had committed «feats» which were not in alliance with international law of war. Therefore they were tried and executed when they fell into the hands of the Germans. Their deaths may have added to their heroization still after the war.

³⁸ Janeke, Kristiane: Die verdrängte Erinnerung. Zur Geschichte des Moskauer Brüderfriedhofs / Die vergessene Front. Der Osten 1914/15. Ereignis, Wirkung, Nachwirkung (im Auftrag des Militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamts hg. von Gerhard Groß). Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich 2006, p. 335–352. Guido Hausmann: Die unfriedliche Zeit. Politischer Totenkult im 20. Jahrhundert / Gefallenengedenken im globalen Vergleich. Nationale Tradition, politische Legitimation und Individualisierung der Erinnerung (Hgg. Manfred Hettling, Jörg Echternkamp). München 2013. – P. 413–439. Родин, Николай: В. Великая война 1914–1918 гг. и национальная память России: проекты и реалии / Великая война 1914–1918: Альманах Российской ассоциации историков Первой мировой войны: Россия в первой мировой войне. – Вып. 3. – М., 2013.

to masses, and partly to war victims. Among the latter were millions of war refugees from the western provinces of Russia. Since autumn 1915 they flooded the hinterland, but with their appearance in the overstretched Russian war society there was anything else but heroism. After the revolutions of 1917 any attempts to heroize soldiers or generals were thwarted for a long time. After the civil war a row of Bolshevik civil war heroes emerged who since the 1930ies were gradually marginalized by Stalin's *kult ličnosti*. Altogether, the Soviet state evolved a memorial culture of *damnatio memoriae* on the one hand (e.g. for the military leaders of the White Civil War leaders, later of disgraced communist leaders like Trotsky and his followers), and on the other a continuous over-presentation of few monumental figures like Lenin and Stalin. But since 1938 Suvorov was revived. The moment of his comeback must be separately investigated, not only because it happened before Germany's thrust on Stalin's Russia in 1941. Nowadays Suvorov seems to highly figure for a post-Soviet, more Russian-type patriotism, though other heroes of Russia's past similarly enjoy comebacks. Among them are the generals of the White Movement and even luckless ones of WWI, though hardly any of the Baltic and Russian German generals, who obviously would not fit into Russia's new patriotic nationalism.

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Дипломатична академія України при МЗС України

**НІМЕЦЬКА ІМПЕРІЯ НА ШЛЯХУ
ДО ВЕЛИКОЇ ВІЙНИ: А. ФОН ТІРПІЦ
І НІМЕЦЬКІ ВІЙСЬКОВО-МОРСЬКІ ПЛАНИ
РУБЕЖУ ХІХ–ХХ ст.**

Досліджено військово-морська політика Німецької імперії і зміст «світової політики» Вільгельма II і Б. фон Бюлова в боротьбі Німеччини за «місце під сонцем». Розкрито суть законопроектів адмірала А. фон Тірпіца, спрямованих на створення сильного німецького військового флоту. Доведено, що амбіційні колоніальні плани і активна участь у боротьбі за перевагу