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## **РУССКАЯ КАМПАНИЯ НАПОЛЕОНА: 200 ЛЕТ ПОИСКА ИСТИНЫ<sup>1</sup>**

**КЛЮЧЕВЫЕ СЛОВА:** русская кампания Наполеона, Отечественная война 1812 г., историческая память, национальная историографическая традиция.

**АННОТАЦИЯ.** Русская кампания Наполеона и последовавшие за ней события 1813-1814 гг. имели грандиозные последствия: рухнул наполеоновский проект Единой Европы и началось последовательное становление национального самосознания многих народов, прежде всего русского, немецкого и испанского. Бурные события этих лет не могли не породить тысячи всевозможных легенд, ставших в свою очередь основой для формирования базовых исторических мифов целого ряда европейских наций. Переплетаясь с практикой «научного историописания», национальные исторические мифы заложили основы самосознания многих современных европейских наций и даже породили то, что сегодня принято называть исторической политикой и политикой прошлого. Автор статьи приходит к следующим выводам. Российская традиция изучения войны находилась большей частью под влиянием и контролем властных институтов (монархическо-патриотических или советско-патриотических). С середины 1980-х гг. начался процесс быстрого расширения исследовательского инструментария, предпринимаются попытки к постановке проблем, идущих вразрез с устоявшейся традицией. Зарубежная традиция (традиции) изучения проблем 1812 года представлена несколькими национальными сегментами. Как правило, обращение к событиям Русской кампании Наполеона оказывалось связанным с особенностями того или иного этапа национальной истории французов, немцев, поляков, итальянцев, британцев, американцев и других народов. Назрела необходимость соединения достижений российской историографии, в особенности последних двух десятилетий с методологическими и презентационными поисками зарубежных авторов, что может благотворно сказаться на изучении событий и самого смысла того, что произошло в 1812 году.

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## **RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN OF NAPOLEON: 200 YEARS OF SEEKING TRUTH**

**KEYWORDS:** Napoleon's Russian campaign; the Patriotic War of 1812; historical memory; national historiographic tradition.

**ABSTRACT.** Napoleon's Russian campaign and the subsequent events of 1813-1814 had a huge impact: Napoleon's project of a United Europe had collapsed, and the formation of national identity of many nations, primarily Russian, German, and Spanish had begun. The events of those years could not fail to produce thousands of various legends, which became, in turn, the foundation for the formation of basic historical myths of a number of European nations. Connected with the practice of "scientific research", national historical myths laid the foundations of the consciousness of many modern European nations, and even spawned what is today known as the historic politics and policies of the past. The author of the article comes to the following conclusions. The Russian tradition of studying the war was, for the most part, under the influence and control of the institutions of power (Monarchy-Patriotic or Soviet-Patriotic). Since the mid-1980s there began the process of rapid expansion of research tools, attempts were made to formulate problems, contrary to the established tradition. The foreign traditions of studying the problems of 1812 represent several national segments. As a rule, recourse to the events of the Russian campaign of Napoleon was determined by a certain stage of national history of the French, Germans, Poles, Italians, the British, Americans and other peoples. Now we clearly realize the necessity of connection of the achievements of Russian historiography, especially of the last two decades, with methodological and presentational search of foreign authors, which could have a beneficial impact on the study of events and the meaning of what happened in 1812.

**R**ussian campaign of Napoleon and the subsequent events of 1813-1814 has had a huge impact: collapsed Napoleon's project of a United Europe and began the formation of national identity of many Nations, primarily Russian, German and Spanish... The events of those years could not fail to produce thousands of various legends, which became, in turn, the basis for the formation of basic historical myths

of a number of European Nations. Connected with the practice of "scientific research", national historical myths laid the foundations of the consciousness of many modern European Nations, and even spawned what is today known as the historic politics and policies of the past.

Look for the first how these processes occurred in Russia. Already during the war of 1812 two trends in the interpretation of the meaning and course of events were identified. The first trend is predefined by the official authorities and has its origins in the writings of

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A. S. Shishkov, S. N. Glinka, but especially in government manifestos and proclamations [57; 42; 2, etc.]. This version planted a pseudo-Patriotic, anti-Western sentiments and developed largely under the influence of Power, though, relied on the feeling of the great victory and miraculous rescue, which experienced most of the different social groups of Russian society.

Another trend, spiritually its opposed, was submitted by the people associated with the so-called Decembrist generation. In spite of the clerical-monarchist reproach the Europeans which had come with Napoleon in Russia, these people have seen in the West not only a threat, but also a source of freedom-loving spirit. Many proponents of this version of 1812 events grouped around the so-called "Reichenbach group", which included F. N. Glinka, D. I. Ahsharumov, P. A. Tchuykewich.

By the early 20-s of the XIX century the Government began to monopolize the memory of the 1812. Victory was interpreted as a miraculous salvation given over to the Russian people for his piety. Visible embodiment of such interpretations became the Cathedral of Christ the Savior (originally conceived by A. L. Vitberg in the tradition of "Masonic" style, but then embodied in the Russian-Byzantine style by the architect K. A. Ton).

Exploitation by Power memory of 1812 seemed extremely attractive. Polish uprising, took place in 1830-1831, was to tempt direct allusions to the events of 1812. 25-th anniversary it was decided to note as widely as possible. Official-Patriarchal commemorate of the events of 1812 was finally canonized. The term "Patriotic war" was adopted. It was symbolized the unity of the people under the scepter of the Orthodox sovereign.

This "thunder of victory" was heard until after the Crimean catastrophe in the middle of 1850s. Russia fell into a kind of trap, a trap created by historical memory. Allusions, which dominated in Russia in the middle of the XIX century with Russia-winner of 1814-1815, were deceptive.

Crimean catastrophe has forced Russia to embark on a profound reforms. Rethinking the history of the events of 1812s begun. At first, there was the work of M. I. Bogdanovich [8], reflecting new trends. Then the great masterpiece of L.N. Tolstoy's novel "War and peace", which had a giant impact on the outlook of the events of 1812 not only of the general public but also of professional historians. Striking embodiment of the new, scientific-critical approach to the history of the war of 1812 were the works of A. N. Popov [48, 49, 50].

Vivid perception of events, subtle penetration into the psychology of key and ordinary participants of a drama, combined with rati-

onistic and honest (in the scientific sense of the word) description of events. It was A. N. Popov attracted the attention to the documents and memoirs, coming from the opposing side. However, his work, unfortunately, was not unfinished. Among those who at the turn of XIX-XX centuries had made a major contribution to increasing our knowledge about 1812 should mention the names of V. I. Kharkevich [24; 25; 26], A. P. Skugarevsky [58], K. A. Voyensky [67; 68]... Brilliant publication was made by Grand Duke Nikolai Mikhailovich [40, 41, etc.]. The top scientific achievements of this time was the publication of the 21-volumes edition of documents of the Military-scientific archives [43], as well as 7-volumes edition "The Patriotic war and Russian society" [44].

However, at the turn of the century, especially in the early twentieth century, became noticeably more officious and Patriarchal tradition. The impact of such singers "military glory of Russia", as B. M. Kolyubakin [27 etc.], N. P. Mikhnevich [35 etc.], V. A. Afanasiev, which held important posts in the military and academic circles, not very well-versed in science, but zealously defended the "glory of Russian arms", was extremely strong. Anniversary celebrations 1912 become a convenient excuse for the regeneration of monarchism and enthusiastic patriotism. Parades, fanfares, inspirational speeches, the appearance of dozens of new monuments were accompanied the 100-year anniversary. All of this was to instill the illusion that the Russia of the early twentieth century was as strong as ever and that Russia is ready, like 100 years ago, to resist the enemy invade and "liberate" Europe. Two years after the anniversary celebrations the First World War begun, and Russia became closer to disaster... The consequences of this war were more terrible than the Crimean defeat. This time the Russian Empire collapsed completely.

During the 1920s theme of the war of 1812 was forgotten, at least, unclaimed. But in the 1930s everything changed. In 1936 E.V. Tarle's "Napoleon" [63] was published. It became almost a handbook of I. V. Stalin. With the beginning of the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945 theme of the war of 1812 became the central among all the other historical subjects. In 1943, in the Russian language partially published memoirs of A.A.L. Caulaincourt, chief equerry of Napoleon, carried with him the entire campaign in Russia [13]. The film "Kutuzov" (producer V. Petrov) received the Stalin prize. The topic of 1812 year, with direct allusions to the war against Hitler, became "sensitive".

Official monarchist version of the nineteenth century was in fact resurrected, but, of course, with the permutations: place of Alexander I now took the "national hero" M. I. Kutuzov. The scheme was very simple: Napoleon

aspired to world domination, but the only obstacle in his way was Russia. In the first phase of the war because of the lack of training and the suddenness of the attack, we had to retreat. However, the wise Kutuzov was able to prepare a counter-offensive and, based on the nationwide rise (what you were afraid of the false and wicked Alexander I) defeated the invaders. Then the Russian army liberated Europe and "finished off the beast in his own lair". Such authors as N. F. Garnich [20], P. A. Zhilin [72, 73], L. G. Beskrovny [3] (all military) rushed after the words to praise Stalin Kutuzov and "cudgel of the people's war." So the situation in the search for "historical truth" was very clear: the one who dared to threaten on the sacred memory of the 1812th year, he threatened the sacred memory of the Great Patriotic war!

Starting from the middle, but especially since the late of 1980s, in the study of the war of 1812 in Russian historiography began to experience serious changes that resulted in: a) recognition of the existence of the little studied issues in the subject; b) a deep knowledge with foreign literature; c) the identification of new unpublished documents; d) emergence of a new generation of researchers; e) more democratic than before discussion of controversial issues (an important role in this played the conferences, organized by Borodino military-historical Museum-national park and Maloyaroslavets military history Museum of 1812). The role of military-historical Reenactment should be underlined, since a significant part of a new generation of historians of 1812 was directly or indirectly (O. V. Sokolov, A. M. Valkovic, A. A. Vasiliev, V. N. Zemtsov, S. N. Khomchenko, D. I. Gorshkov, etc.) associated with this movement.

A key role in the formation of a new generation of historians has played the book N. A. Troitsky's "1812. Great year of Russia" [66] and conference organized by the journal "Rodina" in 1992.

What determined the logic of the representatives of this new direction (conventionally called by us as scientific-critical), what they meant goal? Initially, much was determined by the obvious contrast between the postulates of Soviet historiography and those writing that arose on the basis of unbiased, so to speak, detailed, factual look at the events of 1812, made on the basis of the enlarged historical source base. Therefore, new research and critical direction was characterized by two fundamental features: 1. Criticism and the desire to refute the Soviet postulates. 2. The pursuit of the most detailed, and therefore more alive, "anthropologically oriented" to reproduce the circumstances of the war of 1812.

Over the last 20-25 years Russian historians have done a giant, a truly revolutionary

work, which, incidentally, is almost unknown abroad. Most fully modern ideas of the Russian historical science about the events of 1812-1814 embodied in a 3-volumes encyclopedia "The Patriotic war of 1812 and the Liberation campaign of the Russian army in 1813-1814" [45].

These changes have had a significant influence on the attitude of the Authorities. Notable was the visit on 2 September 2012 of Russian President Vladimir Putin on the field of Borodino, the main thing "the place of memory of the Russians". In the President's speech, delivered September 2, 2012, was not made a categorical and a long time not dispute the statements of the Russian victory in the battle [14]. It's necessary to note near the Main Monument next to Vladimir Putin were the head of the family of Bonaparte, Prince Charles Napoleon and former French President V. Giscard d'Éstaing.

It should be noted that today the debate around the history of the war of 1812 has been consistently associated with the topical issues of Russian reality of the beginning of the XXI century: what is Russia's place in the modern world and, in particular, in Europe? How "special" should be the historical path of the country? What is the nature of Russian patriotism? What is the nature of relations between the Authorities and Human rights in Russia?

It is necessary to raise in connection with the events of 1812 the question of the relation of Russians to France. For 200 years the image of France in relation to the history of 1812 repeatedly "reformat" (the most consistently occurred in the late XIX – early XX centuries in connection with the Franco-Russian Alliance). It is therefore not surprising that today the image of France has only positive traits. Opponent of France, with which Russia has faced in 1812, is perceived as the enemy is extremely worthy. However, sometimes still slips irony in connection with unpreparedness heat-loving Europeans to meet Russian winter and, in general, the severity of Russian life. As for the image of Napoleon, already among his Russian contemporaries clearly dominated the admiration of the French Emperor. Currently, regardless of the noticeable differences in the interpretation of the image of Napoleon, in the works of historians of scientific and critical direction dominate positive characteristics, and in some cases (as, for example, in the works of O. V. Sokolov [59; 60; 61]) dominates even undue idealization of the personality of the Emperor of France. In contrast, most of the speculative-Patriotic publications unsuccessfully try to belittle the personality of Napoleon. At the level of official state assessment of the personality of Napoleon moderately positive.

In contrast, most of the speculative-Patriotic publications rather clumsily and un-

successfully trying to belittle the personality of Napoleon. At the level of official state assessment of the personality of Napoleon moderately positive.

No less interesting image of 200-year-old's comprehension of the war of 1812 in other countries. We can definitely highlight in this respect the traditions of those peoples who participated in the war directly involved (the French, the Germans, Poles, Italians, Austrians and even Spanish and Portuguese), and those who watched the war from the side (British and Americans). As for the first group of nations, a decisive role here plays French version. We do not have the opportunity to elaborate on the evolution of the French historiography of the Russian campaign of Napoleon, so we will note, in our view, the only important thing. Despite all the troubles associated with the history of France and the peculiarities of the historical development of French science, it should be recognized that national tradition in the interpretation of all the key issues of the war of 1812 was laid down by Napoleon himself. He did this both through the bulletins of the Great army and the subsequent reflections on this. Undoubtedly, the view, proposed by Napoleon (it is a struggle with nature – fire, distance and frost), came from the sensations that were characteristic of the French (and not only French) participants of the campaign in Russia. What have they experienced? It seems that a number of works, published by French colleagues in recent years (primarily books of M.-P. Rey [56] and J.-O. Boudon [9]), well this demonstrated. It was an epic quest, a kind of "Iliad" and "Odyssey". The period of "the Odyssey" was very significant for Europeans, and especially for the French. It was then that, going back "to himself", the Europeans had to come to struggle with the nature, and had to be on the edge of human and animal.

Of course, other European Nations, took part in the Russian campaign on the side of Napoleon, to this general perception were added there national-unique. For the Poles it was a war for the revival of the Motherland, for the Germans – the birth of the national spirit (namely, different variants of this "revival" – from Prussian-Hohenzollern option to Hitler's ideas of the people's freedom and even "Pro-Russian socialism"), for the Italians it was an important stage in the crystallization of ideas and practices of the Risorgimento, etc.

Surprisingly, the stream of literature about the war of 1812-the year outside of Russia will only increase. The analysis of these publications shows the following:

1. Significantly expanded the scope of research – there were even a number of works devoted to the Russian army. We should especially point out a study by British historian D.

Lieven, translated into Russian and published in 2012 in Russia [28; 29].

2. More clearly felt the impact of methodological search results of the second half of the twentieth century. Along with the use of quantitative methods, there were works written towards mental geography (Ukrainian historian V. Adadurov [1; 2]), historical memory and "image of the other" (Polish author A. Neuwazny [39] and French researcher J.-O. Boudon [9]) etc.

3. The geography of foreign studies significantly expanded. A number of interesting independent works of historians of the Baltic States were published – by A. Cherpinska [15; 16] (Latvia), T. Tannberg [64, 65] (Estonia), V. Adadurov [1, 2] (Ukraine), A. Lukashevich [30, 31] (Belarus). Where are interesting publications of the Georgian historian living in the U.S. A. Mikaberidze [33; 34; 35].

4. There has been a growth of interest in the person of 1812 as such. It can be assumed that the current tradition of the "anthropological turn" in the study of 1812-year originates from the book by C. Cate, published for the first time in New York in 1985 [12]. C. Cate was a truly cosmopolitan: born in the USA, received the diploma of the historian at Harvard, he studied philosophy and political economy at Oxford, and finally settled in France and has written several biographies of great Frenchmen, including George Sand and A. Saint-Exupéry. To top it all, he knew the Russian language and used Russian-language materials. In addition, it is impossible not to recall the wonderful trilogy of P. B. Austin [4; 5; 6], the famous British writer and journalist. He tried to create a kind of "oral history" of the Russian campaign – gave the possibility to rather more than one hundred memoirists, including Frenchmen, Poles, Italians, Russians, etc. Next in this series was the work of A. Zamoyski [71], Polish nobleman, born in the USA and now working at the London school of Economics and Political Science. His book called "the Fatal March of Napoleon to Moscow" was published in London in 2004 and praised in the West and in Russia.

Of great interest in terms of knowledge of the "person of 1812" are also the works of the British A. Forrest [18] and M. Broers [10; 11], and French historian N. Petiteau [46; 47].

It's important to note that the 1812 more and more began to attract the attention of writers. In recent years reached historical novels P. Rambaud's "Il neigeait" [53], J. C. Damamme's "Les aigles en hiver. Russie 1812" [17]. Finally, Anka Muhlstein, French writer, born in the United States, specializing in historical subjects, also drew their attention to 1812: in 2007 in France she published book "Napoleon à Moscou" (in French) [37] and

«Der Brand von Moskau. Napoleon in Russland» [36] in Germany in German. What is the main pathos of all these works? Basically, it's a man on the verge of life and death, between people barbaric, animal condition and civilization.

There are two important topics that attract the attention of modern researchers in the Russian campaign of Napoleon: 1. Europe (United Europe) and Russia: their fate, common or different. 2. The place and role of the region East Central Europe. In the latter case, of particular importance to the historians of Poland (A. Neuwazny [39] and D. Nawrot [38]), Ukraine (V. Adadurov [1; 2], S. Potrashkov [51; 52] and O. Zaharchuk [69; 70]), Belarus (A. Lukashevich [30, 31] and I. Gruzo [22; 23]) and of the Baltic States (first of all A. Cherpinska [15; 16]).

As to the first global issue, marked by us (Europe and Russia), it found brilliantly realized in the work of the French historian M.-P. Rey, in particular, "Alexander I" [54], and in her recent book "L'effroyable tragédie. Une nouvelle histoire de la campagne de Russie" [56] and "1814, un Tsar à Paris" [55].

Let's summarize:

1. The Russian tradition of studying the war was, for the most part, under the influence

and control of the institutions of power (monarchy-Patriotic or Soviet-Patriotic). The methods of the study were, at best, positivist-traditional or, in the worst case, illustrative-enthusiastic. The human aspect of the research was subject to the problem of sequential playback of the predetermined scheme, which, in turn, rested on the bizarre intertwining mythologies, consecrated by the authority. Since the mid-1980s began the process of rapid expansion of the research tools, attempts have been made to the formulation of problems, contrary to established tradition.

2. Foreign tradition (correctly traditions) of study the problems of 1812 present several national segments, often having exclusively his own, inimitable logic of development. As a rule, recourse to the events of the Russian campaign of Napoleon was determined by certain stage of national history of French, Germans, Poles, Italians, British, Americans and other peoples.

3. The necessity of the connection of the achievements of Russian historiography, especially of the last two decades, with methodological and presentational search of foreign authors, which could have a beneficial impact on the study of events and the meaning of what happened in 1812.

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