

WRITING ON AUSTRIAN ARMY: LITERARY LEGACY OF KARL GUSTAV HOHENLOHE-LANGENBURG (1777–1866)

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ABSTRACT

This article describes the preserved literary works of prince Karl Gustav Honhenlohe-Langenburg (1777–1866), the man who lived in the age of Napoleonic wars and spent all his life in military service. It sets these works in the context of his life. They are divided into four categories: books of memoirs, philosophical works, letters and diaries, miscellaneous writings. Prince Hohenlohe's work partly belongs to the genre of aristocratic memoirs and letters; though his philosophical treatises deal with other issues such as army punishment, the moral duties of a soldier or the role of the army in peacetime.

Keywords: Hohenlohe-Langenburg, Austrian army, philosophy of army.

INTRODUCTION

The Post-Napoleonic era – in the Austrian Empire symbolized by Metternich's absolutism and hampered industrialisation – was marked by numerous economic problems and some new cultural and literary tendencies. Literature of the Biedermeier period indulged in resignation, melancholy and longing for the inner peace, which can be found in Grillparzer's *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* (1825) or *Der Traum ein Leben* (1834). Napoleon's spirit cast a long shadow over the first half of the 19th century,¹ but in Austria marshal Radetzky became a military celebrity greatly reflected in culture: Grillparzer's play *Feldmarschall Radetzky* and Johann Straus Jr's *Radetzky Marsch* can be named as the most prominent examples. The Austrian army's reputation was great. Sealsfield, in his *Austria, as it is*, praises

¹ See A. Mikaberidze, *The Napoleonic Wars: A Global History*, Oxford 2020, p. 641.

Hungarian grenadiers and dragoons high,² however, the peacetime size of the army was considerably large³ and so was the burden it became to the Austrian state budget. Some writers, therefore, started thinking about war, its strategy and also what the army should do in the peacetime when it costs a lot but brings only a little. In Austria, Carl von Clausewitz's famous work *On War* was little read, but the upcoming *K und K* era was the time of arguably the most important Austrian military author Carl Franz Torresani (1846–1907).⁴ However, there were also less important authors who dealt with the army issues and wrote their memories of the Napoleonic Wars. One of those was prince Karl Gustav Wilhelm Hohenlohe-Langenbourg.

None of his literary works was published and prince Karl Gustav remains half-forgotten. Today, all his writings can be found in his immense legacy deposited in Moravian Land Archive in Brno, Czech Republic (Moravský zemský archiv Brno); they take up 30 boxes. This legacy belongs to the House Archive of the Blankensteins where it got due to Karl Gustav's daughter Constance. In 1855, she married Karl von Blankenstein, and eleven years later, when her father died, she had him buried in the Blankenstein family sepulchre in Batelov (Battelau) and she integrated his literary works to the family archive.⁵ Despite staying unpublished, the literary legacy of prince Karl Gustav reflects "the Zeitgeist" of the post-Napoleonic era and offers an interesting view of the army of that time.

So far, Karl Gustav Hohenlohe has drawn only moderate scientific attention. The summary work dealing with the history of four branches of the House of Hohenlohe in the 19th and the 20th century by Alma Hannig and Martina Winkelhofer-Thyri mentions him just briefly⁶ in the introductory summary of the Austrian family line. His life was paid much bigger attention by Marie Macková, who researched prince Karl Gustav's archive and published his general biography⁷ together with a few articles about his army campaigns,⁸ all based mainly on the princely memoirs *Individual incidents and events from my life*.⁹ However, none of this interesting research on prince Hohenlohe's life deals with his literary works, which this study wants to change. It can be rightly argued that virtually each aristocratic family archive hides numerous

² C. Sealsfield, *Austria as It Is: or Sketches of Continental Courts, by an Eye-Witness*, London 1828, pp. 192–193.

³ It consisted of 400,000 men, of which 50,000 were cavalry, 25,000 artillery and 315,000 infantry (R. Bassett, *For God and Kaiser: The Imperial Austrian Army from 1619 to 1918*, New Heaven 2016, p. 293).

⁴ For more about him see: J.H. Blumenthal, *Carl Freiherr Torresani: sein Leben und Werk*, Bergland 1957; H. Kuzmics, "Emotions and Habitus of Officers as Reflected in Great Literature: The Case of the Habsburg Army from 1848 to 1918," *Human Figurations* 2013, vol. 2, issue 1.

⁵ See M. Ježková, D. Kudrnová, *Rodinný archiv Blankensteinů Batelov 1659–1945*, Brno 1960, p. II.

⁶ A. Hannig, M. Winkelhofer-Thyri, *Die Familie Hohenlohe. Eine europäische Dynastie im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2013, p. 37.

⁷ M. Macková, *Mladší princ. Karl Gustav Wilhelm Hohenlohe-Langenbourg 1777–1866*, Brno 2014.

⁸ E.g. M. Macková, "Itálie očima evropského aristokrata v rakouské armádě" [in:] *Naše Itálie. Stará a mladá Itálie v české kultuře 19. století*, eds. Z. Hojda, M. Ottlová, R. Pahl, Praha 2012, pp. 65–78.

⁹ Moravian Land Archive in Brno [further on: MZA Brno], G 204 The Family Archive of the House of Blankenstein, box 30, inv. n. 160.

diaries, reflection essays and sometimes even sophisticated literary structures such as books of philosophy or poems. As an example, the poems of Therese Dahlberg (1866–1893) can be named.¹⁰ However, the legacy of prince Hohenlohe stands out for three main reasons: 1) The preserved works, letters and notes are those the author wanted to preserve. The literary legacy of prince Hohenlohe presents a homogenous collection on the unitary topic, in some cases, even the letters sent from a certain place are arranged into a sort of diary. 2) Its concern is the army, wars and the philosophy of a soldier, therefore, it offers a comprehensive view of this topic and due to its author's exceptional experience with army life and his clerical position in the highest administration of the Austrian army, it presents a unique source for the historians of the Austrian army of the early 19th century. 3) Unlike other authors of his era, prince Hohenlohe's philosophy was never concerned with tactics or strategy. His thoughts on army were practical instead, concerned with logistic and organisation, in which they can be a good supplement to the rational theories of Henry Lloyd or as an addition to practical subjects Antoine-Henry Jomini dealt with and Clausewitz mostly ignored.¹¹ Since the thorough description of the individual works would be enough for several articles of this length, the ambition of this text is quite modest: to describe the aim and content of prince Hohenlohe's literary legacy and to relate it to his life.

PRINCE KARL GUSTAV'S LIFE

Karl Gustav Wilhelm Hohenlohe-Langenburg was born on 29th August 1777 in Holland Leeuwarden as a member of an evangelical branch of the princely House of Hohenlohe. The Hohenlohe principality lost its independence through mediatization during the Holy-Roman-Empire dissolution initialized by Napoleon, but as the second son of a younger family line, prince Karl Gustav could not have counted on a large possession anyway. However, his name was a big social capital. He started his army career in the Holland infantry between 1795–1798, but he was taken captive when the French revolutionary army arrived in Holland. After his release, he intended to join the Prussian army, but due to the intervention of his uncle, prince Friedrich Karl Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, he became a lieutenant of the Austrian army, in which he fought in Napoleonic Wars on the Austrian side.¹² In 1800, he took part in the battle of Hohenlinden, in 1805 in the battle of Ulm, in 1809 he fought in the battle of Aspern-Essling as same as in the subsequent battle of Wagram and armistice

¹⁰ *Život a dílo Terezie Dalbergové. Urozená básnička z dačického zámku*, eds. P. Demeter, D. Marešová, České Budějovice 2017.

¹¹ Even though Jomini and Clausewitz are very different in their style of thinking, they also have many common points. However, logistic creating the sixth chapter of Jomini's famous *Précis de l'Art de la Guerre*, is something Clausewitz completely ignored and Prince Hohenlohe followed up with his thoughts.

¹² M. Macková, *Mladší princ*, p. 61.

of Znaim. In 1805 he was promoted to the major, and in 1813 to the rank of colonel. In 1812 he took part in the Austrian attempt to stop Napoleon's campaign to Russia, with his troops he made his way as far as Latvia and then back to Warszawa. In 1813 he took part in the battle of Dresden, where his horse was hit by a cannonball which injured him slightly. After the battle of Leipzig where Napoleon was defeated, prince Hohenlohe marched on Paris with the coalition armies. All his war achievements were rewarded with numerous honours. In 1814 he was awarded the St. Stephan Order, during the Congress of Vienna, the Russian Tsar decorated him with St. Vladimir Order, in Naples, he received the Grand Cross of St. Januarius and finally, back in Vienna, he achieved the Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold in 1848.¹³

When the Napoleonic Wars were over, prince Karl Gustav married princess Fredrika von Fürstenberg (1781–1858), the couple later had three children, two sons Friedrich Ernst August (1817–1835) and Ludwig Karl Gustav (1823–1866), the latter had become the founder of the House of Hohenlohe-Langenburg's Bohemian line in Rotenhaus (today Červený Hrádek, the Czech Republic) but he was deadly wounded at the Austro-Prussian Battle of Königgrätz.¹⁴ The daughter, Constance Josepha Louise (1824–1884), married Karl von Blankenstein, and her contribution to the preservation of her father's archive has already been mentioned. Prince Hohenlohe's family lived in Brunn (Brno, the Czech Republic) in Moravia, for a short time before the prince was ordered to the Austrian intervention to Kingdom of the Two Sicilies between 1820–1822. The campaign was successful, the prince met king Ferdinand II. and in Rome, he was granted an audience with the Pope. In 1830 prince Hohenlohe became the colonel of the 17th Austrian Infantry Regiment. He engaged in researching its history and in 1858, he participated in publishing a book about it.¹⁵ In 1833 emperor Franz I appointed him the first vice-president to the Imperial War Council. Prince Hohenlohe spent there 15 years on this administrative work, which gave him only a little chance to push through any change he was thinking of against the virtually invincible opinion of the Council's director count Ignatz von Hardegg. Therefore, after the revolution of 1848, at the age of 71, he retired from his function to Brno, where he spent the rest of his life.

With the time he suddenly had in his hands, he started rewriting the notes and drafts he had kept creating all his life. He wrote three books of memories; organised his letters from the Italian campaign between 1820–1822 into a peculiar diary or a book of events. He kept the extensive correspondence with his closer and wider family, wrote notes on the position of the Austrian army troops and created lengthy excerpts of the books he read.¹⁶ His reading and his long-standing interest in the army issues allowed him to write down his thoughts on many different questions

¹³ M. Bečvář, *Rodina Hohenlohe-Langenburg na Červeném hrádku: Hohenlohoové v Čechách, na Moravě a v Rakousku*, Chomutov 2011, pp. 27–29.

¹⁴ A. Hannig, M. Winkelhofer-Thyri, *Die Familie Hohenlohe*, p. 37.

¹⁵ F. Steiner, *Geschichte des k.k. Prinz Hohenlohe-Langenburg Infanterieregiments Nr. 17 seit dessen Errichtung 1632 bis 1851 mit kurzen Andeutungen aus der Geschichte des österreichischen Kaiserstaates in dieser Epoche*, Graz 1858.

¹⁶ For instance the work of General Comte Philippe de Ségur, *Histoire de Napoléon et de la grande armée, pendant l'année 1812*. MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, file n. 50, fol. 126–137.

concerning philosophy and the theory of the army and war. The most of his literary legacy is in German, but a big part of his letters and writings is in French, the language he was completely fluent in. He died in Brno on 26th June 1866 at the age of almost 89 years.

While the memoirs and letters offer a view of prince Hohenlohe's long life, his philosophical and theoretical essays show his view of the army service and a soldier's morality. Their literary form is not the best – which prince Karl Gustav was aware of – it might have been the reason why he never published anything. His sentences are long, sometimes they cover five lines, and the vocabulary is limited and militarily simple. However, due to their author's status and experience, these works present the interesting evidence of an army expert of the period and also a unique insight into the soul of an army veteran and a member of a prestigious noble house in Austria in the early 19th century.

BOOKS OF MEMOIRS

The richest in content but quite ordinary in topic is prince Hohenlohe's book of memoirs bearing the full name *Individual incidents and events from my life that have remained in my memory in particular* (*Einzelne Vorfälle und Ereignisse aus meinen Leben die mir besonders in Gedächtnis geblieben sind*). The book, written in German on 93 pages, offers exactly what the title promises. It describes the exciting things that happened during prince Hohenlohe's long life and it represents an attempt to organize the diary entries written previously during the wars he had gone through. It is a collection of the individual events, which the 70-year-old retired prince started writing in 1848 after 50 years of his army service, however, their order is far from chronological they diverge from the traditional memoir genre and create an compact stream of recollections connected by the person of their narrator. The mosaic has no storyline, but its value is in its description of Napoleonic wars, the memoirs, therefore, became the main source for Marie Macková's biography of prince Karl Gustav.¹⁷

The first pages of the book take a reader to the Holland Revolution in 1795 when the prince was only 18 years old. The revolution is seen as a state of lawlessness described with rage, which is what the numerous executions of the generals in Haarlem aroused in prince Karl Gustav. Then, prince Hohenlohe's joining the Austrian army is described together with his engagement in the 54th Army Corps of Count Sztaray. The Austrian involvement in the French Revolution Wars and the battle of Hohenlinden – where the Austrian and Bavarian forces were decisively defeated by the French army – is interestingly depicted in the following extract:

¹⁷ M. Macková, *Mladší princ*.

I crossed the large, wide, short road through the forest, where I met our major and the commander, who was trying to gather and form his battalion again, and I joined him immediately. As I was standing next to his horse, exchanging a few words with him and laying my hand on the horse's neck, the enemy detachments pursuing us had come to the edge of the forest, barely 30 steps away from us, and they started firing on us. The major and his horse collapsed, hit by many bullets, and as he was falling towards me, I saw a large jet of blood spurting straight out of his head. At the same time, all the French troop rushed out of the forest and attacked us with their bayonets. Our few soldiers, gathered but not yet formed, turned to flee, and since there was nothing else left for us to do, I did the same with my comrade captain prince Bentheim, who had been standing on the other side next to the major's horse. Quite close to us parallelly with the road, there was a man-high fence made of tree trunks laid horizontally one on top of the other, as is often done in that region to prevent the forest animals or hedges from coming to the trail. I was up in a flash, leaped over it and landed on its other side and so did prince Bentheim, who almost impaled on my sword, which I held upright in my hand after my landing. At the same moment when we stood behind the wall, several Frenchmen arrived at the fence. They stuck their guns through it and started shooting at us a bout portant [at point-blank range]. That time, we both remained unharmed.¹⁸

As visible, prince Karl Gustav's authorial style in his memoirs tends to draw our attention towards the events described in a lively, engaging form. The particular incidents are extraordinary and strong, they remind the reader of the tales recounted at a bonfire. They are not pulled out of the context, but one does not follow the other. Just two pages after the passage quoted above, the battle of Leipzig and the events of the 16th to 18th October 1813 are described, then a flashback leads a reader to the armistice of Znaim in July 1809, the ceasefire between Napoleon and archduke Charles which followed the Austrian defeat at Wagram. The shattered form of the memoirs turns out again a few pages later, where the battle of Bar-sur-Aube is depicted.¹⁹ The entry to Paris on 31st May 1814 makes a separate chapter in the book, it even has its own headline because together with the battle of Aspern it belonged to the times when prince Hohenlohe experiences the highest level of enthusiasm in his life.²⁰ It was surely a different Paris from what prince Charles Clary-Aldringen experienced four years ago,²¹ but a reader does not learn much about the difference because prince Hohenlohe's description stays factual, brief and lacks the complexity of Clary-Aldringen's portrayal.

The subsequent text, labelled as a single chapter again, jumps to 1822, the end of the short Austrian intervention in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies when prince Hohenlohe led one of the brigades belonging to the division commanded by prince Friedrich

¹⁸ MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 30, inv. n. 160, K.G. Hohenlohe-Langenburg, *Einzelne Vorfälle und Ereignisse aus meinen Leben die mir besonders in Gedächtnis geblieben sind*, fol. 14.

¹⁹ The book says the battle happened on 27th January (K.G. Hohenlohe-Langenburg, *Einzelne Vorfälle*, fol. 19), but it is prince Hohenlohe's mistake, the battle was fought only a month later on 27th February 1814.

²⁰ MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 30, inv. n. 160, K.G. Hohenlohe-Langenburg, *Einzelne Vorfälle*, fol. 22.

²¹ Ch. Clary-Aldringen, *Souvenirs du Prince Charles de Clary-et-Aldringen. Trois mois à Paris lors du mariage de l'empereur Napoléon Ier et de l'archiduchesse Marie-Louise*, Paris 1914.

Ludwig Wied-Runkel. On his return from Naples to Vienna, he stopped in Rome and met the pope Pius VII, who impressed him only by not insisting on the ritual kiss of his cross.²² The last part of the book is created by a long chapter flashing back to 1813 when the prince conducted an adventurous diplomatic mission from Warszawa to Poznań (Posen) in order to meet the Italian viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais and his wife princess Augusta of Bavaria.

The form of the longest prince Hohenlohe's memoirs is copied in the second book of events from his life with the name *All kinds of little adventures from my life* (*Allerhand kleine Abenteuer aus meinem Leben*). It is written in German again, consists of 39 pages without the title page and unlike the previous book, it contains less important and more anecdotal stories with no regard to the time sequence. The stories are sometimes quite adventurous. For example, the history of the night winter hunt near Brno depicts the prince fighting for life in a snowstorm and freezing wind when he fell into a gorge and his chance to get out of there was small. Also, their form is similarly engaging as in the first book. However, the year and place change a lot. We get from Iglau (Jihlava) in 1809 to Gratz in 1826, Brno in 1807, Wagram in 1809, Italy between 1820–1822 and back to Linz in 1805. In a way, *Little Adventures* copies *Individual Incidents* a bit but stays faithful to its name. However, it is remarkable that both books do not contemplate the battles or reflect on the good and bad points of the military operations of the troops like the memoir literature of the Napoleonic Wars participants such as Marcellin Marbot does.²³ Where Marbot is stirring, colourful and adventurous, prince Hohenlohe stays objective and concentrates on quotidian events instead of the great affairs. His book contains little stories that happened during his long life and his remarkable army career but did not contain the main, or the most important affairs. However, their reader can learn about the serious events too. For example, the huge epidemics of typhus and dysentery which caused a lot of deaths in 1809 and again in 1813–1814 are described in length.²⁴ In the present archival system, this second book of memoirs belongs to the same inventory number as the first one, because it is written in the same format, style and ink, therefore, both works can be affirmed approximately the same age.

The third book of memoirs precedes the previous two ones in time; however, it has a much more compact form and describes only a 15-year-long timespan which prince Hohenlohe spent as the first vice-president of the Imperial War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*), later the Ministry of War. That is where its name comes from: *My 15-year-long employment at the Court War Council, 13 of which as First Vice-President* (*Meine Anstellung beim Hofkriegsrath während 15 Jahre wovon 13 als Erster Vizepräsident*). While the previous two books of memoirs describe princely personal life

²² MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 30, inv. n. 160, K.G. Hohenlohe-Langenburg, *Einzelne Vorfälle*, fol. 26–28.

²³ General Marbot's Memoirs were highly prized by his contemporaries for their lively description of the Napoleonic Wars. Allegedly even Napoleon himself praised them high. See M. Marbot, *Mémoires du Général Baron de Marbot. Version intégrale*, Paris 2022.

²⁴ MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 30, inv. n. 160, K.G. Hohenlohe-Langenburg, *Allerhand kleine Abenteuer aus meinem Leben*, fol. 85–86.

(nonetheless influenced by the wars and battles), this book makes the first step into the philosophy of the army. It revolves around prince Hohenlohe's service in the state office and his fight with the Hofkriegsrat's President Ignatz von Hardegg, who made prince Hohenlohe's service as hard as possible.

Of all the difficult and very unpleasant epochs I have gone through during my 50 years of the active service, none has ever been so oppressive and eventually almost unbearable as the time of my appointment to the Court War Council, due to the conditions in which I happen to be there, despite the fact I achieved one of the highest honours in the army. As the second and first Vice-President of the Court War Council, I ranked higher than all the commanding generals in the provinces, since in former times the Vice-Presidents of the Court War Council was always promoted from them.²⁵

Its 59 pages describe the structural and organisational army problems, which prince Hohenlohe later tried to write on. In the Imperial War Council, he was surrounded by his peers he knew or respected such as Heinrich von Siegenthal or the first vice-president Demeter Radossevich von Rados. However, the latter died in June 1835 just two years after prince Hohenlohe's arrival, prince Karl Gustav took his position and stayed in it for 13 years. The main problem the book noticed was the overabundance of honorary ranks in the army. The aristocrats were rewarded the ranks of majors, general majors and commandants for growing old in the service, they enjoyed the long peace in idleness and wanted to pass their posts to their sons or other family members. They were not bad soldiers, but the old truth: *Honores mutant mores*²⁶ proved right. The army, therefore, slowly changed into a good shelter for the people longing for a status, some protection and an easy life.

The War Council was supposed to show the general public how important the army was, which was quite tough in the peacetime when the public could see only the spectacular manoeuvres organized in Italy by marshal Radetzky. Moreover, the Council slowly lost touch with reality of the army camps²⁷ and any change prince Hohenlohe tried to push through eventually wracked on the lack of interest or a contradictory opinion. The book, therefore, contains the rudiments of the thoughts their author later expressed in the individual philosophical considerations. However, despite prince Hohenlohe's high position in the council, he had almost no chance to implement any of these thoughts to the military reality due to a tangle of official procedures and the ultimate resistance of the Council President Ignatz von Hardegg.²⁸ Luckily, the outburst of the revolution in Vienna in 1848 brought his clerical activity

²⁵ MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 30, inv. n. 171, K.G. Hohenlohe-Langenburg, *Meine Anstellung beim Hofkriegsrath während 15 Jahre wovon 13 als Erster Vizepräsident*, fol. 1.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 5.

²⁷ Rothenberg speaks of limited vision and civilian bureaucrats when he discusses Hofkriegsrat (G.E. Rothenberg, "The Austrian Army in the Age of Metternich," *The Journal of Modern History* 1968, vol. 40, no. 2, pp. 156–165).

²⁸ One of the few matters that prince Hohenlohe succeeded in pushing through was rearming the infantry with the more effective sabres, however, the progress of rearmament was quite the opposite of what Prince Hohenlohe desired (MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 30, inv. n. 171, K.G. Hohenlohe-Langenburg, *Meine Anstellung*, fol. 16).

to its end. On 1st June 1848, he resigned from his office and retired to Brno making that day the last entry in the memoirs.

PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

Even before the end of his service, prince Hohenlohe started writing philosophical considerations. They aimed to rectify the problems he had faced in his office and they are aimed at moral problems. Prince Hohenlohe seemed to find the core of the army problems in the characters of the people it consisted of. That is why his vision of the army was a vision of the religious order, the individual soldiers had to have one quality prince Hohenlohe himself excelled in, they had to be unconditionally and totally obedient to their superiors. There was a space for some free will, but only in the private matters. Therefore, as a member of the army, a man never prioritizes his will over his superior's command. Prince Karl Gustav wrote small treatises concerning this topic from more aspects.²⁹ His philosophy is practical. While Karl von Clausewitz's thoughts in his famous *On War* were aimed at war itself and seemed quite distant from the daily practice, prince Hohenlohe's philosophy's target is the daily experience. In this way, it solved different matters than Jomini³⁰ or Clausewitz himself. Even though in prince Hohenlohe's literary legacy, there are his notes from the lectures on the army strategy he attended, his own thoughts were never about the rules of war. Prince Hohenlohe wanted to solve the issues he knew from his army practice, but the solutions he offered were usually pragmatic and down-earthed.

One of the shorter philosophic treatises by prince Hohenlohe is written in German under the name *On the military power of corporal punishment (Über die militärische Kraft der körperlichen Züchtigung)*³¹ and is dated to the year 1844. It is a short text of only 5 pages which explains why in the army, corporal punishment is irreplaceable. The consideration is divided into 6 points. Punishments help to keep the discipline fundamental for the military regiments. The very existence of the punishments and arrests has a psychological effect and keeps the soldiers obedient. The existence or non-existence of corporal punishments in the civil law is unimportant because the army is a special society, not the general one, fraternisation between soldiers and the general population of their area should be prevented. The punishment must, of course, be based on a proven offence and must never be too draconic, the punished individual has a right to complain and ask for a revision of his punishment. According to prince Hohenlohe, the offences should be punished by "la savate," where an

²⁹ MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 50, inv. numbers: 227–229.

³⁰ A.H. Jomini, was a general officer at first in French and later in Russian army. His *Précis de l'Art de la Guerre* (in English: *The Art of War*, London 1992) deals with strategy and tactic of war, which – as he insisted – is not any science but art.

³¹ MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 50, inv. n. 229, K.G. Hohenlohe-Langenburg, *Über die militärische Kraft der körperlichen Züchtigung*.

offender was held by two soldiers and a third one kicked him several times in the buttocks. He was against caning or flogging of the higher ranks without a prior investigation because they would lose their peers' respect. The treatise was a reaction to the draconic punishments in the Austrian army that often cost the offender his life, the horrific running-the-gauntlet beating was abolished only during the reforms in 1851.³² Prince Hohenlohe's consideration wanted to moderate the brutal practices and justify them, in which the Prussian army was his model. Prussian king Frederick the Great abolished majority of the judicial torture, with the exception of flogging that was to punish desertion. Unlike the general practice, in which the army officers usually regarded roughness and even brutality as symbols of a good soldier,³³ prince Hohenlohe called for justice, morality and complete obedience to the orders.

A year younger treatise written in French on 20 pages bears the name *On Military Duties (De devoirs militaires)* and these duties are namely moral. The treatise was written in French probably due to its dependence on the seventh volume of the military-administration textbook by P.A. Odier,³⁴ the book is quoted a few times, yet prince Hohenlohe's treatise differs from it considerably. While Odier divides the military duties into material and moral, where the moral ones are dignity, sapience and moderation, Hohenlohe talks only of the moral duties. He pays no attention to Odier's hygienic duties, or to the obligations the army has to the citizens. He divides the moral duties into three different categories: command, obedience and devotedness. Here is the central part:

Obey! Obey! And obey again! This is the fundamental maxim of the soldier's catechism. If he is entitled to use his right to complain each time he believes he himself would do wrong by abusing such power, he must keep a respectful reserve on this subject. He can rarely be in a position to complain about his superiors. Besides the passive obedience, patience occupies the first place. Patient in a trouble, in a hardship, patient in asserting his rights only with moderation, calmness and respect, in a word, patient to wait as a good subordinate...³⁵

The soldier is supported by his peers while the whole army is a fellowship of mutually supportive people connected by a common spirit. There are vices endangering this fellowship on the individual level: gambling (resulting in disorder, which finishes in a suicide), wine (leading to the apathy and disdain) and women (who can bring only a dissatisfaction and disgust). What prevents a soldier from falling into the trap of these vices is the religion of his oath (*la religion du serment*) which constitutes the soul of the army. Then, the moral characteristics of the army ranks are named, they are the same for a corporal, a captain, a colonel and a general because all these ranks are only soldiers in their hearts and their duties grow with their position. However, all of them share the religion, which makes the army a unit distinct from the general society.³⁶

³² R. Basset, *For God and Kaiser*, p. 313.

³³ G.E. Rothenberg, "The Austrian Army in the Age of Metternich," p. 156–165.

³⁴ P.A. Odier, *Cours d'études sur l'administration militaire*, vol. II, Paris 1824.

³⁵ MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 50, inv. n. 229, K.G. Hohenlohe-Langenburg, *De devoirs militaires*, fol. 98.

³⁶ For more about this treatise see J. Koumar, "Morální povinnosti vojáka. Spisek Karla Gustava Hohenlohe-Langenburga 'O vojenských povinnostech'," *Historie – Otázky – Problémy* 2022, vol. 14 (2), pp. 128–138.

This distinction was a topic of the older French treatise prince Hohenlohe wrote. In 1840 he read the three-year-old consideration of Charles Oudinot³⁷ about using the army – as a unit joint in a shared spirit – in industrial work, and he liked it. Two years later, he wrote his own essay on employing the army in the peacetime as a reaction to Oudinot's work. The problem was also moral, and prince Hohenlohe was familiar with it from his job in Hofkriegsrat. The idle army consumes resources but brings nearly nothing. If there were no wars in the future, the army corps connected by their training and their common spirit should not be disbanded but rather used in works that can hardly be mastered by simple labour. The treatise *On the Employment of the Army in Major Public Works* (*Sur l'employ de l'armée aux grands travaux d'utilité publique*) repeats Oudinot's thoughts of the historical employment of army in the public works. In the beginning, Alexander the Great's army's work in Asia is reminded together with the aqueducts built by the Roman Legions or Canal du Midi dug by French soldiers. Then, the text brings ideas on the employment of the armies without harming their dignity. The essay, written on 19 pages, also offers prince Hohenlohe's solution, no matter how naïve and economically unprofitable it may sound. Its purpose was to maintain the army's dignity and to give it some credit for the technological advance. He suggests that the army breed horses on big farms, which would produce enough manure to fertilize the soil. The production of both fertile soil and fine horses would generate enough resources. According to prince Hohenlohe, there is no arid land or sand which water and manure cannot fertilize. Every swamp or sand can be cultivated at a low cost and produce horses and the agricultural products.³⁸

In both works, one can see the influence of the enlightenment and the thoughts of Henry Lloyd, who saw army as a society instead of the mere association of people. While according to Lloyd, the physical needs are connected with the animal urges, moral needs are connected with the social ties and can be realized only within them.³⁹ According to prince Hohenlohe, these moral needs must be cultivated, because they make the army a special society within a general untrained population. Such society has moral obligations and should avoid idleness which is an enemy of all moral qualities created by the training.

However, prince Hohenlohe was solving the problem of the idle peacetime army in more writings. One treatise written in 1836 bears the name *On the Question: Whether It Is More Advantageous in Peacetime to Have the Army Divided into Stable Army Corps, or into Territorial Army Commands* (*Über die Frage: ob es vorteilhafter ist in Friedenszeit die Armee in stabile Armee Korps, oder in territoriale Armee Kommanden eingeteilt zu haben*). It is a 3-page booklet and its problem is similar to the previous work. The territorial army should consist of the national corps in each country or

³⁷ C. Oudinot, *Considérations sur l'emploi des troupes aux grands travaux d'utilité publique*, Paris 1839.

³⁸ MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 50, inv. n. 229, K.G. Hohenlohe-Langenburg, *Sur l'employ de l'armée aux grands travaux d'utilité publique*, fol. 79.

³⁹ H. Lloyd, *Mémoires politiques et militaires du général Lloyd ou extrait de l'Introduction à l'Histoire de la guerre en Allemagne en 1756 entre le roi du Prusse et l'impératricereine et ses alliés*, Basle 1798, pp. 50–62.

region. They would be easy to mobilize in case of a sudden danger, but they would certainly lack the shared spirit of the stable army corps. Nevertheless, their advantage would certainly be their mobility and no language differences, which might make the commandment of the multilingual troops difficult. Stable army corps, on the other hand, are a part of a ruler's power, while the territorial corps would sometimes be out of reach or not as easy to reach. Prince Hohenlohe, therefore, considered the territorial commandos an important part of the Austrian army, but he saw the stable army corps as main power of each state due to their shared spirit.⁴⁰

Another philosophical work is an undated German booklet named *On the Practical Value of Military Exercises or So-Called Manoeuvres* (*Über den praktischen Werth der Kriegsübungen oder sogenannten Manövers*). On eight pages, the treatise names the reasons for the importance of manoeuvres. They train the army and show its organization and power to the general public and also to potential enemies. The value of the manoeuvres is in exercising discipline, showing the consequences of strategic decisions without harm, and providing a dry run for a future conflict. The book, therefore, concludes that the manoeuvres can be a good mock test of a battle.⁴¹

In all his philosophical texts, prince Hohenlohe was deeply influenced by the thoughts of the Enlightenment. The references to the above-mentioned general Henry Lloyd and his philosophy of the army are not rare and in general, prince Hohenlohe's theories of the army are based on the pursuit of knowledge by the means of reason, and the ideas such as liberty, fraternity and progress. He was not innovative in his views and offered solutions, the philosophy is quite conservative, with the emphasised moral dimension. In his philosophical thinking, he stood firmly on the ground and dealt with the concrete problems the army of his time faced. His philosophy was deeply practical and reflected his position in the army. Since his thoughts rather supplemented than corrected the theories of Jomini, Clausewitz or Frederick the Great, his philosophical works offer a unique view of the problems he considered important. He did not deal with the war strategy because he did not consider it his role. But he concentrated on the issues which his practise vehemently returned to his mind during his active army service.

LETTERS AND DIARIES

With three books of memoirs and five philosophical works, prince Karl Gustav Hohenlohe-Langenburg could be considered an engaging author in his literary field. However, his preserved correspondence hides more. He might have felt

⁴⁰ MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 49, inv. n. 226, K.G. Hohenlohe-Langenburg, *Über die Frage: ob es vorteilhafter ist in Friedenszeit die Armee in Stabile Armee Corps, oder in territorial Armee Kommanden eingeteilt zu haben*, fol. 11–12.

⁴¹ Ibid., box 50, inv. n. 229, K.G. Hohenlohe-Langenburg, *Über den practischen Werth der Kriegsübungen oder sogenamten Manövers*, fol. 94–96.

unable to turn his memories into the form of a book, but he did not give up. In his literary legacy, one can find an attempt to build a story of his life in his well-arranged letters. His correspondence shows once again the feature of his legacy I mentioned at the beginning. The majority of the letters are organized in the order the addressee wanted them to be. It is unlikely all the letters he received made their way to the archive, but the preserved ones offer us a view of prince Karl Gustav's life as he wanted it to be seen and as he depicted it in his later written memoirs.⁴² His letters to his brother Ludwig somehow returned to their author, therefore one can easily reconstruct what prince Karl Gustav wrote and what his brother answered. The letters from Karl Gustav's wife, daughter and sons survived too. Of course, the authorship of these letters does not belong to prince Hohenlohe, but there are also numerous protocols of the dispatched correspondence kept between 1830 and 1866, which allow us to reconstruct who and why he answered or wrote. In some examples, the correspondence offers an interesting comparison with prince's memoirs.

The same can be said about the princely diaries, which were obviously the base for his memoirs. However, unlike the memoirs which tend to be a description of sometimes anecdotal events, the diaries are dry and uneasy to read. They contain scrappy notes, which were to remind the prince of the events later, therefore, without his memoirs, they are somewhat vague. To the later description of *Individual Incidents*, the diaries add the trivialities of military life, the inconveniences of hunger, lists and details. *Tagebuch* prince Karl Gustav wrote during the passage of the Saxon troops and the army of prince Józef Poniatowski⁴³ through Bohemia between March and June 1813 can be taken as an example. It is a 45-page-long dossier with high importance for the studies of the army composition immediately preceding the battle of Lützen, battle of Bautzen and the armistice of Pläswitz in 1813. The dossier contains the list of the army structure, the behaviour of the troops in Bohemia and the plans of the Viennese government with Metternich in its head, but all notes are fragmentary, the descriptions brief and incomplete. Their value is, therefore, hardly literary, but factual. Since the later remembered and lively described events are a product of the memory that tends to adjust things, smooth them and make them look romantic, the raw field notes offer more facts while missing the narrative structure.

However, there is one work among the correspondence and diaries which can boldly be called a book, even though it consists of individual letters only. It is a big volume of letters that the prince wrote to his wife Frederika from Italy in 1821. The liberal revolt that happened in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies in 1820 was a movement for autonomy, which the Congress of Laibach (today Ljubljana, Slovenia) in January 1821 did not agree with. The decision was made to restore the absolute monarchy

⁴² Which also gives only a little space for assessing the development of his thoughts. Judging by the preserved letters, prince Hohenlohe's later memoirs only pick the most interesting points, skipping the details such as hunger, endless waiting for orders or lists of gear the soldiers had to use.

⁴³ Poniatowksy was a Minister of War in the newly created Duchy of Warsaw. His army was on Napoleon's side. See S.K. Bogusławski, *Życie Xiqżęcia Józefa Poniatowskiego, naczelnego wodza woysk polskich, marszałka państwa francuzkiego*, Kraków 1831.

with the help of the Austrian army, which succeed in the battle at Rieti on 7th March 1821 and the absolutistic rule of Ferdinand I. was restored. Prince Hohenlohe's participation in the conflict was already briefly described in his first book of memoirs, but the letters offer a closer view of his thoughts and philosophy. After his return home, they were organized in chronological order so they create a consistent story in which the whole campaign is nicely trackable. The main storyline is supplemented by the repeated expressions of prince Karl Gustav's love for his wife and the child mixed with his touristic reflections on the places he visited. Unlike the memoirs, the letters are all in French with the occasional transitions to German and they digress to many unexpected impressions. A reader can learn about the contrast between the noisy suburbs of Vienna and the romantically seen country, and the letters also give us an insight into the feelings of a soldier separated from his family. There is no joy and fraternal support, no sweet expectations of the war honour, which the author demanded from the soldiers in his later philosophical works, there is just loneliness and despair over the mean existence people have to lead in this world.

It is a continues grief that bothers me, that increases when it should decrease, for I cannot yet get used to the thought of living so long separated from what I consider the dearest in this world. And leaving suddenly, in the middle of such perfectly happy existence which gave me everything my heart could desire, I am heading to the world again. I am not going to have a single hour which could be called pleasant in my life.⁴⁴

Of course, each person in love experiences such sadness and loneliness coming from separation from his beloved one but in the letters, these feelings are recurrent, which shows the real feelings that a soldier at war is chased with more, than the stylized memoirs that were written much later in the relative comfort of the retirement.

The letters also give a touristic description of Laibach, Trieste – which he found beautiful but expensive, Mantua – where he found the frescos in Palazzo del Te too nasty to be seen by young ladies and too tempting to drink tea there,⁴⁵ or Firenze – which he found beautiful, unlike the other cities he had seen in Italy. The battle at Rieti on the 7th of March 1821 did not make any deeper impressions on him, he only found Pepe's troops faint-hearted. He stayed in Abruzzo as a governor till October 1821. In Naples – besides being decorated by the Order of St. Januarius on the 5th December 1821 together with baron Frimont, duke Blacas and count Wrba – he described his visits to Pompeii, Herculaneum and Museum Bourbon, where he could see the statues from both ancient cities. During his journey, prince Karl Gustav collected the newspaper columns in which his name appeared.⁴⁶ Then he went to Rome, Padua, and the last letter in this book is addressed from Vienna in late February 1822.⁴⁷ The red

⁴⁴ MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 30, inv. n. 163, Letter No. 4, 5th September 1820, Frohnlaiten, fol. 7.

⁴⁵ Ibid., Letter No. 20, 10th December 1820, Villafranca, fol. 46.

⁴⁶ E.g. *Giornale del Regno delle due Sicilie*, Sabato, 6 Ottobre 1821; *Journal de Paris*, Samedi, 2 Septembre 1815, No. 245; *Giornale del Regno delle due Sicilie*, Mercoledì, 5 Dicembre 1821, No. 219.

⁴⁷ To learn more about the Italian campaign of prince Hohenlohe see M. Macková, "Itálie očima evropského aristokrata v rakouské armádě".

line of all letters is quite simple, but the story is more complicated. They gave us an insight into a soul of a man whose obedience cannot be violated but who suffers from the common boredom, fear, sadness or joy. They create a fascinating description of a soldier's life and his inner movements.

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

Besides these main works of prince Karl Gustav, there are papers which he wrote throughout his long life without any literary ambition. He kept making many extracts from the books he read, rewrote and noted many songs and poems and wrote humorous treatises such as the depiction of the former court of Hohenlohe-Öhringen. The extracts come from his philosophical and historical reading: Lessing's story of the three rings from *Nathan der Weise* captured his attention enough to rewrite it⁴⁸; from *Histoire de Napoléon et de la Grande-Armée pendant l'année 1812* by Philippe-Paul comte de Ségur he made a 23-page-long excerpt in French and stored it together with his philosophical work.⁴⁹ His excerpts from the lectures on the army he visited in Vienna can also be found in his legacy.

The songs and poems belong to a different sort. Prince Hohenlohe might have been the author of at least some of them, but it is hard to prove. The majority of them are nice examples of the local folklore, usually connected to the army and war. *Der alte Grenadier*; the song from 1854 ridiculing Napoleon III.; the speech of the captain of the National Garde for Louis Philippe; poems about true love, these are at least a few examples. There are also miscellaneous of a different kind belonging to the princely possession but they do not have a higher value. The cards with the German expressions one might need were probably to serve prince Hohenlohe in his early career in the Austrian army when he could not fully rely on his German. However, these examples show the peripheral works in prince Hohenlohe's literary legacy and besides being an example of the period folklore, they do not have any higher significance.

CONCLUSION

In this text, I wanted to describe the preserved literary works of prince Karl Gustav Hohenlohe-Langenburg and set them in the context of his life and historical period. I divided his works into four categories: books of memoirs, philosophical works, letters and diaries and miscellaneous writings. In particular, there are three books of

⁴⁸ MZA Brno, G 204 Family Archive of the Blankensteins, box 49, inv. n. 226.

⁴⁹ Ibid., box 50, inv. n. 204, fol. 126–137.

his memoirs, which sum up certain events from his princely life and his engagement in Hofkriegsrat. All of them belong to the memoir genre, however, due to their author's extraordinary life and war experience, they offer an interesting view of the army service of a nobleman, the third son of an aristocratic family, and his way through life and politics of his times. This makes them a valuable source for the historians of the early 19th-century Austrian army.

Then, I briefly described the philosophical considerations and treatises, prince Hohenlohe wrote in order to address the problems pressing on his daily duties. These texts were to develop a more abstract ethics of a soldier and army or to express his opinion on the ubiquitous questions. Unlike the memoirs, these works are shorter, neatly handwritten and prepared to be sent to a publisher, even though such a step was never made and they remained unpublished. Last but not least, there is a folder of letters from prince Hohenlohe's Italian campaign in 1820–1822 organized into a specific kind of book and the folder of letters to his son from the same place. The minor works in which the songs, poems and book excerpts may be included even though prince Hohenlohe may not be their author in all cases. They are evidence of his reading interests and his enthusiasm for the folklore in the army and countries, where he spent all his life.

In the area of military authors, the name Hohenlohe certainly has a good sound, although, it is not owing to prince Karl Gustav. Twenty years after his death, his relative from the Ingelfingen branch of the family started writing about the Prussian army. Kraft Karl Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen's *Military Letters*⁵⁰ became quite famous and were translated into many languages like his memoirs *From My Life*. Prince Karl Gustav Hohenlohe-Langenbourg may stand in the shadow of his relative and his literary works have been unknown, but his literary legacy offers a view of a different army (Austrian) and from a different point of view (much more down-earthed). It shows the thoughts of a man living in the era of Napoleonic wars, a man who spent all his life in army service and offices. The legacy has never been published, yet it could supplement the works of Carl von Clausewitz, Antoine Henry Jomini or Henry Lloyd, with reservation to its content. While the abovementioned writers developed highly abstract philosophies of war, prince Hohenlohe's target was more practical and focused on the details of army life and problems. His literary legacy partly overlaps with the genre of aristocratic memoirs and letters which are overabundant in the preserved archive materials of the Austrian nobility. But its other part belongs to the philosophy of the army which is quite a unique topic that makes Karl Gustav Hohenlohe a special author of his period.

⁵⁰ Kraft Karl August Edward prince Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen's *Militärische Briefe* were published in Berlin between 1884–1885 and consists of three volumes: *Ueber Kavallerie*, *Ueber Infanterie*, *Ueber Feld-Artillerie*.

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