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Diplomatic Ceremonial Events at the 1821 Congress of Ljubljana

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Abstract:

The article focuses on ceremonial events at the often-neglected 1821 Congress of Ljubljana, on related media reports, and on the impact of these events on how the Congress proceeded. The analysis brings two main findings. Firstly, ceremonial events during the Congress of Ljubljana of 1821 were an important part of the Congress, and were also covered extensively by the media. Secondly, the aim of the Austrian political elite in organising the ceremonial events that accompanied the Congress of Ljubljana was not only to grease the wheels of diplomatic talks, but also to pursue a policy of its prestige, including by setting the *esprit de corps* of the main political leaders of the era.

Keywords:

Ljubljana Congress, Ceremonial, Prestige, Music, Theatre

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Introduction¹

The aim of this article is to present the ceremonial events that took place during the 1821 Congress of Ljubljana (known also by the German name Laibach), which we believe certainly affected the process of negotiations between the different actors meeting in Ljubljana.

In diplomatic practice, as well as diplomatic studies, events that "accompany" the main diplomatic activities (e. g. consultations, negotiations, discussions, conferences) are often overlooked. They only come to the spotlight when they attract the attention of the media – be it due to a ceremonial slip, or some other circumstance (usually outside the sphere of diplomacy). The fact that they remain overlooked can be explained mainly by the divide between diplomatic practice and theoretic discussions on diplomacy. If the former has long since realised that ceremonial events are the drivers of official diplomatic talks, diplomatic studies keep avoiding to even take ceremonial events under observation. This has also been confirmed in our review of the available relevant literature, where we came across only a few individual (particularly technical) analyses of ceremonial events' significance for diplomatic relations.

This of course begs the question why researchers in the field of diplomatic studies are so keen to avoid examining ceremonial events as an integral part of diplomatic activity. A partial answer can be found in Merriam's analysis of the functions of music, which can also be applied to diplomacy. The functions that define music – and in our case diplomacy – in the context of society also include *entertainment*.² As something that comes on the side, this function supposedly has no (major) influence on the pursuit and development of diplomacy. But this reasoning is precisely where the logical error lies, since entertainment – although sometimes made profane – is a driving force and social safety-valve, according to Durkheim,³ allowing swifter and more efficient resolution of difficult subjects and reaching consensus.⁴ Ceremonial events are, therefore, not only equal to other phases/parts of diplomatic communication, but rather a precondition for

¹ The article is part of the research conducted within the Research Programmes P5-0177: *Slovenia and its actors in International Relations and European Integrations*, and P6-0265: *Intercultural Literary Studies*, both financed by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

² Merriam's functions of music (which we also apply to other societal aspects) are: (1) human expression; (2) aesthetic enjoyment; (3) entertainment; (4) communication; (5) symbolic representation; (6) physical response; (7) enforcing conformity to social norms; (8) validation of social institutions and religious rituals; (9) contribution to the continuity and stability of culture; (10) contribution to the integration of society (Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston, 1964), pp. 209–227).

³ Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (New York, NY, 1997).

⁴ This has been confirmed by numerous diplomats in conversation, and we have also had the opportunity to witness it in the framework of participant observation.

success on the diplomatic stage. This is confirmed by Melissen,⁵ who points out that "ceremonial meetings /.../ are in fact quite a suitable instrument for non-verbal communication and diplomatic signalling", illustrating on the example of *summit diplomacy* that rituals "have taken over the symbolic and ceremonial domain of diplomacy".⁶ In his discussion, Melissen also establishes that "it is the ceremonial aspect rather than the substance of the negotiation or exchange of views that makes the [diplomatic event] "real" to the general public".⁷

When it comes to analysing ceremonial events, we must also highlight the findings of Harriet Rudolph,⁸ who points to the role of material culture in diplomatic relations, where she distinguishes between two types of material culture: *imagined* and *expressive objects*,⁹ which carry a message in themselves, on the one hand, and objects *paying a tribute*¹⁰ on the other. According to Rudolph, the difference between the two categories is above all in the understanding of these forms of material culture. While *imagined* and *expressive objects* act merely by existing, *paying a tribute* requires awareness of such objects' meaning and an individual's active decision. If these two conditions – the necessary and the sufficient one – are not met, then *paying a tribute* is not part of recognised material culture. Applying Rudolph's reasoning to ceremonial events, we could say that the latter incorporate all the above-mentioned elements of material culture. *Imagined* and *expressive objects* can be recognised in ceremonial events as a whole, as well as their specific elements (e. g. venue and time of the event, invited guests, speakers, their order of speaking, the food and drinks being served, lighting, music, etc.), while the purpose of ceremonial events in itself aligns with Rudolph's classification of *paying a tribute*.

While Rudolph underlines the *material aspects* of diplomatic events in particular, Kinne¹¹ points to the essential symbolic component of the existence of diplomatic ties and contacts between different political entities. More specifically, the importance of understanding individuals within diplomatic relations

⁵ Jan Melissen, *Summit Diplomacy Coming of Age: Discussion Papers in Diplomacy* (The Hague, 2006), p. 5 (hereinafter: Melissen, *Summit Diplomacy Coming of Age*).

⁶ Melissen, *Summit Diplomacy Coming of Age*, p. 15.

⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

⁸ Harriet Rudolph, "The Material Culture of Diplomacy. The Impact of Objects on the Dynamics of Habsburg-Ottoman Negotiations at the Sublime Porte (1530–1650)", in: Gunda Barth-Scalmani, Harriet Rudolph and Christian Steppan (eds.), *Politische Kommunikation zwischen Imperien. Der diplomatische Aktionsraum Südost- und Osteuropa* (Innsbruck, 2013) (hereinafter: Rudolph, "The Material Culture of Diplomacy"); Harriet Rudolph, "Entangled Objects and Hybrid Practices? Material Culture as a New Approach to the History of Diplomacy", in: Harriet Rudolph (ed.), *Material Culture in Modern Diplomacy from the 15th to the 20th Century* (Berlin–Boston, MA, 2016), pp. 1–28.

⁹ Rudolph, "The Material Culture of Diplomacy", pp. 215–232.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 233.

¹¹ Brandon J. Kinne, "Dependent Diplomacy: Signalling, Strategy, and Prestige in the Diplomatic Network", *International Studies Quarterly* 58 (2014), pp. 247–259.

is examined by Breuning,¹² who stresses that, in order to understand how people make decisions in diplomatic relations, we must first understand why they make the decisions they make. This means that "we must understand [individuals] – and their personalities, perceptions, and motivations".¹³ Ceremonial events are certainly more appropriate for this "getting to know the other" than other formal forms of events within diplomatic relations, as this is when people relax more and talk more about themselves, which allows us to search for their "why" before or while we examine their "how". However, ceremonial events are not only important because they help see the "why", but also because – when formal hinderances fall – those participating in the event form some sort of epistemic community,¹⁴ which we could also call an *esprit de corps*.¹⁵ Its establishment is not only important in itself, but particularly because this strengthens the connections between individual members of the corps, within which inter-relational links of *network* and *power*¹⁶ are formed, which in turn influence all of diplomatic conduct.¹⁷ This understanding is also corroborated in Holmes and Wheller¹⁸ and Wheller and Holmes¹⁹, who stress that "personal relations play an important role in international politics", adding that "recent work at the intersection of psychology, neuroscience, and sociology has highlighted the critical importance of face-to-face interactions in generating intention understanding and building trust". In their analyses, they also point out that it is the ritual – in our case the ceremonial event – that creates "important shared experiences through the mechanism of collective effervescence". This makes the ritual as such a condition for establishing quality relations between individuals, a "feeling [of] 'personal chemistry', and a 'sense of connection', solidarity, and positive emotional energy".²⁰

¹² Marijke A. Breuning, *Foreign policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction* (Houndmills–Basingstoke, 2007) (hereinafter: Breuning, *Foreign policy Analysis*).

¹³ Breuning, *Foreign policy Analysis*, p. 11.

¹⁴ Mai'a K. Davis Cross, *The European Diplomatic Corps: Diplomats and International Cooperation from Westphalia to Maastricht* (Houndmills, 2007), p. 7 (hereinafter: Davis Cross, *The European Diplomatic Corps*).

¹⁵ Davis Cross, *The European Diplomatic Corps*, pp. 24–29.

¹⁶ According to Dobbin, *networks* "influence how you behave and your understanding how people in other roles should behave", while *power* is the "ability to shape how others view the world and their own interest". More in Frank Dobbin, "The sociological view of the Economy", in: Frank Dobbin (ed.), *The New Economic Sociology* (Princeton, 2004), pp. 1–46, at pp. 5–6 (hereinafter: Dobbin, "The sociological view of the Economy").

¹⁷ Dobbin, "The sociological view of the Economy", p. 4.

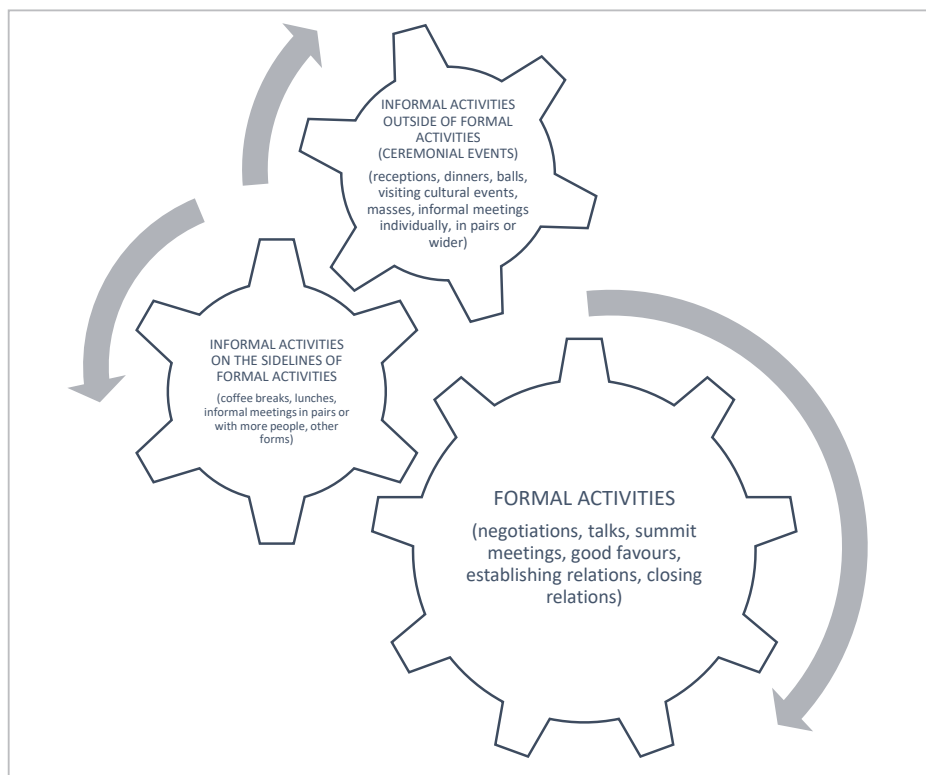
¹⁸ Marcus Holmes and Nicholas J. Wheller, "Social bonding in Diplomacy", *International Theory* 12, No. 1 (2019), pp. 1–29 (hereinafter: Holmes and Wheller, "Social bonding in Diplomacy").

¹⁹ Nicholas J. Wheller and Marcus Holmes, "The strength of weak bonds: Substituting bodily copresence in diplomatic social bonding", *European Journal of International Relations* 27, No. 3 (2021), pp. 730–752.

²⁰ Holmes and Wheller, "Social bonding in Diplomacy", p. 13.

All of this confirms our underlying thesis that the success of a particular diplomatic event or diplomatic relations in general will also greatly depend on the part of activities we may call supporting activities. Their key difference from the main activities is that they are not directly related to the main event, but have a major impact on its realisation (see *Figure 1*).

Figure 1: Relationship between formal and informal activities in diplomacy (Own illustration)



The presented theoretical framework sets the basis for our discussion on the ceremonial events during the Congress of Ljubljana in 1821, where we will focus on two research questions: which events were these, and what did the different actors of the time write in their memoirs about Ljubljana and the cultural events that took place there. The significance of these events is stressed by Šenk,²¹ who says:

²¹ Vladimir Šenk, *Kongres Svete Alianse v Ljubljani* (doctoral thesis, Ljubljana, 1944), p. 59.

But the subjects of the conferences were not only discussed at official sessions. **Walks, private visits and dinners are where they would discuss and solve the most important issues before they were on the agenda for the sessions of the plenipotentiaries. Intimate tea parties, in particular, offered an opportunity for solving pressing political issues, for intrigue, winning support for plans, sowing mistrust and fear, framing the adversary with intentions and statements that would be harmful for the host and guest. All of this was aimed primarily at gaining trust and thereby laying the foundations for achieving further benefits.** This is why Metternich loved to visit the Tsar for tea. [Emphasis added by authors]²²

All this brings us to the research methods: the article will use primary (archival) and secondary sources (published memoirs and journals,²³ analyses, newspaper articles²⁴ and other relevant sources) to attempt to recreate the timeline, content and characteristics of ceremonial events, as well as determine how much newspaper space was dedicated to reports on these events in the main paper covering the Congress, the *Laibacher Zeitung*.²⁵

²² An interesting comment on the significance of tea and tea parties can be found in Prince Metternich's memoirs from the Congress of Opava (15 December 1820): "The evening before last I had a strange conversation with Tsar Alexander. We stayed together from 7 until 11. Key evidence of our mutual friendly inclination lies in tea. If we drink tea in private, we go by together well." In his entry, he then throws in a bit of criticism against Count Kapodistrias that everything would be easier if "tea got in his head" and he were to become more open to suggestions (Alfons von Klinkowström, *Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren* (Vienna, 1881), III, p. 359 (hereinafter: Klinkowström, *Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren*) [original: "Vorgestern Abends hatte ich eine merkwürdige Conversation mit Kaiser Alexander. Wir blieben von 7 bis 11 Uhr beisammen. Ein Hauptbeweis unserer gegenseitigen freundschaftlichen Gesinnungen liegt im Thee. Trinken wir unter vier Augen Thee, so stehen wir gut zusammen."]).

²³ Eva Holz and Henrik Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821* (Ljubljana, 1997), pp. 45–73 (hereinafter: Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*); Richard Metternich (ed.), *Memoirs of Prince Metternich 1815–1829* (London, 1881), III, pp. 477–497 (hereinafter: Metternich, *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*); Karl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (ed.), *Briefe von Friedrich von Gentz an Pilat. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Deutschlands im XIX. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1868), II, pp. 1–76 (hereinafter: Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Briefe von Friedrich von Gentz an Pilat*).

²⁴ Tanja Žigon and Petra Kramberger, "Poročanje iz Ljubljane v času kongresa", in: Gregor Antoličič (ed.), *Kongres po kongresu: ob 200-letnici ljubljanskega kongresa* (Ljubljana, 2022), pp. 15–33 (hereinafter: Žigon and Kramberger, "Poročanje iz Ljubljane v času kongresa").

²⁵ Žigon and Kramberger ("Poročanje iz Ljubljane v času kongresa") found that the *Laibacher Zeitung* was the main one to report from Ljubljana, while other Austrian papers mostly drew from its reports.

About the Congress of Ljubljana in terms of time and location

In analyses of the Holy Alliance's Congresses,²⁶ the Congress of Ljubljana (1821)²⁷ is usually in the shadow of the Congress of Opava (1820) and the Congress of Verona (1822). This can be attributed to two facts. Politically, the Congress of Ljubljana was *via facti* more or less a continuation of the Congress of Opava,²⁸ since leaders still discussed a Habsburg intervention in Naples after a revolution broke out there in July 1820. The Congress of Ljubljana was therefore "only" a bridging event, and had little impact on the shaping of the European order by the Holy Alliance in its own right.²⁹ The second reason why the

²⁶ More about the predecessor of the 19th century political architecture see in Izidor Janžekovič, "Izvor in prenos ideje ravnotežja moči iz Italije v Evropo", *Annales – Series Historia et Sociologia* 29, No. 3 (2019), pp. 345–362; Izidor Janžekovič, "Ravnotežje moči od vestfalskega miru (1648) do utrehtskega miru (1713)", *Annales – Series Historia et Sociologia* 31, No. 2 (2021), pp. 271–294; and Izidor Janžekovič, "The Balance of Power in the Renaissance", *History of Political Thought* 40, No. 4 (2019), pp. 607–627.

²⁷ Ljubljana at the time was perceived as one of the capitals of the Austrian provinces, not as a centre of the uprising Slovenian nation. That is why the Congress of Ljubljana is hardly connected to the Slovenian national emancipation. For more on this topic see: Veronika Bajt, "Myths of Nationhood: Slovenians, Carinthians and the Venetic Theory", *Annales – Series Historia et Sociologia* 14, No. 2 (2011), pp. 249–260; Paul Crowther, "The Zlatorog Tale and Slovenian National", *Acta Histriae* 30, No. 3 (2022), pp. 591–603; Darko Darovec, "Slovenian Nation-Building Mythmaker: Fran Levstik's Martin Krpan", *Acta Histriae* 29, No. 3 (2021), pp. 457–503; Stanislav Južnič, "The Forgotten Trieste Bishop Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain (1721 1724) and His Relatives", *Acta Histriae* 31, No. 2 (2023), pp. 211–230; Aleš Maver, "Ecce quomodo moritur Iugoslavus: smrt, pogreb in miselna zapuščina škofa Antona Mahničarja", *Annales – Series Historia et Sociologia* 31, No. 4 (2021), pp. 589–600; Marko Novak, "Vloga slovenskih odvetnikov in razvoj položaja slovenskega jezika kot pravnega jezika od 1848 do 1918", *Acta Histriae* 29, No. 1 (2021), pp. 79–90; Andrej Rahten, "Slovenske narodnoemancipacijske težnje v postimperialni tranzicijski dobi", *Acta Histriae* 29, No. 1 (2021), pp. 111–135; Tamara Scheer, "The Non-Uniformity of the Church: Language Diversity and the Roman Catholic Dioceses in Late Habsburg Austria", *Annales – Series Historia et Sociologia* 33, No. 2 (2023), pp. 287–298; Ksenija Vidmar Horvat, "Imperialne matere in slovenska nacionalna identiteta", *Acta Histriae* 29, No. 2 (2021), pp. 389–407.

²⁸ The decision to hold the Congress in Ljubljana was taken in early December 1820. Holz and Costa (*Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 46) state that Count Swerts-Spork, the Governor of Ljubljana, was informed of this on 15 December by grand chamberlain Count Wrtna, but the move from Opava to Ljubljana was officially announced on 24 December 1820; available at: https://maechtekongresse.acdh.oew.ac.at/pages/show.html?document=Troppau_Prot_8.xml, accessed: 20. 4. 2022.

²⁹ For more on the Congress of Ljubljana, Ferdinand de Cornot de Cussy, *Précis Historique des événements politiques les plus remarquables qui se sont passés depuis 1814 à 1859* (Leipzig, 1859), pp. 220–274; Walter Phillips Allison, *The Confederation of Europe* (London, 1914); Charles K. Webster, *Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1815–1822. Britain and the European Alliance* (London, 1925), pp. 312–325 (hereinafter: Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh*); Ottmar Hegemann, *Aus den Tagen des Laibacher Kongresses* (Laibach, 1914); Janko Barle, "Ljubljanski kongres I. 1821 po dnevniku zagrebškega škofa Maksimilijana Vrhovca", in: Josip Gruden, Josip Mantuani, and Gvidon Sajovic (eds.), *Carniola* 2, No. 4 (1911), pp. 239–248 (hereinafter: Barle, "Ljubljanski kongres I. 1821"); Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*; Alan Reinerman, "Metternich, Italy and the Congress of Verona", *The Historical Journal* 14, No. 2 (1971), pp. 263–287; Irby C. Jr. Nichols, "The Congress of Verona: A Reappraisal", *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 46, No. 4 (1966), pp. 385–399; Elise Kimerling Wirtschafter, *From Victory to Peace: Russian Diplomacy after Napoleon* (Cornell, 2021), ch. 4; Lidija Podlesnik Tomášiková and Marko Motnik, "Laibacher Deutscher after the Congress of

1821 Congress of Ljubljana remains in the background is more socio-cultural. Ljubljana was not chosen for its importance, but mainly because Gorizia/Gorz/Gorica,³⁰ where the great powers of the time were supposed to meet (and the town would have been much closer for the King of the Two Sicilies),³¹ could not accommodate the leaders and their entire entourage.³²

The relative unimportance of Ljubljana and the unhappiness of the delegates with the chosen venue is mentioned in the memoirs of Metternich and Gentz. Metternich said Ljubljana was "like the anteroom to some comfortable apartments",³³ and Gentz complained that after 4 January³⁴ he would have to go to "mountainous and very cold lands".³⁵ But despite their initial dissatisfac-

Laibach", *Musicological Annual* 57, No. 2 (2021), pp. 5–64 (hereinafter: Podlesnik Tomášiková and Motnik, "Laibacher Deutscher"); Ivan Tavčar, *Izza kongresa* (Ljubljana, 1999); Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Problems of Peace 1812–1822* (Brattleboro, 2013); Tatjana Markošek, *(Ne)znana poglavja slovenske zgodovine, Ljubljanski kongres 1821* (Ljubljana, 2021); available at: <https://365.rtvsl.si/oddaja/neznan-poglavja-slovenske-zgodovine/173251358>, accessed: 3. 1. 2023; Thomas G. Otte, "From Vienna to Ljubljana: The Problems of Peace and Order in Europe in a Historical Perspective", in: Andrej Rahten and Gregor Antoličič (eds.), *The Congress of Ljubljana 1821: Personalities, events and historical context* (Celovec/Klagenfurt, 2021), pp. 11–30; Miroslav Šedivý, "Metternich and the Issue of the Military Interventions During a Pre-March Period", in: Andrej Rahten and Gregor Antoličič (eds.), *The Congress of Ljubljana 1821: Personalities, events and historical context* (Celovec/Klagenfurt, 2021), pp. 67–80; Raphaël Cahen, "Friedrich Gentz and the Congress of Ljubljana", in: Andrej Rahten and Gregor Antoličič (eds.), *The Congress of Ljubljana 1821: Personalities, events and historical context* (Celovec/Klagenfurt, 2021), pp. 95–108; Andrej Rahten, Gregor Antoličič and Oskar Mulej (eds.), *Ljubljanski kongres 1821: diplomatskozgodovinska študija Vladimirja Šenka – znanstvenokritična izdaja* (Celovec/Klagenfurt, 2020) (hereinafter: Rahten, Antoličič, Maver and Mulej (eds.), *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*); Melitta Pivec-Stelč, "Dnevnik Henrika Coste o kongresu Svete aliance v Ljubljani 1821", *Zgodovinski časopis* 25, No. 3–4 (1971), pp. 201–211 (hereinafter: Pivec-Stelč, "Dnevnik Henrika Coste"); Henry Kissinger, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* (New York, NY, 1958), ch. XV; Mark Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna and Its Legacy* (New York, NY, 2013), pp. 270–285.

³⁰ Holz and Costa (*Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 6) argue that small towns were selected to host the Congresses of the Holy Alliance so that the "diplomats would not be distracted by too many social engagements, but also so that no European capital would establish itself as the centre of European politics". Similarly, Šenk (in Rahten, Antoličič, Maver and Mulej (eds.), *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 29) points out: "Already the preceding venues of the Congresses, Aix-la-Chapelle and Opava, were chosen to get the convening diplomats away from too many social engagements and parties, which were a distraction at the Congress in Vienna. Moreover, choosing a small town was supposed to avoid the possibility of any particular political centre taking primacy in European politics, as they wanted to convene in full equality and sincere friendship..."

³¹ Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh*, p. 312.

³² "If Gorz were not too small to accommodate a Congress, we would have settled ourselves in that town, because there the Alps are entirely passed. A man can only really live in a country where there is no winter, or not a long winter. I am still the only person here; the morning will bring an avalanche of statesmen, an avalanche that will bring me no joy." (Metternich, *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*, p. 478).

³³ Ibid., p. 477.

³⁴ Holz and Costa (*Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, pp. 47–52) report that on 6 January 1821 Ljubljana had 4°C, and it stayed like that throughout January.

³⁵ "...durch gebirgige und sehr kalte Lander..." (Friedrich von Gentz, *Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Gentz und Adam Heinrich Müller 1800–1829* (Stuttgart, 1857), p. 337).

tion, they settled in Ljubljana quite comfortably.³⁶ On 6 January, the Austrian imperial couple arrived in Ljubljana, but they were not greeted ceremonially, as ceremonies were forbidden. A day later, the imperial couple attended mass at the Ursuline Church³⁷ celebrated by Bishop of Ljubljana Avguštin Gruber.³⁸ The Congress started on 10 January³⁹ and lasted until 22 May. Apart from the Austrian Emperor and the Russian Tsar, the Congress was attended by King Ferdinand of Naples,⁴⁰ whose kingdom was undergoing a revolution. The issues addressed at the Congress, along with the insurgency in Naples, included the outset of the Greek revolution and an uprising in Piedmont. All these instabilities kept the negotiators and their advisors busy on a daily basis.

It is interesting to read the memoirs and views of the participants of the Congress of Ljubljana, who seem to have grown fond of the town quite quickly despite their initial scepticism. As soon as 16 January 1821, Metternich wrote in his diary that he expected they would stay in Ljubljana at least until the end of March, since an "army takes thirty days to march from the Po to Naples, and we must await their entry here". He added: "We have some public amusements, as, for instance, two masked balls in the week /.../ Moreover, there are here some very pretty women, the prettiest being Countess Thurn, who is two-and-twenty."⁴¹ Similarly to Metternich, Gentz wrote this about Ljubljana in his letter of 1 February 1821 to Pilat:⁴²

I would like to believe that winter in this area is not always as beautiful; but it remains no less incomprehensible to me how and why Laibach was described as

³⁶ The perception of Ljubljana as a provincial venue for the Congress is also illustrated by the anecdote of the Austrian Emperor enraging Carniolan teachers in his address by telling them to teach their students to be obedient because "I do not need scholars, but good and honest citizens" (*"Meine Herren! Die krainerischen Studenten wurden immer für gute Studenten gehalten; trachten Sie, dieselben bei diesem guten Rufe zu erhalten. Halten Sie sich übrigens an das Alte; denn dies ist gut; und unsere Vorfahren haben sich dabei gut befunden, warum sollten wir es nicht? Es sind jetzt neue Ideen im Schwung, die ich nicht billigen kann und nie billigen werde. Enthalten Sie sich von diesen, und halten Sie sich an das Positive; denn ich brauche keine Gelehrte, sondern brave, rechtschaffende Bürger. Die Jugend zu solchen zu bilden, liegt Ihnen ob. Wer mir dient, muß lehren, was ich befehle: wer dies nicht tun kann, oder mir mit neuen Ideen kommt, der kann geben, oder Ich werde ihn entfernen."*). The address was published in the German (not Viennese) *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7 February 1821, No. 38, p. 152.

³⁷ The imperial couple were accommodated in the Carniolan Provincial Mansion, only steps away from the Ursuline Church of the Holy Trinity.

³⁸ Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 47.

³⁹ Some sources state 26 January 1821 as the start date, but Schneider dates the first document from the Congress of Ljubljana to 11 January 1821. More in Karin Schneider, "Protokoll der 1. Sitzung des Kongresses von Laibach", in: *Mächtetekongresse 1818–1822* (Vienna, 2018); available at: https://maechtekongresse.acdh.oew.ac.at/pages/show.html?document=Laibach_Pro_1.xml&directory=editions, accessed: 18. 4. 2022.

⁴⁰ During the Congress, the revolution in the Sicilian kingdom was suppressed, and King Ferdinand I returned to power.

⁴¹ Metternich, *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*, p. 482.

⁴² Joseph Anton von Pilat, editor of the Viennese newspaper *Oesterreichischer Beobachter* (1810–1848).



Zois Palace (Metternich apartment) today (photo: Rok Dolenc (29 April 2022))

so grey. /.../ The town itself is paved at least as well as Vienna. /.../ Furthermore, no one from the Congress society has fallen ill so far; and there is now a general feeling that Laibach has many advantages over Toppau.⁴³

On 2 April 1821, he wrote the following to Pilat:

There has been no word of our departure so far. I think we will still be here to eat cherries, but to me personally, it is all the same to me, to say the truth; I would complain a bit should I not be able to see my garden in May; but otherwise, I am in no way worse off here, and in many ways better than in Vienna. I therefore await our departure very calmly.⁴⁴

⁴³ Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Briefe von Friedrich von Gentz an Pilat*, p. 16. [original: "Ich will glauben, daß der Winter in dieser Gegend nicht immer so schön ist; aber es bleibt mir darum nicht weniger unbegreiflich, wie und warum man Laibach so greulich verschrien hat. /.../ Die Stadt selbst ist wenigstens so gut gepflastert als Wien. /.../ Ferner ist bis jetzt noch Niemand von der Congreß-Gesellschaft krank gewesen; und es herrscht nu Eine Stimme über die Vorzüge Laibachs vor Toppau."]

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 61. [original: "Von unserer Abreise verlautet noch kein Wort. Ich denke wir werden noch hier Kirschen essen, mir ist es, die Wahrheit zu sagen, ganz gleichgültig; wenn ich im Mai meinen Garten nicht sehen sollte, würde ich etwas jammern; sonst bin ich hier in keiner Rücksicht schlechter, und in sehr vielen besser als in Wien. Ich warte daher den Ausgang mit größter Gelassenheit ab."]

It seems Ljubljana with its small size,⁴⁵ but at the same time a scenic view of the nearby Alps, the green in its parks, and a reasonably good social and cultural amusement options, really grew on the political decision-makers.

From the perspective of diplomatic activities, a relevant observation is made by Pivec-Stelè⁴⁶ that written sources reported relatively little about the political part of the Congress (probably due to censorship). Here, she also criticises the work of Henrik Costa and Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovac. The former mainly wrote about social events, and the latter about the receptions he had attended. Pivec-Stelè further explains that the formal Congress sessions started at 9 PM and lasted long into the night – despite attempts to schedule them earlier. General sessions were held in Metternich's apartment at Breg (no. 174), while sessions with fewer participants⁴⁷ took place in Bernstorff's apartment.⁴⁸

Ceremonial events and the cultural and social life in Ljubljana between January and May 1821

Data collection methods

Given that preserved sources about the Congress of Ljubljana are rare and limited, our research into its ceremonial events focused mainly on the sources writing more extensively about what went on at the Congress of Ljubljana. The main source for examining ceremonial events was the diary of Henrik Costa,⁴⁹ where the key events from the time of the Congress of Ljubljana are described in great detail. The findings from the Costa's diary were then supplemented with information from the doctoral thesis of Vladimir Šenk,⁵⁰ the memoirs of Prince Metternich⁵¹ and his advisor Gentz,⁵² the diary of Bishop Maksimilijan

⁴⁵ Ljubljana had around 12,000 inhabitants at that time.

⁴⁶ Pivec-Stelè, "Dnevnik Henrika Coste", pp. 201–211.

⁴⁷ According to Šenk (in Rahten, Antoličič, Maver and Mulej (eds.), *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 58), these small sessions were attended by the plenipotentiaries of the Nordic courts.

⁴⁸ Danish Count Joachim Friderich Bernstorff, who was an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the Viennese court (Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 102) – in modern language, the Danish ambassador in Austria. Šenk (in Rahten, Antoličič, Maver and Mulej (eds.), *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 58) says Bernstorff's apartment was supposedly in the house that today has the address 9 Stari trg. However, Holz and Costa (*Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 108) claim differently that Bernstorff's apartment was at 15 Stari trg (an apartment owned by merchant Koss from Ljubljana).

⁴⁹ Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, pp. 45–73.

⁵⁰ In Rahten, Antoličič, Maver and Mulej (eds.), *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*.

⁵¹ Metternich, *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*, pp. 477–497.

⁵² Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Briefe von Friedrich von Gentz an Pilat*, pp. 1–76.

Vrhovac of Zagreb,⁵³ research by Kuret and Weiss,⁵⁴ as well as reports in the *Lai-bacher Zeitung*.⁵⁵ All of the data obtained was cross-checked where possible in order to gain the best possible insight into the designing of ceremonial events.

Analysis

Structure of ceremonial events

Although small in size, Ljubljana had a relatively vibrant social life. Holz⁵⁶ says the townspeople of Ljubljana were "used to at least three public balls a week, and along with that, they also threw parties and picnics at home", adding that they were also fond of visiting the theatre.

Most popular among theatrical pieces were chivalric plays and tragedies of fate. But they also staged operettas and comedies. /.../ The Philharmonic Society organised concerts every week...and prepared a few special cultural events during the time of the Congress. The Congress of the Holy Alliance also brought Italian singers to Ljubljana. They sang Rossini's operas, which were popular then. /.../ Another favourite pastime for the people of Ljubljana were boat rides on the Ljubljanica.⁵⁷

All of this is also confirmed in our analysis. Throughout the entire duration of the Congress of Ljubljana, the town saw 102 different ceremonial events, almost half of which (49 per cent) can be classified as diplomatic ceremonial in the narrow sense (e. g. a meeting of two emperors, guard inspection, walk through Ljubljana cheered by citizens). These were followed by musical events

⁵³ Barle, "Ljubljanski kongres l. 1821", pp. 239–248.

⁵⁴ Primož Kuret and Jernej Weiss, "Glasbeno dogajanje v času ljubljanskega kongresa", in: Gregor Antoličič, Peter Vodopivec and Aleš Grabič (eds.), *Kongres po kongresu: ob 200-letnici ljubljanskega kongresa* (Ljubljana, 2022), pp. 91–106 (hereinafter: Kuret and Weiss, "Glasbeno dogajanje").

⁵⁵ *Lai-bacher Zeitung* was the main German newspaper that was in the middle of what went on at the Congress (Žigon and Kramberger, "Poročanje iz Ljubljane v času kongresa"). Žigon and Kramberger add that other Austrian papers reported about the Congress of Ljubljana, such as the *Klagenfurter Zeitung* (Klagenfurt), *Prager Zeitung* (Prague), *Brünner Zeitung* (Brno), *Troppauer Zeitung* (Opava), *Der Wanderer* (Vienna) and the Galician *Lemberger Zeitung* (Lviv). Apart from the Austrian press, news from the Congress of Ljubljana also appeared in other papers like *Il Messaggere Tirolese*, *Giornale della provincia Brescia*, *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Allgemeine preussische Staatszeitung*. However, all of these mostly summarised what the *Lai-bacher Zeitung*, *Wiener Zeitung* or *Oesterreichischer Beobachter* wrote. Given that the *Wiener Zeitung* and *Oesterreichischer Beobachter* actually took the news from the *Lai-bacher Zeitung*, we can conclude that the *Lai-bacher Zeitung* is methodologically a reliable enough source (apart from the censorship) to be considered a supplementary source to the diary of Henrik Costa.

⁵⁶ Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 125.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 125–126.

and balls (21 or 20.6 per cent of all events), attending mass (18 or 17.65 per cent of all events), and lunches and dinners (9.8 per cent). There were three diplomatic receptions in the classical sense.

If we look at the distribution of the different events by month, we can see that all three receptions took place at the beginning of the Congress (7, 8 and 11 January), while other event types took place throughout the duration of the Congress with varying frequency (see *Figure 2* and *Figure 3*).

Figure 2: Ceremonial events during the Congress of Ljubljana by event type (Own analysis)

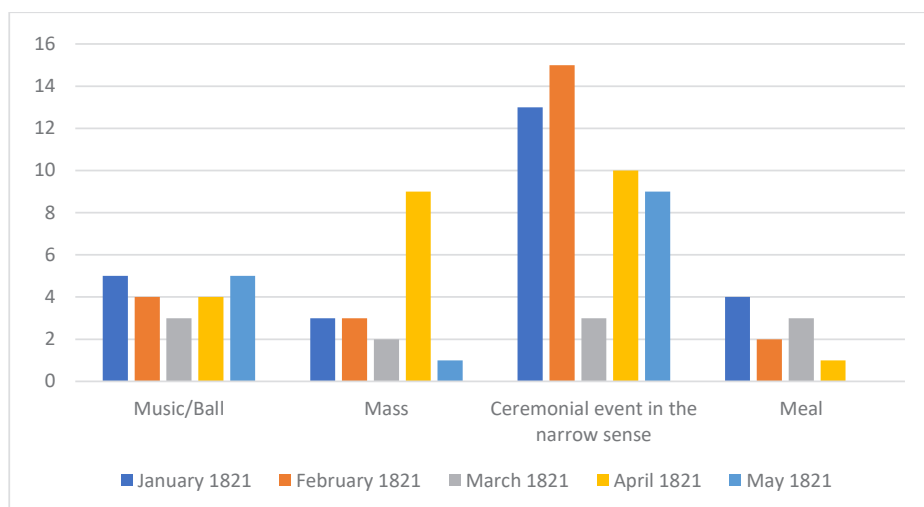
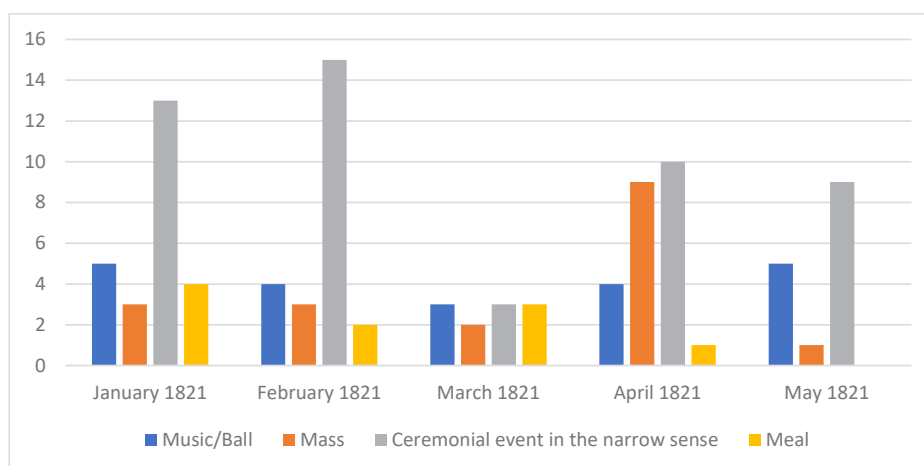


Figure 3: Ceremonial events during the Congress of Ljubljana by month (Own analysis)



An analysis of the ceremonial events that took place in Ljubljana between January and May 1821 reveals that ceremonial events in the narrow sense dominated throughout the Congress, with the exception of March. This comes as no surprise, since leaders met constantly, and at the same time the local authorities wanted the visiting rulers and their entourages to see the town's hospitality, but also to open their coffers and contribute some money for Ljubljana. What is striking at first glance is mass attendance in April. The deviation can be attributed to Easter celebrations, but also to certain other events that the highnesses symbolically confirmed by attending a holy mass. Examples of such events include the mass celebrated by the Bishop of Ljubljana on 3 April 1821 in honour of peace in Naples, which was reached a few days earlier; a Requiem Mass for Empress Maria Ludovika celebrated on 7 April; another mass in honour of peace in Naples on 8 April; and a Requiem Mass for Empress Maria Theresa,⁵⁸ the second wife of Emperor Francis, on 13 April.⁵⁹ On the other hand, the radical decrease in the number of ceremonial events in the narrow sense in March can be attributed above all to the weather, which was really not the best that month. Costa⁶⁰ writes in his diary it was raining or snowing more than half that month, which makes for poor conditions for things like guard inspections, walks, or visiting different new achievements around town.

With respect to meals, it is interesting that there was an equal number of lunches and dinners (5 *vs* 5) – particularly since Pivec-Stelè writes that official Congress sessions started late in the evening and would last long into the night.⁶¹ Lunches were always hosted by the Emperor of Austria, while the dinners were hosted by Prince Metternich.⁶² From the perspective of symbolism in diplomacy,⁶³ this also indicates a symbolic usurpation of the Congress of Ljubljana by the Austrian authorities, who of course wanted to leave a good impression on their guests and thereby make them more open to their suggestions.

⁵⁸ In Costa it is wrongly written "Maria Theresa II". Empress-consorts never received regnal numbers.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 62–65.

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 58–62.

⁶¹ Pivec-Stelè, "Dnevnik Henrika Coste", p. 206.

⁶² Rohden points out that, compared to the one in Vienna, the Congress of Ljubljana was more of a "men's congress", which means most of the ladies were not present. This consequently minimised the influence of family ties and romantic relations. More in Peter Richard Rohden, *Die klassische Diplomatie* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 148.

⁶³ For more on the role of symbolism in diplomacy, see Boštjan Udovič, "Going international: the (non-) importance of non-aligned countries markets in the foreign economic relations of Yugoslavia", *Zeitgeschichte* 49, No. 1 (2022), pp. 11–32; Jana Arbeiter and Boštjan Udovič, "Does the Mediterranean exist in states' diplomatic rituals?: a comparison of Mediterranean states' *préséance*", *International journal of Euro-Mediterranean studies* 10, No. 2 (2017), pp. 79–106; Jana Arbeiter, "Symbolic importance of diplomatic protocol: common heritage and order of precedence of seven countries of former Yugoslavia", *Revista românească de științe politice* 19, No. 2 (2019), pp. 157–174.

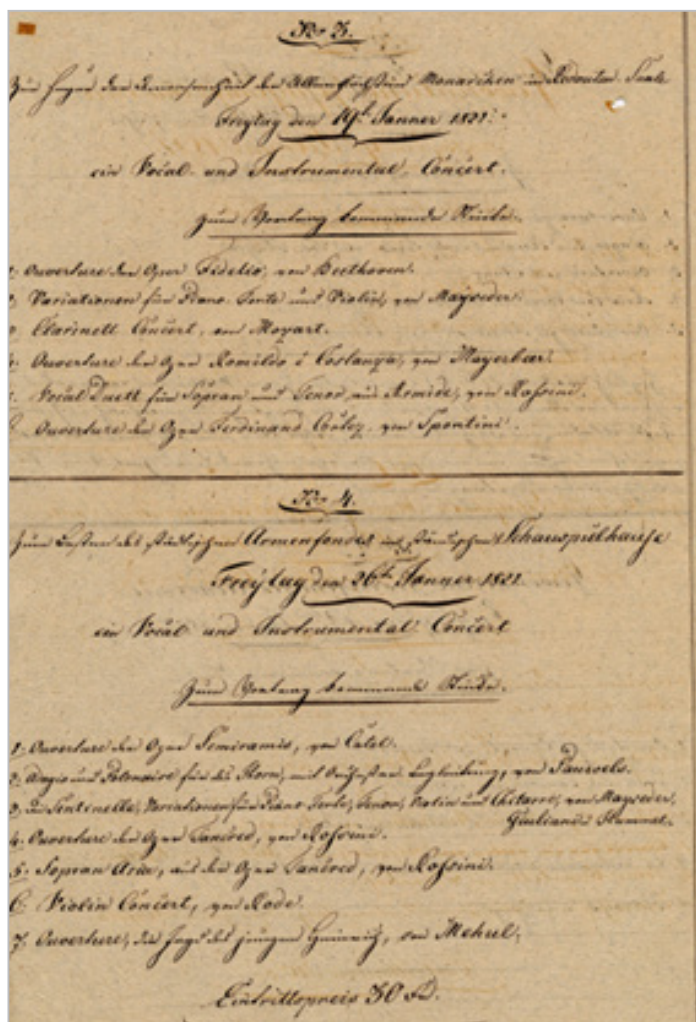
*Content of ceremonial events*⁶⁴

Our analysis of ceremonial events at the Congress of Ljubljana has found that ceremonial events in the narrow sense prevailed, followed by events dedicated to music and dancing, and (soirees) hosted by Prince Metternich. This naturally leads us to the question about the content of individual events according to these categories.

Ceremonial events in the narrow sense can be divided into two categories: (a) military, such as honorary guard inspections or military parades (e. g. Tsar Alexander inspected the honorary guard on 7 January; a big military parade was held on 5 February; officers paid tribute to the Prince of Salerno on 10 April; the Burgenland border guard formed a double column for the Emperor passing by on a horse on 17 April); and (b) civilian, such as visiting the local sights (the Emperor, Empress and Duchess Clementina visited the Cekin Mansion on 15 January; the Emperor and the King of Naples visited the prison in the Ljubljana Castle on 17 January; the Emperor visited the Ljubljana Marshes on 23 January; the Emperor visited the military hospital on 14 February; the Emperor and Empress went falcon hunting on the Golovec Hill on 3 May; before his departure, the Russian Tsar bestowed decorations on 12 May; etc.). In this framework, one of the more interesting points is that the Emperor, Tsar Alexander, the King of Naples, the Duke of Modena and others all went to see how people were fighting a fire that broke in one of the houses in Ljubljana on 22 February due to soot build-up in its chimney. It seems the fire was a local attraction worth seeing.

No information is available as to the lunches and dinners, while the available data on the holy masses refer primarily to their locations. The visiting dignitaries most often attended mass in the Ursuline Church (Church of the Holy Trinity, on today's Slovenska cesta Street), only on very important occasions did they attend mass in the cathedral. According to Holz and Costa, such cases include the Bishop of Ljubljana celebrating mass in the cathedral on 8 February in honour of the Empress's birthday (*Te Deum* was followed by bowing to the Empress); Cardinal Spina consecrating on 11 February the Bishop of Thermopylae, the confessor of the King of Two Sicilies; the Bishop celebrating the anniversary Requiem Mass for Emperor Leopold II on 1 March; the Bishop celebrating a mass in honour of peace in the Kingdom of Naples on 3 April; the Requiem Mass for Empress Maria Ludovika on 7 April, and one for Empress Maria Theresa of Bourbon-Naples on 13 April; as well as the Paschal Triduum, of course. Interestingly, Holz and Costa recorded no major mass in May, indicat-

⁶⁴ Unless stated otherwise, all the information presented here is from Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, pp. 45–73.



The programme of the vocal and instrumental concert of the Philharmonic Society in the Redoubt Hall on 19 January 1821 (dLib)

ing that the delegations were already slowly preparing to go home after Easter in the second half of April.

As mentioned, Ljubljana was musically quite active already before, but this activity received a further boost during the Congress. Kuret and Weiss⁶⁵ point out that, "along with the regular weekly Friday cultural events of the Philharmonic Society, they also held four major music and entertainment evenings"

⁶⁵ Kuret and Weiss, "Glasbeno dogajanje".

during the Congress,⁶⁶ the first one on 19 January, the second on 26 January, the third on 16 February and the fourth on 9 March 1821. On 19 January, the "concert featured mostly classical pieces that had already become standard repertoire at philharmonic concerts, with the exception of a few operatic pieces". On 26 January, there was already more stress on vocal music. Works by Gioachino Rossini thus made up an important part of the show.⁶⁷

Some three weeks later came the third major concert, again of vocal and instrumental music. Kuret and Weiss⁶⁸ state that the event could be labelled as a concert of "second-class composers", barring Ludwig van Beethoven, an honorary member of the Ljubljana Philharmonic Society, and Josef Beneš, a Czech composer working in Carniola.⁶⁹ Although a strong remark, we can agree that these were mostly composers who were unknown at the time and today. The fourth major event, held on 9 March 1821, was also a vocal and instrumental concert, but this time Rossini's works made up a third of the programme (two out of six pieces).⁷⁰

When it comes to music, we must not forget the opera. Already at the outset of the Congress – late January 1821 – a reputable opera company led by Italian artist Antonio Cuniberti arrived in Ljubljana, and the group stayed and staged their shows until the end of the Congress.⁷¹ The shows consisted of Rossini's operas, but different sources stress different works. While Sivec,⁷² and Kuret and Weiss⁷³ highlight five Rossini's operas performed by Cuniberti's company,⁷⁴ Costa only lists three: *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *La cenerentola* and *Eduardo e Cristina*.⁷⁵

Even Prince Metternich confirms that the arrival of the Italian opera company in Ljubljana was an important contribution to the cultural life during the

⁶⁶ During the Congress, the Philharmonic Society held 16 regular concerts (Sara Železnik, *Koncertni sporedi filharmonične družbe 1816–1872* (Ljubljana, 2013), pp. 55–59).

⁶⁷ An analysis of the works performed and available sources (*Laibacher Zeitung*; Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*; Kuret and Weiss, "Glasbeno dogajanje"; etc.) clearly show that Rossini notably shaped the musical life during the Congress of Ljubljana.

⁶⁸ Kuret and Weiss, "Glasbeno dogajanje".

⁶⁹ On the other hand, the diary of Henrik Costa (Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 145) says the "concert was very good".

⁷⁰ É. N. Méhul: *Overture to the opera Adrien*; I. Moscheles: *Variations for Piano and Orchestra*; G. Rossini: *soprano aria and chorus from the opera Tancredi*; S. Mayr: *Overture to the opera La Lodoiska*; J. Mayseder: *Polonaise for violin*; G. Rossini: *Finale from The Barber of Seville* (according to Kuret and Weiss, "Glasbeno dogajanje"); available at: www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-Q50PX8WC, accessed: 19. 4. 2022.

⁷¹ Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, pp. 125, 47–72.

⁷² Jože Sivec, *Opera na ljubljanskib odrih – od klasicizma do 20. stoletja* (Ljubljana, 2010), pp. 64–68.

⁷³ Kuret and Weiss, "Glasbeno dogajanje".

⁷⁴ *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (30 January 1821), *L'inganno felice* (14 March 1821), *La cenerentola* (5 and 10 April 1821), *L'italiana in Algeri* (7 April 1821) and *Eduardo e Cristina* (11 May 1821).

⁷⁵ According to Holz and Costa (*Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 69), the opera was staged on 10 May 1821.



Invitation flyer for the opera *L'italiana in Algeri* (7 April 1821) (National Museum of Slovenia (Narodni muzej Slovenije), *Commedien-Zettelsammlung*, Knjižnica NMS, K 13085/4. Photo Tomaž Lauko (4. 5. 2022))

Congress, but he complained about the quality of their performances – probably because he was used to Viennese standards. His diary entry from 18 May 1821⁷⁶ reads:

The town has turned into a village, the streets are empty, everything comes to an end, even the size of Laibach. My only remaining pleasure is the Italian opera, which has finally become good after a number of changes in the ensemble. Rossini's Edoardo and Cristina are now performed, and it is certainly one of his best works. *La Cenerentola* is also sung, and remarkably well.

⁷⁶ Klinkowström, *Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren*, p. 440.

In relation to music, we should also highlight the balls held during the Congress of Ljubljana. The first one mentioned by Holz and Costa⁷⁷ was on 29 January when the Redoubt Hall hosted the "first ceremonial dinner and ball, prepared by high dignitaries". The next mention of a ball in Costa's diary is on 25 February.

The townspeople and tradesmen prepared a ball for the distinguished guests in the Redoubt Hall. 650 tickets were handed out. The ball was a success. Along with the rulers, it was attended by all the high dignitaries. ...The atmosphere at the ball was relaxed. All the ministers, envoys and other members of the diplomatic corps, even Prince Metternich, danced the polonaise.⁷⁸

Costa further writes that the citizens' ball of 25 February was followed by another ball on 4 March 1821.⁷⁹ After that, data on specially organised balls cease.⁸⁰

Pivec-Stelè⁸¹ and Holz and Costa⁸² point to another special activity of ceremonial nature that took place during the Congress of Ljubljana, although it is not a classical ceremonial event – illumination of notable buildings in town in honour of a particular important event or person. Analysing the diary of Holz and Costa,⁸³ we can see that Ljubljana had four such illuminations during the Congress: on 12 and 13 January 1821, the town was illuminated in honour of the Orthodox New Year⁸⁴ (for the Russian Tsar Alexander); on 8 February, it was illuminated to mark the Austrian Empress's birthday; on 12 February, to mark the Austrian Emperor's birthday;⁸⁵ and on 3 April 1821, to mark the peace in the Kingdom of Naples.⁸⁶

⁷⁷ Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 51.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 57.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 59.

⁸⁰ When it comes to dancing, Podlesnik Tomášiková and Motnik make an interesting observation that the so-called *Laibacher Deutscher* (Ljubljana German dance) became somewhat of a characteristic dance for Carniola (similarly to other related dances), and dominated over other dance variations in the province for almost a decade after that. For more, see Podlesnik Tomášiková and Motnik, "Laibacher Deutscher", pp. 5–64.

⁸¹ Pivec-Stelè, "Dnevnik Henrika Coste", p. 206.

⁸² Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, pp. 45–73.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 49, 54, 55, 62.

⁸⁴ Pivec-Stelè ("Dnevnik Henrika Coste", p. 206) wrongly states the illumination was on Orthodox Christmas.

⁸⁵ For these two occasions, Holz and Costa (*Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, pp. 54–55) make detailed lists of all the buildings that were illuminated.

⁸⁶ Holz and Costa (*Ljubljanski kongres 1821*, p. 62) point out that this illumination was prepared on citizens' own initiative.

Kilswis.
 Abrechnung der Ausgaben für die
 2. Session 1880.

	Fl.	Gr.
K. d. Hofkammer für Hoffball	180.	
K. d. Hofkammer	270.	
K. d. Hofkammer	12.	
K. d. Hofkammer	28.	
K. d. Hofkammer	48.	
K. d. Hofkammer	24.	
K. d. Hofkammer	12.	
K. d. Hofkammer	96.	
K. d. Hofkammer	24.	
K. d. Hofkammer	12.	
K. d. Hofkammer	120.	
K. d. Hofkammer	240.	
K. d. Hofkammer	18.	
K. d. Hofkammer	12.	
K. d. Hofkammer	2.	
K. d. Hofkammer	6.	
K. d. Hofkammer	2.	
Gesamt	1080.	

L. J. 20. 4. 1881.

List of expenditures
 for a ball (ARS, SI AS
 1080, fonds 24)

Media coverage of ceremonial events

In the analysis of media reports from the Congress of Ljubljana, Žigon and Kramberger⁸⁷ found the following: (a) the *Laibacher Zeitung* published 72 news articles about the Congress, which is fewer than the *Oesterreichischer Beobachter* (84), which was edited by Gentz's friend Pilat, and also fewer than the *Wiener Zeitung*, which published a total of 81 news articles. While the *Oesterreichischer Beobachter* and the *Wiener Zeitung* wrote more news items about the arrivals and departures of important figures to and from Ljubljana, and the related events abroad, the *Laibacher Zeitung* published more articles on the ceremonial events in Ljubljana. There were 25 such items in total, which

⁸⁷ Žigon and Kramberger, "Poročanje iz Ljubljane v času kongresa".

is 35 per cent of all articles about the Congress of Ljubljana in the *Laibacher Zeitung*. If we expand the category of ceremonial events to include arrivals and departures, then this category makes up for over 65 per cent of the news articles on the Congress in the *Laibacher Zeitung*.⁸⁸ Žigon and Kramberger⁸⁹ then classified the articles in the *Laibacher Zeitung* according to type of ceremonial event, and established that the highest share of the articles covered audiences and balls, followed by news about ceremonial masses and theatre or opera performances, while the fewest articles were about walks and sightseeing around Ljubljana. Here, the information from media reports differs slightly from Costa's diary entries,⁹⁰ which also highlight the importance of walks and sightseeing by the important figures of the time. Why did newspapers omit this? Probably because news about who took a walk somewhere are not too interesting to the ordinary reader, especially compared to news about balls, receptions and other festive events.

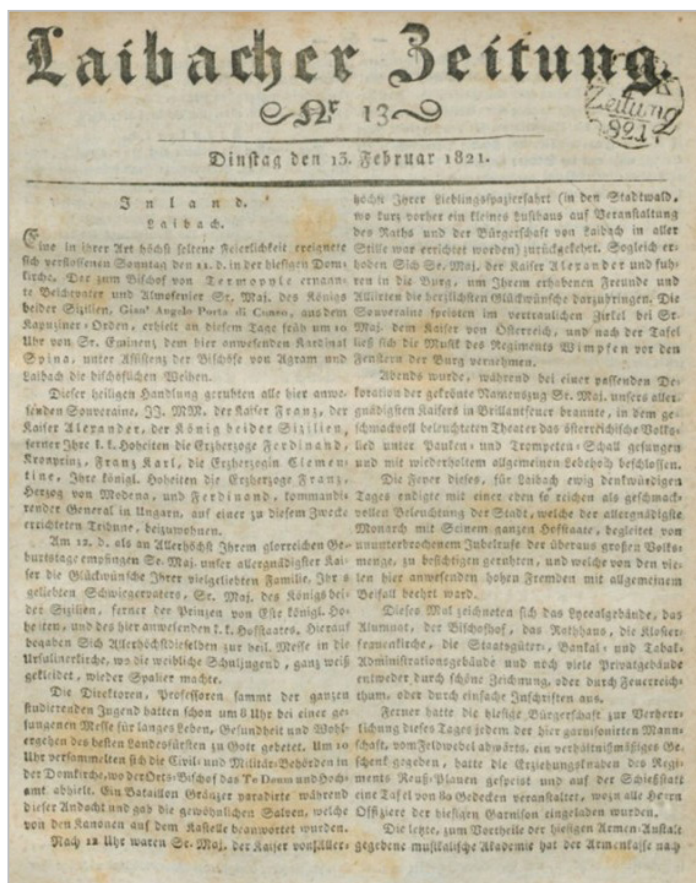
Taking a look at the length of the reports, we can see that the longest items were published on 16 January (short description of who was in Ljubljana and what the imperial couple were doing), on 13 February (consecration of the Bishop of Thermopylae and the events surrounding the Emperor's birthday), on 24 April (Holy Week and related processions) and on 22 May (last visits to the Emperor, guests' departures and conclusion of the Congress). In general, we could say these longer reports made up large parts of the articles, and therefore played an important role of influencing or aggrandising the entire Congress of Ljubljana.⁹¹

⁸⁸ All calculations based on the database by Žigon and Kramberger ("Poročanje iz Ljubljane v času kongresa").

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ In Holz and Costa, *Ljubljanski kongres 1821*.

⁹¹ Interestingly, the *Laibacher Zeitung* also speaks about the illuminations in its reports from Ljubljana. The article from 13 February 1821 (report on the Emperor's birthday) has this to say about the illuminations: "The celebration of this forever memorable day for Ljubljana concluded with a both rich and tasteful illumination of the town, which our most gracious monarch deigned to go through with his entire court, accompanied by incessant cries of jubilation from the extremely large crowd of people, and which the many foreign dignitaries present here honoured with a general applause. Standing out this time with wonderful drawings, abundant fire or simple inscriptions were the lyceum building, the seminary dormitory, the episcopal see, town hall, the monastery Church of Our Lady, the provincial, tax and tobacco administration buildings, as well as many private houses." (*Laibacher Zeitung*, 13. February, No. 13, p. 50) [original: "Die Feyer dieses, für Laibach ewig denkwürdigen Tages endigte mit einer eben so reichen als geschmackvollen Beleuchtung der Stadt, welche der allergnädigste Monarch mit Seinem ganzen Hofstaate, begleitet von ununterbrochenem Jubelrufe der überaus großen Volksmenge, zu besichtigen gerubten, und welche von den vielen hier anwesenden hohen Fremden mit allgemeinem Beifall beehrt ward. Dieses Mal zeichneten sich das Lycealgebäude, das Alumnat, der Bischofshof, das Rathhaus, die Klosterfrauenkirche, die Staatsgüter-, Bankal- und Tabak-Administrationsgebäude und noch viele Privatgebäude entweder durch schöne Zeichnung, oder durch Feuerreichtum, oder durch einfache Inschriften aus."]



Report on events accompanying the Congress in the *Laibacher Zeitung* from 13 February 1821 (*dLib*)

So, what else did the *Laibacher Zeitung* report on? About the "infamous" fire, where flames caught a soot-laden chimney, and the event was witnessed by important figures (23 February 1821),⁹² about the Emperor's visit to the opera to see *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (30 January 1821),⁹³ about masses and what

⁹² *Laibacher Zeitung*, 23 February 1821, No. 16, p. 61: "Rührend war es bei dieser Gelegenheit zu sehen, wie unser angebeteter Monarch mit seinem erhabenen Schwiegervater, dem Könige von Neapel, selbst in die Nähe der Gefahr sich begaben um sich von den gut getroffenen Löschanstalten in Allerhöchst eigener Person zu überzeugen."

⁹³ *Laibacher Zeitung*, 2 February 1821, No. 10, p. 37. We should note that the report on the visit of the Emperor and other dignitaries to the opera was particularly tacky [original: "Die erhabenen Gäste wurden unter Pauken- und Trompeten-Schall, von dem zahlreich versammelten Publikum mit allgemeinem, herzlichen Jubel empfangen. Am Schlusse der Oper verkündete ein allgemeines wiederholtes Lebehoch die Freude des anwesenden Volkes, welches die hohen Monarchen mit sichtbaren Merkmalen besonderer Zufriedenheit erwiederten."].

was sung there (3 April 1821),⁹⁴ the Austrian Emperor's walks in the Latterman Promenade (26 January 1821),⁹⁵ and some even more marginal events. From the perspective of ceremonial events, it is also interesting to look at the extensive reports on imperial birthday celebrations in Postojna,⁹⁶ Novo mesto⁹⁷ and Otočec.⁹⁸ The report from Postojna points out that the 10 AM ceremonial mass in honour of the Emperor, where attendants were addressed in the language of Carniola, gathered the entire political elite. This was followed by a meal with Postojna District Governor Anton Codelli (1753–1832) and other invited notable figures. The celebration concluded with a ball at the Golden Crown Inn, after which the *Kaiserhymne* was sung. The report from Novo mesto is even more extensive than the one from Postojna. It describes in great detail how the Emperor was greeted with cannon salutes, how the military band played, who was present, what was sung at mass, etc. The *Laibacher Zeitung* also reported in a similar fashion from Otočec, where the official ceremonies also concluded with a ball.

The highlights in the *Laibacher Zeitung* (and other newspapers using it as their source) about the ceremonial events in Ljubljana had a clear purpose – to underline the importance of Ljubljana (and Austria) in relation to other great powers of the time. The entire state apparatus – including the strictly censored media⁹⁹ – worked in the direction of creating a sense of importance and a policy of prestige. And the many ceremonial events, along with their related reports, effectively contributed to this policy of prestige.

Discussion and conclusion

Although the Congress of Ljubljana was an eminent and exceptional diplomatic event both for Europe and particularly for Ljubljana – then provincial capital of Carniola and now the capital of the Republic of Slovenia – International Relations and Diplomatic Studies scholars rarely grant it the position it deserves. This can be attributed primarily to the fact that it was a bridging Congress between Opava and Verona, as well as to the temporal closeness to others that meant it could bring no particularly ground-breaking political developments.

⁹⁴ *Laibacher Zeitung*, 3 April 1821, No. 27, p. 109 ("Heute den 3. April war in der hiesigen Domkirche feyerliches Te Deum").

⁹⁵ *Laibacher Zeitung*, 26 January 1821, No. 8, p. 29.

⁹⁶ *Laibacher Zeitung*, 16 February 1821, No. 14, p. 53.

⁹⁷ *Laibacher Zeitung*, 2 March 1821, No. 18, p. 69.

⁹⁸ *Laibacher Zeitung*, 6 March 1821, No. 19, p. 73. Interestingly, the *Laibacher Zeitung* refers to Otočec as "Ottochaz in Croatien".

⁹⁹ Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Briefe von Friedrich von Gentz an Pilat*, p. 31.

This analysis is just a small piece in a mosaic of knowledge about what went on at the Congress of Ljubljana focused on the ceremonial events that accompanied it. The research findings have exceeded the initial expectations and thesis that the success of a particular diplomatic event will greatly depend on accompanying or supporting activities, which give meaning to and influence the flow of the main diplomatic event. This was confirmed by the reviewed primary and secondary sources. We have established that the ceremonial events that took place in Ljubljana in the first five months of 1821 can be divided into two categories: those that greased the diplomatic wheels (soirees at Prince Metternich, opera, meals, the socialising of the leaders and nobles, etc.), and those that mainly filled up the days, or classical accompanying events (e. g. guard inspections, celebration of the Emperor's birthday without his presence, walks around Ljubljana, visits to hospitals or prisons, attending holy masses, illuminations, etc.). Although the latter were more frequent than the former – probably in order not to disturb the seriousness of the Congress, as some authors posit – we must, nevertheless, admit that the former were not few in number either. What stands out the most are musical events and balls, which took over – as part of evening get-togethers and soirees – the role of the main ceremonial events, which were followed by serious talks, often until early in the morning. And this cycle was repeated every few days.

The significance of ceremonial events at the Congress of Ljubljana was confirmed in an analysis of media reports, which were focused mainly on ceremonial events, while the agreements reached in Ljubljana as well as the political and statecraft component of these agreements for maintaining the balance of power remained in the background. One might argue at this point that we should consider the strict censorship in the media at that time (see Gentz's letters to Pilat), which is also underlined by Žigon and Kramberger.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, it remains a fact that political agreements were made behind the glitz and glamour and diplomatic appearances. The reason for this is to be found not only in the aforementioned censorship, but also in Austria wishing to build its statecraft within and without, and to show that it can take the leading role among great powers with its prestige. Ceremonial events *per se* in Ljubljana were, therefore, not only meant to grease the wheels of diplomatic talks, but also to pursue a policy of prestige. And this is the fundamental difference between the events at the Congress of Ljubljana and diplomatic ceremonial events today, which are – with rare exceptions – in the shadow of diplomatic activities. They are rarely reported on, as media reporting is largely focused on the content of talks, and no longer on what diplomats danced to, what they

¹⁰⁰ Žigon and Kramberger, "Poročanje iz Ljubljane v času kongresa".

listened to, and which places they visited. Such reporting would be considered a curiosity rather than serious journalism today, and in any case, it would not make up the centrepiece of reporting in the modern media.

Finally, our analysis of ceremonial events at the Congress of Ljubljana has shown how essential it is in diplomatic studies to also know all the accompanying activities if we wish to fully understand the negotiation process between different actors. Not only do these activities reveal what went on along the official events at meetings and congresses, but they also outline the so-called *esprit de corps*, which is – like elsewhere in life – very important for success.

Boštjan Udovič, Tanja Žigon in Petra Kramberger

DIPLOMATSKI CEREMONIALNI DOGODKI NA LJUBLJANSKEM KONGRESU LETA 1821

POVZETEK

Ceremonialni dogodki so v zgodovini in diplomaciji pogosto zapostavljeni – tako v teoretski kot tudi empirični obravnavi. Glavni razlog za to je predvsem občutek, da gre za nekakšne "stranske dogodke", ki ne vplivajo na udejanjanje zgodovinsko pomembnih dogodkov, saj gre pri ceremonialnih dogodkih zgolj sprostitev po pomembnih pogajanjih ali drugih aktivnostih. A takšno gledanje je popolnoma napačno. Ceremonialni dogodki so v diplomatskih in političnih odnosih motor, ki poganja procese dogovarjanja, sklepanja kompromisov ter iskanja skupnih rešitev. Več kot jih je ter bolj kot so pompozni, bolje deluje "stroj" pogajanj in iskanja rešitev. Ceremonialni dogodki so namreč namenjeni predvsem "človeškosti" predstavnikov držav, na njih se vzpostavljajo odnosi in zaupanje. Psihološke kot sociološke študije pa poleg tega kažejo, da se dogovori v diplomatskih in političnih odnosih sprejemajo hitreje, če med predstavniki različnih skupin obstaja visoka stopnja zaupanja.

Pričujoči prispevek obravnava ceremonialne dogodke na Ljubljanskem kongresu (1821). Gre za kongres sil Svete alianse, ki je v literaturi z vsebinskega vidika pogosto spregledan, včasih imenovan tudi kot *medkongres*, saj je potekal med opavskim in veronskim. Čeprav Ljubljanski kongres tudi vsebinsko ni bil nepomemben, pa se pričujoči članek osredinja predvsem na ceremonialne oz. spremljevalne (ali podporne) dogodke na njem ter poročanje o njih.

Analiza prinaša dve ključni ugotovitvi. Prvič, ceremonialni dogodki na ljubljanskem kongresu leta 1821 so bili pomemben del kongresa, o njih so obširno poročali tudi takratni relevantni mediji. Drugič, cilj avstrijske politične elite pri organizaciji ceremonialnih dogodkov, ki so spremljali Ljubljanski kongres, ni bil le *podmazati* kolesja diplomatskih pogovorov, temveč tudi voditi politiko lastnega prestiža, med drugim z vzpostavljanjem *esprit de corps* glavnih političnih voditeljev tistega časa.

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Naslov: **DIPLOMATSKI CEREMONIALNI DOGODKI NA LJUBLJANSKEM KONGRESU LETA 1821**

Studia Historica Slovenica

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Jezik: angleški (izvleček angleški in slovenski, povzetek slovenski)

Ključne besede: Ljubljanski kongres, ceremonial, politika prestiža, glasba, gledališče

Izvleček: Članek se osredinja na ceremonialne dogodke na pogosto (raziskovalno) zapostavljenem Ljubljanskem kongresu leta 1821, na medijska poročila, povezana s kongresom, ter na vpliv teh ceremonialnih dogodkov na potek kongresa. Analiza prinaša dve glavni ugotovitvi. Prvič, ceremonialni dogodki na Ljubljanskem kongresu leta 1821 so bili pomemben del kongresa, o njih so obširno poročali tudi takratni relevantni mediji. Drugič, cilj avstrijske politične elite pri organizaciji ceremonialnih dogodkov, ki so spremljali Ljubljanski kongres, ni bil le *podmazati* kolesja diplomatskih pogovorov, temveč tudi voditi politiko lastnega prestiža, med drugim z vzpostavljanjem *esprit de corps* glavnih političnih voditeljev tistega časa.
