

empress's, investigation of sovereign claims; but the case serves to show how insecure was the foundation on which even existing co-operation between the Habsburgs and their Hungarian subjects rested. And when that base was called in question, the co-operation could only become progressively more difficult to sustain.

CHAPTER 8

The German Empire: limited hegemony

Throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the Habsburgs were continually occupied, often preoccupied, with German questions: the manifold problems of the *Reich* which spread away beyond the familiar confines of Austria and Bohemia as far as the Meuse, the North Sea, and the Baltic. Then 1648 brought a famous watershed, the failure of a direct military-political campaign to assert imperial authority. The princes of Germany now buttressed their liberties further at the diet of 1653-4, which settled the new constitutional mechanisms of a divided Empire, and during the protracted and unifying dealings which preceded the election of Leopold in 1657.¹ Meanwhile the dynasty found compensation at home—underpinning the separate Austrian development allowed for by the *Privilegium Maius*; turning Bohemia's effective immunity from the *Reich* (and thus from the religious guarantees of Westphalia) against the very 'patriots' who had always appealed to it in the past; looking to a genuinely Danubian and Balkan foreign policy.

These points have often been made, and they were an essential precondition for any free-standing Habsburg commonwealth in Central Europe. Yet it is equally obvious that the Habsburgs still sought a German role. Integral Hungary was recovered largely by the accident of Ottoman miscalculation and decline. We have seen how little institutional evolution accompanied the changing position of the house of Austria. The dynasty itself was, in some irreducible sense, Germanic, and apt to become more so rather than less with the passage of time. Until the mid-nineteenth century it preserved

¹ J. S. Pütter, *An historical Development of the present Political Constitution of the Germanic Empire*, tr. J. Dornford, i-iii (London 1790), ii, 56-271. On the election, precipitated by the sudden death of Leopold's elder brother Ferdinand, who had already been confirmed as king of the Romans, i.e. heir apparent: A. F. Pribram, 'Zur Wahl Leopold I, 1654-8', *AOG* lxxiii (1888), 81-222.

substantial rights of diplomatic interference across the frontier, if not of real hegemony.

The political power of the emperor in the Empire after the Westphalian settlement was by no means negligible. Some contemporary critics, like Chemnitz and Pufendorf, waxed polemical precisely because they still feared the long arm of Vienna and sought to restore the pristine harmony (as they imagined it) of the *Reich*.² Only later, under the impetus of nineteenth-century Prussian historiography, did such views degenerate into a serious misconception of the character of the old Empire and an underestimate of its institutional effectiveness. As we saw, the *Reichshofkanzlei* and the *Reichshofrat* were organs neither defunct, nor merely ancillary to a native Austrian or Bohemian administration. The chancery had fine new premises erected in the early eighteenth century at the centre of the Hofburg; their expansive façade, begun by one master of the Viennese Baroque, Hildebrandt, was completed by the other, Fischer von Erlach. The Aulic Council pronounced on some major constitutional disputes between states and within states.³ The imperial diet might be stranded in permanent session at the free city of Regensburg; but at least it was stranded on the road to Vienna, and its endless negotiations, however wasteful of manpower, produced a certain body of legislation binding on all parties. It acted in economic matters, especially guild and coinage regulations and the major series of anti-French tariff measures inspired by J. J. Becher. It took military decisions about the raising of money and troops for imperial campaigns.⁴

Most significant were initiatives at a regional level. In some parts of the Empire the circles (*Kreise*) created by Maximilian I had very

² [Bohuslaw Philipp von Chemnitz], pseud. Hippolythus à Lapide, *Dissertatio de Ratione Status in Imperio Romano-Germanico* ('Freistadit' 1647); [Samuel Pufendorf], pseud. Severinus de Monzambano, *De statu Imperii Germanici* ('Geneva' 1667).

³ Above, pp. 147 f., 150 f.; Gross, op. cit., and Gschliesser, op. cit., are both very thorough surveys. F. L. Carsten, *Princes and Parliaments in Germany* (Oxford 1959), esp. 111 f., 141 f., 144 f., 147 f., 295-7, 311-13, 331-4, 439-40, for important judgments of the Aulic Council.

⁴ On economic policy: I. Bog, *Der Reichsmerkantilismus* (Stuttgart 1959); F. Lürge, *Reich und Wirtschaft* (Dortmund 1961); G. Benecke, 'The Westphalian circle, the county of Lippe, and imperial currency control', in J. A. Vann and S. W. Rowan (eds.), *The Old Reich* (Brussels 1974), 131-47. On military policy: Beringer, *Finanzen*, 411-19; and see below, n. 70.

considerable vitality, and with the gradual proliferation of administrative tasks during the seventeenth century they (like estates' organs within the Monarchy) actually extended their executive functions. Princes, prelates, and cities in Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhineland areas met regularly at *Kreistage* to vote taxes, settle questions of recruitment and cantoning of armies, decide local legal issues, arrange a common policy on public order and communications, even health and welfare. Nor that the circles were creatures of Habsburg authority, but imperial commissioners entered their deliberations and ancient loyalties to the *Kaiser* gained nourishment in the bosom of Germany's lesser rulers from fear of the ambitions of the few large territorial states.⁵

There is a growing literature which can be consulted on the federal structure of the *Reich* during the early modern period.⁶ I shall concentrate in what follows rather on the deeper resonance in Germany of the Habsburg system and its values. For the role of Vienna after 1648 needs to be elucidated, not purely in terms of overt Habsburg motivation, but by attending to a background of attitudes, the larger dynamics of a situation which could operate more indirectly in Austria's favour. These complex sympathies had deeper roots in some parts of the Empire than in others, as the years after 1600 hastened an ideological division of Germany which the years before 1600 had begun. Yet the outcome was not exactly what might have been expected. At either end of the country we find rising states with independent policies on a European scale. In the north, Brandenburg built up a noteworthy military machine and—equally important—showed a growing receptivity to Western ideas, especially via the flexible world of the Dutch universities. In the south, Bavaria, capitalizing on the *élan* of her Counter-Reformation and emerging much strengthened from the Thirty Years War,

⁵ Vann, *Swabian Kreis*, esp. chs. 1 and 6; Benecke, *Society and politics, passim*; R. Wines, 'The imperial circles, princely diplomacy and imperial reform 1681-1714', *Journal of Modern History*, xxxix (1967), 1-29.

⁶ In addition to the works already cited, there is in English a major study of constitutional issues by H. Gross, *Empire and Sovereignty, a history of the public law literature in the Holy Roman Empire, 1599-1804* (Chicago 1973); and a remarkable analysis of urban life in the provinces by M. Walker, *German Home Towns* (Ithaca 1971). Some recent German writing is discussed in Benecke, op. cit., ch. 3. Cf., for an 18th-century view: T. C. W. Blanning, *Reform and Revolution in Mainz, 1740-1803* (Cambridge 1974), esp. 1-38.

started to look more in the direction of Paris than of Vienna.⁷ Despite various anti-French accommodations with the Hohenzollerns, despite continuing marriage alliances with the fellow-Catholic Wittelsbachs, both Brandenburg and Bavaria were ultimately rivals to the Habsburgs. But between Berlin and Munich stretched the broad band of middle Germany, from Swabia across Franconia and the central uplands to Thuringia and Saxony, an unconsolidated landscape with many small territories and thriving circle organizations. In these regions both ruler and subject tended to look to Vienna for support or advancement, and they frequently shared much the same kind of *Weltanschauung* as the Habsburg lands.

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Directest channels of communication led from the imperial court to the ecclesiastical lands, that extensive and unique feature of the old *Reich*: some twenty-four well-endowed bishoprics and a similar number of immediate abbeys.⁸ Bavaria had a foot firmly in this camp, since younger sons of the house of Wittelsbach ruled Cologne continuously for two centuries after 1583, as well as other north-German sees. And periodic friction with ambitious and insubordinate clerics, evident during the war, became most pronounced when Mainz, under the remarkable clan Schönborn, tried to assert its dignity as arch-chancellor of Germany. Johann Philipp von Schönborn (elector from 1647 to 1673) and his active minister, Johann Christian von Boineburg, had an important share in forming the *Rheinbund* of 1658 whose stance was clearly anti-Austrian.⁹ But the imperial office kept its sacral trappings; and anyway—as the Schönborns privately realized well enough—even Mainz's powers

⁷ I cannot begin to assemble here the enormous literature on Brandenburg; but the point about openness and tolerance is often missed (cf. below, p. 307). For Bavaria: S. Riezler, *Geschichte Bayerns*, i-viii (Gotha 1878-1914), vii-viii.

⁸ The bishoprics, excluding those sees controlled by Austria, Salzburg, France, Switzerland, or the Protestant powers, were: Mainz, Cologne, Trier, Salzburg, Würzburg, Bamberg, Speyer, Basle, Constance, Chur, Eichstätt, Augsburg, Regensburg, Passau, Freising, Brixen, Trent, and Strasbourg until the 1680s. Among the most powerful of the abbeys were Kempten, Fulda, Ellwangen, and Corvey.

⁹ G. Menz, *Johann Philipp von Schönborn*, i-ii (Jena 1896-9); A. L. Veit, *Kirchliche Reformbestrebungen im ehemaligen Erzbistum Mainz unter Erzbischof Johann Philipp von Schönborn* (Freiburg 1910). Cf. L. Gross, *op. cit. passim*, esp. 49 f., 59-61, on Vienna's refusal to appoint either Boineburg or (later) his son as imperial vice-chancellor.

were only reflections, hierarchically derived from those of Vienna, so that the *modus vivendi* could never be entirely abandoned. The Habsburgs, provided they did not strive after total hegemony, had plenty of scope for influence.

By the later seventeenth century the emperor (not the Pope) was directly involved in all elections to vacant Catholic bishoprics. Following a practice evolved with sees in the Habsburg lands, particularly Breslau and Olomouc, his commissioner became an indispensable legal and ceremonial figure, exercising no veto, but usually able to place the necessary weight behind an approved candidate. Ecclesiastical lords did not have to bend the knee in any very overt fashion. At Constance, for example, a concordat signed in 1629 guaranteed episcopal jurisdiction against everyday civil interference.¹⁰ Yet there were mediate ways of bringing pressure to bear: the existence of ecclesiastical enclaves and diocesan rights in the *Erbländer*—however much it compromised the domestic sovereignty of the dynasty—gave leverage for the Habsburgs to sway the political stance of foreign bishops under threat of sanctions.

The most intriguing case is Salzburg, the metropolitan see for most of southern Germany. This city which, under its formidable prince-archbishop Paris Lodron, *Primas Germaniae*, adopted a position of heavily-fortified neutrality during the Thirty Years War; which refused entry to the Jesuits and opened a rival university, based on its ancient Benedictine community of St. Peter's, and specializing in canon law, Thomism, and history; which evolved a distinctive high-Italianate culture and tolerated Protestants longer than any surrounding territory: Salzburg was clearly no puppet. But behind the grand façade it gradually resembled more and more the piece of provincial Austria which in the end—after Napoleon had wiped the slate clean of clerical immunities—it was destined to become. For the cathedral chapter of St. Rupert's foundation was filled almost exclusively with Austrian families; the university and the city's publishers depended

¹⁰ Above, pp. 135-61 f. H. E. Feine, *Die Besetzung der Reichsbistümer vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zur Säkularisation* (Stuttgart 1921), 92 ff.; H. Raab, *Die Concordata Nationis Germanicae in der kanonistischen Diskussion des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden 1956), confirms Feine's findings. On Constance: R. Reinhardt, *Die Beziehungen von Hochstift und Diözese Konstanz zu Habsburg-Österreich in der Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden 1966).

on a satisfied, fee-paying Austrian clientele; the culture drew on trading profits impossible to sustain without imperial goodwill. And Salzburg's rulers, a little like Transylvania's, needed no Habsburg to teach them the ways of domestic courtly absolutism. At length their Protestants suffered a fate still crueller—because more anachronistic—than those in Austria and Bohemia. When Archbishop Leopold Anton Eleutherius Firmian expelled 20,000 Lutherans in 1731–2 even Emperor Charles VI felt mildly embarrassed.¹¹

Altogether there was much mutuality—migration of persons and ideas—within the body ecclesiastic, particularly among the regular clergy. Let us consider one special case: Germany's very own Catholic order of chivalry, the *Deutscher Orden*. The name 'Teutonic knights' has a good medieval ring and historians are apt to forget that only the order's Prussian and north German possessions were secularized at the Reformation.¹² The rest lived on and established a much closer relation with the emperors, to their common profit. The knights moved their headquarters to Mergentheim in Franconia, while the grand masters spent considerable time in Austria, where they had many estates besides the so-called *Deutsches Haus* behind St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna. The whole centre of gravity of the order shifted southwards: it is symbolic that the final loss of the bailiwick of Utrecht at the beginning of the Thirty Years War was promptly compensated for by the purchase of lands in Moravia and Silesia. From 1590 to 1618 Archduke Maximilian, brother of Rudolf and Matthias, ruled as *Hoch- und*

¹¹ There is an admirable history of Salzburg, rich in detail, by Widmann, *op. cit.* iii; much information also for this period in Hansiz, *op. cit.* ii, 650 ff. For Salzburg University see Widmann, *loc. cit.* 303–6, 374 f., 378–84, who is suitably cool about its achievements; M. Sattler, 'Die "Benediktiner"-Universität Salzburg', *Stud. u. Mitt.* ii (1881), 1, 61–74; 2, 273–87; 3, 90–100; 4, 282–96; iii (1882), 83–96; A. J. Hammerle, 'Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der ehemaligen Benediktiner-Universität in Salzburg', *ibid.* xv (1894), 249–70, 445–61, 561–94, with membership of Marian sodalities there; V. Redlich in Tausch (ed.), *op. cit.* 79–97; and various articles in *Universität Salzburg 1622–1962–1972* (Salzburg 1972). Salzburg's printers, who published such authors as Sancta Clara and Lebenswaldt (below, p. 384), are noted in Benzinger, *op. cit.* 376 f.

¹² J. Voigt, *Geschichte des deutschen Ritter-Ordens in seinen zwölf Ballien in Deutschland*, 1–ii (Berlin 1857–9), ii, covers this period dourly, but archivally. Otherwise literature on the late 16th and 17th centuries is very thin; cf. K. H. Lampe, *Bibliographie des Deutschen Ordens bis 1959*, ed. K. Wieser (Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1975). The German knights of Malta are less important in this context, but their development ran parallel; cf. above, p. 222.

Deutschnmeister (he was simultaneously regent of the Tyrol); then his cousin Karl; between 1641 and 1662 Leopold Wilhelm, brother of Ferdinand III, held the post, and he was succeeded by another archduke. Otherwise the nominally elective office was bestowed on nobles from the *Reich* who acted in the imperial interest, such as the Alsatian, Johann Kaspar von Stadion (1627–41), who died fighting for the Catholic cause in Germany, antecedent of better-remembered nineteenth-century Stations in the Habsburg employ, and the Swabian, Johann Kaspar von Ampringen (1664–84). Ampringen's career illustrates a further aspect of this new role of the Teutonic knights: service against the Turks. They were continually active in Hungary from the 1560s and Ampringen (who had been born there) himself led his troops in the field; hence his appointment as governor of the country, though a wild miscalculation, has its logic.¹³

The Teutonic order thus developed strong Austrian associations, but (what should be stressed in this context) it remained a *Reich* institution, with rich property in Germany, like the superb Baroque residence at Ellingen, near Weissenburg in Franconia, and nobles from the *Reich* made up most of its personnel. While no coenobites for the most part—more like a worldly warrior caste—they proved conspicuous upholders of the Catholic faith at an elevated social level. Lower down the social scale the shared experience of Counter-Reformation and its conjoined difficulties tended to create a sense of common purpose, while the movement of popular piety and sacramental devotion, both in Bavaria and elsewhere, manifested much the same temper as in Austria.¹⁴ A confident Catholic Church with firm imperial loyalties is one major formative feature of attitudes throughout middle Germany after 1648, in the great

¹³ On the estates of Eulenburg (or Eulenbergr; Czech: Sovinec) and Freudenthal (Czech: Bruntál), cf. above, p. 222, n. 63 (Zuber, Wieser). For Archduke Maximilian: Hürn, *Erzherzog Maximilian*. Voigt, *op. cit.* ii, 327–42, on Stadion, and 382 ff. on Ampringen, who seems to have attracted no other literature at all, except a brief notice (by K. H. Lampe) in *NDB*, s.v.; cf. above, pp. 237, 261. H. von Zwiedineck-Sudenhorst, 'Über den Versuch einer Translation des Deutschen Ordens an die ungarische Grenze', *AÖG lxxvi* (1878), 405–45, adds little to the history of the order in Hungary, where it later (1700–31) held extensive lands on the Great Plain.

¹⁴ This is a very large subject; see, in general, L. A. Veit and L. Lenhart, *Kirche und Volksfrömmigkeit im Zeitalter des Barock* (Freiburg 1956), *passim*; cf. Gugitz, *op. cit.*

swathe of territories we have identified from Swabia in the south-west to Saxony in the east.

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Mention of Saxony may surprise: the centre of Luther's revolt and senior secular electorate, a crucial area for the course of recent German history. Both its confession and its size would seem to exclude it from this context. But how had the power of the most populous state of the *Reich* been deployed? Ever since the famous clash between Maurice of Saxony and Charles V, in studied deference to the Habsburgs. The lumbering conservatism of Duke August was inherited, after the short-lived Christian I, by his grandson Christian II—sober, perhaps, only in his politics. Saxony's close contacts with the kingdom of Bohemia culminated at the time of crisis in 1618; but they almost always buttressed the side of authority. The principal spokesman for the Dresden court, Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, was far more virulent in condemning Calvinists (among them the Czech leader, Budovec) than Catholics, and he had a major part in the new elector's decision to refuse the Bohemian crown. Not, however, from nonchalance towards Austrian affairs: for the *Hofprediger* Hoë was a Viennese himself, son of an aulic councillor ennobled by Rudolf II, and had acted as overseer of the Prague Lutherans between 1611 and 1613.¹⁵ As reward for supporting the emperor, Saxony received Lusatia, Ferdinand II's willingness to part with it suggesting—besides his dire straits—his confidence in loyalty from that quarter; then a short period of unwilling belligerence during the early 1630s was followed by a swift return to the imperial fold. Saxon political theorists (the most prominent is Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff) firmly defended the old constitution and the Habsburgs' role within it. The most perceptive and sympathetic of serious contemporary lives of Leopold I came from a scholar of Leipzig, Eucharisius Gottlieb Rinck.¹⁶

¹⁵ B. Jenšovský, *Politika kurfürty saského v Čechách v posledních letech vlády Rudolfa II* (Pr. 1913), is broader than the title suggests. On Hoë (1580–1645), see the extensive article in *ADB*, s.v.

¹⁶ V. L. von Seckendorff, *Teutscher Fürsten-Staat* (Frankfurt 1656). The most renowned conservative constitutional lawyer of the early 17th century, Dietrich Reinking (1590–1664), was also a Lutheran, who served the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. See his *Tractatus de regimine saeculari et ecclesiastico* (Giessen 1619), the burt of Chemnitz's radical critique. On Rinck, cf. Eisenberg, art. cit. 387–405.

Such filial attitudes naturally attracted the attention of the Jesuits. They mounted a long campaign to recover the souls of the house of Wettin, and then of their subjects, which eventually reaped its harvest in the conversion of the young elector, Friedrich August, at Baden bei Wien in 1697. The move was prompted by political considerations: now Saxony could successfully claim the throne of Poland. But that does not affect the significance of the case—Poland, after all, had itself evolved through the seventeenth century from a bastion of free-thought to an enfeebled servant of Roman intolerance closely linked with the Habsburgs. Now King Augustus, 'Augustus the Strong', as the contemporary epithet absurdly proclaimed (pointing to his physical, not mental prowess) was able to import a riotous Central European Baroque to his two capitals of Dresden and Warsaw.¹⁷ Catholicism made captures too among collateral lines of the Wettin family: Christian August of Sachsen-Zeitz, Augustus's cousin, we have encountered as primate of Hungary; his nephew became a Bohemian bishop. The Lutheran Ernestines in Thuringian duchies like Gotha displayed conspicuous friendship towards Vienna during the later seventeenth century. There was a clutch of converts in the branch which ruled the small north German duchy of Lauenburg: Julius Heinrich (Balbin's patron and Bohemian landowner), his two brothers, and his son.¹⁸

Other sovereign houses of central Germany exhibit a similar trend. The Guelphs of Brunswick had a twofold ambition: the English succession demanded staunch Protestantism; advancement within the Empire made them faithful retainers of the Habsburgs. Thus while Ernst August of Hanover married the future Stuart heiress Sophia and gained an electoral hat in 1692, his elder brother, Johann Friedrich, converted and married off his daughter to the

¹⁷ A. Theiner, *Geschichte der Zurückkehr der regierenden Häuser von Braunschweig und Sachsen in den Schooß der katholischen Kirche* (Einsiedeln 1843), 105 ff. and documents, nos. 31 seqq. Evidence of earlier Jesuit activity in *Nuntiaturberichte*, i, pp. 615, 625, 627, 778, 784, 789 f., 796 ff. On Poland: below, pp. 424–6. There are sardonic comments from the British minister at Vienna during the 1690s about the young Saxon elector as a good-for-nothing commander in Hungary: *The Lexington Papers*, ed. H. Manners Sutton (London 1851), 65, 73 f., 85, 93 f., 101 f.

¹⁸ On Christian August: Kelemen, op. cit.; H. Geitig, *Der Köhler Dompropst Christian August von Sachsen-Zeitz* (Bonn 1930). For Gotha see below, pp. 289, 368. On the Saxe-Lauenburgs: Balbin, *Miscellanea Historica*, i, bk. 1, 101, 130; Räss, op. cit. v, 139–71; Frind, *Erzbischöfe*, 218, 228; Bilek, *Dějiny konfiskací*, ii, 1168 f., and cf. above, p. 201.

future Emperor Joseph I. Later Anton Ulrich, ruler of the closely-related Wolfenbüttel lands, having persuaded his granddaughter to turn Catholic and marry Leopold I's other son, Charles, at length took the same step himself, apparently under the influence of the Viennese agent of the *émigré* Stuarts, a Theatine called Amadeus Hamilton.¹⁹ Whereas some landgraves of Hesse occupied an exposed position as Calvinists during the Thirty Years War, the family produced several colourful renegades as well: Friedrich of Hesse-Darmstadt ended his career as cardinal bishop of Breslau; Ernst of Hesse-Rheinfels turned into a fierce Catholic controversialist and intimate of Valerian Magni; three brothers of Hesse-Darmstadt converted at the end of the century. There was even backsliding in the ranks of the *Reich's* most determined Calvinist crusaders: Christoph Wilhelm of Brandenburg, who apostatized at Wiener Neustadt after being captured in battle, and his fickle niece Katharina, married first to Bethlen Gábor and later to Franz Karl of Saxe-Lauenburg; two princes of Nassau and several offspring of the Winter King.²⁰

Indeed, the Rhineland-Palatinate proved accident-prone throughout the seventeenth century from the Protestant point of view. It was not sufficient to have launched the Thirty Years War and proved abysmally unable to pursue it: in 1685 the line of electors palatine died out altogether in male descent. Disputes over the succession produced a new war; Heidelberg and its hinterland suffered renewed and still more thorough devastation. The victorious claimants were a junior branch of the same Wittelsbach family, based at Neuburg on the Danube, which had recently inherited the rich lands of Jülich and Berg in Westphalia. The outcome was a double triumph for the emperor: not only did he help a fervent Catholic prince to power in the Rhineland, but a prince very much in the Habsburg orbit. For although Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg had been converted back in 1613 by his Munich cousins, the spectacular advance of his descendants led

¹⁹ Theiner, op. cit. 3 ff., and documents, nos. 13-35.

²⁰ Räss, op. cit. v, 466-515 (Friedrich of Hesse-Darmstadt); cf. W. Dersch, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kardinals Friedrich von Hessen', *ZVGAS* lxii (1928), 272-330. Räss, op. cit. vi, 465-500 (Ernst of Hesse-Rheinfels); cf. *ADB*, s.v. Räss, op. cit. vii, 459-71 (more Hesse-Darmstädters); *ibid.* v, 404-33 (Christoph Wilhelm); *ibid.* vi, 526-35; vii, 534-50 (Nassauers).

them towards rivalry with Bavaria and alliance with Austria.²¹ Wolfgang Wilhelm's son, Philipp Wilhelm, born in 1615 in the tiny ancestral duchy, died at Vienna in 1690 as elector palatine and ruler of half the Rhineland; his eldest son and heir married Leopold's younger sister, the rest filled high dignities in the Church: two as bishops of Breslau, two as grand masters of the Teutonic order. Franz Ludwig of Neuburg (1664-1732), who held both those offices, was one of the greatest pluralists of the day, encountering resistance only in his last, distinctly sanguine project for ruling both electoral archdioceses of Mainz and Trier at the same time. Among Philipp Wilhelm's daughters, Eleonora became the third wife of Leopold, and others married kings of Spain and Portugal.²² An interesting and parallel case, on a smaller scale, involves yet another branch of the Wittelsbachs (there were anything up to eight in the period): the palatines of Sulzbach, between Nuremberg and the Bohemian border. There Christian August, a convert to Rome in 1656, brought his diminutive court close to Austria, both in spirit—as we shall see—and in contacts: his sister married Václav Eusebius Lobkovic; his daughter, originally betrothed to the last archduke of Tyrol (who died young), then married the last prince of Saxe-Lauenburg and shared his large Bohemian estates.²³

We should not make too much of the mere fact of conversion in high places. It represented an act of partly political, partly spiritual calculation, well illustrated, for example, by the long justificatory writings of Ernst of Hesse and Anton Ulrich of Brunswick. Rather,

²¹ On the conversion of Wolfgang Wilhelm see Räss, op. cit. iv, 223-53. It was a *cause célèbre* during the years before the war: cf. *ibid.* v, 1-73, 195-237, 257-309; *Kühoffs*, no. 14662; and H. Sturmberger, *Adam Graf Herberstorff* (Munich 1976).

²² Philipp Wilhelm of Neuburg, one of the more important of German 17th-century political figures, has long been neglected. But see now H. Schmidt, *Philipp Wilhelm von Pfalz-Neuburg*, i: 1615-58 (Düsseldorf 1973), which will, when complete, be the definitive, though dry, biography; K. Jaitner, *Die Konfessionspolitik des Pfälzgrafen Philipp Wilhelm von Neuburg in Jülich-Berg von 1647-1679* (Münster 1973); *id.*, 'Reichskirchenpolitik und Rombeziehungen Philipp Wilhelms von Pfalz-Neuburg von 1662 bis 1690', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, clxxviii (1976), 91-144. On Franz Ludwig: L. Petry, 'Das Meisteramt in der Würdenkette Franz Ludwigs von Pfalz-Neuburg', in *Acht Jahrhunderte*, ed. Wieser, 429-40; his elder brother, Wolfgang Georg, actually died before installation as bishop of Breslau.

²³ K. Salecker, *Christian Knorr von Rosenroth* (Leipzig 1931); Wolf, *Lobkowitz*, 40 ff.; and see below, pp. 291 f. Ironically the little Sulzbach family later inherited both the Palatinate and Bavaria.

conversion was symptomatic of a set of attitudes shared by many who remained Lutheran: a deeply conservative, defensive mentality; genuinely enhanced respect for tradition, established rights, and hierarchical forms; perhaps also vague ideas of material and confessional unity under imperial aegis. Similarities with the social situation in the Habsburg lands are not far to seek: princes, after all, were the magnates of Germany. So, *qua* temporal powers, were the imperial bishops and abbots with their sixteen aristocratic quarters, and the chapters which elected them. So, at least when taken collectively, were the exclusive patriciates of Nuremberg or Augsburg, steeped in noble privilege, quite withdrawn from trade, and jealous masters of their own civic *latifundium*.²⁴ Smaller territorial rulers occupied much the same position as the great landowner of Austria, Bohemia, or Hungary, and they considered the latter to be equal in rank, as the Wittelsbach-Lobkovic match shows, or Christoph Wilhelm of Brandenburg's marriages with Martinices and Waldsteins; most of the free *Reichsritter* in Swabia and Franconia fell far short of a Trautmannsdorf, Černín, or Batthyány in wealth. The oligarchy of the Empire pursued the same search for social control by example and prescription, by ordered relations on the land and officially-inspired sentiments among the population at large.

The Saxon model of a patrimonial administration was based on a watered-down version of the imperial aulic departments, courtly dominance cemented by a state Church. Saxon Lutheranism, manipulated by the elector through a tame consistory, hidebound and fossilized like the peculiar Calvinism of Transylvania, ironically recovered some animation only when the Wettins converted. Moreover, its extreme conservatism extended to doctrine and observance: auricular confession and quasi-conventual religious houses (one headed by Elizabeth of the Palatinate), some whole services in Latin, vestments and liturgical colours, sacring-bells and incense, elevation of the Host and fine Church plate, even a residue of canon law. It is symbolic that the Saxon lands of the

²⁴ On social exclusiveness among the higher clergy: Feine, op. cit. 10 ff., 66 ff., and table pp. 406 f. There is, of course, a large literature on the towns; cf. H. Mauersberg, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte zentral-europäischer Städte in neuerer Zeit* (Göttingen 1960), especially on Munich and Frankfurt; and Aubin-Zorn (eds.), *Handbuch*, 475, 576, and *passim*.

Teutonic knights were not confiscated, but managed by the Wettins on payment of a ground-rent.²⁵ Far from encouraging heresy in Bohemia, Saxon orthodoxy was terrified of discovering advanced Protestant sentiments at home, and relations with Czech immigrants were sometimes strained; only Swedish intervention at Westphalia and Altranstadt preserved the rights of sorely-tried Lutherans in Silesia.

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These attitudes found support and confirmation in the ranks of Germany's intellectuals.²⁶ Again, not simply in areas of pure Catholic allegiance: among the Jesuits of Ingolstadt, and more especially their non-Bavarian brethren at Würzburg, Bamberg, and a host of other places in the valleys of Rhine, Main, and Danube; among the learned circle around Johann Philipp von Schönborn and his convert friend, Boineburg; among the secular and regular clergy, the printers and publicists of Cologne, the one large free city which contained no Protestants. Such centres were important—they produced major scholars, like Schott and Kircher, who enjoyed immense respect in Central Europe; but much of their *Weltanschauung* was common to substantially Protestant regions as well.

Consider Luther's own university of Wittenberg, bound hand and foot by the syllabuses of theology, heavily Aristotelian in its leanings, with systematic study of traditional physics and metaphysics. Originally a domestic growth from the later sixteenth century, reacting against the Reformation's dislike of abstract speculation in general and ontological constructions in particular, this philosophical current drew much strength from the neo-scholasticism of Spain as transmitted through Catholic Germany: editions of Vitoria, Cano, Soto, Fonseca, above all Suarez,

²⁵ Zeeden, op. cit. 81-94, for a general survey; cf. *Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, II (Leipzig 1897), 533-41 (confession). Elizabeth's convent at Herford (cf. Benecke, op. cit. 104-8) was in neighbouring Lower Saxony. Voigt, op. cit. II, *passim*. Compare the critique of the Saxon Lutheran establishment in Gottfried Arnold, *Unparteiische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, I-II (Frankfurt 1699-1700), esp. I, bk. 17, ch. 5 ('Viel Lutheraner sind ärger als heyden ...'); and in J. B. Neveu, *Vie spirituelle et vie sociale entre Rhin et Baltique au XVII^e siècle* (Paris 1967).

²⁶ Parts of this section overlap with my article 'Learned Societies in Germany in the seventeenth century', *European Studies Review*, VII (1977), 129-51. There are some general remarks about converts among German intellectuals in Arnold, op. cit. I, pt. 2, 451-5.

supplemented with a large number of domestic commentators on the standard texts.²⁷ Similar concerns predominated at the other two Saxon universities, Jena and Leipzig (quite the largest in the Empire), not to speak of Mainz-controlled Erfurt, and the situation was much the same at smaller Lutheran academies like Giessen, Rostock, Strasbourg, or Tübingen, and at the *Gymnasia* patiently tended by their alumni. The only exceptions, outside a few Calvinist high schools, appear to have been Helmstedt in Brunswick and Altdorf near Nuremberg, each of which had its own reasons for avoiding any kind of openly disloyal stance.²⁸

There is much in the career of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz which betrays this environment. Born in Leipzig of a legal family, he began his philosophical studies by reading Suarez. For all the originality and modernity of his thought, Leibniz remained deeply indebted to the traditions of German Humanism and devoted to the imperial heritage. Having settled first in Mainz as Boineburg's secretary, he then moved to the court of another prominent convert, Johann Friedrich of Brunswick, and cultivated an extensive correspondence with Catholic scholars. Throughout his life he hatched plans for academic reform based, if possible, on Vienna, and supported political initiatives to strengthen the constitution of the *Reich*. These efforts culminated in his Austrian stay between 1712 and 1714 and his friendship with Prince Eugene of Savoy; though little came of the projects but a patent of nobility, the ageing Leibniz still showed deference to the idea and the reality of Habsburg sovereignty. At one point, rather as an ambitious Saxon jurist might have petitioned for one of the half-dozen Protestant places on the Aulic Council, the learned *Freiherr* even offered

²⁷ K. Eschweiler, 'Die Philosophie der spanischen Spatscholastik auf den deutschen Universitäten des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Spanische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 1 (Münster 1928), 251-325, esp. 283 ff.; E. Lewalter, *Spanisch-jesuitische und deutsch-lutherische Metaphysik des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg 1935); M. Wundt, *Die deutsche Schulmetaphysik des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen 1939). These three writers air many intricate and sometimes technical problems which have not yet been properly resolved. Cf., on the influential Arriaga, below, pp. 319 f.

²⁸ Much detail on these universities in A. Tholuck, *Das akademische Leben des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 1-ii (Halle 1853-4), a work with the confusing alternative title of *Vorgeschichte des Rationalismus*, pt. 1. On Helmstedt and Altdorf cf. below, pp. 306, 291. Again, the contemporary Gottfried Arnold has some acid criticisms (op. cit. 1, bk. 16, ch. 10, etc.).

himself as a suitable person to take over the chancery of Transylvania!²⁹

Leibniz's colleagues adopted the same general position: the polymath Erhard Weigel, for example, one of his teachers, acted as willing propagandist for the imperial crusade against the Turk; the writer and schoolmaster Christian Weise maintained cordial links with Bohemian Jesuits.³⁰ Leibniz's friend, Job Ludolf became the literary cynosure of the court at Gotha which, under Duke Ernst the Pious, was the model of a small, paternalistic German state thoroughly loyal to the Habsburgs. Though he could not approve of his pupil Wansleb, who apostatized to join the Dominicans, Ludolf had close contacts in Austria and was named first president of a short-lived 'Collegium Imperiale Historicum'.³¹ Shortly after the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia local physicians at Schweinfurt in Franconia founded Germany's first scientific society. This *Academia Naturae Curiosorum* was a pioneer institution for the Europe of the day, but its existence remained tenuous until it turned decisively in the direction of authority and intellectual tradition. By 1670, when it began to publish an annual record of its discoveries under the title *Miscellanea Curiosa*, it had acquired a distinct imperial tinge, with privileges of which it was inordinately proud and protection from the Habsburg court, all duly symbolized on ornate title-pages.³²

A cultural initiative in the opposite direction, from Vienna to the

²⁹ The standard life is by G. E. Guhrauer, *Gottfried Wilhelm Freiherr von Leibniz*, i-ii (Breslau 1846). See also, on his Viennese connections, O. Klopp, 'Leibniz' Plan der Gründung einer Societät der Wissenschaften in Wien', *ÖG* xl (1869), 159-255 (195 f. for the Transylvanian incident). Cf. P. Riley (ed.), *The political writings of Leibniz* (Cambridge 1972), esp. 121-63 (defences of imperial sovereignty).

³⁰ H. Schüling, *Erhard Weigel, Materialien zur Erforschung seines Wirkens* (Giessen 1970), nos. 94, 101-2, and *passim*. Christian Weise, *Epistolae selectiores*, ed. C. G. Hoffmann (Bautzen 1715), pt. 1, nos. 14-15, 19, 21, 28, 31-3, 35-6, 43, 48-9, 53, 55, 91-2; pt. 2, nos. 6-24; mostly to and from Balbin.

³¹ On Gotha: A. Beck, *Geschichte des gotthaischen Landes*, i-iii (Gotha 1868-76), 1, esp. 319 ff. On Ludolf: C. Juncker, *Commentarius de Vita, Scriptis ac Meritis ... Jobi Ludolphi* (Leipzig-Frankfurt 1710); and cf. below, p. 429. For the 'college', which may never have assumed any physical form, see Guhrauer, op. cit. ii, 70-3, 85 f.; Klopp, 'Leibniz' Plan', 170-2; H. Gerstenberg, 'Philipp Wilhelm von Hornigk', *Jbb. f. Natö. u. Stai.* cxxiii (1930), 813-71, at 859 f.

³² A. E. Büchner, *Academiae ... Leopoldino-Carolinae Naturae Curiosorum Historia* (Halle 1755), esp. 169-270 on privileges; cf. R. Herrlinger, 'Das Collegium Naturae Curiosorum von 1652 ...', in *Steno and Brain Research in the 17th century*, ed. G. Scherz (Oxford 1968), 261-72, esp. 266-8.

Reich, was focused on the great Rhineland publishing centre of Frankfurt am Main. There an imperial book commission, first established in the 1560s, fought a series of rather dilatory Catholic campaigns against subversive and abusive literature during the decades before the war, and also served as collecting station for accessions to the court library. The war lamed both book fair and commission, though the Habsburg agent, Johann Ludwig von Hagen, stayed ineffectually at his post.³³ After Westphalia a new commissioner appeared, Ludwig von Hörnigk (claimed by some sources to be the illegitimate son of a prince of Hesse), who had just converted under the guidance of Jodocus Kedd, issued the proper apologia for his action, and thrown himself on the mercy of the emperor. Hörnigk and his successors reactivated their office and struggled to enforce restraints on the publishing trade. All in all, it is striking what they managed to accomplish in often hostile surroundings, and the achievement might have been greater but for their own internecine feuding.³⁴

A leading backer of the book commissioners was the large publishing house of Ender at Nuremberg, an imperial city as firmly Lutheran as Frankfurt. The Ender dynasty divided into two lines, one printing Protestant works, the other—without any serious hindrance—Catholic ones; each issued a wealth of material which supported, either directly or by implication, the Habsburg presence in Germany. Among their authors we find, for example, Joachim von Sandrart, preferred artist of the imperial family in the later seventeenth century, and the popular poet, Sigismund von Birken,

³³ On this commission's activities before 1620 see Evans, *Wachet Presses*, 29–31. Hagen: HHSStA, Reichshofrat, Miscellanea, Bücherkommission im Reich, fasc. 2, esp. 'konv. 4' and 'konv. 5'; R. Becker, 'Die Berichte des kaiserlichen und apostolischen Bücherkommissars J. L. von Hagen an die römische Kurie (1623–49)', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven*, II (1971), 422–65.

³⁴ *Zwanzig Ursachen umb welcher willen Ludovicus von Hörnigk ... der uralten Catholischen Religion und Kirchen zugetreten* (V. 1648; this 1st edn. (Mayer), op. cit. i, no. 1626) is very rare; I have seen another: [Cologne] 21649; reprinted by Räss, op. cit. vi, 238–59. Hörnigk as commissioner: HHSStA, loc. cit., esp. 'konv. 5', fols. 18 ff.; and his letters to Lambeck in ÖNB, MS. 9712, fols. 237, 239 f., 253 f.; ibid. MS. 9713, fols. 13 f., 19 f., 22, 29 f., 35 f., 39, 60 f., 72, 74, 103, 129; cf. ibid. 58 f. On the commission after the 1650s: H. Raab, 'Apostolische Bücherkommissare in Frankfurt a.M.', *Hf lxxxvii* (1967), 326–54, at 335 ff.; U. Eisenhardt, *Die kaiserliche Aufsicht über Buchdruck, Buchhandel und Presse im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation* (Karlsruhe 1970), 79 ff.; and HHSStA, loc. cit., fasc. 3. Some of the tension stemmed from the political rivalry between Vienna and Mainz.

who edited (indeed positively recreated) one of the most important accounts of medieval Habsburg history.³⁵ Sandrart and Birken are typical representatives of educated society at Nuremberg, like the lawyers who went to serve on the *Reichshofrat*, the physicians who played an active role in the *Academia Naturae Curiosorum*, the amateur poets who sustained the arcadian *Pegnisischer Blumenorden*, even the academics who staffed the moderately liberal, but thoroughly reliable little university at nearby Altdorf.³⁶

Two further examples may help to clinch the argument that, in south Germany at least, considerable confessional coexistence survived among intellectuals on the basis of firm loyalty to the imperial past and to Austria as its embodiment. The worthy *literati* of Augsburg, no match for their brilliant cosmopolitan predecessors of a century earlier, busied themselves now with quaint observations for the *Miscellanea Curiosa* or allusive pageantry to greet the coronation of the young Archduke Joseph as king of the Romans in 1690. But their efforts were not entirely negligible: witness the remarkable visual Lutheran Baroque of Johann Ulrich Krauss and other engravers.³⁷ Further east the little town of Sulzbach under its

³⁵ F. Oldenbourg, *Die Ender, eine Nürnberger Buchhändlerfamilie, 1590–1740* (Munich–Berlin 1911), is rather slight. The Enders' loyalist stand at Frankfurt appears from ibid., appendix 3; F. Kapp, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels, 1–iv* (Leipzig 1886–1913), i, 676–714; and some documents in HHSStA, loc. cit. J. von Sandrart, *Academia nobilissima Artis Pictoriae* (Nuremberg 1683), a Latin version of the *Teutsche Academie* of 1675, with a life of the author (appendix); Sandrart also executed many commissions in Austrian churches. J. J. Fugger, *Spiegel der Ehren des ... Erzhäuses Oesterreich*, ed. S. von Birken (Nuremberg 1668); cf. ÖNB, MS. 9712, fols. 220 f., 227–9; ibid. MS. 9713, fols. 99, 116–19, 126 f., 157 f., 178, 183, 192–7, 200 f., 210, 243. Birken was a native of Eger in Bohemia. Nádasdy's *Mausoleum* (above), p. 257, n. 54), was published by the Enders with a German translation from Birken (cf. Gy. Rózsa in *ItK lxxiv* (1970), 477; ÖNB, MS. 9713, fols. 53 f., 56 f.); although not a work of Habsburg panegyric, it—like Sandrart's travel-guide to the Danubian lands—bespeaks Nuremberg's interest in the area.

³⁶ R. van Dülmen, 'Sozietätsbildungen in Nürnberg im 17. Jahrhundert', in *Gesellschaft und Herrschaft ... Festgabe für K. Bosl* (Munich 1969), 153–90; [J. Herdogen], pseud. Amaranthes, *Historische Nachricht von des löblichen Hirten- und Blumen-Ordens an der Pegnitz Anfang* (Nuremberg 1744). On the general question of appointing Protestants to the Aulic Council see Gschliesser, op. cit. 258–60, 271–3, 279 ff. *passim*. One of the more interesting was a native of nearby Regensburg, the littérateur J. A. Pörtner von Theuren (cf. N. Conradts in *Beiträge zur neueren Geschichte Oesterreichs*, ed. H. Fichtenau and E. Zöllner (V.-Cologne–Graz 1974), 115–29).

³⁷ L. Lenk, *Augsburger Bürgerzeit im Späthumanismus und Frühbarock* (Augsburg 1968), 22 ff., 113–17, 150–3, and *passim*; U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, 1–xxxvi* (Leipzig 1907–47), s.v. 'Kraus'.

ruler, Christian August, sheltered an odd collection of scholars, among them Abraham Pöhmer from Nuremberg, once a Utopian dreamer and comrade of Comenius, now a convert like the prince, and Joachim Hübner, also an old friend of Comenius.³⁸ The prime occupation of this court was Hebrew language and philosophy, its leading personality the Cabalist, Christian Knorr von Rosenroth. Knorr, as his biographer informs us, came from Silesia, wrote gratulatory poetry for Leopold I, and received a barony from him in 1677. In fact the family's Habsburg connection was stronger than that, for Laurenz Knorr had been one of the first doctors on the Prague court of appeal, and Paulus Knorr was court chaplain at Graz in the years of Counter-Reformation there.³⁹ During the 1660s and 1670s the printing-press at Sulzbach issued a series of other works by authors with strong Austrian and Bohemian links, the most striking case in all Germany (and one too easily overlooked by historians) of an accommodation between Lutheran and Catholic learning.⁴⁰

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The strongest pointer to the attractiveness of Austria is the number of Germans recruited into service in the Habsburg lands. We have already seen some of them in religious orders: Kedd from the Rhineland, Procopius from Brandenburg, Sancta Clara from Bavarian Swabia via the Ingolstadt Jesuits and the Salzburg Benedictines; more are still to be introduced, like Christoph Scheiner or Simon Wagnereck. Aristocrats continued to take up high positions at court, especially as presidents of the *Reichshofkanzlei* and *Reichshofrat*, and as privy councillors. Swabia was the main source, yielding the same parade of south-west Germany's catholic nobility after the 1620s as before: Fürstenbergs, Hohenzollern-

³⁸ Pöhmer: Dulmen, art. cit. 162, 168–70; M. Blekastad, *Comenius* (Oslo 1969), 151, 247 f., 261, 303 n., 349 f., 380; cf. Zibrtr, *BCH* v, nos. 28648–55. Hubner: Blekastad, op. cit. 249 ff., 274 f., 328 f., 342 f., 397, 432, 605; cf. Zibrtr, *BCH*, v, nos. 28017–92.

³⁹ Salecker, op. cit.; Zedler, xv, cols. 1163–6; *ADB*, s.v. 'Knorr'. On the family: Zedler, loc. cit.; Auersperg, op. cit. i, 15; Schuster, op. cit. 628–41; *Status Paritalaris*, 110. Another 'Dr. Knorr' is mentioned in Austria in 1636 (Czeray, *Tourist*, 41–8). For Hebrew studies see below, pp. 350 f.

⁴⁰ Examples are Thomas Carve, *Lyra seu Anacephalaosis Hibernica* (1666); Amandus Herrmann, *Sol Triplex in eodem Universo: id est, Universae Philosophiae cursus integer* (1676); Michael Pexenfelder, *Apparatus Eruditioris ... per omnes artes et scientias* (1680); and, somewhat later, Sředovský, op. cit.

Hechtings, Sulzes, were followed by Ernst von Oettingen-Wallerstein and his son Wolfgang, who together ran the Aulic Council for all but thirteen of the sixty years after Westphalia, and Leopold Wilhelm von Königsegg, longest-serving imperial vice-chancellor in the seventeenth century.⁴¹ But the most spectacular instance is Franconian: the extravagant dynasty of the Schönborns, greatest palace builders of the Baroque, one of whom, Karl Friedrich, the nephew and brother of archbishops, served three decades as vice-chancellor (he it was—predictably—who commissioned the new *Reichskanzleitrakt* in Vienna) and confirmed his family's possessions as among the most extensive in Europe, stretching into remote corners of the Carpathians where Schönborns, in succession to Rákóczi, ruled over a forested and rock-strewn empire of bears, wolves, and Ruthenes.⁴² And German generals: peace was never long enough, or the Habsburg army strong enough, to make them redundant—Wolfgang Julius of Hohenlohe and Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden are among the most celebrated.

These well-born administrators and soldiers helped broaden the choices available to the Habsburgs. More significant indicators in the same direction are the commoners and members of the lower nobility who made a career in Austria. They likewise continue a tradition; we may recall the jurists who had entered the inner councils of the emperor in the later sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth, and had been well rewarded: Giffen, Melander, Volmar, almost all the earlier vice-chancellors.⁴³ But that was a time when such careers still lay open to the citizenry of Vienna or Prague, to the purveyors of a native Humanism. Now hierarchy stifled advance at home, and the import of capable

⁴¹ Gross, op. cit. (esp. 341–5 on Königsegg); Gschliesser, op. cit. (esp. 237, 257, 268, on the Oettingens); Schwarz, op. cit., appendix; Vann, *Swabian Kreis*, 47 ff.

⁴² H. Hantisch, *Karl Friedrich Graf von Schönborn* (Augsburg 1929); A. Sas, 'Ein Leitfundium fränkischer Kirchenfürsten in den Nordostkarpathen 1728–46', *Vjchr. f. S. u. W. Gesch.* xxiv (1931), 410–48, criticized by O. Pauliny in *Sz.* lxxi (1932), 459–65; A. Schrocker, 'Besitz und Politik des Hauses Schönborn vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert', *MÖStA* xxvi (1973), 212–34, a *compte-rendu*; cf. above, p. 177. The prime Schönborn *Schloss* in Austria is at Gollersdorf (the former Puchheim estate), just north of Vienna; another line of the family settled in Bohemia.

⁴³ Above, p. 106; Gross, op. cit. 307 ff. Of the first nine *Reichsitzkanzler* (1559–1626), six were bourgeois or recent nobles (*Briefadel*) from southern Germany; the others a member of the Tyrolean gentry (Kurz), an obscure Italian (Corraduz), and a converted knight from Mecklenburg (Stralendorf).

newcomers from Germany preserved opportunity without conceding real mobility, allowed the exercise of talent without disturbing the system. Startling arrivistes after 1650 usually hailed from the *Reich*.

Most flamboyant of them was Joachim Enzmüller, a lawyer, born in 1600 at Babenhausen in Swabia, who took a leading part in the Counter-Reformation of the Austrian countryside and achieved the title Count of Windhag from an estate which he purchased a little east of Linz. There he proceeded to surround himself with all the trappings of a Baroque *grand seigneur*: he built a new castle, full of books, coins and *objets d'art*; he reconstructed the existing castle as a convent for Dominican nuns with his only daughter as prioress; he financed lavish volumes, issued at Frankfurt, to describe his properties. In one respect alone did Enzmüller perhaps retain a sense of the more liberal Germany of his youth: when he died in 1678 he bequeathed his library to the Dominicans of Vienna as a public collection. With an equally Baroque feeling for the large gesture, his daughter had the new castle demolished immediately afterwards.⁴⁴

A more orthodox channel for advancement lay through the Austrian chancery; there is some irony in the fact that this department, quite as much as the *Reichshofkanzlei*, was taken over by a sequence of able newcomers from the Empire. The first, Johann Paul Hocher, born in 1616 at Freiburg im Breisgau, pursued the family profession as a lawyer; his expertise gained him posts in Tyrolean government, then from 1667 the appointment as chancellor. A *protégé* of Lobkovic, he did not scruple to encompass the fall of his patron, and acted as effective chief minister to Leopold until his death in 1683: an absolutist, perhaps, by persuasion, though not by achievement.⁴⁵ Hocher was succeeded by Theodor Heinrich Stratmann (died in 1693), a petty noble from the Rhineland and adviser to the house of Neuburg, who passed from them into Habsburg service and became one of the most formidable

⁴⁴ *Topographia Windhagiana, das ist eigentliche Delineation beyder Herrschaften Windhag und Reichenau* (Frankfurt 1656, reissued in expanded form *ibid.* 1673); F. X. Pritz, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte von Münzbach und Windhag in Oberösterreich', *AÖG* xv (1856), 133-84; *Handbuch der historischen Stätten*, I, 142. Visitors noticed the library: Baur, 'Passer', 357, 363, 366; Freschot, *op. cit.* 27-30.

⁴⁵ *ADB* and *NDB*, s.v.; Gross, *op. cit.* 52-6; Schwarz, *op. cit.* 247-9; Bätenger, *Finanzen*, 49-52. On the Austrian chancery in general, cf. above, pp. 147 f.

figures in Viennese public life. The third strong man of the Austrian chancery took a similar route to power: Johann Friedrich Seilern (1646-1715) was not only a German commoner (the son of a dyer from the Rhenish Palatinate) but also a convert. Imperial diplomat, chancellor from 1705, he was the *spiritus rector* of the Pragmatic Sanction.⁴⁶

It need hardly be added that the politicians, though originating outside the system, were happy to be embraced by it: Hocher died as a baron with a small Swabian estate and a huge Austrian fortune (belying the legend of his incorruptibility?); Stratmann married his daughters off to a Stubenberg, a Collalto, and a Batthyány, and placed his sons high in Church, state, and army. While his family proved short-lived, the Counts Seilern, propagated through the chancellor's son-in-law, himself Austrian chancellor in the 1740s, proved more resilient. Overall the hierarchical establishment gained marked profit at minimal cost by encouraging such men: the most outstanding Habsburg diplomat of the period, Franz Paul Lisola, was a resentful citizen of French-occupied Besançon who expended his considerable energies on orchestrating resistance to Louis XIV without ever striking root in Austria. And the same formula continued to be used in the eighteenth century; Maria Theresa's intimate adviser and minister Bartenstein, for example, was born of Protestant burgher stock at Strasbourg (likewise French-occupied) in 1689.⁴⁷

Two instances may suffice to illustrate the scope for ecclesiastical preferment through a move from Germany to the lands of direct Habsburg rule. At the higher level Wilderich von Walderdorff was a member of the lesser immediate nobility (*Reichsritterschaft*) which regularly filled middling clerical positions in the Rhineland. Having acted as Counter-Reforming vicar-general for the archbishop of Mainz, he then settled in Austria as an ineffective imperial vice-chancellor quite overshadowed by the architects of the temporary French alliance in the 1660s, Auersperg and Lobkovic. Crossing the divide between temporal and spiritual a second time, he ended his

⁴⁶ Stratmann: Zedler, s.v. (not entirely accurate); *ADB*, s.v.; Jaitner, *Kämpfersionspolitik*, 63-5, 23 f. *passim*; cf. above, p. 242 and n. 15. G. Turba, *Reichsgraf Seilern ... als kurpfälzischer und österreichischer Staatsmann* (Heidelberg 1923).

⁴⁷ A. F. Fribram, *Paul Freiherr von Lisola und die Politik seiner Zeit* (Leipzig 1894). On Bartenstein see A. Arneht in *AÖG* xvi (1871), 3 ff.

life as bishop of Vienna.⁴⁸ Andreas Fromm came from a very different background. Court preacher to the Great Elector of Brandenburg, he recanted his Protestantism and moved to Bohemia in 1668 where he issued one of the most circumstantial of all the apologies for conversion. Fromm's *Wiederkehrung zur Catholischen Kirchen*, much reprinted, reiterates all the arguments from authority, unity, continuity of tradition, and morality which we have seen to be the common coin of this genre. More than a mere *succès d'estime* in his new homeland, it earned him the lush pasture of a canonry at Litoměřice.⁴⁹

A third kind of career, beside the political and ecclesiastical, might open itself to the scholar—a category which, of course, embraced some clerics, and also some physicians in the continuing procession of *Leibärzte*. The best case is that of the learned Peter Lambeck, whose conversion and appointment as imperial librarian in 1662 both discomfited Protestant academics and did much to establish the intellectual *bona fides* of Leopold's court.⁵⁰ A dramatic translation this, since Lambeck came from Hamburg, the most progressive city in the Empire; but it did not blunt his erudition, as the eight volumes of his *Commentarii* demonstrate, one of the great monuments of contemporary bibliography. We can form some impression of Lambeck's importance by means of his rich correspondence (still, like that of Blotius a century before, largely unpublished). There are international contacts—from London's Royal Society to Constantinople, from Rome to Danzig—along with material of internal, Central European concern and interesting evidence of Lambeck's political influence; but most notable is the *Hofbibliothekar's* vast acquaintanceship in Germany: Birken and

⁴⁸ Zedler, s.v. 'Wallendorf'; Gross, op. cit. 340 f.; cf. Veit, *Reformbestrebungen, passim*.

⁴⁹ A. Fromm, *Wiederkehrung zur Catholischen Kirchen davon er die Historiam und Motiven im Druck zu geben nötig erachtet* (Pr. ?1668); there were several other Prague edns.—I have encountered 1713, 1730, and 1762—as well as Cologne ones (1669, 1717), and other polemical tracts: e.g. *Entdeckung der nichtigen Kürste* [of E. S. Reinhardt] (Pr. 1669); *Knihopis*, no. 2604. Cf. Räss, op. cit. vii, 333–62; Balbin, 'Relatio', ed. Rezek, 219 f.

⁵⁰ The latest *compte rendu* on Lambeck, who lacks any full biography, is by L. Strebl in Stummvoll (ed.), op. cit. 165–84. He describes his move to Vienna, with lavish praise of the emperor, in *Commentarii de augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensis*, i–viii (V. 1665–79, I have used the 2nd edn., ed. A. F. Kollar, V. 1766–82), i, cols. 8 ff.

the Endters in Nuremberg; Velschius in Augsburg and J. J. Fuchs in Regensburg; Seckendorff and Ludolf in Saxony, and Andreas Müller in Berlin; printers like G. P. Finck and Matthias Merian; organizers of the *Academia Naturae Curiosorum*; a string of bishops and abbots; Renatus Slusius in Liège and Boineburg in Mainz, who sends enthusiastic recommendations of the twenty-two-year-old Leibniz...⁵¹

Among Lambeck's correspondents are some less easily-classifiable newcomers to Austria. Boineburg's friend Heinrich Julius Blume is one, a highly cultivated, formerly Lutheran lawyer from Brunswick who became vice-president of the appeal court at Prague.⁵² Then follows a trio with a remarkable family resemblance: the mercantilists Becher, Hörnigk, and Schröder. At least, we remember them as mercantilists, though they were known in their own day rather as scientists and inventors with a predilection for alchemy. All three immigrated from middle Germany; all three were converts. Hörnigk, son of Ludwig the book commissioner, moved to Austria in the 1660s, making his literary début by translating from Spanish the biography of a sixteenth-century archduchess-nun, and becoming a staunch secretary to two of Leopold's diplomat-bishops: Rojas y Spinola and Johann Philipp Lamberg. His exact contemporary, Schröder, son of Ernst the Pious's chancellor at Gotha, entered Leopold's service in 1673, though he was given only limited opportunities to use those talents which had earned him election to the Royal Society as a very young man, and his absolutist theories found little response.⁵³ The eldest,

⁵¹ Lambeck's correspondence is in ÖNB, MSS. 9712–16. Among the few published items are those relating to Bohuslav Balbin (whom Lambeck supported against the censors), printed by Mencik (above, p. 104, n. 60), and the letters to and from the secretary of the Royal Society, printed in R. M. and M. B. Hall (eds.), *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, i—(Madison—Milwaukee 1965—), nos. 520, 1310, 1390. Evidence of political activity in (e.g.) ÖNB, MS. 9716, fols. 74 f., 137 ff. Boineburg's letters about Leibniz are ibid. MS. 9713, fols. 227 f., 302–4; cf. ibid. MS. 9714, fol. 1.

⁵² Räss, op. cit. vi, 558–71; *ADB*, s.v.; Weise, op. cit., pt. 1, nos. 20, 82–3; pt. 2, no. 25; ÖNB, MS. 9713, fol. 111; ibid. MS. 9714, fols. 223–37. Blume was rewarded with a barony.

⁵³ Hörnigk: Gerstenberg, art. cit.; F. Posch, 'Philipp Wilhelm von Hörnigk, Werdejahre und österreichisch-steyrische Beziehungen', *MIOG* lxi (1953), 335–58; cf. above, p. 163. His translation is presumably the work which Leopold I wanted to see in 1677 (ÖNB, MS. 12757, fol. 66). Schröder: H. Srbik, 'Wilhelm von Schröder', *Sb. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss., ph.-h. Kl.* clixiv (1910), Abb. 1; W. Roscher, 'Österreichische (continued)

the most formidable, and also the most wayward, was Becher (1635–1682), a native of Speyer. Like Hörnigk, who was his brother-in-law, Becher worked first at Mainz, pouring out an extraordinary flood of ideas which continued all his life: projects for manufactories and trading companies, for currency and educational reform, for elixirs and the *perpetuum mobile*, for submarines and new languages. He attracted the attention of the imperial court, settling at Vienna from 1670, though all his undertakings were dogged by failure and clouded by the hectic workings of an unstable fantasy.⁵⁴

Adventurers achieving even a modicum of success must have been far outnumbered by those who got nowhere and have left few scraps of documentation: like one Peter Meisner from Zörbig in Saxony, who offers religious edification to Leopold in the hope of a travel grant; or his compatriot and fellow-convert, Heinrich Jacoberer, who reports—as strong presumption of merit—how the font shattered at his first, Lutheran baptism; or the Swabian, Johann Kircher, who died soon after the fanfare for his apostasy.⁵⁵ Many other hard-working immigrants have left only collective traces, like the Franconian and Bavarian architects, masons, and decorative artists who made such large contributions to the mature Bohemian Baroque—the Dientzenhofer family of architects and the sculptor, Matthias Bernhard Braun are outstanding examples. But enough has been said to show how, despite the implications of the political settlement in 1648, no clear boundary can yet be drawn between Monarchy and Reich.

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The German periphery of the Habsburg lands themselves affords further evidence of interplay. The *Erblände*, especially the *Vorlande*, were, after all, still part of the Holy Roman Empire, if only (as Pufendorf shrewdly observed) in *favorabilibus* rather than in *odiosis*.

Nationalökonomik unter Leopold I, *Jbb.f.Nat.u.Stat.* ii (1864), 25–59, 105–22, at 111–22. He was married to another convert, from a family of *émigré* Austrians.

⁵⁴ Hassinger, *Becher*; Roscher, art. cit. 38–59; cf. above, pp. 163 f., 276; below, pp. 366 f. Some of Becher's last schemes are outlined in *Catalogue of State Papers: Domestic, 19.1680–31. 12.1681* (London, 1921), 205, 339, 425; and *ibid.*, 1682 (London 1932), 612. There are good reflections about the cameralists—especially Becher—as theorists of a harmony of political and economic forces in the *Reich*, in Walker, op. cit. 145 ff.

⁵⁵ ÖNB, MS 11671: 'Christliche Betrachtung... entworfen von Petro Meisnero', esp. fols 3 f.; *ibid.* MS. 8250: 'Relation von mir Heinrich Reinhard Maximilian Jacoberer', 1690s. On Kircher, cf. above, pp. 250 f. and n. 35.

The Swabian possessions of the dynasty, not integrated with Austria but essentially loyal to it, allowed a kind of symbiosis: imperial protection, ideals, Catholic Church, coexisting with local industriousness and social freedoms.⁵⁶ Such sons of the area as Hocher illustrate how potent the combination could be, while by a process of capillary attraction citizens from neighbouring non-Habsburg petty states might be placed on the ladder leading to imperial preferment.

The Bohemian crown too had its large German minority and adhered—in some vague sense—to the *Reich*: in 1708 it actually regained a voice at the imperial diet. Its borders were not hermetically sealed; how could they be with such limited civil power? The region around Eger, on the north-west frontier, retained into the eighteenth century the form of a mortgaged fief of the *Reich*, with separate estates, which duly assembled to accord their own personal recognition to the Pragmatic Sanction in 1712. Within the Egerland's diminutive confines such German princes as Brandenburg-Bayreuth owned property by an irredeemably complex process of subinfeudation. So confused was the status of Asch, a tiny territory projecting northwards into Saxony, that it even managed to avoid the Counter-Reformation; its possessors, the Barons Zedwitz, walking a confessional tight-rope for a century and a half with assistance from some ingenious imperial lawyers.⁵⁷

The main case of interaction here, worth dwelling on more fully, is Silesia, a part of the Bohemian lands since the fourteenth century—and earlier subject to Poland—but peopled predominantly by Germans and communicating most directly down the Oder towards the North German Plain. Silesia, or rather the Silesias, Upper and Lower, each containing its jumble of duchies with distinct privileges, continued to assert a large measure of independence, both from the rest of the crown of St. Wenceslas and from the authorities in distant Vienna. The Habsburgs employed a governor for the whole province (normally the bishop of Breslau) and lieutenants at local level; but diet and Chamber preserved their powers, and administration was only really possible by accommodation with vested interests. The long-suffering Ampringen, fresh

⁵⁶ Pufendorf, op. cit. 29–37. Vann, *Swabian Kreis*, esp. ch. 7.

⁵⁷ On Eger see the detailed article by J. Čelakovský in *OSN*, xii, 111–22. On Asch: *ibid.*, and a long section in Zedler, s.v. 'Zedwitz'.

from total failure in Hungary, scarcely had an easier job when put out to grass as *Oberhauptmann* of Silesia in 1682.⁵⁸ Again the system rested on magnates, Catholic Church, and a wider attractiveness of Counter-Reformation culture.

Aristocratic bonds with the rest of the Monarchy were certainly strengthened by the grants of duchies to Liechtensteins at Troppau and Jägerndorf (where they supplanted the cavalier Calvinist rebel, Johann Georg of Hohenzollern), to Lobkovicz at Sagan, and to Auerspergs, who occupied the fief of Münsterberg so conveniently vacated in 1647 by the extinct Poděbrads. On top of this, large estates at Oderberg and Beuthen were entailed on the successors of Lazarus Henckel (1550–1624), an Upper Hungarian burgher and the only Habsburg subject who, in the last mobile years of the Humanist age, permanently founded the fortunes of his family as a financier and entrepreneur.⁵⁹ Otherwise the government relied on a few great native clans: initially the Dohnas, Abraham and his son, Karl Hannibal (1588–1633), for a time the only lay Catholic in the highest stratum of Silesian society, a man as zealous in prosecuting his faith as were his Calvinist cousins from Prussia who served Brandenburg and the Palatinate; then above all the Schaffgotsches, who provide a further instance of disgrace redeemed. Hans Ulrich Schaffgotsch went to the block in 1635 as a too-faithful ally of Wallenstein, but his convert son, Christoph Leopold (1623–1703) recovered and extended the family estates, serving as diplomat, royal commissioner, and president of the Silesian Chamber. The Schaffgotsches also settled in Bohemia, like the Oppersdorfs, who controlled the countryside around Glogau, and the ubiquitous

⁵⁸ Nicolaus Henelius, *Silesiographia Renovata*, ed. and expanded by M. J. Fibiger, i–ii (Breslau–Leipzig 1704), is the fullest contemporary account of Silesia's geography (i, chs. 1–5), and its administration (ii, ch. 12, on the diet; 1193 ff. on the Chamber). Rachtfahl, op. cit., is an exemplary survey of the earlier period. There were non-episcopal governors (the office is variously called *Oberhauptmann* or *Oberlandshauptmann*) between 1609 and 1664 (mostly local Piast princes in these years of greatest friction), in 1671–4 (Lobkovic, *qua* duke of Sagan), and 1682–4 (Aimpringen, *qua ad hominem* prince of Freudenthal).

⁵⁹ Cf. above, pp. 171–3, 205. The Liechtenstein takeover of Troppau and then Jägerndorf is described in Chr. d'Elvert, *Die Verfassung und Verwaltung von Österreich-Schlesien in ihrer historischen Ausbildung* (Brunn 1854), 82–140. There is no proper history of the highly interesting clan of Henckels von Donnersmark (i.e. Csutorókhely, or Spišský Svrtok, in the Zips region), who became counts in 1661 and Catholics in the Beuthen line in 1700. Cf. *NDB*, viii, 516–19; and, for Lazarus, *Rudolf II*, 76, n. 2.

Nostizes. The ring of dominant Catholic families is closed with the descendants of a prominent middle-German *condottiere*, Melchior Hatzfeld, ensconced in Silesia from 1641.⁶⁰

Silesia's Counter-Reformation, as we saw, proceeded ruthlessly, belatedly, and incompletely. But within its limits it made for a genuine recovery of Catholic values, especially in the south and east of the area. It fed on the international movement, and the cosmopolitan bishops of Breslau, culminating in Friedrich of Hesse (1671–82) and Franz Ludwig of Neuburg (1683–1732), did much to reassert the Church's authority in the centre of the province, where they owned the large duchy of Neisse. New religious orders dug themselves in, notably the Jesuits, who advanced strongly from mid-century, deploying impressive intellectual and dramatic talents. They came into direct, protracted confrontation with the Protestant council of Breslau over plans for a university: founded in 1702, this was eventually built from 1728 with a long façade, both elegant and grandiose, gazing out in studied triumph across the river Oder.⁶¹

At the same time Counter-Reformation increasingly tapped indigenous sources, reviving venerable sites of cult and monasticism. Again, one kind of coenobite was particularly characteristic of Silesia; whereas Benedictines, canons regular, Premonstratensians, and Crusaders with a Red Star had a few wealthy houses in the province,⁶² it was seven well-endowed Cistercian abbeys which represented the liveliest native tradition: Leubus, Heinrichau, Kamenz, Rauden, Himmelwitz, Grüssau, and the aristocratic nunnery at Trebnitz guarding the relics of St. Hedwig. By the end of the seventeenth century the largest of them, Leubus, had begun reconstruction on a scale as sumptuous as any in Austria or Bohemia; the main front is over 200 metres long, and behind it rose

⁶⁰ On the Silesian aristocracy: Henelius, op. cit. ii, ch. 8. For Schaffgotsch: Wurzbach and OSN, s.v.; cf. above, p. 210 and n. 33; below, p. 392. The Hatzfelds came from Hesse; Melchior's brother was bishop of Bamberg and Würzburg.

⁶¹ Cf. above, pp. 284 f., on the bishops; above, pp. 126, 125; on the Jesuits Grünhagen, *Geschichte*, ii, 374–82, for their dispute with the city.

⁶² Benedictines at Wählsdorf, revived from Bohemia in the years around 1700 (Blucher, it may be recalled, was created prince of Wählsdorf in 1814, after its secularization); canons regular at Breslau and Sagan (Henelius, op. cit. i, 447–500); Premonstratensians at St. Vincent in Breslau (Backmund, op. cit. i, 334–7); Crusaders at Breslau (Bělohávek–Hradec, op. cit. ii, esp. 48 ff.).

up pompous rooms for the monks and their distinguished visitors. The community at Grüssau, fortified by the spiritual leadership of Bernardus Rosa (abbot from 1660 to 1696), financed two major churches: one a votive offering to St. Joseph, the other a completely rebuilt abbey church which became the most important ecclesiastical monument in Silesia.⁶³

Catholicism's wider intellectual resonance is demonstrated firstly by conversions. Examples are Gottfried Ferdinand Buckisch (1641-99), a lawyer and antiquarian ennobled for his defence of Habsburg positions; another legal writer, Samuel Butschky, son of a preacher, who joined the Leopoldine administration; and the poet, Andreas Scultetus, tempted across by Jesuits at Breslau in 1644. A more famous literary figure than any of these is Andreas Scheffler (1624-77), known as Angelus Silesius, not only the greatest German lyricist of the period, but also the author of no less than thirty-nine tracts of Counter-Reformation theology. Scheffler's career spanned two worlds, from student days at Strasbourg and Leiden to a parting from life in the venerable calm of the abbey of the Crusaders at Breslau.⁶⁴ Another fine artist likewise found himself irresistibly drawn to the old monastic houses of Silesia: Michael Willmann (1630-1706), a native of Königsberg, abandoned his comfortable position as *Hofmaler* to the elector of Brandenburg and became (along with his stepson, J. K. Liška) the resident painter at Leubus and Grüssau. His work reveals a remarkable blending of individualistic talent (his title of 'Silesian Rubens', for all its exaggeration, is not entirely *mal à propos*) with the anonymity of the cloistered ideal.⁶⁵

Meanwhile the very survival of Lutheranism, not to speak of a Calvinist leaven at certain princely courts, was fruitful. It provides the key to Silesia's unique role as mediator. On the one hand it

⁶³ Sartorius, op. cit. 1111-28; Henelius, op. cit. i, 648-709; P. Wintera, 'Leubus in Schlesien', *Stud.u.Mitt.* xxv (1904), 502-14, 676-97; G. Grundmann, *Dome, Kirchen und Klöster in Schlesien* (Frankfurt 1963), 109-11, 191-2, 201-3, 207-11, 241-3; A. Rose, *Kloster Grüssau* (Stuttgart-Aalen 1974); Meyer, *Gemeinde*, 102-19 (Kamenitz); H. Grüger, *Heinrichau 1227-1977* (Cologne-V. 1978).

⁶⁴ Buckisch: Räss, op. cit. viii, 115-18; cf. R. Samulski in *ZVGAS* lxvi (1932), 155-61. Butschky: Räss, op. cit. vii, 575-83. Scultetus: Dziatzko, 'Der Übertritt des Dichters Andreas Scultetus von Bunzlau zum Katholicismus', *ZVGAS* xii (1875), 439-53; *ADB*, s.v. Scheffler; *ADB* and *NDB*, s.v., summarize the biography; cf. Sommervogel, iv, cols. 968 f.

⁶⁵ E. Kloss, *Michael Willmann* (Breslau 1934).

mediated between confessions, such that the impact of Counter-Reformation on the province's sophisticated culture brought more original creativity than anywhere else in the *Reich* during the seventeenth century.⁶⁶ Opitz, Logau, Gryphius, Hofmannswaldau, Lohenstein, were all influenced by Jesuit drama and Catholic imagery, and a genuine Protestant Baroque emerged with parallels only in those few parts of Germany, such as Augsburg and Sulzbach, where a similar religious balance obtained (and it will be recalled that Knorr von Rosenroth was a Silesian). Neoscholasticism and universality worked through Lutheran ideology to produce the philosophical system of Leibniz's popularizer, Christian Wolff; and the mingling of two atmospheres yielded nebulous profundities of mysticism and prophecy from Jakob Boehme, through Czepko and Frankenberg (both highly respectable members of the nobility), to the arch-eccentric Quirinus Kuhlmann, who ended at the stake for seeking to convert the Muscovites to Luther's gospel.⁶⁷ On the other hand Silesia mediated between the Habsburg lands and Germany precisely because the high qualities of its intellectual life were generally recognized. Earlier traditions formed by the vigorous Humanist movement, when Silesia had been a refuge of moderation, suffered severely in the war. But they lived on in an attenuated way through late representatives like John Jonston (a sort of honorary Polish noble, despite his name); and bonds were now sustained by new generations of authors, students, and professional men: witness, for instance, Breslau's close associations with the young *Academia Naturae Curiosorum*.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ H. Schöffler, *Deutsches Geistesleben zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung* (2nd edn. Frankfurt 1956), is very good, dealing only with Silesia, despite its title. There is, of course, a large literature on individual authors. Cf. the interesting *aperçu* of Protestant Silesia's vernacular Baroque architecture by G. Grundmann, 'Hirschberg in Schlesien', *Festschrift H. Aubin*, i-ii (Wiesbaden 1965), ii, 495-510.

⁶⁷ Cf. below, p. 395. On Kuhlmann: G. Liefmann, *Dissertatio de Janatius Silesiorum et speciatim Quirino Kuhlmanno* (Wittenberg 1698); the life by W. Dietze (Berlin 1963); and below, loc. cit.

⁶⁸ For 16th-century Silesian culture see *Rudolf II*, ch. 4, *passim*. Jonston (1603-75), whose parents had emigrated from Scotland, was a well-known polymath in his day, author of such works as *Thaummatographia Naturalis* (Amsterdam 1632), translated into English as *An History of the Wonderful Things of Nature* (London 1657). On his life see Zedler, s.v. 'Johnstone'; the biography by T. Bilikiewicz (1931), summarized in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, xi (1964-5), 268-70; Blekstad, op. cit., index, s.v. Büchner, op. cit., esp. 57 ff., 82-4, 127-30, 258 ff., for the *Academia*; cf. below, p. 373.

Thus we find in Silesia the kind of synthesis which does not eliminate either thesis or antithesis: on the surface continued friction, but at a deeper level much interconfessional common ground, with Catholicism defining more of it than Lutheranism. And there was a serious Habsburg dimension to this outlook. What a perfect symbol of the aethereal secular and religious aspirations of Central European Baroque is the opulently symbolical imperial hall at Leubus, constructed during the 1730s to welcome sovereigns who had not set foot in Silesia for a hundred years! In 1740 the allegiance abruptly snapped. Alongside all economic and strategic considerations, all high politics and dynastic pride, a cultural world was lost when Frederick the Great marched against the well-nigh defenceless province. The abbot of Leubus, whose artists and masons had scarce put the finishing touches to their *chef d'œuvre*, fled to Moravia before the plundering Prussian armies. Of course, a different cultural world was *worn*; the contest for Silesia's soul had lasted unabated into the eighteenth century, and internal opposition, as in Hungary, extended right up the social scale to embrace some magnates, like the Hohbergs (later princes of Pless), Rederns, or Calvinist Schönaichs, once the foremost patrons of Silesian Humanism, who sided with Frederick so promptly that they were made Prussian princes of Schönaich-Carolath as early as 1741. But these formed a minority; hence the extra vehemence of Maria Theresa in refusing to swallow any definitive cession of her patrimony. Notwithstanding the quaint solace of retaining within rump Austrian Silesia the very duchy (Jägerndorf) to which the Hohenzollerns could lodge a genuine—albeit weak—hereditary claim, the empress set to work paying the Prussians back with far-reaching reforms conceived by a recent Catholic convert from Silesia, Count Friedrich Wilhelm Haugwitz.⁶⁹

In this outcome Silesia is a microcosm of the *Reich* at large, whose bonds with the Austrian Monarchy became so weakened in the age of Frederick the Great as completely to obscure the character of previous development. For nearly a century after the Peace of Westphalia the Habsburgs could entertain realistic political and

⁶⁹ On Haugwitz (1702–65, converted in 1725) see the long article in *ADB*, s.v. He came from a Lusatian–Silesian family on the edge of magnate status, his father being created count in 1733.

spiritual hopes of sustaining, indeed enhancing the imperial position in Germany. Their political prospects were shown in the years after 1680, with the solidarity of almost all middle Germany in an anti-French alliance and much enthusiasm for a crusade against the Turks. Evidently much manoeuvring went on, and temporary reverses could not be avoided, even with close associates like Neuburg and Brunswick. But broad support was forthcoming, and in some cases it extended to total commitment: the ruler of Baden-Baden, Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm, spent almost all his time in conspicuously successful direction of imperial armies (and his uncle Hermann was president of the War Council during the crucial decade of the 1680s). Smaller Protestant principalities, such as Hesse-Darmstadt or Ansbach-Bayreuth, sheltered well inside the Habsburg orbit, and their larger neighbours rarely stepped far out of line—one duke of Württemberg confusingly christened all his sons 'Eugen' after the Austrian commander-in-chief. Even Brandenburg was held on a tight rein by negotiations over the Prussian crown, though the logic of its development rendered the accommodation a temporary one.⁷⁰

The spiritual prospects are best illustrated by Bishop Spinola's missions to the *Reich*. Cristóbal de Rojas y Spinola (1626–95) was a typical Habsburg adviser of the period: though Spanish by descent, he grew up in the Netherlands and the Rhineland, moving to Austria by the 1660s. There he combined the roles of cleric and secular intellectual: a Franciscan friar, he gained a diocese, first in *partibus infidelium*, then in Wiener Neustadt (as successor to Kollonich); a cameralist spokesman (like his friend Hörnigk), his sense of the Empire's economic unity was always underwritten by universalist religious convictions.⁷¹ Spinola became the approved agent of Leopold in plans for reunion of the confessions within the *Reich*, and his overtures were widely discussed at Lutheran courts

⁷⁰ On the military cohesion of the Empire see especially Wines, art. cit.; P.-C. Storm, 'Militia imperialis—Militia circularis. Reich und Kreis in der Wehrverfassung des deutschen Südwestens (1648–1732)', Vann-Rowan (eds.), op. cit. 79–103; Vann, *Swabian Kreis*, ch. 7. For Ludwig Wilhelm ('Louis' to his contemporaries): O. Flake, *Türkenlöuis* (Berlin 1937). On Württemberg: T. Mayer, 'Schwaben und Österreich', *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte*, xvi (1957), 261–78, at 272.

⁷¹ S. J. T. Miller and J. P. Spielman, *Cristóbal Rojas y Spinola, cameralist and irenicist* (Philadelphia 1962); Bog, *Reichsmerkantilismus*, 100–6.

and universities. The most fertile soil was Brunswick, with its convert duke, Johann Friedrich and his circle, and its university of Helmstedt, more liberal and flexible than any other in Germany. The chief Protestant figures in the dialogue were Leibniz, to whom ecumenical ideas represented one expression of the search for philosophical unity, and Gerhard Molanus, abbot of a Lutheran monastery and leading advocate of the eirenical wing within Protestantism. Both of them tried to build upon the 'syncretist' positions already elaborated by the most celebrated of Helmstedt theologians, Georg Calixtus.⁷² In the end Spinola's visits failed: the gulf was too wide, the suspicion of established Churches—not least at Rome—too great. But plenty of evidence exists that others also desired religious reconciliation under a broad imperial aegis: Mainz Catholics around Schönborn and Boineburg; moderate Lutherans at Altdorf; Daniel Ernst Jablonski in Berlin; compromise thinkers in Silesia; Prince Eugene's coterie at Vienna. Some extraordinary cases of practical ecclesiastical co-operation could be encountered in Germany after 1648, like the mixed chapter at Osnabrück, with its alternate elections of Catholic and Protestant bishops, and even a convent which housed equal numbers of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists.⁷³

We may conclude that the new Habsburg 'system' was by no means restricted to the lands of direct rule; it influenced, and interacted with, a complex of surrogate systems in the rest of the *Reich*. Of course, there were grave weaknesses in the emperor's position. I have not laboured the obvious constitutional ones: only self-interest could now really bring German rulers to play Vienna's game. Compulsion being removed, neither the Habsburgs nor the Catholic Church could dictate terms (hence the ultimate failure of

Spinola's negotiations); as in Bohemia or Hungary, loyalty became a calculation, not a sort of disembodied idealism. Moreover, contact is of necessity a two-way process; where the virtues of hierarchy and authority, the collective and the sacramental, penetrated beyond the Monarchy, some scope was given for rival notions: radical, tolerant, individualist, iconoclastic, to move in the opposite direction. The early Enlightenment did filter into Central Europe from staging posts in the *Reich*; in one important set of attitudes, those of Pietism, it even grew up from a profoundly Lutheran base.⁷⁴

Yet Counter-Reformation had definitely established a Habsburg predominance; and Austro-Catholicism (a larger and directer force than Papal Catholicism) commanded at times a genuine spiritual ascendancy, with that lively, slightly insecure self-assertion so characteristic of the Central European Baroque. Just contrast—among members of the house of Guelph—the convert Johann Friedrich with his staid brother, Ernst August, or the convert Anton Ulrich with Ernst August's desperately wooden son, George I of England. Brandenburg-Prussia may have stagnated militarily and diplomatically under the pro-Habsburg Frederick I, as naive historians often used to lament, but it gained ample intellectual compensation in the blend of cultures to which its first king showed himself receptive.⁷⁵ Altogether much of the ethos of German courts and governments derived in this period from an Austrian model. The impact of Versailles came later, mainly after 1714 (earlier examples, like Christian Ludwig of Mecklenburg (1623–92), converted under Parisian influence, are isolated cases), and it has frequently been exaggerated: it tended to remain superficial, an affair rather of mode than of mood. On top of everything else, Vienna could more easily strike a national note; perhaps the strongest contemporary assertion of German patriotism was penned by an Austrian tutor to the future Emperor Joseph I.⁷⁶

Above all, the unitary imperial ideal was still attractive (even the

⁷⁴ Cf. the argument of E. Winter, *Frühauflärung* (Berlin 1966), whose thesis is important, though at times unduly strained.

⁷⁵ Arnold, *op. cit.*, dedication, praises the 'ungekränkte Gewissens-Freyheit' in Brandenburg; and the circumstances of the foundation of Halle University and the Berlin Academy of Sciences confirm the point in various ways.

⁷⁶ W. Bauer on Hans Jakob Wagner and his *Ehren-Ruff Teutschlands* in *MIÖG* xli (1926), 257–72.

⁷² Gubrauer, *op. cit.* i, 340 ff.; ii, 21–34, 231 ff.; Beck, *op. cit.* 351 f.; J. Baruzi, *Leibniz et l'organisation religieuse de la terre* (Paris 1907), 246 ff.; Neveux, *op. cit.* 667–93. Cf. J. O. Fleckenstein, *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Barock und Universalismus* (Munich 1958). On Calixtus: E. L. T. Henke, *Georg Calixtus und seine Zeit*, 1–ii (Halle 1853–60); H. Schüssler, *Georg Calixt, Theologie und Kirchenpolitik* (Wiesbaden 1961), for his ideas; cf. Arnold, *op. cit.* i, bk. 17, ch. 11; and Kantzenbach, *op. cit.* 230–44.

⁷³ Examples of practical ecumenism in Zeeden, *op. cit.*, 72–80. On Osnabrück: Benecke, *op. cit.* 81–95; on Molanus's 'monastery' of Loccum: *Loccum vivum: Aachthundert Jahre Kloster Loccum*, [ed. E. Ruppel and D. Andersen] (Hamburg 1963), 30–58.

terse, hostile Bryce admits its continuing power of moral suasion⁷⁷). Not only did it operate on many levels in Germany: it cast a residual shadow over parts of Italy. That large subject would lead us too far from the present context; suffice it to make two points. In political terms the designs on the peninsula advanced by Austrian armies during the War of the Spanish Succession issued not only from dynastic ambition, but from a reassertion of long-standing imperial claims. Latter-day Habsburg predominance over the North Italian Plain and beyond belongs in a seamless evolution from medieval notions of *imperium*. And this evolution has its corollary: the long line of the Habsburgs' Italian servants. They included generals, like Annibale Gonzaga and Raimondo Montecuccoli, both president of the War Council under Leopold; intellectuals, like the first four court librarians of the eighteenth century; physicians and lawyers; priests and artists; architects and musicians. Most famous of them was Prince Eugene, as he was also the greatest exponent of the imperial mission, and Eugene enshrines something of the whole ambivalent relationship between Italy and the Habsburg lands: the supreme ornament for Central Europe's Baroque culture, he never quite formed an integral part of it.⁷⁸

With these reflections on the wider horizons of Habsburg influence we have reached the threshold of the third and last main theme of this book: the intellectual milieu of resurgent Catholicism. As will be seen, German thinkers contributed abundantly to the mind of the Habsburg Counter-Reformation, and an Italian dimension was inseparable from it. But that is not all, for where the political power of the system became most attenuated, there—in the *Reich*—its cultural and ideative base stands most clearly revealed. In Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary things are more difficult to unravel, and earlier chapters have charted many fluctuations in the extent and nature of the dynasty's control. There too, however, we shall discover that the imperial programme rested at least as much upon a set of attitudes as upon a set of policies.

⁷⁷ J. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire* (London 1903), esp. 434 f.

⁷⁸ O. Aretin, 'Kaiser Josef I zwischen Kaisertradition und österreichischer Grossmachtpolitik', *HZ* cxxv (1972), 529–606. On Montecuccoli see, most recently, T. M. Barker, *Raimondo Montecuccoli and the Thirty Years War* (Albany, N.Y. 1975), a military study. On the librarians (Gentilotti, Garelli, Riccardi, and Fortosia): Stummvoll (ed.), op. cit. 191–228. On Eugene, cf. above, p. 141, n. 64; below, pp. 326 f.

Part Three

THE INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS