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Shaping the Danish and Imperial Legation Chapels in Vienna and Copenhagen during the Period after the Thirty Years' War¹

Abstract: *The following article primarily analyses the operation of the Lutheran Legation Chapel during the long-term residency of the Danish Envoy, Andreas Pauli von Liliencron, in Vienna. The targeted support for the denominational minorities in Vienna and Copenhagen by the legation envoys caused numerous conflicts on both sides. The ways of resolving these disputes eventually become reminders of the extraordinary dynamism of international relations during the second half of the 17th Century.*

Keywords: *History of Diplomacy – legation chaplains – Vienna – Copenhagen – Andreas Pauli von Liliencron – Lutheranism – Catholicism*

The issue of the operation of the ambassadorial chapels belongs amongst the least explored topics in the study of Early Modern diplomacy. Especially those researchers who study the relationships between the denominationally diverse environments of Royal residential towns, sooner or later came across records about the activities of the legation chapels. Many of them also correctly noted the key role of the legation chapel for an illegal (or just tolerated) religious minority that benefited from asylum and from the spiritual services of the present chaplain.²

1 This text was written as part of a grant project funded by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic No. 13–12939S entitled *Czech and Moravian Nobility in the Habsburg Diplomatic Service (1640–1740)*.

2 In Czech historiography we can find only two articles about this topic. The functioning of the Imperial Chapel in Dresden was explored by Jiří KUBEŠ in *Kaple císařských vyslanců v Drážďanech v druhé půli 17. století* [The Chapels of the Imperial Envoys in Dresden during the Second Half of the 17th Century], *Folia Historica Bohemica* 30, 2015, pp. 127–156. The second and the last contribution to this topic is Martin Bakeš' work describing the position of the Imperial Chapel in Stockholm. See M. BAKEŠ, *Legací kaplani ve službách císařských vyslanců ve Stockholmu ve druhé polovině 17. století* [Legation Chaplains in the Service of the Imperial Envoys in Stockholm in the Second Half of the 17th Century], *Český časopis historický* 114, 2016, s. 941–967. The fundamental work in the Anglo-Saxon environment is the Benjamin J. Kaplan's article that primarily discusses the Embassy Chapels in London. Cf. B. J. KAPLAN, *Diplomacy and Domestic Devotion: Embassy Chapels and the*

When studying Danish and Austrian historiography we can encounter several works that deal with confession minorities in the Kingdom of Denmark and in the Habsburg Empire during the 16th to the 18th Centuries. The current Danish historical community has already reproduced a considerable number of papers that deal with the Catholic communities in the area of Early Modern and strictly Lutheran Denmark.³ Unsurpassed in this respect, however, is the three-part monograph by the Norwegian historian Oscar Garstein that describes in detail the progress of the Counter-Reformation and also the daily life of the Catholic minority who were clustering together close to foreign embassies in Denmark or on the Scandinavian Peninsula.⁴

The German-speaking researchers from Austria and Germany still provide a much wider scope. These days there are already an almost uncountable number of works that deal with the Protestant minority in the territory of the Habsburg Empire, including several works that summarise the history of the Austrian Protestant community.⁵ However, only a few monographs and scientific articles fully appreciate the vital role that was played by the Protestant Ambassador Chapels in the seat of the Holy Roman Emperors. Only remaining, truly exceptional in this respect, is the article written by Martin Scheutz, who, however, places the emphasis of his research on the second half of the 18th Century, i.e. an epoch that is characterised by a significant release of tension prior to the issuance

Toleration of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe, Journal of Early Modern History 6, 2002, pp. 341–361. In regard to German literature, Daniel Legutke brought the results on this topic when he was dealing with Imperial diplomacy in the Netherlands. For example D. LEGUTKE, *Die kaiserliche Gesandtschaftskapelle in Den Haag 1658–1718: Konfession und Säkularisierung in mikrohistorischer Sicht*, in: Vera Isaiasz (Hg.), *Stadt und Religion in der frühen Neuzeit: Soziale Ordnungen und ihre Repräsentationen*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, pp. 245–274.

- 3 The basic briefing monograph concerning the functioning of Catholic chapels was written by Preben Hampton FROSELL, *Diplomati og religion. Gesandterne for de katolske magter og deres kirkepolitik i Danmark 1622–1849*, København 1990. Another unfortunately very brief monograph was written by the Jesuit Alfred OTTO, *Jesuitterne og Kirken i Danmark i det 17. og 18. Aahundrede*, København 1940. The Danish historiography also comprises a very well-researched history of the Catholic Congregation of St. Ansgars Kirke, which was formed with the support of several foreign embassies. See Johannes HANSEN, *Sankt Ansgars Kirke i hundrede Aar*, København 1942.
- 4 Oskar GARSTEIN, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, Vol. I (1539–1583), Bergen 1963; Vol. II (1583–1622), Oslo 1980; Vol. III (1622–1656), Leiden – New York – København 1992.
- 5 Very sound factually, for example, is the older work of Theodor Wiedemann. Cf. T. WIEDEMANN, *Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation im Lande unter der Enns, Bd. V*, Prag – Leipzig 1886. The basic work that exclusively explores the history of the Austrian Protestant Community is by Grete MECENSEFFY, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich*, Wien 1956. A more detailed discussion of the same topic was also offered by Georg LOESCHE, *Geschichte des Protestantismus im vormaligen und im neuen Österreich*, Wien 1930. Crucial amongst the newer works is, for example, Arndt SCHREIBER, *Adelige Habitus und konfessionelle Identität. Die protestantische Herren und Ritter in den österreichischen Erblanden nach 1620*, Wien 2013.

of the Tolerance Patent.⁶ A considerable part of Scheutz' article was drafted on the basis of the well-known *Vollständige Nachrichten* by the Danish Legation Chaplain Johann Hieronymus Chemnitz, which were first edited and published in 1760.⁷

So far, however, no historian has studied the activities of the Danish Legation Chapel in Vienna during the second half of the 17th Century. Still remaining and totally unexamined are the voluminous archival sources that can be found not only in the *Rigsarkivet* in Copenhagen but also in several archives in Stockholm. No one has yet offered a view from the other side nor shown any deep interest in the documents from the provenance of Nordic diplomats that offer not only responses related to the operation of the Danish and the Swedish Embassies, but also provide a valuable and unique reflection on the religiously quite homogeneous environment of the Imperial Court.

The goal of this article, however, is not to provide a complete picture of the operation of the Danish legation chapel during the second half of the 17th Century. It will be sufficient for us if we can take a look into the characteristic significantly reciprocal shaping of the religious rules that determined the daily performance of the religious services of the Danish and Habsburg legation chapels in the 1650's and the 1660's in Vienna and Copenhagen. During this period, just after the 'Thirty Years' War, for the first time in their history, these two countries established more permanent diplomatic relations at the level of permanent envoys. What did the daily operation of their chapels look like then? What was characteristic for the background and missionary notions of individual legation chaplains? What was characteristic for the Catholic and the Protestant confessional minority communities that were attracted to the Imperial and the Danish Chapel, and what kind of problems arose from their regular failure to meet the already established rescript, we will discover on the next few pages.

The first long-term envoy of the Danish kings in Vienna in the second half of the 17th Century was the Lutheran Andreas Pauli von Liliencron who, in the seat of Leopold I, carried out his activities for twenty-two years (1663–1683 and 1690–1691). His education,

6 Martin SCHEUTZ, *Legalität und unterdrückte Religionsausübung. Niederleger, Reichshofräte, Gesandte und Legationsprediger. Protestantisches Leben in der Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, in: Rudolf Leeb – Martin Scheutz – Dietmar Weigl (Hg.), *Geheimprotestantismus und evangelische Kirchen in der Habsburgermonarchie und im Erzstift Salzburg (17./18. Jahrhundert)*, München – Köln 2009, pp. 209–236.

7 Johann Hieronymus CHEMNITZ, *Vollständige Nachrichten von dem Zustande der Evangelischen und insonderheit von ihrem Gottesdienste bey der Königlich Dänischen Gesandtschafts Capelle in der Kayserlichen Haupt und Residenzstadt Wien*, Wien 1761.

his background and his youthful ferocity were perfectly suited to this emerging diplomatic post in Vienna. He was the son of a Schleswig trader who, like many others like him, made a fortune by supplying military material during the Thirty Years' War. Thereby young Andreas Pauli could study law at the University of Rostock and later-on at the progressive and relatively new University of Leiden. After a generously conceived study tour that took several years, during which he primarily visited France, Italy and Spain, in 1654 he earned a nomination and was knighted by Emperor Ferdinand III. After several years of service in the *Tyske Kancelli* office, which was responsible for handling the official agenda between Denmark and the Holy Roman Empire, he became an extremely erudite pretendent to the post of the Danish representative in Vienna.⁸

When Liliencron arrived in 1663 in Vienna, as a fully accredited resident of Danish King Frederik III, he immediately became a protector of the numerous Lutheran community in Vienna. During this year, hierarchically, he was the highest representative amongst all the other Lutheran diplomats who were staying at that time at the Court of Leopold I.⁹ For Denmark the always competitive Kingdom of Sweden temporarily untied its diplomatic relations with the Emperor during those years and after resolving the problematic issues that the peace negotiations in Oliva had brought about, the Commissioners Per Sparre and David Mevius left the Imperial Court.¹⁰ The new Swedish envoy Matthias Palbitzki did not arrive in Vienna until 1666. In his main instruction, however, it was strictly forbidden to organise any unnecessarily long sermons in his house, which could arouse the anger of the Viennese administration and the Catholic elite. Actually the activities of his Embassy Chapel should be restricted for private needs and worship in the Swedish Chapel should not be unnecessarily disrupted by the presence of Imperial subjects.¹¹ Reluctance to Palbitzki's support for both secret and registered Lutherans was also reflected in the numerous Royal rescripts to Liliencron, who, on the other hand, strategically collaborated with a large Lutheran minority and actively used its services.¹²

After his arrival Liliencron rented an advantageously located house on today's Neuer Markt, close to the Capuchin Monastery. Liliencron's chaplain of many years, who appears

8 Carl Frederik BRICKA, *Dansk biografisk lexikon. Bind X.*, Kjøbenhavn 1896, pp. 285–288.

9 Ludwig BITTNER – Lothar GROSS (Hg.), *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden (1648) I. (1648–1715)*, Berlin 1936, pp. 108 and 486.

10 Reports of these Commissioners written in Swedish and German language bring interesting insights from Prague and Vienna aristocratic environments, characterising the first years of the reign of Leopold I and political activities of the *Reichvizekanzler* Wilderich von Walderdorff. See Riksarkivet Stockholm, *Diplomatica Germanica*, Kart. 288, reports of Per Sparre, David Mevius and Schweder Kleihe from the year 1662 (Hamburg, Leipzig, Prague, Vienna, etc.).

11 *Ibidem*, Kart. 290, the main instruction for Matthias Palbitzki from 18. 12. 1665 (Stockholm).

12 Rigsarkivet København, Wien – diplomatisk repræsentation, Kart. 105, A. P. von Liliencron gesandtskabsarkiv, royal rescripts from 12. and 30. 7. 1666 (Copenhagen).

in the sources as Father Bartius, was given one spacious room for regular services, which took place every Sunday and occasionally also on weekdays and, of course, during major religious festivals. In several important instructions that were intended for the Danish resident Liliencron, strong orders that govern the relationship between the diplomat and the legation chaplain in the area of the embassy grab our attention. “*Since our resident does not participate in the activities of the legation chapel, he must not prevent our pastor in church services. He also must not send him back to Copenhagen because the performance of the chaplain’s activities is subject only to the orders of His Majesty.*”¹³ The Legation Chaplain Bartius was not the only Embassy clergyman who, in theory, accepted orders only from the Monarch as being the supreme representative of the “National Church”. Known are for example the instructions that were given to the Danish Legation Chaplain Johann Christian Eckhoff, who operated in Vienna in the years 1778–1782 during the same term as the Ambassador, Johann Friedrich Bachhoff von Echt.¹⁴

This practice was diametrically opposite from that of many Catholic legation chaplains, the names of whom we are familiar with from the Imperial Embassies in Copenhagen or Stockholm. Almost all of them, with minor exceptions, were strictly subject to the orders of the envoy who financially supported their activity, while the extent of the powers of the legation chaplain depended solely on his wishes.¹⁵ These practices even aroused a considerable amount of resentment from the leading representatives of the Catholic world, who criticised the inappropriate methods of confining the Catholic clergy to the exercise of their missionary activities in the areas that were denominationally diverse. For example Papal Nuncio Ercole Visconti in Cologne was outraged about this practice, in accordance with which the inaction of Catholic chaplains in regard to missionary issues caused a significant reduction in the number of secret Catholics in the territory of

13 Ibidem, the main instruction for Andreas Paul von Liliencron from 9. 1. 1663 (Copenhagen).

14 Christian STUBBE, *Zur 150jährigen Bestandfeier der Wiener evangelischen Gemeinde*, Jahrbuch für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich 54, 1933, p. 161. There is also more about Johann Christian Eckhoff in M. SCHEUTZ, *Legalität und unterdrückte Religionsausübung*, p. 231.

15 At this point, however, it should be noted that the Imperial Envoys did not pay for the operation of the chapel exclusively from their own funds. They received contributions from the *Hofkammer* for equipping the chapel and for paying for the legation chaplain’s activities. The amount allocated for the Nordic countries was cca. 200 florins per annum. Klaus MÜLLER, *Das kaiserliche Gesandtschaftswesen im Jahrhundert nach dem Westfälischen Frieden (1648–1740)*, Bonn 1976, pp. 162–179. A contribution of 200 florins was also provided, for example, to Franz Anton Count Berka prior to his departure to Denmark and Sweden in the year 1683. Cf. Státní oblastní archiv [State Regional Archive] Plzeň, the section in Klášter (hereinafter referred to as SOA Plzeň, K), Rodinný archiv Nosticů (Sokolov) [the Nostitz Family Archive] (hereinafter referred to as RA Nosticů), Kart. 148, inv. No. 947, sign. AJ1, a financial agreement from 2. 11. 1683 (Linz).

the Kingdoms of Denmark and Swedens.¹⁶ Which is to say that since 1673 the Catholic activities in the two Lutheran kingdoms had been under the jurisdiction of the Cologne Archbishopric. During those years the local Archbishops held the title of a Scandinavian Protector whose duty was to protect the rights of the Catholic minority in Denmark and in Sweden. The Archbishop's competencies were minimal, however, with just the same range of powers as the famous *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, which was established in 1622, *inter alia*, to support the missionary policy in the northern areas.¹⁷

The principal instruction for Andreas Pauli von Liliencron in the year 1663 also stressed, on several pages, that Frederic III's new resident in Vienna should support the rights of the local Lutheran community, which apparently without being given a helping-hand would expire within a few years.¹⁸ During the reign of Leopold I, the situation of non-Catholics in Vienna, and by extension in the entire area of Lower Austria, was extremely distressing. According to the Papal Nuncio in Vienna, the Emperor was extremely involved in religious matters and in private he said that "*he would rather go begging than allow the heretics to walk on his hereditary lands*".¹⁹ While at the same time, in the second half of the 16th Century, the City of Vienna represented a veritable bastion of the Protestant population of the Habsburg monarchy. With the arrival of Cardinal Melchior Klesl and the definitive decision to move the Imperial Court back to Vienna there came a period of permanent repression and later-on also of persecution. The revolution from above was finally completed in 1627 with the expulsion of all the Protestant priests from Lower Austria together with a ban on publicly held worship services. For a short time, with the arrival of the Swedish armies in Central Europe the situation of the Protestants improved and also later on during the negotiations that took place in Westphalia. The Protestant delegates subsequently managed to negotiate for religious freedom for the entire nobility of Lower Austria, who, under Section 39 of the Peace Treaty of Osnabrück, could freely carry-out their worship, though only for their private needs. It was more than clear, however, that with the abatement of the last choral hymns in appreciation

16 Michael F. FELDKAMP, *Päpstliche Missionbemühungen in Schweden während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, in: Marie-Louise Rodén (ed.), *Ab Aquilone. Nordic Studies in Honour and Memory of Leonard E. Boyle*, Stockholm 1999, p. 156.

17 More about the relationship of certain representatives of *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* to Scandinavia in Hermann TÜCHLE, *Acta Sacra Congregatio Propaganda Fide Germaniam spectantia. Die Protokolle der Propagandakongregation zu deutschen Angelegenheiten 1622–1649*, Paderborn 1962, p. 160.

18 Rigsarkivet København, Wien – diplomatisk repræsentation, Kart. 105, the main instruction for Andreas Pauli von Liliencron from 9. 1. 1663 (Copenhagen).

19 M. SCHEUTZ, *Legalität und unterdrückte Religionsausübung*, p. 227.

of the concluded peace the Protestant rulers would not necessarily be able to guarantee precisely these agreed points of the Westphalian Peace Treaties.²⁰

This gave rise to one of the most serious disputes between the Emperor on one side and Sweden and Denmark on the other side that was to continue for the next sixty years.²¹ One of the basic points of the political and religious programme of Bengt Oxenstierna and Matthias Biörenklou, the first post-Westphalian Swedish envoys in Vienna, was to oversee the compliance with the freedoms that had been agreed-upon not only in Lower Austria but also in Silesia and in Hungary.²² Emperor Ferdinand III, however, was not going to take any notice of the Swedish envoy's protests. The recatholisation programme that had started at the turn of the 16th and the 17th Centuries was actually to be accomplished. For this purpose, recatholisation commissions were established in Lower Austria over a wide area to eradicate the still large Protestant community. The decisive moment came with the subsequent issuance of the Imperial Patent in January 1652. The most important point of the patent that closely regulated the relations between the Monarch and his subjects concerning matters of faith was the duty of all the current Protestants to convert to the Catholic faith within a period of six-weeks. Neither the pleading mandate of the Protestant Estates that was presented at the Lower Austrian Provincial Diet nor the vocal displeasure of the Swedish envoy Biörenklou could reverse the issuance of the January rescript.²³

There were exceptions, however, to which the rescript did not apply in its entirety. This small detour brings us to the most important members, who initiated the founding of the Protestant community retreating to nearby foreign embassies. The tolerated Lutherans and their families found their spiritual solace mostly in the presence of Swedish, Danish, Saxony and Brandenburg chaplains or in the presence of several less important representatives of the Imperial princes. The Viennese Protestant community was certainly not negligible and the close contacts between foreign diplomats and the prominent

20 G. MECENSEFFY, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich*, p. 181.

21 Martin BAKEŠ, *Mimořádná diplomatická mise Adolfa Vratislava ze Sternberka: Švédské království v polovině 70. let 17. století očima císařského vyslance* [The Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of Adolf Wratislav von Sternberg: The Kingdom of Sweden in the mid-1670's seen through the eyes of the Imperial Envoy], *Folia Historica Bohemica* 29, 2014, pp. 33–62.

22 Riksarkivet Stockholm, *Diplomatica Germanica*, Kart. 278. This source contains several dozen sheets that are exclusively related to religious issues. For example the official protests of Matthias Biörenklou can be found there, by means of which he responded to the complaints of the Hungarian Estates in regard to the violation of the religious freedoms that had been agreed upon during the negotiations in Westphalia (a copy of a letter that was sent to Emperor Ferdinand III on 31. 1. 1652). Additionally we can find there, for example, a report on the re-catholisation of Czech subjects, a report on the dire situation of the Lower Austrian Protestants and name lists of the Protestants of Lower Austria.

23 Matthias SCHNETTGER, *Ist Wien eine Messe wert? Protestantische Funktionseliten am Kaiserhof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, in: Christine Roll – Frank Pohle – Matthias Myrczek (Hg.), *Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen*, Köln 2010, pp. 599–633.

figures of this minority provided a considerable number of benefits. Just to give an idea of this situation, in accordance with an estimate made by the Viennese Bishop, Philipp Friedrich von Breuner, cca. 25,000 non-Catholics and 125,000 Catholics remained in Vienna in the mid-17th Century. Today, we can say with some certainty that these figures were probably greatly exaggerated, but also we certainly cannot downplay the estimated ratio of the two groups nor the extraordinary power of this minority.²⁴ For comparison, at approximately the same time only a few hundred Catholics lived in Copenhagen and in Stockholm. According to the Jesuit Chaplain Johann Sterck's estimates during the early 1670's cca. 300 secret and tolerated Catholics were living in Stockholm.²⁵ Johann von Goess, the Emperor's envoy in Denmark, in his report on the status of Catholics in Copenhagen in 1661 reached a similar number.²⁶

The Lower Austrian Lutheran community in the times of the residency of Andreas Pauli von Liliencron was also recruiting during the next several decades for example from representatives of merchant corporations, whose networks were also expanding in the residence of the Roman Emperors. The Viennese authorities also ensured freedom of religion for the chosen servants and widows who could take over businesses after their husbands had deceased. Around 60 % of Viennese *Niederleger*, how the Austrian historiography identifies these representatives of business firms by the German equivalent, were formed in the mid-18th Century by the members of Protestant denominations. Other groups of Protestants who numerically were not insignificant comprised some court artists, architects, soldiers, travellers passing through or representatives of some of the Upper Germania banks who did not have their own headquarters in Vienna. Nor should we forget the important booksellers that came from Nuremberg and Leipzig.²⁷

So far we have bypassed the most important group of Protestants who functioned in the immediate vicinity of the Imperial Court and whose political influence on some imperial issues was also crucial. The presence of these politicians was also sought after to a considerable extent by foreign Protestant diplomats who were based in Vienna. Although the Habsburg Emperors had to tolerate their presence in his residence, Ferdinand III and Leopold I, on the other hand, used their services widely for communicating with

24 In the mid-17th Century, according to Bishop Breuner's report the population of Vienna was overstated by cca. 50 % as compared to the actual status, which actually represented cca. 60,000 people. Cf. Thomas WINKELBAUER, *Österreichische Geschichte 1522–1699. Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Teil I.*, Wien 2004, pp. 278–281.

25 Joseph STÖCKLEIN, *Allerhand so Lehr als Geist reiche Brief, Schrifften Reis Beschreibungen, welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft Jesu Beyden Indien und andern über Meer gelegenen Ländern [...]*, Augspurg – Grätz 1732, pp. 29–30.

26 M. F. FELDKAMP, *Päpstliche Missionbemühungen in Schweden*, p. 153.

27 M. SCHEUTZ, *Legalität und unterdrückte Religionsausübung*, pp. 216–219.

the European Protestant rulers. We are talking now about the Protestant members of the Aulic Council (the *Reichshofrat*).²⁸

The *Reichshofrat*, as the highest judicial authority, dealt primarily with legal disputes in regard to individual imperial fiefs. During the years 1630–1648 only Catholics sat on the benches of the Aulic Council. After the end of the Thirty Years' War once again the Imperial Protestant Estates demanded from the Emperor the release of several judges' benches on behalf of Protestants. The general rescript from 1654, which amongst other issues dealt with the religious obligations of non-Catholic members of the Council, defined the total number of Protestant Aulic Councillors (*Reichshofräte*) as being six. When scrolling through a list of the Protestant-minded members of the *Reichshofrat*, that was collected and interpreted by Oswald von Gschließer in his crucial work, we soon come across the names of nobles and of learned lawyers who were in regular contact with both Swedish and Danish envoys. They came to regularly enjoy their mutual presence. From time to time they invited each other to the table for lunch or they took joint tours of the city, played card games – often for considerable sums – and of course met-up with each other on occasions of worship. For the Danish and Swedish envoys the *Reichshofräte* also represented a valuable source of fresh information from the Court, and in particular from the *Reichshofrat*. The Danish envoy Liliencron apparently knew some of the news even before the Emperor Leopold I. For example it was the decision of the *Reichskanzlei* to recommend to the Aulic Council the deployment of the Lutheran Count Gottlieb von Windischgrätz to Sweden or fresh decisions on such matters as the Duchy of Holstein-Gottorp with which Danish Kings had tense relations throughout the entire second half of the 17th Century.²⁹

Some Protestant *Reichshofräte* who were surrounded by Danish and Swedish envoys were indeed well-known Viennese Court personas and also the actual creators of the Habsburg monarchy's foreign policy. Among the best known names, for example, was the already mentioned Gottlieb von Windischgrätz, who sat on the Bench of Lords in the *Reichshofrat* in 1656 and after the death of his second Lutheran wife in 1682 he finally converted to Catholicism, which opened the door to a great career, which for him was crowned by obtaining the post of the Imperial Vice-chancellor.³⁰ Not by chance

28 Oswald von GSCHLIEßER, *Der Reichshofrat. Bedeutung und Verfassung, Schicksal und Besetzung einer obersten Reichsbehörde von 1559 bis 1806*, Wien 1942. Several pages are dedicated to the activities of the Protestant Imperial Court Councillors in Ines PEPPER, *Konversionen im Umkreis Wiener Hofes um 1700*, München 2010, pp. 90–99.

29 Rigsarkivet København, Wien – diplomatisk repræsentation, Kart. 30, official reports of Andreas Pauli von Liliencron from 22. 11. 1663 (Vienna) and from 4. 9. 1664 (Vienna).

30 Gottlieb von Windischgrätz (1630–1695) represents one of the outstanding personalities of the Imperial Court during the second half of the 17th Century who would certainly deserve a modern monograph.

was the name of another Protestant Councillor, Rudolf von Sinzendorf, featured with extraordinary frequency in Swedish and Danish sources during the second half of the 17th Century, who unlike his brother Johann Joachim (who died in 1665), never converted to the Catholic faith. Additionally we can mention, for example, Johann Friedrich von Seilern, who in his early career made no secret of his frequent contact with the Swedish envoy of the period.³¹

The Danish and Swedish envoys, however, did not come into contact only with representatives of the highly noble Protestant families. Their network of contacts naturally also comprised the lower nobility and learned doctors of law. Andreas Pauli von Liliencron, for example, highly praised his friendly relationship with Dr. Georg Theodor Dietrich, a lawyer who was recruited from the Empire and who sat on the bench in 1659, thereby reaching the pinnacle of his career.³² Liliencron in his reports even described Dietrich as an extremely open man, one who will still be extremely useful on behalf of the Danish Crown. The Danish envoy Liliencron was also sad because of the death of his good friend Baron Eberhard Wolf von Todtenwarth († 1663), who was his useful messenger within the Aulic Council.³³

So far the most complete picture of Gottlieb von Windischgrätz was provided by the Austrian historian Karl Vocelka in his unpublished and, alas, somewhat forgotten work depicting the history of the family in the 17th and the 18th Centuries. See K. VOCELKA, *Studien zur Familiengeschichte der Familie Windischgrätz (1630–1802)*, Wien 1984 (a manuscript). Additionally, there are two methodologically very outdated dissertations that characterise Windischgrätz' political activities. Marianne PELZL, *Gottlieb Windischgrätz*, Wien 1935; Robert DROSDA, *Die Verhandlungen auf dem Reichstag zu Regensburg von der Ankunft des Grafen Gottlieb von Windischgrätz bis zum Abschluss des zwanzigjährigen Waffenstillstands im August 1684*, Wien 1939. Neither of these dissertations, however, reflected the exceptionally extensive family archive of the Windischgrätz family incorporating 1,287 items, which is now stored in the State Regional Archive in Plzeň, at the section in Klášter. See Gustaf HOFFMAN, *Rodinný archiv Windischgrätz 1226–1945* [The Windischgrätz Family Archive 1226–1945], Klatovy 1976.

31 Riksarkivet Stockholm, Diplomata Germanica, Kart. 294, a relation of the Swedish envoy Esaias Pufendorf from 31. 8. 1671 (Vienna). Also editorially processed is the extensive Final Report of this Swedish envoy, in which numerous observations can be found concerning the issue of Protestantism within the territory of the Habsburg Empire. Cf. Karl Gustav HELBIG, *Esaias Pufendorf's königlichen schwedischen Gesandten in Wien Bericht über Kaiser Leopold, seinen Hof und die österreichische Politik 1671–1674*, Leipzig 1862. Helbig, however, edited the copy that is now stored in Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), loc. 10426/16, königliche schwedische Abschiedung Esaias von Pufendorf an den kaiserlichen Hof. The original of Pufendorf's final relation, including many additional appendices, can be found, however, in Riksarkivet Stockholm, Diplomata Germanica, Kart. 296 and 297.

32 O. von GSCHLIEßER, *Der Reichshofrat*, pp. 276 and 280.

33 This information is also presented in Liliencron's report from 22. 11. 1663 (Vienna). See Rigsarkivet København, Wien – diplomatisk repræsentation, Kart. 30.

The *Reichshofräte* also constituted an important reservoir of imperial envoys who could be seconded to Denmark and to the Kingdom of Sweden. During some extraordinary missions experienced Protestants were appointed to lead the diplomatic legations. It has already been mentioned that the Lutheran Gottlieb von Windischgrätz went to Sweden in this way in 1663 to ask the local Regent Government that represented eight-year old Charles XI for help against the Turks on the Hungarian front.³⁴ For similar purposes in the same year the Lutheran Rudolf von Sinzendorf was appointed in Copenhagen as an Extraordinary Envoy.³⁵ It seems that it was Windischgrätz and Sinzendorf who played important roles during the election of any heads of extraordinary diplomatic missions during the second half of the 17th Century in the non-Catholic areas of Early Modern Europe. They both acted from the position of prominent diplomats of Leopold I, who were deployed to the traditionally Protestant areas, such as they were, for example in the Netherlands, in Hamburg, Hesse, Brunswick-Lüneburg and maybe even in Brandenburg.³⁶

When we talked about the importance of the *Reichshofräte* as favoured members of the imperial diplomatic missions to Denmark and Sweden, we must emphasise the simple fact that many of them, whether Catholic or Protestant, spent a shorter or a longer amount of time in Copenhagen and in Stockholm. In the case of Denmark six of the eight envoys of Emperor Leopold I whom we know by their names were members of the Aulic Council.³⁷ Although in the case of Sweden this number is somewhat lower, on the other hand, we are registering a high number of Catholic legation secretaries, who sat there in Vienna on a learned or a noble bench of the Aulic Council.³⁸ At this point, it only remains to add that the importance of this office in regard to creating Scandinavian-Imperial diplomatic relations during the Early Modern period has not yet been fully appreciated.

34 There is more information in regard to Gottlieb von Windischgrätz' diplomatic mission to Sweden in Johann Christian LÜNIG, *Theatrum ceremoniale historico-politicum oder historisch und politischer Schauplatz Aller Ceremonien* [...], Leipzig 1719, pp. 634–635.

35 To date no one has yet seriously addressed Rudolf von Sinzendorf's diplomatic mission to Denmark in 1664. The archival material in regard to Sinzendorf's legation is stored in Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (hereinafter referred to as ÖStA Wien, HHStA), Staatenabteilungen, Dänemark, Kart. 15.

36 L. BITTNER – L. GROSS (Hg.), *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter*, pp. 721 and 747.

37 The Imperial Court Councillors, and at the same time also the Imperial envoys in Denmark were Johann von Goess (Denmark 1657–1661), Rudolf von Sinzendorf (Denmark 1663–1664), Gottlieb Windischgrätz (Denmark 1673–1674), Augustin von Meyerberg (Denmark 1675–1678), Haro von Burkhard Fridag Gödens (Denmark 1686, 1691 and 1693–1695) and finally Sigismund Wilhelm von Königsegg (Denmark 1691–1698).

38 In addition to several Imperial envoys in Sweden, who were also Members of the Imperial Court Council, we also register an equal number of Imperial secretaries who sat on the Imperial Court Council's Catholic benches. Good examples are e.g. Johann Phillip von Andlern (Sweden 1690–1697), Johann Christoph Pentenrieder von Adelhausen (Sweden 1698–1700), Georg Josef von Keller (Sweden 1720–1721) and Christoph Theodor Antivari (Sweden 1728–1734, 1737–1750 and 1761–1763).

The Lutheran *Reichshofräte* who met during regular worship services at the Danish and the Swedish Embassies certainly represented the most prominent component of Viennese society at that time. In accordance with the rescript from 1654, although the Protestant members of the Aulic Council could officially carry-out worship in the private areas of their homes, this regulation cut them off from the community of other Protestant-minded members of Viennese society. This rescript summarised a number of additional lesser orders, which, however, were all violated or at least quietly circumvented. A favourite practice of the Lower Austrian Protestants was to travel regularly to worship in Upper Hungary, where long after the Thirty Years' War far more liberal conditions were applicable to the Protestant community than in Austria. Neither secret nor registered Lutherans hesitated to travel several dozens of kilometres to listen to the local pastor's Sunday Sermon.³⁹ This mobility of the representatives of non-tolerated confessions in the specific area could mean shifts of even several hundred kilometres. Amongst the record holders there were certainly secret Catholics in the extraordinarily vast territory of the Kingdom of Sweden, who were willing to travel to the Imperial Embassy several times a year for confession.⁴⁰

In the case of Lower Austria and Upper Hungary it was about a much shorter distances. Throughout the entire Early Modern period Pressburg (Bratislava) enjoyed exceptional status just for its location close to Vienna, where Protestant minority still had numerous representation. The second most important centre was Ödenburg, today in Hungary (Sopron), where Protestant Consistory was even re-established in 1667. Also Johann Heinrich Zedler emphasized importance of Ödenburg for the Lutheran community in his famous lexicon.⁴¹ Regular contacts of Pressburg and Viennese Lutheran communities are also documented by the generous donations of some renowned Lower Austrian Lutherans, which led to the establishment of several foundations or, for example, some

39 Generally about Protestantism in Hungary: Zoltán CSEPREGI, *Das königliche Ungarn im Jahrhundert vor der Toleranz (1681–1781)*, in: R. Leeb – M. Scheutz – D. Weigl (Hg.), *Geheimprotestantismus*, p. 318. Due to the penetration of pietism into these parts of Hungary, at the turn of the 17th and the 18th Centuries Ödenburg was called "Little Halle". Also exceptional in this respect was the position adopted by some of the Protestant legation chaplains, who supported the dissemination of pietistic ideas in the Viennese environment. More Z. CSEPREGI in *Pietismus in Ungarn 1700–1758*, *Beiträge zur ostdeutschen Kirchengeschichte* 6, 2004, pp. 25–38.

40 The Jesuit legation chaplain Martin Gottseer in his travelogue from Vienna to Stockholm described a situation where the secret Catholics from Jönköping (about 320 km from Stockholm) and Linköping (about 200 km from Stockholm) were willing several times a year to arrive in Stockholm for Catholic worship. More in M. BAKEŠ, *Cestopis jezuitského legačního kaplana Martina Gottseera z Vídně do Stockholmu v roce 1690* [Travelogue of the Jesuit legation chaplain Martin Gottseer from Vienna to Stockholm in 1690], *Sborník archivních prací* (in print).

41 Johann Heinrich ZEDLER, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon*, Bd. XXV, Leipzig – Halle 1740, col. 536–537.

posthumous sermons of Pressburg Pastor David Titius, which also included a speech for the deceased son of Count Gottlieb von Windischgrätz.⁴²

Also, for several other reasons, the Lower Austria Lutheran community sought for numerous alternatives in the form of departures to Upper Hungary or participating in worship with foreign diplomats. The Imperial Patent from 1652 intended for subjects of Lower Austria continue to expressly ban Protestant minors from crossing the border between Austria and Hungary. Thereby Protestant parents officially lost the right to take their children to church in Hungary and in the event of their capture they were risking having to pay huge financial penalties. A significant milestone in a regular series of prohibitions was the year 1675, when Emperor Leopold banned the *Reichshofräte* from going to Mass in Ödenburg.⁴³

This all culminated, however, shortly before the siege of Vienna by the Turks in the winter of 1683. At the beginning of the year, when there was a massive shake-up of the foundations of the Habsburg Monarchy, Leopold I insisted on issuing a rescript covering all Lutherans, without exception. Since January there was a ban to attend Mass at the Danish embassy of Andreas Pauli von Liliencron, at the Swedish embassy of Gabriel Count von Oxenstierna, as well as at the Brandenburg embassy of Bernhard Ernst von Schmettau.⁴⁴ The impetus for this ban was the newly accredited envoy of Sweden, who had probably exceeded the tolerated limit. Of course the Imperial Envoy in Stockholm, Michael Franz von Althann, was closely acquainted with the entire event, who by the unwritten laws of reciprocity could expect a similarly rigorous response from the Swedish authorities, which could lead to restrictions on Catholic worship at the Imperial Embassy.⁴⁵ The rescript from 1683 actually struck a dangerous blow to the Lutheran minority in Vienna, because for approximately forty years the activities of foreign diplomats dampened whoever did not intend to threaten the hard-won political achievements that were attributed largely to their own party.

The conflict, which Gabriel Oxenstierna caused in 1683, was definitely not unique in this respect, however. A similarly dramatic commotion had been caused about twenty

42 M. SCHNETTGER, *Ist Wien eine Messe wert?*, p. 607.

43 G. MECENSEFFY, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich*, p. 183.

44 G. LOESCHE, *Geschichte des Protestantismus*, pp. 123–125.

45 “Alhier undt in Schlesien ist man noch ohngeachtet, der vor augen schwebenden grossen gefährlichkeit mit dem reformation werkh[s] gar eifferigst bemühet. Der könig[liche] schwedische abgesandter h[err] graf Oxenstierna, welche etliche wochen hier in seinem logiement in beysein mehr als 1000 persohnen den evangelischen gottesdienst mit predigen, singen, und betten, auch administration des heyl[iges] abendmahls öffentlich gehalten.” See ÖStA Wien, HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Schweden, Diplomatische Korrespondenz, Kart. 6, an appendix to a rescript for an Imperial Envoy in Sweden, Michael Franz von Althann, from 10. 1. 1683 (Vienna).

years earlier, also by a resident of Denmark, Andreas Pauli von Liliencron. Unlike his younger Swedish colleague, the Danish diplomat was in his main instruction commanded on several pages to promote the local Lutheran community by all available means.⁴⁶ The motives of Frederick III of the ruling Oldenburg dynasty were obvious. The Danish King, though he was an adamant Lutheran, remained extremely tolerant of the Catholic minority in his Kingdom.⁴⁷ Of course the general rescript of his father Christian IV from 1613 continued to be applicable which was banning all unregistered, or non-tolerated Catholics from remaining in the Kingdom. From 1624 onwards, careless priests were threatened with death for undertaking any missionary activities. Denmark, although in general it was one of the first Protestant countries, in fact it stood-up against the local Catholic community rather mildly. Danish students, for example, could freely attend Jesuit schools abroad. This right was never withdrawn, but since 1604 after returning to their homeland, they could not count with the career of a high-level Royal official. Another extraordinary case, for example, was the Catholic rector of the Latin School in Lund staying in the office from which he had not been deposed until 1605, after some backstage disputes with local Lutheran Professors.⁴⁸

The most significant highlight of all was the unprecedented tolerance to the Catholic community that had settled in the towns of Altona and Lykstad (Glückstadt). During the Early Modern period Altona, which lies at the mouth of the Elbe River, was in the possession of the Danish Kings. The exceptional position of Danish Altona was crowned by the establishment of the Catholic Church reportedly for several thousand Catholics, who, theoretically, should not be impeded in the exercise of worship. The second “Island of Tolerance” was the town of Lykstad, near Altona, that was founded by Christian IV. Also living there was a large Catholic community that enjoyed extraordinary favour from the Danish monarchs.⁴⁹

46 Rigsarkivet København, Wien – diplomatisk repræsentation, Kart. 105, the main instruction for Andreas Pauli von Liliencron from 9. 1. 1663 (Copenhagen).

47 Several letters are stored in the Copenhagen Imperial Archive that were sent between the Danish King Frederick III and the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, who at that time was compared to both Leonardo da Vinci and René Descartes. As one of the first of those who had the assistance of a microscope he was studying the microorganisms, to which he attributed the spread of the plague. Rigsarkivet København, Tyske Kancelli, Udenrigske Afdeling, Breve fra udenlandske universiteter og lærde mænd 1530–1770, Kart. 3–057 (F-L). There is more information about this correspondence and about the Danish Kings and their relationship with Catholicism in Andreas SCHUMACHER, *Gelehrter Maenner Brife an die Koenige von Daenemark 1522–1663*, vol. III, Leipzig 1758.

48 Helge CLAUSEN, *Konvertiten in Dänemark im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, in: Georg Diederich (Hg.), *300 Jahre katholische Gemeinden in Mecklenburg. Geschichte und Bedeutung in der Nordeuropäischen Diaspora*, Schwerin 2009, pp. 34–41.

49 Exceptionally detailed in this respect is the work of Lebrecht Dreves, who gathered a large amount of information about how the Catholic minority functioned, not only in Altona and Lykstad, but

But this was far from being the whole story. After losing the war with Sweden and subsequently accepting a disadvantageous peace in Brömsebro in 1645, the Kingdom of Denmark required the support of many foreign experts in order to proceed with the recovery of the state finances. In those years, for the first time in history, diplomatic representatives of the Catholic rulers began to concentrate in Copenhagen and, without facing any restrictions, they took it on themselves to organise the Catholic worship. Amongst the first permanent diplomats at the court of Christian IV was the Imperial Envoy Baron Georg von Plettenberg, who spent nearly two years in Copenhagen before, at the beginning of 1647, he was removed from the post. Also included amongst several clergymen at the Imperial Embassy was Martin Stricker, a Catholic Canon from Hildesheim, who had extensive prior experience of the Danish environment. It is Plettenberg who can be considered as having been the initiator of the subsequent fixed structure of the Catholic clergy while he was moving about in close proximity to the other Catholic embassies in Copenhagen.⁵⁰

It remains undeniable that the clergy from Catholic Countries in the confessional different environment cooperated closely despite their frequent serious disagreements in regard to political issues. Therefore it was not uncommon for the Imperial legation chaplain, if he could speak French sufficiently well, to serve several masses at the French Embassy. In a similar manner the Portuguese ambassador might willingly “lend” his Chaplain to the Spanish ambassador. The degree of co-operation at the religious level between the two Habsburg Houses in the Lutheran regions remains unprecedented however. We even know about cases in which, after the Imperial envoy has departed from the Royal residence, the Spanish diplomat took over the patronage of the former Imperial legation chaplain.⁵¹

A similar incident occurred in 1648, when Count Bernardino Rebolledo, the Spanish Envoy, arrived in Copenhagen.⁵² In addition to taking Martin Stricker under his wing,

also throughout the entire area of Lower Saxony. Special attention was also paid to secret Catholics in Hamburg and to their frequent relationships with the local Imperial ambassadors. Cf. Lebrecht DREVES, *Geschichte der katholischen Gemeinden zu Hamburg und Altona. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der nordischen Missionen*, Schaffhausen 1866².

50 O. GARSTEIN, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, Vol. III, pp. 450–451.

51 Of course in the Lutheran regions the degree of co-operation between the Catholics was not always perfect. There was always competition, not only between the various Catholic orders, but also between individuals who belonged to the same Catholic order. Well-known, for example, is the dispute between Martin Stricker, the Imperial legation chaplain in Copenhagen, and the missionaries in the Duchy of Holstein, to whom Stricker gave the title of *Missionarii Vagabundi*. Cf. M. BAKEŠ, *Legáční kaplani ve službách císařských vyslanců*, s. 947.

52 The diplomatic missions of the Spanish politician and talented poet Bernardino Rebolledo in Copenhagen are very clearly documented in monograph Emil GIGAS, *Grev Bernardino de Rebolledo*.

Rebolledo also stipulated the participation of the other three Jesuits, whose task would be to ensure that regular Mass was available for Copenhagen's entire Catholic community and even to provide prohibited services outside the embassy. Although the activities of the clergy at the Spanish Embassy awakened regular waves of indignation amongst the burghers of Copenhagen and all of the guarantors of the purity of Lutheran piety, the endeavour to ban the over-the-top activities of the Catholic-minded priests definitive failed. The new King Frederick III was not going to initiate any consistent measures in regard to these issues. The Spanish Embassy's Jesuit members even enjoyed a special kind of respect. Often cited is an isolated (but not unique) record that the Spanish chaplain accompanied by two Jesuits was invited to take part in a philosophical dispute in the University of Copenhagen's Auditorium. Christen Pedersen Schjoldborg's thesis defence was also attended by King Frederick III. The fact that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus did not just sit in silence is evidenced by several of Rebolledo's relations stored in Simancas archive and by the Danish Church historian Erik Ludvigsen Pontoppidan.⁵³ A professor of philosophy of many years at the Jesuit college in Olomouc and Spanish legation chaplain Gottfried Francken distinguished himself especially during disputation.⁵⁴ Similar situations at which Members of the Jesuit Order were present at learned disputations are also known about from Uppsala later.⁵⁵

The imperial envoy Johann von Goess also carried out his activities in an extremely tolerant religious atmosphere. Between 1657–1661 he worked closely with the Spaniard Rebolledo on both political and religious issues. Well known are his contacts with the Catholic community in Danish Lykstad, which he maintained even with the assistance of Johann Sterck, the legation chaplain of the Jesuit order, who later infamously presented himself in Stockholm as the Imperial and later on as the Spanish legation chaplain.⁵⁶ From the period of Goess's residency the register of baptised and married Catholics survived,

Spansk gesandt i Kjøbenhavn 1648–1659, København 1883.

53 Erik PONTOPPIDAN, *Annales Ecclesiae Danicae Diplomatici*. Vol. IV, København 1752, p. 412. This event is also described in more detail and with contributions from several other sources by Johannes B. METZLER, *Den første Oprindelse til den katholske Menighed i København*, Med Afbenyttelse af utrykte Arkivalier 9, 1911, pp. 357–358.

54 O. GARSTEIN, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, Vol. III, pp. 475–481.

55 Martin Gottseer, a Jesuit and a legation chaplain at the Imperial embassy led by Franz Ottakar von Starhemberg, as a recognised expert in algebra participated in a public disputation at Uppsala University. After completing his defence he was even invited for lunch by the Rector, Harrald Valerius (who was also a mathematician). Cf. Joseph STÖCKLEIN, *Allerhand so Lehr-als Geist-reiche Brief, Schrifften und Reis-Beschreibung, welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft Jesu aus beyden Indien, und andern uber Meer gelegenen Ländern, seit Anno 1642 bis 1726 in Europa angelangt sind*, Bd 23/24, Augspurg 1736, pp. 165–173.

56 M. BAKEŠ, *Legační kaplani ve službách císařských vyslanců*, s. 946–948.

to which, in addition to Sterck, several other Jesuits (e.g. Heinrich Kircher, Henrik van den Linden and Sigismund Merkwart) also contributed.⁵⁷

The highest officials of the Imperial Court were also aware of the favourable conditions that existed for secret and tolerated Catholics in the Kingdom of Denmark. In regular reports to Vienna from time to time the envoys praised the extraordinary tolerance that was primarily guaranteed by the members of the ruling Oldenburg dynasty. Also unusually favourable were the reports of the legation chaplains themselves, who submitted either oral or written reports to their superiors within the Order or placed them directly into the hands of the representatives of the Roman *Propaganda Fide*. In the words of the Danish envoy, Andreas Pauli von Liliencron, even Leopold I himself seriously thought about buying a house in Copenhagen, which could be of service both to his diplomatic apparatus and primarily provide quality facilities on behalf of a large number of the Catholic clergy.⁵⁸ The Habsburg Emperor was overtaken in these plans by his disliked French cousin, Louis XIV, who was represented by his ambassador Hugues de Terlon and in 1671 obtained permission to build the French Embassy in the walls of Copenhagen, together with a spacious chapel and an affiliated cemetery.⁵⁹

During the second half of the 17th Century doing something similar in Vienna would have been impossible. The foreign policy of Early Modern Europe, however, was strictly governed by the laws of reciprocity and by precedents. In the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War the Danish side expected from the Emperor similar concessions in matters of religion to those that had made Kings of the Oldenburg dynasty. Powerful levers were represented mainly by tolerating the Catholic Communities in Altona and in Lykstad. Also irreplaceable was the extremely free status of the Imperial legation chaplains in Copenhagen.

Since the beginning of his stay in Vienna similar requests had also been presented by Danish resident Andreas Pauli von Liliencron. Also in his house, where the Neuer Markt is today, throughout May 1663 regular worship sessions were held in the presence

57 The legation chapel registers represent a completely untapped source that may reveal the social networks of individual members of the Embassy. The registers of baptised, married and buried Catholic members of the Sjælland Community are exceptional in that they have been preserved in their entirety since the mid-17th Century. Today these registers are stored in Sct. Ansgars Kirkes Arkiv, 1) Copulationsbuch 1647–1771; 2) Liber Baptizatorum Hafniae in Exercitio Catholico per Missionarios Societas Jesu; 3) Liber Defunctorum 1649–1730. Also well-known, though nearly a hundred years younger, are the registers of the Lutheran community that are held in Vienna. See M. SCHEUTZ, *Legalität und unterdrückte Religionsausübung*, pp. 224–225.

58 Rigsarkivet København, Wien – diplomatisk repræsentation, Kart. 30, the report of Andreas Pauli von Liliencron from 9. 5. 1663 (Vienna).

59 Peter Willemoes BECKER, *Samlinger til Danmarks historie under kong Frederik den tredies regering II.*, København 1847, p. 73.

of not only the tolerated but also the secret Lutherans. They were preaching and singing loudly, not only in Danish but also and mostly in German. The Danish Lutheran Chaplain Bartius was busy eagerly equipping the Chapel space. Some of the inventory items were brought by the resident and some were purchased on the spot or donated by the Lutheran Community. The Danish legation Chaplain also baptised children, married partners and probably also attended some funerals which always presented an excellent opportunity for actually expanding the visibility of Vienna's Protestant Community.⁶⁰ Some form of catechesis for children of Lutheran parents certainly took place at the Danish Embassy which we also recorded in detail at other embassies.⁶¹

Already a few weeks after Liliencron's arrival in Vienna the *Obersthofmarschall* Heinrich Wilhelm von Starhemberg had visited the Danish embassy to hand-in there an official reprimand that had been issued by the Emperor's *Obersthofmeister* Johann Ferdinand, Prince of Porcia. Based on the request of the Papal Nuncio Carlo Carafa and on the orders of Leopold I Liliencron should immediately restrict worshipping at the Danish Embassy, under the threat of a complete ban. Since the Danish resident was not going to restrict anything, Starhemberg reappeared at Liliencron again three weeks later, this time presenting a strict order prohibiting the performance of worship at the Danish Embassy. All of Andreas Pauli von Liliencron grievances can be found summarised in a few words in his official relations. "*First, it is illegal in any way to even restrict or to prohibit all Royal Emissaries from the free exercise of their own private religious liturgy and secondly, I have to point out a silently tolerated convention, according to which neither is the Imperial Minister in Copenhagen prevented from excising the Catholic Mass.*"⁶²

The whole situation eventually became so serious that throughout June of the year 1663 Liliencron completely ceased conducting Lutheran worship. The legation Chaplain Bartius was transported in a closed carriage, under the cover of darkness, to nearby Pressburg (today Bratislava), where he was to await further orders. The Danish resident also required the issuance of new instructions and meanwhile had written several complaints both to Frederick III and to Emperor Leopold I. Liliencron's last complaint that was addressed to the Emperor even had an extremely uncompromising and sharp

60 Rigsarkivet København, Wien – diplomatisk repræsentation, Kart. 30, official reports of Andreas Pauli von Liliencron from 25. 4., 9. 5., 16. 5. and 23. 5. May 1663 (all from Vienna).

61 This phenomenon was demonstrated based on the example of the Dutch Embassy in Vienna in the 1770's by Hermann RIEPL, *Die holländische Gesandtschaftskapelle als Vorgängerin der reformierten Gemeinde in Wien*, in: Peter Karner (Hg.), *200 Jahre Evangelische Gemeinde H. B. in Wien*, Wien 1984, pp. 27–45. The Imperial legation chaplain, Martin Gottseer, also implemented similar activities in Stockholm. Cf. J. STÖCKLEIN, *Allerhand so Lehr-als Geist-reiche Brief*, pp. 143–173.

62 Rigsarkivet København, Wien – diplomatisk repræsentation, Kart. 30, the report of Andreas Pauli von Liliencron from 31. 5. 1663 (Vienna).

tone. “It is more than surprising that all the Danish diplomats, even those who are in the most barbarous countries, are not restricted in such a manner that it negates the free exercising of worship within the private spaces of their embassies, as is the case here in Vienna. In no case is the envoy of His Majesty the Emperor, who freely attends Catholic Mass at the Embassy in Copenhagen restricted. Also extraordinary are the powers of the subjects of the Danish King in Altona in Holstein. This Danish Catholic community, numbering several thousand souls, meets in extraordinary intensity and can exercise Catholic worship without any limitation or restriction. Also, since our King Christian IV, who was accompanied by great memories, Catholic Mass can be served in the newly built Lykstad fort without any restriction.”⁶³

After a few weeks the Emperor eventually back-tracked from his extremely strict and unusual opinion, but the original intensity of the Lutheran rites decreased significantly for a longer period. However, disputes between the Danish Embassy and the Imperial authorities dragged-on with a greater or lesser intensity throughout the following years. A similar explosion of animosity occurred two years later, at the end of 1665, when the Emperor again had to respond to the repeated complaints of the Papal Nuncio Giulio Spinola. Nuncio, amongst other things, pointed to the inappropriate dimensions of Protestant worship at the Danish Embassy, which attracted not only the registered but also the secret Lutheran-minded subjects of Leopold I.⁶⁴ It seems that a definitive end to the period of large-scale Lutheran worships was brought about by a rescript from 1683 banning all the inhabitants of the Habsburg Monarchy who are not subjects of the Danish or the Swedish King or of the Elector of Brandenburg from attending Mass. This negative impact on the shape and the course of Lutheran worship had a significant cooling effect on Danish-Imperial relations during the 1680's, which even led to several years of during which diplomatic relations remained terminated.⁶⁵

When studying Danish-Imperial relations, we would very soon have to conclude that the process of the secularisation of foreign policy between the two countries during the second half of the 17th Century was far from being completed. Something like that was definitely not possible just because of a few paragraphs from “The Peace Treaty of Westphalia”, which partially determined the form of the bilateral relations between the two Scandinavian

63 Ibidem, Andreas Pauli von Liliencron's letter to Emperor Leopold I written on 28. 7. 1663 (Vienna).

64 Artur LEVINSON (Hg.), *Nuntiaturrechnungen vom Kaiserhof Leopolds I.*, Wien 1913, p. 41. This event is also reflected-on by M. SCHEUTZ in *Legalität und unterdrückte Religionsausübung*, p. 227.

65 L. BITTNER – L. GROSS (Hg.), *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter*, pp. 108 and 133.

countries on one side and the Habsburg Empire on the other side. The Imperial envoys tried, to a greater or lesser extent, to protect the rights of the Catholic minority in the territory of the Kingdom of Denmark. The diplomats of the Oldenburg Kings in Vienna were evidently trying something similar in regard to the numerous Lutheran-minded population. For this purpose legation chapels were founded at embassies, which greatly attracted both the registered and the secret members of the confessional minorities. Thereby the envoys themselves repeatedly came into conflict with the local authorities, which sought to guarantee providing some form of punishment.

Although the tolerance of legation chapels should be strictly governed by the laws of reciprocity, these requirements were certainly not feasible in practice. The main reason for this was the very different position of secret and tolerated Catholics in Copenhagen, whose number did not exceed a few hundred, with conditions that the Lutheran community in Vienna enjoyed and that comprised several thousand souls. Another important difference was that during the reign of Danish King Frederick III the local Catholic minority enjoyed a considerable degree of freedoms, which had few parallels in Early Modern Europe. The Oldenburg dynasty guaranteed the inviolability of the Catholics in Danish Altona and Lykstad and did not significantly restrict even the Catholic services that were provided at the foreign embassies in Copenhagen.

In contrast with this, however, ultimately all the Protestants in Lower Austria (with very few exceptions) were outlawed from 1654 onwards. Emperor Leopold I, who was also partly under pressure from the Papal Nuncios, was trying to complete the reformation process that his ancestors had initiated in the early 17th Century. The numerous evangelical communities in Vienna then began to lose their members. Registered Protestants were under permanent pressure from the Reformation Commissions and also from the ubiquitous missionaries. Not really in vain the Austrian historian, Martin Scheutz, referred to the Viennese Court as the *Konversionsmaschine*.⁶⁶ Finally many adamant Lutherans, who represented the true pillars of the Protestant Community in Vienna, turned to the Catholic faith. They were either unable to endure the ever-present pressure of the Catholic Majority, or their different concept of Faith prevented them from fulfilling higher-level official functions. We register this entire range of examples. In addition to the repeatedly mentioned Gottlieb von Windischgrätz there were also other *Reichshofräte*, such as Gundakar von Dietrichstein, Johann Joachim von Sinzendorf, Johann Adolf von Metsch and Johann Friedrich von Seilern.⁶⁷

66 M. SCHEUTZ, *Legalität und unterdrückte Religionsausübung*, pp. 213–216.

67 M. SCHNETTGER, *Ist Wien eine Messe wert?*, pp. 627–630.

The *Reichshofräte* evidently represented important allies for the Danish, Swedish and Brandenburg envoys in regard to the Imperial Court. They became important informers, attended church services regularly and, accompanied by their families, they did not even avoid playing board games nor participate at a fixed table. In the case of the Danish Embassy we are registering a substantial number of those Officials, who frequently visited the local ambassador. After the conversion of these people to the Catholic Faith it is likely that the mutual relationships faltered or were obliged to extinguish completely.

In his instructions the Danish resident, Andreas Pauli von Liliencron, was also urged to establish a social network with leading Viennese Lutherans. In addition to everything else he was also strictly instructed not to prevent his Chaplain from carrying-out Lutheran Worship at his Embassy. The Danish and Imperial diplomats differed considerably in regard to this practice because the right to the possible expansion of the Catholic liturgy into the space of the Imperial Embassy in Copenhagen belonged exclusively to the Imperial Envoy. Representatives of Leopold I in the Scandinavian countries also did not build closer links with the local Catholic minority because its members generally did not belong amongst the political elite. Exceptions to the rule do exist here as well, however. Let's mention, for example, the numerous contacts that took place between the French Ambassador Pierre Hector Chanut and René Descartes or Pierre Daniel Huet, who, however, also had an irreplaceable influence on the young Queen Christina.⁶⁸

Religio-political ideas and demands, with which one of the first permanent Danish residents Andreas Pauli von Liliencron arrived in Vienna very soon met resistance of the Emperor, who was known for his uncompromising policy of reconversion. A total ban of Lutheran worship and the transfer of Pastor Bartius to Pressburg represent actual unicum, which vary considerably from accepted agreements of Early Modern international law.⁶⁹ Leopold I therefore very soon withdrew from his extremely strict opinions because he was not going to jeopardise sizable Catholic minority in the Kingdom of Denmark, with which Liliencron also threatened him in his letter at several places.

The topic of the operation of embassy chapels remains an unexcavated area for further research. The bulk of writers who have dealt with this issue, mostly built their research on diplomatic relations, the instructions and the final reports of the former legation

68 The friendly relationship between René Descartes and Pierre Hector Chanut was described by O. GARSTEIN in *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia, Vol. III*, pp. 502–510. French polyglot and writer Pierre Daniel Huet, who accepted the invitation of Queen Christina to the Stockholm Court in 1652, also had a great deal of influence on the young Swedish monarch. His quite critical description of the journey and negative connotations related to the operation of the Swedish Royal Court can be found in his memoirs. See John AIKIN, *Memoirs of the Life of Peter Daniel Huet, Bishop of Avranches*, London 1810, pp. 119–183.

69 Abraham de WICQUEFORT, *L'Ambassadeur et Ses Fonctions*, Den Haag, pp. 880–881.

chaplains. In combination with the sources of a personal nature we would be able, for example, assess the questions that have not been asked yet, for example: What determined the preference of choice between individual legation chapels? Or what specifically caused the prioritisation of the Danish chapel over Swedish, Brandenburg, Saxony or Hesse by individual members of the Lower Austrian Lutheran community? A very important question that remains for subsequent research is the manner in which the Emperor's subjects coped with the fact that Danish or Swedish king was lauded during worship; how they responded to regular prayers for the newborn royal offspring or for the health of the royal family. A sort of shock of conscience or loyalty of the imperial courtiers must also inevitably come with the deliberate disclosure of certain important or even secret messages to the foreign diplomats. How did leading Lutherans of the Imperial Court cope with these problems? These and many other questions are still waiting for their answer, which subsequent research will certainly bring about.