

German Historical Institute London Bulletin

Bd. 27

2005

Nr. 1

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PETER WOLF, MICHAEL HENKER, EVAMARIA BROCKHOFF *et al.* (eds.), *Der Winterkönig: Friedrich V. Der letzte Kurfürst aus der Oberen Pfalz. Amberg, Heidelberg, Prag, Den Haag. Katalog zur Bayerischen Landesausstellung 2003, Stadtmuseum Amberg 9. Mai bis 2. November 2003*, Veröffentlichungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kultur 46/03 (Augsburg: Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kunst; Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2003), 376 pp. plus CD-ROM. ISBN 3 927233 84 6. EUR 18.00

This attractive volume is the catalogue of a major exhibition dedicated to the life of the 'Winter King', Frederick V of the Palatinate, and his consort, Elizabeth, which took the fashionable form of a rolling display, touring from Amberg to Prague, Heidelberg, and The Hague in 2003 and 2004. Sixteen essays by historians, art historians, and archaeologists precede the detailed catalogue description of the exhibits. The volume includes numerous high quality illustrations, many in colour, and is accompanied by a CD Rom with even more visuals.

Long dismissed as something of a political lightweight, lacking in judgement, manipulated by his advisers, and trapped into the disastrous Bohemian adventure which precipitated the loss of his lands and titles, a career in exile and a premature death, Frederick has latterly enjoyed a measure of revisionist rehabilitation, especially in Peter Bilhöfer's dissertation, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen*,¹ and in Brennan C. Pursell's *The Winter King*,² the latter of which was not available to the catalogue contributors. Frederick's charm and energy, the 'rationality' of his statecraft, and the broad-based appeal among the princes of the Empire of his advocacy of the principle of 'German liberty' against perceived Habsburg threats have been emphasized in these recent treatments. Lacking the argumentative edge of a monograph, the catalogue understandably does not advance a single view of Frederick, revisionist or otherwise. However, whilst they do not challenge the received opinion explicitly, the studies here

¹ Peter Bilhöfer, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen: Friedrich V., Kurfürst von der Pfalz – der 'Winterkönig' von Böhmen (1596–1632)* (Mannheim, 2000; new edn., 2004).

² Brennan C. Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Ashgate, 2003).

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can be said to contribute to the 'new view' of the Palatine Elector, clarifying and, in some cases, considerably enhancing our picture of the context in which the decision-making of Frederick and his entourage can be better understood.

In the early chapters, Peter Bilhöfer and Rosalind K. Marshall provide crisp biographies of Frederick V and his wife Elizabeth, whilst Peter Claus Hartmann gives an overview of the period's confessional dynamic. Essays by Johannes Laschinger and Peter Wolf focus on Frederick's birthplace, the Upper Palatinate, and its capital, Amberg. In a particularly original and interesting contribution, Wolf suggests that Palatine diplomacy on the eve of Frederick's fateful decision to accept the Bohemian crown was, at least in part, determined by a tradition of regarding the kingdom as being within the Palatine sphere of interest. A renewed connection between the two states was enthusiastically promoted by Christian of Anhalt, Frederick's *Statthalter* in the Upper Palatinate, who was foremost in urging Frederick to accept the offer of the crown, against the advice of many Palatine officials. It emerges that besides confessional solidarity and dynastic aspiration, a conscious appreciation of economic interest underlay this strategy. The economy of the Upper Palatinate was dominated by its iron industry and related trades. Christian's government had a controlling stake in the commerce in tin-plate, and Christian personally administered important iron mines, foundries, and arms factories. According to Wolf, Christian fully recognized the economic interdependence of the Upper Palatinate and Western Bohemia (most of the tin used in Amberg's industry came from the Horní Slavkov region). He also realized that Bohemia's rich resources could be used to save the ailing Upper Palatine iron industry. Wolf even argues that the prince may also have calculated that precipitating a conflict might allow him personally to profit from a rising demand for armaments. Not lost on the author is the irony that much of the shot with which Frederick's army was bombarded at the Battle of the White Mountain (1620) may have been previously supplied to the Habsburg forces from Christian's own factories.

Amberg was, though, always secondary to Heidelberg, the capital of the Rhenish half of Frederick's territories. Frieder Hepp describes the city in the early seventeenth century, whilst Annette Frese focuses on Heidelberg Castle's celebrated Mannerist garden, the 'Hortus Palatinus'. This 'Eighth Wonder' was created in the astonishingly

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short period of 1616 to 1618 by Frederick's Huguenot garden designer, Johann Salomon de Caus, whose forte was the installation of elaborate water features and automata, as well as rarefied symbolism, here decoded. Briefly, of course, Frederick enjoyed another, even grander, capital at Prague. Three of the volume's essays examine Frederick's rule in Bohemia. Joachim Bahlcke places the Bohemian-Palatine 'experiment' in state-formation in European perspective. Eliška Fučíková concentrates on the fabled Rudolphine art collections, earmarked for at least partial sale by the cash-strapped Bohemian Estates in 1619 but retained by Frederick, in contrast to the décor of Prague's cathedral, which suffered severe iconoclasm. In an assessment of Frederick's governance, Jaroslav Pánek charts how the new king only ever enjoyed a narrow base of support among a highly factionalized Bohemian nobility. He antagonized those in the local élite who had assumed that he would rule as a *primus inter pares* and disappointed local expectations that he would bring in financial support for the kingdom. Short of cash, Frederick attempted to increase the royal demesne through confiscation of lands from Catholic nobles and prelates, and sought subsidies from foreign allies (including the Dutch), although tellingly, the total amount of monetary assistance delivered to Frederick represented only one tenth of the sums offered by Spain to his enemies. Pánek suggests that it was financial failure more than Frederick's insensitive religious policies which undermined his position, for even the notorious iconoclasm at St Vitus offended many members of the Estates less because of its sacrilege than for its perceived assault on a prime symbol of Bohemian statehood.

Turfed out of Bohemia after the Battle of the White Mountain, the exiled and banned Winter King became the focus of an unprecedented torrent of printed propaganda, both for and against his cause, which took the form of illustrated broadsheets and pamphlets, and which continued to be produced after his death. A large sample of these features in the exhibition and the genre is analysed in a contribution by Jana Hubková. The broadsheet was a 'multi-functional medium', Hubková notes, and one must pay attention to the complex interaction between its text, image, and, where indicated, melody. One genre of prophetic broadsheet linked the Palatine Elector to ancient and grandiose themes, anticipating that his Bohemian adventure would herald the re-conquest of the Holy Sepulchre, the conver-

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sion of the heathen to Christianity, and the foundation of a worldwide Empire of Peace. Later in the war, the same prophecies were transposed to other figures, including Gustavus Adolphus. Corresponding to a section of the exhibition dedicated to Frederick's tenacious adversary, Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria, Michael Kaiser's chapter draws on recent scholarship, not least his own superb monograph on Bavarian strategy in the first half of the War,³ to give a convincing analysis of Maximilian's attempts to marginalize Frederick after the imposition of the Imperial ban, and to promote his own claims to his titles and lands. Historians working with seventeenth-century diplomatic records often gloss over the intolerably verbose formulae of Baroque protocol which suffuse them. In a clever and original reading, however, Kaiser examines the shifting textual practice of the Bavarian chancery to argue that the diminution of Frederick's status in official documents was no accident, but the articulation of a calculated and systematic political and diplomatic strategy.

In a contrast to these historical essays on the Thirty Years War, Renate Ludwig, Manfred Benner, and Ulrich Klein provide a fascinating joint report on the archaeological survey of two of the possibly seven camps established by Tilly's forces during the siege of Heidelberg in 1622 on the hills overlooking the city. Excavations at the main site (designated 'Camp One') have resulted in over 2,000 separate finds, including weapons, belt-buckles, spurs, medical and writing implements, dice, drinking vessels, and 'Kipper-und-Wipper' coins and tokens, constituting the largest haul of its kind from the period. Whilst the finds add little to existing knowledge, they do provide an interesting and at times poignant witness to the *Alltag* of the common soldiery. Finally, three essays by Simon Groenveld, Willem Jan Hoogsteder, and Alheidis von Rohr treat the years of exile of the royal couple, and after the Elector's death, of Elizabeth and her children, focusing on their residences in the Dutch Republic and with particular reference to their art patronage.

As for the exhibition itself, to judge by the Amberg leg which I attended in September 2003, this was excellently curated. A splendid array of exhibits loaned from many countries occupied the modernized and extended gallery space of Amberg's Stadtmuseum. Among

³ Michael Kaiser, *Politik und Kriegsführung: Maximilian von Bayern, Tilly und die Katholische Liga im Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Münster, 1999).

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the highlights, all illustrated in the catalogue, were Frederick's and Elizabeth's marriage bed from Montacute House in Somerset, portraits of Elizabeth sporting her characteristic fringe, the horoscope of Maximilian of Bavaria, and a delightful gouache of Elizabeth playing badminton with one of her ladies-in-waiting. This was clearly a major event for the erstwhile capital of the Oberpfalz, with trails to the museum from Amberg's medieval gates signposted by colourful sculptures of Palatine lions and painted lion-paw prints on the pavements. The exhibition was accompanied by a programme of concerts, public lectures, and guided tours of the town's historical treasures. Its organizers are to be warmly congratulated.

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