

Burgenländische Forschungen Band 108

**Die Schlacht von Mogersdorf/St. Gotthard
und der Friede von Eisenburg/Vasvár 1664.**

**Rahmenbedingungen, Akteure, Auswirkungen
und Rezeption eines europäischen Ereignisses**

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Abkürzungsverzeichnis

<i>AAWW</i>	<i>Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien</i>
<i>ADB</i>	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i>
<i>AHY</i>	<i>Austrian History Yearbook</i>
<i>AÖG</i>	<i>Archiv für österreichische Geschichte</i>
Beih.	Beiheft/Beihefte
BF	Burgenländische Forschungen
<i>BHSoz</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Historischen Sozialkunde</i>
DAG	Diözesanarchiv Graz
DAW	Diözesanarchiv Wien
EDG	Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte
<i>EdN</i>	<i>Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit</i>
FA	Familienarchiv
<i>FB</i>	<i>Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte</i>
FHKA	Reichsakten des Finanz- und Hofkammerarchivs
<i>GG</i>	<i>Geschichte und Gesellschaft</i>
<i>HA</i>	<i>Historische Anthropologie</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
HHStA	Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>HJb</i>	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i>
<i>JbJf</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung</i>
<i>JbVGStW</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien</i>
<i>MKA</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des k. k. Kriegsarchivs</i>
<i>MIÖG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i>
<i>MÖStA</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs</i>
<i>NDB</i>	<i>Neue Deutsche Biographie</i>
NF	Neue Folge
ÖGL	Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur
ÖKT	Österreichische Kunsttopographie
ÖMZ	Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift
ÖStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien
ÖZKD	Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege
<i>SOF</i>	<i>Südost-Forschungen</i>
StLA	Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv Graz
STUF	Studien und Forschungen aus dem Niederösterreichischen Institut für Landeskunde
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
VIEG	Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz
VIÖG	Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
VKNGÖ	Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs
<i>VSWG</i>	<i>Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte</i>

ZA-Prot	Zeremonialprotokoll
ZHF	<i>Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung</i>
ZHVSt	<i>Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark</i>
ZNR	<i>Zeitschrift für Neuere Rechtsgeschichte</i>
WZGN	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit</i>

Charles V, Duke de Lorraine and the Battle of Mogersdorf/Saint Gotthard*

By Ferenc Tóth

The military and political career of Charles Leopold V, Duke of Lorraine (1643–1690) was strongly attached to the early modern history of Hungary, because of his important role as commander-in-chief during the Great Turkish War of 1683–1689. In the Buda Castle Quarter (UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1987) his memory is still alive on the historical memorials of his successful siege in 1686. The famous painting of Gyula Benczúr (*Budavár visszavétele - Recapture of Buda Castle*, 1896), prepared for the celebration of the Millennium, shows him on white horse, as one the most important heroes of Hungary. Hungarian as well as the European (Austrian, French, and German etc.) historiography, however, absolutely neglected him and a concise biography of Charles V of Lorraine is still needed¹. On the one hand, the Duke of Lorraine's life does not fit into the framework of traditional national histories, thus, he was considered a stepson of national historiographies. As he never ruled in his own country, he was named „the duke without duchy”. It is less known that his military career started in 1664 in the battle of Saint Gotthard. Last year, the anniversary of the military events in Hungary in the year 1664, including the Battle of Saint Gotthard, drew the attention to the Hungarian and international sources of these events again. In my contribution, I would like to gather and compare the most important sources on this topic in order to analyse this event's function in the later career of Charles de Lorraine.

In the medieval knightly tradition, combating Muslims (for ex. Saracens, Moors, Turks etc.) was an important military honour because it meant not only a glorious personal fight, but also the defence of the Christian faith. Even after the disappearance of the Crusades, when the French monarchy presented a model for the primacy of the “Raison d'État”, we can observe among French noblemen a certain

* The study was prepared with the support of the “Lendület” Holy Crown of Hungary Research Project (2012–2017) of the Institute of History, Research Centre of the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Science.

¹ On the life of Charles V of Lorraine, see: Jean de LABRUNE, *La vie de Charles V, duc de Lorraine et de Bar et généralissime des troupes impériales* (Amsterdam 1691); Paul WENTZCKE, *Feldherr des Kaisers: Leben und Taten Herzog Karls V. von Lothringen* (Leipzig 1943); Hans URBANSKI, *Karl von Lothringen: Österreichs Türkensieger* (Wien 1983); Stéphane GABER, *Et Charles V arrêta la marche des Turcs ... Un Lorrain sauveur de l'Occident chrétien* (Nancy 1986).

desire to make war on the Turks. In the circle of Princes more or less attached to French King's person, this desire was much more intensive and pushed them to go to Eastern countries to participate in wars against the Ottomans. This allowed them to cover themselves with glory and gain some reputation in the society of European Princes².

The House of the Dukes of Lorraine maintained the tradition of combating the Turks by sending several of his members to Eastern and Southern Europe, especially to Hungary, during the Turkish wars³. In 1570, the young Duke Henri de Guise and his brother Charles, Marquis of Mayenne, offered their service to the Republic of Venice. The Duke of Guise had already served in Hungary against the Turks in 1565. A most famous member of this family, the Duke of Mercoeur, Philippe-Emmanuel de Lorraine (1558–1602), son of Nicolas de Vaudémont and grand-son of the Duke Antoine de Lorraine (1490–1544) entered into the service of Emperor Rudolf II in 1593. He participated in the siege of Esztergom in October 1599. In 1601, he commanded six cuirassier companies of Lorraine in Hungary. This year, he reconquered the town of Székesfehérvár and defended it against a very strong Ottoman army⁴. He died next year during his travel to Lorraine, he was buried in Nancy at the church of the Cordeliers. His funeral oration written and delivered by the famous Francis de Sales on 27th April 1602 in the cathedral Notre-Dame of Paris presented him as an archetype of a good soldier of Christ fallen during his "Holy Travel" in the East⁵. We can also mention other famous noblemen of Lorraine who accompanied him during his campaigns in Hungary, like Henri de Lorraine, Count of Chaligny, the chronicler François de Bassompierre or Claude de Lorraine, Prince of Joinville⁶.

² Géraud POUMARÈDE, *Pour en finir avec la Croisade. Mythes et réalités de la lutte contre les Turcs aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Paris 2004) 383–388. See on the concept of society of European Princes: Lucien BÉLY, *La société des princes* (Paris 1999).

³ René TAVENEUX, *L'esprit de croisade en Lorraine aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, in: *L'Europe, l'Alsace et la France, problèmes intérieurs et relations internationales à l'époque moderne. Études réunies en l'honneur du doyen Georges Livet pour son 70e anniversaire* (Colmar 1986) 257–263.

⁴ Péter SAHIN-TÓTH, *Amis ou ennemis? Français en Hongrie pendant la guerre de Quinze Ans (1595–1606)*, in: *Mille ans de contacts II Relations franco-hongroises de l'an mil à nos jours*, hg. von Zita TRINGLI–Ferenc TÓTH (Szombathely 2004) 26–35.

⁵ POUMARÈDE, *Pour en finir* (see note 2) 400–402. The Duke of Mercoeur's reputation was reinforced by the history of the miraculous withdrawal of his troops from Kanizsa in 1600 which was written by the historian de Thou in his *Histoire universelle*, t. XIII, (Paris 1757) 507.

⁶ Péter SAHIN-TÓTH, *Expier sa faute en Hongrie. Réminiscences de croisade et pacification poli-*

So, Charles V, Duke of Lorraine had already several predecessors deeply engaged in the Turkish wars in Hungary during the century before his life. His military and diplomatic role was mostly emphasized in the military operations against the Ottoman forces in Hungary and in the pacification of the reconquered Hungary as well as in the consolidation of Habsburg rule in the Hungarian Kingdom. His military career lasted from the battle of Saint Gotthard until his death in 1690. In this paper, I would like to show the influence of his participation in the events on the borders of the river Rába in 1664 on his future career, particularly in his activity during the recapture of Hungary from the Turks. On the other hand, I would like to investigate the influence of his fame as commander-in-chief in Hungary (1683–1688) on the memory of this baptism of fire in 1664. In my contribution, after a brief introduction on his life and his duchies, I would like to present the different accounts and stories on his participation in the battle and also some iconographic representations in order to define their role in the construction of the Duke's image as hero of Christianity.

In the 17th century Lorraine was characterised by internal troubles and the weakening of the Dukes' power. This "siècle des malheurs" started by a problem of succession in 1624 when the Duke Henri II de Lorraine (1563–1624) died without male successor. Before his death, he married his eldest daughter, Nicole, to his cousin Charles de Vaudémont who had to reign consequently. Nevertheless, the discovery of the testament of Duke René II caused a trouble in this situation, because it confirmed that the ducal crown could be transmitted only from male to male. As result of this procedure, the legitimate successor was actually François de Vaudémont, the father of Nicole's husband who gave up the idea of governing the duchy of Lorraine in favour of his son who started to rule under the name of Charles IV. His rough behaviour and his attachment to the Emperor provoked the hostility of the King of France whose troops occupied his territories in 1633. Then, Charles IV abdicated in favour of his brother and he participated later in the Thirty Year's War in the ranks of the imperial army. In 1641, he succeeded in recovering his territories by the treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, but he had to accept the French protectorate and give up the imperial alliance. A short time afterwards, he started again fighting against France until the end of the war. Later, he wanted to take advantage of the troubles of the

tique sous Henri IV, in: *Foi, fidélité, amitié en Europe à la période moderne. Mélanges offerts à Robert Sauzet*, hg. von Brigitte MAILLARD (Tours 1995) 436–439.

Fronde and he restarted the war and succeeded in threatening Paris in 1652. After the fall of the Fronde, he was arrested and transferred to the Alcazar in Toledo from which he was released only in 1659 and finally he recovered his duchies in 1661 by the treaty of Vincennes. After some new hostilities with France, in 1670 the troops of Louis XIV occupied Lorraine again, which remained under French rule until the treaty of Ryswick (1697). After the death of Duke Charles IV in 1675, his nephew Charles-Léopold-Nicolas-Sixte de Lorraine succeeded officially as holder of Duke's title after him⁷.

Charles V, Duke of Lorraine was the son of Nicolas-François de Vaudémont and Claude de Lorraine who fled from Lorraine to Italy in 1634 and later moved to Vienna. As Lorraine was occupied by French troops, the young man lived in Vienna at the imperial Court of Leopold I who gave him an appropriate education for a future sovereign. Afterwards, he travelled with his father to Paris and stayed at the French Court for some years. A few years before his death, the Duke Charles IV concluded a treaty with Louis XIV – the so called treaty of Montmartre signed the 6th December 1662 – by which he offered him his duchies after his death but he reserved for himself their sovereignty during his life. The young Charles de Lorraine was profoundly disappointed of his uncle's behaviour and he left Paris suddenly the next day. After some fruitless attempts to recapture his territories, he entered definitely into the Emperor's service. The new war in Hungary between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire promised to the 21 years old young prince a formidable opportunity to distinguish himself – like his illustrious ancestors – in the war against the Turks⁸.

The first opportunity was presented by the battle of Saint Gotthard in 1664. The campaign of 1664 was the last part of the Turkish war commenced after the disastrous expedition of George II Rákóczi, the Prince of Transylvania, in Poland. On hearing about Rákóczi's unauthorized war, the Ottomans declared war on their vassal and defeated him by a strong Turkish army under the command of Köprülü Mehmed Pacha. The Ottomans occupied a part of Transylvania and the new Prince, Count John Kemény, fled to Vienna, seeking support of the Emperor. Leopold I sent Count Raimondo Montecuccoli with an army in Transylvania, which provoked the new Turkish war. In 1663, after the fall of Érsekújvár/Nové Zámky in Slovakia, the situation became critic in Hungary for the Imperial forces. Leopold I left Vien-

⁷ Henry BOGDAN, *La Lorraine des ducs. Sept siècles d'histoire* (Paris 2005) 162–188.

⁸ GABER, Charles V (see note 1) 19–26.

na and he had to ask military aid from the German Princes and even from France. Louis XIV promised to send a French auxiliary army to Hungary upon the request of Emperor Leopold I's envoy Count and Lieutenant General Peter Strozzi on 12th January 1664. The French king, as an active member of the League of the Rhine and as Count of Alsace, sent a 6,000-strong French army and several volunteering young noblemen to help the emperor. The commander of the French auxiliary army was Count Jean de Coligny-Saligny⁹.

Charles de Lorraine joined the imperial army after the siege of Kanizsa and he was able to distinguish himself at the battle of Saint Gotthard. We have found several descriptions of his military success and they have been mostly published in his biographies. In "La vie de Charles V, duc de Lorraine et de Bar, et généralissime des troupes impériale", published in Cologne a little after the Duke's death in 1691, the author Jean de Labruné highlights the military value of the young prince who played a decisive role in this battle and who even risked his life. The story summarizes the history of the events in Hungary in 1664. The young prince Charles de Lorraine arrived in Hungary at that moment when several Christian princes, like the King of France, were sending troops in Hungary. Conforming to the story, Charles de Lorraine commanded a regiment of cavalry and joined the imperial troops because he followed the French noblemen's example. He asked a permission of the Emperor to join his army, but he was refused. Then, he left secretly the Court of Vienna and went directly to Montecuccoli's headquarters in Western Hungary. As the fortress of Count Zrínyi/Zrínyi-Újvár in Hungarian had been already occupied and demolished, he joined the allied troops at the river Rába, near the place of the battle of Saint Gotthard. Then the story tells us the crossing of the river by the Turkish troops and their attack on the right wing of Montecuccoli's army which collapsed quickly. Montecuccoli asked him to help the imperial troops with his regiment against the Turks. When they were flanked by the enemy, Charles V was able, with the aid of French troops, to repel them and help win the battle. In accordance with the established knightly models, the story emphasises the personal achievement of the Prince of Lorraine: "Le Prince ne fit pas seulement l'office de Capitaine dans ce choc, il combattit même comme un simple soldat. Il arracha un drapeau des mains d'un Turc qui venoit à lui dans le dessein de le percer d'un coup de lance où son drapeau étoit attaché. Et ce drapeau même dont l'Empereur lui fit présent, fut envoyé au Duc François qui le fit mettre dans la chapelle des Bourguignons près de Nanci,

⁹ Ferenc TÓTH, Saint Gotthard 1664, une bataille européenne (Panazol 2007) 53–54.

avec une inscription au dessous, où est écrit le succès de ce combat dans lequel les Turcs eurent plus de cinq mille homme de tuez”¹⁰. The story also mentions the presence of Count de Ligniville in the battle who made detailed report on it for Duke Charles IV of Lorraine. Finally, the text turns to the history of the treaty of Vasvár and informs us that the regiment of Lorraine was conserved after it in the ranks of the imperial army.

The “Mémoires du marquis de Beauvau, pour servir à l’histoire de Charles V neveu de Charles IV, duc de Lorraine et de Bar” (Cologne 1689) give us another description very similar to the former one. The beginning of the story contains the same elements (the Turkish war, the travel of French noblemen to Hungary, his evasion from Vienna, the story of the battle and his aid to win it, Count de Ligniville’s report etc.). The Prince’s heroic combat is also very similarly represented in the text: “Ce Prince arracha même un grand Guidon des mains d’un Turc, qui venoit à lui dans le dessein de le percer d’une pointe quarrée, & fort acérée, attaché au bout de l’arbre de son drapeau, ce qu’il évita d’un coup de pistolet, dont il arrêta l’infidèle. Ce drapeau, que l’Empereur donna depuis au Prince, pour lui laisser cette marque honorable de sa valeur, fut envoyé au Duc François son Pere, qui l’a fait pendre dans la Chapelle des Bourguignons près de Nanci, devant l’Autel de la Vierge de Bon Secours, où l’on le voit encore tout sanglant, & au dessous un écriteau en lettres dorées qui raconte cette action”¹¹. The Marquis de Beauvau also reported the Count Brown’s death who was a faithful equerry of the Prince’s entourage and followed him after his stay in Paris. He was decapitated when two Turkish horsemen defeated him in a fierce struggle. This combat is reported like a heroic medieval knightly story. With reference to the treaty of Vasvár, the Marquis de Beauvau explained its quick signature by the mistrust of the Emperor towards the French troops staying in Hungary: “[...] la conjoncture de sa Maison ne lui faisoit pas moins craindre le secours des François, dont l’humeur bouillante & fraîchement bouffie de la victoire de S. Godart ne lui revenoit pas, que la guerre avec les Infidèles, il en eut bien-tôt conclu les articles. Cela fait voir la misérable condition des Princes, d’être quelquefois réduits à la nécessité de se servir de l’assistance de leurs ennemis couverts, pour ne pas succomber sous l’effort des déclarez, au hazard d’être opprimez de tous les

¹⁰ LABRUNE, *La vie de Charles V* (see note 1) 142.

¹¹ *Mémoires du marquis de Beauvau, pour servir à l’histoire de Charles V neveu de Charles IV, duc de Lorraine et de Bar* (Cologne 1689) 254.

deux”¹². The result of this was the quick withdrawal of French troops from Hungary. Nevertheless, it did not prevent the French nobles from getting in touch with the discontented Hungarian aristocrats, the famous Malcontents¹³.

There are many similarities between the two sources published at the end of the 17th century. First, both texts contain the accounts of participants of the campaign in Hungary, and second, the authors of both texts might have read the famous report of Count de Ligniville who arrived in Hungary together with the imperial troops and served under Montecuccoli’s high command at Szentgotthárd. Their reports summarize mainly the events after this date. It was probably for the authors’ celebrity that these texts were well known by the scholars and readers. It should be noted that the famous erudite person Augustin Calmet, better known under his surname Dom Calmet, composed the story of the battle of Saint Gotthard using both of these printed sources in his essential work on the history of Lorraine¹⁴. We can presume that the original source of both texts might have been the relation of Count Philippe-Emmanuel de Ligniville (1611–1664), famous commander of Charles IV, Duke of Lorraine. Unfortunately, we cannot yet identify this important source. Concerning Ligniville’s activity, we have very few information because he was dead just after the battle and he was buried in the Franciscan church in Vienna (Minoritenkirche)¹⁵. However, it seems that the role played by the young Charles de Lorraine in the battle was considerably increased in the above mentioned texts and maybe we can suppose a confusion with the person of Philippe de Lorraine-Armagnac (1643–1702), the highlighted favourite and lover of the Duke of Orléans, the brother of the French king. He was surnamed “chevalier de Lorraine” and he also participated in the battle and was even wounded in the combat with the Turks¹⁶.

¹² Mémoires du marquis de Beauvau (see note 11) 255.

¹³ Gábor HAUSNER, A szentgotthárdi csatában részt vett franciák bejegyzései Vitnyédy Pál album amicorumában, in: „Szentgotthárd-Vasvár 1664” Háború és béke a XVII. század második felében, hg. von Ferenc TÓTH–Balázs ZÁGORHIDI CZIGÁNY (Szentgotthárd 2004) 46–58.

¹⁴ Dom Augustin CALMET, Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de la Lorraine, tome III (Nancy 1728) 621–623.

¹⁵ See on his life: François-Henri TURPIN, Histoire ou éloge historique de Philippe-Emmanuel, comte de Ligniville (Paris 1777); Léon GERMAIN, Philippe-Emmanuel comte de Ligniville. Renseignements bibliographiques (Nancy 1884).

¹⁶ In the “Mémoires du comte Betlem-Niklos” written by the Abbé Révérend we can find a very similar description of heroism: “[...] je ne dois pas oublier non plus une action singulière qui se passa avant la bataille, parce qu’elle fit une si forte impression dans mon esprit qu’il me semble toujours que je la vois encore. Un jeune Turc, monté sur un des plus beaux chevaux arabes qui se puisse voir,

According to an anonymous source, he served in the battle as simple soldier in the French regiment of Bissy¹⁷.

An album dedicated to the life and the political and military activity of Charles de Lorraine was published in 1701 in Nancy, ordered by the son of the famous commander in chief, Duke Léopold de Lorraine. This illustrated work contains a picture representing the battle of Saint Gotthard with a brief description. In this concise text we can read that this combat was one of the most important battles of the Grand Siècle, especially because it was a victory over the numerically superior forces of the enemy. The author also describes the despising pride of the Turks towards the Christian soldiers. Presenting the young prince, he insists on his illustrious origins evoking the spirit of the past Crusades: “Charles V. âgé alors de vingt-un an étoit déjà Colonel de Cavallerie dans le service de S. M. I. et quoy que ce Monarque eusse souhaité de le retenir à Vienne, dans la crainte du danger, tant à cause des maladies, qui sont assez frequentes en Hongrie, que par la situation peu avantageuse, ou l’armée Chrétienne se trouvoit ; neantmoins le jeune Prince, qui sentoit bouillonner l’auguste sang de Godefroy de Bouïllon¹⁸ ; qui a toujourns été si généreusement répandu pour la foy, acourut à cette glorieuse action: trop heureux (disoit-il) de mourir en défendant ses interêts”¹⁹. Describing the remarkable achievement of the prince, the author undoubtedly drew his inspiration from the two above mentioned texts. The story of the Turkish flag takes a very important place in the narration. The plate showing the battle in overview is probably a copy of a well-known printed picture representing the Prince of Lorraine with Raimondo Montecuccoli and Louis of Baden.

sortit du camp des Turcs et s’avança vers celui des Français, faisant voltiger par dessus sa tête son sabre, comme voulant défer en combat singulier, un des plus braves des ennemis. Un seigneur François, qui si je ne me trompe, étoit M. Le chevalier de Lorraine, se détacha pour aller punir ce jeune Turc de sa fanfaronnade, monté sur un cheval d’Espagne, et marchant au petit galop, il ne fut pas long-temps à joindre ce jeune fanfaron, et après plusieurs caracolles de part et d’autre, ce seigneur prit si bien son temps qu’il lui lâcha un de pistolet directement au milieu de la tête, qui le fit tomber roide mort sur la croupe de son cheval, qu’il saisit aussitôt et emmena avec lui après avoir laissé tomber le cadaver du Turc qu’il venoit de tuer...” Cited by Alain PETIOT, *Au service des Habsbourg* (Paris 2000) 40.

¹⁷ “Pour nommer ces illustres et braves volontaires je commenceray par Mr. le chevalier de Lorraine qui ne mesprisoit pas de prendre le mousqueton d’un cheval léger de Bissy a qui on fit donner l’estendart du cornette qui avoit este blessé [...]” *Service Historique de la Défense* (Vincennes), 1 M 56 II *Voyage d’Hongrie en 1664* (anonymous manuscript) 33.

¹⁸ In this period, it was commonly accepted that Godefroy de Bouillon was an ancestor of the Dukes of Lorraine. See on this question: Pierre AUBÉ, *Godefroy de Bouillon* (Paris 1985) 370–388.

¹⁹ *Abrégé historique et iconographique de la vie de Charles V duc de Lorraine dédié à Son Altesse Royale Leopold I. son digne successeur* (Nancy 1701) III.

The other works evoking the memory of Charles V of Lorraine contribute much more to the construction of his image as classical hero in the knightly tradition of medieval Crusades. In a certain work titled “L'ombre de Charles V duc de Lorraine”, the author exalts the prince's heroism and puts his person into the centre of the events. After all, the anonymous author dedicates the principal role in the victory over the Turks to Charles de Lorraine: “Finalement pourtant après les avoir poussé quatrefois, secondé par quelques troupes françoises, il mit les Turcs en déroute, & ils prirent la suite en laissant plus de cinq mille hommes sur la place, sans compter ceux qui furent noyés en repassant la rivière, & l'on peut dire que ce combat seul (dont le bon événement est dû en partie au prince d Lorraine) donna lieu au traité qui se fit entre l'Empereur & la Porte Ottomane, lequel ne dura pas pourtant fort long-temps”²⁰. This polemical work criticising the foreign politics of Louis XIV tries to minimize the contribution of French troops to the victory and emphasises the role played by Charles de Lorraine.

The highlight of the image of Charles V as a Christian hero was doubtless connected to the celebration of his burial in Nancy ten years after his death. When his son, Duke Leopold could finally recapture his duchies in 1698, after the treaty of Ryswick, he envisaged honouring his father's memory and organised the transfer of his ashes from Innsbruck to Nancy. The ceremony took place on 22nd April 1700 at the Franciscan church of Nancy, the famous church of the Cordeliers, the traditional burial place of the Dukes of Lorraine. A very nice funeral oration was delivered by the Jesuit Père d'Aubenton who did not forget to mention Charles de Lorraine's participation in the battle of Saint Gotthard. For the eloquent preacher this battle was not only a baptism of fire for the young prince, but he made of him the principal hero and even the saviour of the Christian army: “Attendez-vous ici, Chrétiens, que suivant ce Héros dans sa course, j'étalle tous ses exploits, dont la diversité, l'importance & le nombre surprennent également, & où il a eu encore plus à vaincre les rigueurs de la fortune, que les efforts des Troupes ennemies ? Vous représenterai-je ses premiers progrès en Hongrie, où le porta dès sa jeunesse ce tendre amour de la Religion, qu'il avoit hérité de ses Peres ? Vous retracerai-je & ses dangers & ses succès à la Journée de Raab, où joignant dès-lors la bravoure d'un Soldat à la conduite d'un Général, il arrêta avec la victoire la furie des Infidèles, soutint & sauva l'Armée Chrétienne qui plioit ; enleva, au fort de la mêlée, ce fameux Etendart qu'on garde encore dans cette Ville, en témoignage éternel de sa valeur naissant ? Vous

²⁰ L'ombre de Charles V duc de Lorraine, consultée sur l'état présent des affaires de l'Europe (Cologne 1694) 23–24.



Illustration 1: The marble plate relating Charles de Lorraine's participation in the battle of Saint Gotthard in the church Norte-Dame de Bonsecours de Nancy (Photo: Alain Petiot)

dirai-je, que sur ces premiers essais qui garantissoient la suite de ses victoires, le sage Empereur jugeant de l'avenir par ses services pressens & passez, le mit à la tête de sa Cavalerie, & ensuite de l'Armée entière?²¹

The topic of Charles de Lorraine's participation in the battle of Saint Gotthard has some interesting iconographical representations. Among them, we must mention an anonymous print showing the prince Charles de Lorraine as a horseman in the company of the generalissime Montecuccoli and the Marquis Leopold of Baden situated in the forefront of the picture. The three men are discussing while the battle reaches its decisive point: the Ottoman troops are defeated in the curved line of the river. In this picture the young prince appears as a military commander with a marshal's baton. This image probably

originates from an anti-French print emphasising the decisive role of the Prince of Lorraine and the imperial troops in the victory and absolutely neglecting the French contingent's part. As I have already mentioned, a copy of this print was also reproduced in the album dedicated to the life and victories of Charles de Lorraine²². Probably this picture was also copied on a tapestry belonging to the famous tapestry collection evoking the turning points of Charles de Lorraine's life. Otherwise, this representation reinforced the outstanding career of the young prince, disseminated by d'Aubenton and other authors in order to put his person on the level of strategic

²¹ P. d'AUBENTON S. J., Oraison funebre de Tres-Haut Tres-Puissant et Tres-Excellent prince Charles V duc de Lorraine et de Bar, prononcée à Nancy, dans l'Eglise des Peres Cordeliers, où il est inhumé, le 20 avril 1700 (Nancy 1729) 246.

²² Abrégé historique (see note 19) III.

decisions. The story related by different chroniclers captivated the imagination of the late admirers of Charles de Lorraine. There is a drawing conserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Nancy, which shows the young prince killing a Turkish horseman of whom he seized his flag. This picture was made in 1846 by Louis Be-



Illustration 2: The drawing representing Charles de Lorraine in the battle of Saint Gotthard (Source: Bibliothèque Municipale de Nancy) (Photo: Alain Petiot)

noit, a famous scholar and founding father of the *Société d'archéologie lorraine* and of the *Musée Lorrain*. The caption indicates us that Charles de Lorraine is situated in the centre of the image next to the person of the Count of Ligniville. A note written on the picture cites a work of Marquis François-Eugène-Pierre de Ligniville (1738–1788), author of *Histoire de la Maison de Lorraine* (Commercy, 1743)²³. We can remark that this historian was a young pupil at the Jesuit College of Pont-à-Mousson at the moment of the publication of this book and its real author was one of his teachers, Father Leslie. This work cites a part of the report of the battle made

²³ Eugène-François marquis de LIGNIVILLE, *Abrégé de l'histoire généalogique de la Maison de Lorraine dédié à Son Altesse Royale Madame, Duchesse douairière de Lorraine* (Commercy 1743) 129.

by the ancestor of its nominative author, Philippe-Emmanuel de Ligniville, which is also mentioned in the works of Marquis de Beauvau and of Dom Calmet²⁴.

Considering the memorials of Turkish wars in Lorraine during this period, we must make some remarks on the Turkish flags conserved in Nancy. Doubtless, the



*Illustration 3: The Turkish flag seized by Charles de Lorraine at the battlefield of Saint Gotthard in the church Notre-Dame de Bonsecours in Nancy
(Photo: Alain Petiot)*

first Turkish flag was seized by the young Charles of Lorraine in the battle of Saint Gotthard, and afterwards it was placed as trophy in the so called ‘chapel of Burgundians’ in Nancy. Except for the fact that this flag was a symbol of victory of Saint Gotthard, this act created later a veritable memorial of victories on Turks or a “lieu de mémoire” in the broad sense of the word²⁵. The flag was placed in the ‘chapel of Burgundians’ which was later transformed into a large sanctuary, the church Notre-Dame de Bonsecours in Nancy. This venue is strongly linked to the traditions of the Dukes of Lorraine, just like the church of the Cordeliers, the traditional burial place of the Dukes, among them Charles V de Lorraine. The choice of this chapel for the conservation of this Turkish flag was symbolic. This ancient chapel was destined to thank God for Duke René II’s victory on the troops of

Charles the Bold in 5th January 1477. This victory later became an eternal symbol of Lorraine’s military glory. The Turkish flag of the battle of Saint Gotthard created a long lasting tradition, because today we can find three Turkish flags above the entry of the church, which was completely reconstructed during the reign of Stanislas Leszczyński who was buried there. Apart from the flag seized at the battlefield of Saint Gotthard, we can find there another one captured by Charles François de Lorraine during the “second battle of Mohács” or battle of Nagyharsány (12th August 1687) and a third one won by the Duke Francis III, husband of Maria-Theresia of Austria, at the battlefield of Méhadia (13th July 1738). The bloody flag coming from the

²⁴ Information kindly provided by General Alain Petiot.

²⁵ See on this concept: Pierre NORA, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vol. (Paris 1974).

battle of Saint Gotthard was deposited directly in the ‘chapel of Burgundians’ with a Latin epitaph on wood with golden letters remembering the circumstances of its capture. In 1829, this text was copied on a marble plate, which was placed in the church Notre-Dame de Bonsecours²⁶. The original flags repaired in the 19th century were completely restored in 2007, during the renovation of the whole church. This



Illustration 4: Interior of the church Notre-Dame de Bonsecours in Nancy with two Turkish flags (Photo: Alain Petiot)

custom reinforced the links between the glorious events of several dukes of Lorraine in the tradition of combating the Muslims from the Crusades up to the modern Turkish wars.

The battle of Saint Gotthard had a considerable influence on the career of Charles de Lorraine from another point of view as well. In fact, it was the first meeting of two important military commanders, the count Raimondo Montecuccoli and the young Prince of Lorraine, who were the main actors of the liberation of Hungary from the Turkish occupation. They introduced into the Turkish wars in Hungary the modern rules and frameworks of the occidental warfare, that is, military revolution, and made them applicable in the Hungarian Kingdom. Montecuccoli's warfare practices and methods influenced the tactical and strategic views and plans of the

²⁶ See on the Turkish flags conserved in the church Notre-Dame de Bonsecours in Nancy: Abbé Charles MOREL, *Drapeaux de Notre-Dame de Bonsecours* (Nancy 1866); Abbé Léon JÉRÔME, *L'église Notre-Dame de Bon-Secours à Nancy* (Nancy 1898) 278–284.

general officers of the imperial and royal army, among them Charles de Lorraine. Montecuccoli became the master of Charles de Lorraine who always respected the memory of the great Italian military thinker. The battle of Saint Gotthard was considered as a masterpiece of Montecuccoli's career. However, at the critical moment of the second siege of Vienne in 1683, Charles de Lorraine refused to follow Montecuccoli's plan of 1664, as he remarked in his diary: "Le Duc dans la 1^{ère} année de la dernière guerre avoit veu perdre Neiheisel, et les infidels entrer et ravager dans la Moravie jusques auprès de Nikelbourg, parce que le comte de Montecuculi avoit esté obligé de se retrancher proche de Presbourg à cause de la foiblesse de son armée. Je ne croyoit pas que l'on pût se regler sur l'avantage de l'affaire de St. Godard que beaucoup de gens prenoient pour regle de ce qu'on devoit cette année opposer aux Turcs, le cas estant fort differend parce qu'en 1662 les Turcs estoient dez lors resolu à la paix, et n'estoient venus en campagne que dans le dessein de secourir Canize, et sans disposition pour faire aucun siege leurs forces estant moins grandes, et plus separées, outre que le Royaume de Hongrie estoit sans revolte et fidel à l'Empereur"²⁷.

Charles de Lorraine honoured the memory of Montecuccoli by carefully and secretly conserving his manuscripts. Several copies of them circulated in Europe after the death of the generalissime. Some apocryphal manuscripts came probably from the archives of Charles de Lorraine. Finally, he contributed mostly to the dissemination of his master's ideas because he donated the famous *Della guerra col Turco in Ungheria* containing the history of the battle of Saint Gotthard to Prince de Conti. Prince de Conti, François-Louis de Bourbon (1664–1709), was also a very cultivated gentleman of the time. After excellent education, he entered into the French army and he participated in the campaigns in Holland and Luxemburg in 1683–1684. On 20th March 1685, he fled with his brother from Paris, like Charles de Lorraine from Vienna before the battle of Saint Gotthard, and they travelled to Hungary to fight the Turks. He left France without the permission of Louis XIV who deprived him of his regiment. They received a marvellous welcome in Hungary from the Duke of Lorraine. The necessary and complicated ceremonies between the two aristocrats were soon replaced by a sincere friendship.²⁸ Prince of Conti

²⁷ HHStA, Lothringisches Hausarchiv, Kt. 51, Journal de Charles de Lorraine 3.

²⁸ "Son Altesse marque dans ses lettres qu'il a vu les Princes de Conty et de la Roche-sur-Yon dans les formes ordinaires. [...] Ils le sont voir après dans le camp de Barcand et l'ont prié de ne point faire de cérémonies avec eux, il leur a donné une tante et autres choses nécessaires pour leur accommodement ayant laissé leur équipage derrière. Ils lui ont ensuite fait faire compliment qu'ils seraient tous les jours dans sa tente et à le suivre s'ils n'étaient obligés de garder des mesures pour leur Roy, ayant pour

and his entourage distinguished themselves in the military operations in Hungary, particularly during the combats around Esztergom and the siege of Érsekújvár. As the prince left France without the permission of the king, he had to return soon fearing the rage of Louis XIV who never forgave him for his escape. This getaway provoked a lot of rumours in this period but it permitted to publish in French the most interesting part of the manuscripts of Montecucoli. The French publisher of the first edition of the “Mémoires de Montecucoli”, Jacques Adam, related this story the following way: “C’est Monseigneur le Prince de Conty à qui la France doit ces Mémoires. Il les apporta de Hongrie, copiez sur l’original du Prince Charles de Lorraine. C’est lui qui me les fit traduire avant que j’eusse l’honneur d’être à vous, et c’est depuis qu’il m’eut confié l’instruction de Votre Altesse Sérénissime que je les ai revus avec toute l’exactitude dont je suis capable”²⁹. It was a gift of Duke of Lorraine to Prince of Conti who entrusted the text to Jacques Adam for scientific translation and publication. Unlike the previous editions of Montecucoli’s texts, the French editor corrected the proper and geographical names and added scientific notes to the work. These notes were so well appreciated by the public that they were later used again by the famous Italian editor, Guiseppe Grassi, in his scientific edition in the 19th century³⁰.

It may be commonplace to highlight the influence of Raimondo Montecucoli on the career of the Duke who has even used the plans and strategies of the Italian during the war against the Ottomans³¹. The powerful president of the “Hofkriegsrat” of Vienna, Montecucoli was considered as the real founding father of the imperial standing army. His thoughts constitute a kind of transition from the classical military thinking towards modern strategy. In his works, we can identify many aspects of modern military thought: for example his general definition of war and his application to the Turkish war in Hungary, his ideas on the preparation of war and on the importance of logistics, particularly on the transport and war

Son Altesse une estime et une vénération sans égal”; HHStA, Lothringisches Hausarchiv, Kt. 50 Journaux de campagnes de Charles de Lorraine avec diverses lettres qu’il a escrites sonnets et félicitations qu’il a receues 624–625.

²⁹ *Memoires de Montecucoli generalissime des troupes de l’Empereur* (Strasbourg 1740) V.

³⁰ Giuseppe GRASSI, *Opere di Raimondo Montecucoli*, 2 vol. (Torino 1821).

³¹ Raffaella GHERARDI, *Potere e costituzione a Vienna fra Sei e Settecento. Il “buon ordine” di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili* (Bologna 1980) 267–268. See recently: Raffaella GHERARDI–Fabio MARTELLI, *La pace degli eserciti e dell’economia. Montecucoli e Marsili alla Corte di Vienna* (Bologna 2009) 272.

supply. Adapting his ideas to the Hungarian geography, Montecuccoli elaborated a military plan of Hungary's recapture based upon three possible ways of offensive: in the middle part of Hungary a military way on line of the Danube, a second way on the river of Dráva, and a third one in Upper Hungary towards Transylvania. This plan was the most important guideline for Charles de Lorraine's military operations. However, it would also be desirable to identify some other persons involved in the forming of his thinking and ideas³².

As a result of our research, we can observe that presentations of Charles de Lorraine's participation in the battle of Saint Gotthard appear as historic and political constructions. The majority of texts relating the story go back to an unknown relation attributed to the count of Ligniville. The function of this text seems to be a story of initiation of the young prince into the warfare by an illustrious story of baptism of fire. On the one hand, this story emphasized the personal heroic activity of Charles de Lorraine, but on the other hand, it also presents him as a decisive actor of the battle of Saint Gotthard. The entry of the young prince into the world of the army is not only an initiation, but also a rapprochement to his legendary ancestors, like Godefroy de Bouillon or the Duke of Mercœur, having also combated the Muslims. The construction of Charles de Lorraine's image of a hero developed mostly after his death responding to the criteria of the cult of Christian and knightly heroes in the era of the baroque. It provided him and his successors a place in the society of Christian princes of Europe in order to legitimate his rights on their lost territories. Further iconographic and artistic representations completed his image as defender of Christianity from the battle of Saint Gotthard to the victories of Vienna (1683), Buda (1686) and Mohács (1687). As the Italian historian Berardo Rossi remarks, Charles de Lorraine was not only a disciple of Montecuccoli as military commandant, but also a man who followed the moral example written by the famous military thinker: "Il comandante dev'essere per I suoi soldati un capo, non un tiranno. Deve essere generoso, vigile, onesto, pio, capace di giudizio, prudente"³³. This derivation of military capacity from Montecuccoli to Charles de Lorraine was underlined by the different representations of the symbolic meeting of the two great men in the battlefield of Saint Gotthard, which influenced considerably the public opinion in the age of the baroque.

³² See recently on this war: Philippe ROY–Ferenc TÓTH, *La défaite ottomane. Le début de la conquête hongroise (1683)* (Paris 2014).

³³ Cited by Berardo Rossi, Raimondo Montecuccoli. *Un cittadino dell'Europa del Seicento* (Pontecchio Marconi 2002) 253.

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