

Protestant “Athleta Christi” in the Propaganda of the Great Turkish War

The Demise of Georg Friedrich, Duke of Wurttemberg at Košice, 1685

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Received 21 May 2020 | Accepted 31 January 2021 | Published online 30 April 2021

Abstract. The unexpected death of the young Duke Georg Friedrich of Wurttemberg (1657–1685) on 18 October 1685 at the siege of Košice came as tremendous shock to the public of the Holy Roman Empire. The ducal family of Wurttemberg emphasized the principality’s participation and terrible loss in the war against the Ottoman Empire with a spectacular funeral and some carefully composed propaganda of ultimate honor. The principality of Wurttemberg traditionally maintained a special relationship with the Hungarian Lutheran nobility and citizens. The death of the duke changed the attitudes of the Hungarian Lutheran elite since the principality, which provided them with significant support, had suffered such a great loss in the political, economic and spiritual center of Upper Hungary, Košice, while the young Lutheran prince of Wurttemberg, fighting among the imperial troops, could have helped with the negotiations about the surrender of the city. The funeral speeches in the collection of sermons highlighted various aspects of the royal image, and this was complemented by a volume of fine poems compiled by professors at the University of Tübingen. The decency of the fallen Prince Georg Friedrich of Wurttemberg, which included both traditional topos and a modern set of values, represented several interdependent political interests, representing the high standard, literacy, and effectiveness of the propaganda of the War of Reconquest.

Keywords: political representation, funeral, ceremony, Lutheran community, Great Turkish War (1683–1699)

The cultural, economic and political interdependence of Central Europe was strengthened in several ways by the resistance against the Ottoman expansion of the time. The diverse, often hidden pressures and relationships within the Holy Roman Empire were of great importance to the Hungarian Kingdom, which did not conduct an independent foreign policy in that period. This was built not only through legitimate paths, but also through the informal channels of Hungarian

dignitaries, commoners actively engaged in politics, and educated urban citizens. The hidden possibilities of conciliation of interests, the wide variety of scenes, and the sophisticated tools can only be grasped properly during periods which witnessed such significant political and strategic turning points. A special publication about the Great Turkish War (1683–1699), which was waged in the hope of expelling the Ottomans, highlights the carefully maintained imperial network of the Hungarian Lutheran community.¹

At four o'clock in the morning on 8/18² October 1685, Duke Georg Friedrich of Württemberg (1657–1685) was shot dead during the siege of Košice (Kassa, Kaschau). The unexpected death of the young duke sent shock-waves through the imperial public of the time.³ Printed newspapers and leaflets described Georg Friedrich's military career, his role in sieges and the circumstances of his death in detail. The ducal family of Württemberg emphasized the principality's participation and great loss in the war against the Ottoman Empire with a spectacular funeral and some carefully composed propaganda about the ultimate sacrifice.⁴ The state-of-the-art farewell proves that even dukes with less room for maneuver were involved in the race for publicity between the allies, aiming to assert their own political interests.⁵ The most important elements of the funeral ceremonies of Hungarian noblemen were marble tombs, stone sarcophagi and epitaphs.⁶ In the seventeenth century printed funeral sermons, prayers and eulogies also played significant roles in funerals. In August 1652, in spite of the official truce, four members of the Esterhazy family died in the battle of Velké Vozokany (Vezekény). During their sumptuous funeral ceremony in Trnava (Nagyszombat) the relatives who organized the ceremony—Ferenc Nádasdy, Dániel Esterházy and Ádám Batthyány—, wanted to emphasize the similarities between the tragedy of Velké Vozokany and the great

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- 1 I am grateful for the help of Prof. Márta Fata at the Institute of Danube Swabian History and Regional Studies at Tübingen and Thematic Excellence Program Community building: family and tradition and innovation.
 - 2 Pope Gregory XIII ordered the reform of the calendar in 1584. The Catholic electors of the Holy Roman Empire started to use the new Gregorian calendar in 1585, so they were ten days ahead of the Protestant states and cities; the latter territories insisted on using the Julian calendar or the double dating system.
 - 3 Boethio, *Ruhm-Belorberten Triumph-leuchtender*, 183–84; Boener and Faber, *Die Renn-Bahn*, 29.
 - 4 Maurer, "Zwischen Selbständigkeit und politischer Integration"; Hengerer, "Adelsgräber im Wien."
 - 5 Burkhardt and Schumann, "Reichskriege"; Schilling, *Höfe und Allianzen*; Duchhardt and Schnettger, *Reichsständische Libertat*; Friedrich, *Drehscheibe Regensburg*; Tischer, "Der Immerwährende Reichstag."
 - 6 Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar," 244–48; Pálffy and Perger, "A magyarországi török háborúk."

loss at Mohács in 1526, underlining and proclaiming the need for a new offensive war against the Ottoman Empire and representing the role of the Hungarian Kingdom in the struggle against the Turks. Ferenc Nádasdy financed not only the publication of printed prayers of the funeral of the four Esterházy but also commissioned engravings, visual reports on the funeral procession, the catafalque and the castrum doloris; by using these genres and methods he modernized and politicized the representation of the obsequies.

Duke Georg Friedrich (1657–1685) enlisted in the imperial army in 1682, took part in the relief of Vienna, as well as the battle of Šturovo (Párkány) in October 1683, the siege of Buda in 1684, and the capture of Nové Zámky (Érsekújvár, Neuhäsel) in August 1685, which served to create the necessary conditions for the recapture of Buda. In a letter to István Koháry, István Zichy, an experienced soldier writing from the camp at Nové Zámky, pointed out that “dukes of all ranks and orders”, including the duke of Württemberg, were present during the siege of the fortress “not sparing any costs.”⁷ Contemporary prints—such as Thomas Wiering’s leaflet from Hamburg⁸—depicted the great military resources employed during the siege, including sapping, earthworks for cannon, and extensive batteries of artillery. The growing role of high-quality but expensive printed propaganda was also evident in the detailed engravings printed about the siege of Nové Zámky.⁹ A design by Louis Nicholas d’Hallart—the military engineer employed by Maximilian Emanuel II of Bavaria—showed both military professionalism and modern representation in the court-engraver Michael Wening’s leaflet from Munich.¹⁰ A leaflet in July 1685 also reported on the minor injury of Duke Georg Friedrich of Württemberg and his skill in building siege works at Nové Zámky.¹¹ Dr. Georg Sigmund Richter (1645–1711), an ambassador to the imperial assembly, sent a report to Nuremberg emphasizing his role in the siege of Buda.¹² (Figure 1)

7 István Zichy István to István Koháry, 20 July 1685. ÖStA Kriegsarchiv Türkenkriege Alte Feldakten 1685/7/11. f. 709. Galavics, *Kössüink kardot*, 105–21.

8 Die Belagerung Neuhäsel. MNM TK. 54 164. Joachim Wichmann fecit Hamburg. Im Jahr, 1685. Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 220–22. P-3479–3481.

9 G. Etényi, “Diplomaten und Drucke.”

10 Warhafftige Abbildung der Ungarischen Vestung Neuhäsel, wie solche Anno. 1685. Den 19. Augustu durch die christliche Waffen mit sturmenden Hand,... erobert worden... Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 223. P-3482.

11 Eigentliche und nach dem natürlichen Grundris auf das genaueste aussgestalltete Kupffer-Abbildung, der Nieder-Ungarische Vestung Neuhäusel... Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 209. P-3467.

12 Staatsarchiv Nürnberg Reichstagsakten 311. (1684. April – 1685. Januar) fol. 19. 1684. Okt. 2.



Figure 1 Portrait of Georg Friedrich Württemberg as a military hero of the Ottoman War (engraved by Bartholomäus Kilian) © Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart

Relations of the Duchy of Wurttemberg in Hungary

During the autumn of 1685, Georg Friedrich was ordered to take part in the occupation of Prešov (Eperjes) followed by the siege of Košice, which was intended to eliminate the power of Imre Thököly in Upper Hungary, an area of immense political sensitivity. The Duchy of Wurttemberg traditionally maintained a special relationship with the Hungarian Lutheran nobility and citizens. The prestigious university of the principality, founded in 1477, supported Lutheran students with a scholarship to Tübingen.¹³ In the first half of the seventeenth century, relations with Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg), Sopron and then Prešov, intensified,¹⁴ although at the end of the seventeenth century the number of Hungarian students declined due to the Great Turkish War and the orthodox orientation of the university.¹⁵

The politically active Lutheran gentry played a key role in establishing the budding relationship.¹⁶ The duke of Wurttemberg had kept an active agent in Vienna since the 1620s. In his fragmentary reports, Jeremias Pistorius wrote copiously about military and political events in Hungary, as well as about the significant influence of Péter Pázmány, the archbishop of Esztergom, Hungarian palatines and Gábor Bethlen, prince of Transylvania.¹⁷ The agent was surprised when the Hungarian estates elected Miklós Esterházy—who was a Catholic—as palatine at the national diet in 1625, while there were so many Lutheran officials in the free royal cities.¹⁸ In his report of June 16 regarding the 1655 Diet of Bratislava, Heinrich Stayger listed the newly elected and appointed dignitaries and then reported that the Lutheran estates had turned to the duke of the Palatinate to preserve their freedom of religious practice.¹⁹ On 18 July 1655, Stayger sent a small engraving by Bartholomeus Kilian of Leopold I wearing the crown of Hungary.²⁰

13 Fata, "Studenten aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen."

14 Gémes, *Hungari et Transylvani*; Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok németországi egyetemeken*, 140–46.

15 Fata, "Studenten aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen," 233–34.

16 R. Várkonyi, "Alternatives in Hungary," 165–73; Németh, "Információ szerzés és hírközlés," 117–27; Kónya, *Az eperjesi véstörvénysek*, 39–40.

17 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtsberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 88 1619 April–August. A 16 a Bü 89 1620. Nov–Dez. A 16 a Bü 90. 1621. Jan–Nov. A 16 a Bü 91. 1622. April–Nov. A 16 a Bü 92. 1624 Febr–Dez.

18 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtsberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 94 1625 Jan–Dez.

19 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtsberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 117. Berichte Henrich Stayger 1655 Jan–Dez. 136.

20 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtsberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 117. Berichte Henrich Stayger 1655 Jan–Dez. 141. Leopold I as king of Hungary in Hungarian ceremonial dress engraved by Georg Lackner, and Bartholomäus Kilian.

Jonas Schrimp, the most active agent in the imperial court, maintained intensive links with Hungarian commoners from the 1650s onwards. In his reports from 1658 onwards, the agent regularly referred to István Vitnyédi (1612–1670), from whom he received news and messages related to Sopron.²¹ In Schrimp's reports, the value of information on the activities of Ferenc Nádasdy (1623–1671), György Lippay, archbishop of Esztergom and Miklós Zrínyi (1620–1664), ban of Croatia, increased after 1658. The Württemberger agent also expected Vitnyédi to procure high-quality Turkish horses and Hungarian cattle.²² Vitnyédi applied to the prince for Strasbourg scholarships not only for his own sons, but also for talented young Lutherans to attend Tübingen through the Viennese agent, which he was promised.²³ The educated, energetic Schrimp represented the Saxon electors and the dukes of Württemberg, Bremen, Nördlingen and Kampten in Vienna from 1649 to 1696.²⁴ The government of Regensburg was paying him to act as a mediator and representative for decades as well.²⁵

However, between 1671 and 1681, Protestants in Hungary experienced a serious political, economic and cultural crisis. The authoritarian activities of Emperor Leopold I, striving for open absolutism, shook the formerly stable space of the Hungarian political order and the existence of Protestant communities on national, regional and urban stages as well. The state limited the role of the governing body of the free royal cities with Lutheran majorities, as well as the operation of Protestant schools and churches. In 1674, an extraordinary committee in Bratislava sued the preachers and schoolmasters, first sentencing them to death and then commuting the sentence to slavery in the galleys, and for the most part expelled them from the country. Protestant European powers, especially the Saxon and Brandenburger electors, protested against this serious violation through diplomatic channels and by offering shelter, drawing attention to political conflicts of interest between the Habsburg Empire and the Kingdom of

21 "Von dem Herrn Vitnedy habe ich heut aus Ödnburg mündlich Post und Nachricht bekommen..." LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtsberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 122 Schrimpf Wien 1659. Jan. 19/29 179.

22 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtsberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 124 Schrimpf Wien 1661. Jan–Dez. Aug. 14/24. 319. Hans-Jürgen Philipp *Das Hofgestüt Marbach (1491–1817) des Hauses Württemberg auf das Schwäbischen Alb* Berlin, 2017. 141–142.

23 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Württembergische Gesandtsberichte und Gesandtschaftsakten A 16 a Bü 124 Schrimpf Wien 1661. Jan–Dez. Juny. 12/22. 310.

24 Matzke, *Gesandtschaftswesen*; Dorfner, "Diener vieler Herren," 94–95; Keblusek, "Introduction."

25 Stadtarchiv Regensburg *Cameralia Hauptrechnung der Stadt Regensburg Cam 136. fol. 9., 67.* (1685) Okt. 12.

Hungary.²⁶ The revolt by Imre Thököly, who took up arms against the ruler, was legitimized by the defense of free religious practice in the Protestant-majority areas of the Holy Roman Empire until 1682, when he finally surrendered to the Ottoman Empire.

A large number of anti-Turkish sermons and prayers appeared in Tübingen from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. Jacob Andreä (1528–1590), the chancellor of the university, recorded the steadfastness of Ban Miklós Zrínyi (1508–1566), and the siege of Szigetvár in 1566 in a separate collection of sermons.²⁷ In Stuttgart, 1664, the later court printer, Johann Weyrich Rösslin, published a prayer for children in the principality.²⁸ On the death of Miklós Zrínyi, a collection of mourning poems written by twenty-one authors was published in Tübingen by György Dömötöri (1640–1686), who first mediated between Prešov and Tübingen as an educator of the youth of Petróczy and from 1668 as a teacher at the Prešov College.²⁹ The Rösslin workshop also printed prayers for the siege of Petrovaradin (Pétervárad)³⁰ in 1716 as well as that of Belgrade in 1717.³¹

During the Great Turkish War, the Protestant princes and electors emphasized to the Emperor himself, on several occasions, for instance at the imperial court, or—to the imperial envoys—at the assembly of Regensburg, that they were ready to send reinforcements against the Ottoman Empire, but not against the Protestants of Hungary.

In particular, the Saxon Elector Georg Friedrich III laid great stress upon the protection of religious freedom. The instructions for the envoys show that the Elector of Brandenburg openly represented the interests of Protestant denominations in the Kingdom of Hungary.³² Councilor Franz Fridag, the imperial ambassador to Berlin, found it difficult to represent the ruler's position that the followers of Imre Thököly were not defenders of religion, but mere rebels.³³ At the meeting of

26 G. Etényi, "Das Flugblatt als Erinnerungsstütze."

27 Dreyzehen Predigen vom Türcken...

28 Stuttgart Landesbibliothek Theol. Oct. 18552. Chistische Vermählung und Gebett... Bene and Borián, *Zrínyi és a vadkan*, 18–20.

29 Deometeri Georgius, Honor Posthumus in Illustrissimi quondam Comititis Domini... OSZK App. H. 2072. Cp. Csatkai, "Soproni diákverselők."

30 Danck-Gebett wegen der Herrlichen Victori... bey Peterwardein den 5. Augustu 1716.

31 Danck-Gebett wegen der Herrlichen Victori... den 16. Aug 1717 bey Belgrad erhalten.

32 ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilung Deutsche Lande 21. Brandenburgica 1684–1868. (alt. 19. 20. 21.) Konv. 1. (alt 19) f. 61–69. July Anno 1685 Abligati Brandenburgica Relatio über des Baron von Frydag einkommene Bericht schreiben vom 2. 9. 16. 23. 28. und 30. April 7. und 14. May.

33 Wegen Religion zu Hungarn komme man auch den Baron Fridag zur Nachricht und damit den Churfürsten die ingleiche Impression bekommen würde bedeuthen wie dass an seiten eigener Malcontenten nicht so sehr die Religion als die Rebellion fort zu pflanzen gesucht würde. ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilung Deutsche Lande 21. Brandenburgica 1684–1686. (alt. 19. 20. 21.)

the Secret Conference on 14 March 1687, and then on 13 January 1689, it became clear once again that the electorate of Brandenburg made the provision of aid dependent on the situation of Hungarian Lutherans.³⁴

The careful distinction indicates that the Protestant powers of the Holy Roman Empire considered Imre Thököly not only to be following a pro-Turkish policy, but also to be representing confessional interests. At the time of the compromise parliament of 1681 in Sopron, under the shadow of the impending Turkish attack of 1682, the year of Imre Thököly's greatest success, during the occupation of Košice, a positive image of Thököly emerged in Protestant areas. However, the alliance with the Turks during the fall of 1682, followed by Kara Mustafa's attack on Vienna, changed this picture drastically, largely as a result of intense imperial and Papal propaganda. The wave of Italian and German mockery emphasizing the Turkish defeat also wrecked Thököly's image.³⁵ As a result, Thököly's proclamation to the Christian world in 1684 had little effect anywhere, including Saxony. By the autumn of 1685, the strategic goal for the successful siege of Buda was the elimination of Thököly's base in Upper Hungary, and the capture of Košice and Prešov. Presenting the strategic role of Košice, a leaflet of unknown origin also indicated that during the campaigns of István Bocskai and Gábor Bethlen, the city functioned as a Protestant political center in Upper Hungary.³⁶ Based on the general report of Caprara, the leaflet spoke of the occupation of Košice, the surrender of Prešov, Tokaj, Ónod and Szolnok and the capture of Imre Thököly in Oradea (Várad). Caprara also sent a letter to Thököly's wife at Mukachevo (Munkács) for, demanding surrender.³⁷ The leaflet described the circumstances of the death of the Duke of Württemberg, claiming that his demise was caused by a stray bullet in the early morning. The date seems plausible, as the evacuation of Košice had already been discussed. On October 15, Thököly had to visit the Pasha of Oradea. German-language leaflets presented a comedy showing how Thököly marched to the Pasha's with an ornate escort and then after the feast, he moved into smaller and smaller rooms with a shrinking escort, and how István Petróczy was sent back as a correspondent to inform Thököly's followers about the essential change.³⁸ Thököly's capture by the Ottomans had a direct effect on Košice's capitulation. It is worth wondering,

Konv. 1. (alt 19) 1686. F. 316

34 ÖStA HHStA Geheime Konferenz Sitzung Karton 13. (Jan. 1684 – Okt. 1688.) No. 574. Karton 14. (Nov. 1688–Aug. 1690.) No. 597.

35 Köpeczi, *Staatsräson*; Köpeczi and Tarnai, *Laurus Austriaco*; Cennerné Wilhelmb, "Feind oder zukünftiger Verbündeter?" 54–62; Varga J., *Válaszúton*; R. Várkonyi, "Thököly politikája," 371.

36 Summarische Bericht... Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 247. P-3506.

37 R. Várkonyi, *Zrínyi Ilona*, 171–72.

38 Warhaffte Vorstellung der erbaermlichen Tragödie... Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet*, 233; 234. P-3492, P-3493. OSZK Apponyi Metszet [Engraving] [App. M.] 430. MNM TK T 9407.

however, how far the attitudes of the Hungarian Lutheran elite were influenced by the fact that the principality, which provided them with significant support, suffered such a great loss at Košice, the political, economic and spiritual center of Upper Hungary, while the young Lutheran duke of Württemberg, fighting with the imperial troops, could have helped with the negotiations about the surrender of the city.

The ducal court in Württemberg organized a sumptuous funeral, and saw to the publication of several versions of the collections of eulogies and sermons, richly illustrated with engravings,³⁹ which also resulted in a family feud. This is partly due to the fact that a number of documents and accounts of the technical details of the publication of the prints are still extant.⁴⁰ The well-documented farewell enables us to reconstruct not only the conditions of the mourning ceremony but also the defining pillars of the princely image.

Duke Eberhard III (1614–1674) sired twenty-five children from two marriages, and Georg Friedrich, the fifteenth child, did not have a particularly good chance of taking the ducal throne. Therefore, military prowess and victory over the Turks appeared as a reliable basis for a career even in the imperial court. Johann Christoph Wagner's work on the struggle of the Kingdom of Hungary against the Turks, published in 1684 and 1685, was offered to the dukes of Württemberg by Friedrich Karl and Georg Friedrich. The frontispiece of the first edition represented the assistance of the imperial and electoral princes in the struggle against the Turks, in addition to the glorification of Emperor Leopold I, triumphing over the Turks.⁴¹

Following Eberhard III's death in 1674, Wilhelm Ludwig, a son from his first marriage, born to the daughter of a Swedish general, Anna Catharina Salm-Kyrburg, ascended the throne (1647–1677), but died unexpectedly after a reign of three years, leaving his child Eberhard Ludwig (1676–1733), still a minor, to rule. Until 1693 his uncle Friedrich Carl (1652–1698) and the twenty-five-year-old widow, Magdalena Sibylla von Hessen-Darmstadt acted as regents.⁴² For Georg Friedrich's mother, Eberhard's second wife, Maria Dorothea Sophia von Oettingen (1639–1698), maintaining the high repute of her eldest child's name was a lasting concern.

The body was laid to rest on 10 January 1686, in the ancient burial place of the ducal family, the Great Church of Stuttgart. However, the funeral ceremony of the duke of Württemberg, who fell on a distant battlefield, had already begun with the

39 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart G 153 Bü 4. Familienarchiv Herzogen Württemberg. Georg Friedrich zu Württemberg Sohn, Eberhard III. 21.

40 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. G 153 Bü 4. Familienarchiv Herzogen Württemberg. Georg Friedrich zu Württemberg Sohn, Eberhard III. 22. Extractus die Geheimnische Expeditiones Staats Praesentationes 1. Nov. 1687. Resolution.

41 Wagner, *Delineatio Provinciarum Pannoniae...*

42 Wilson, *War, State and Society*, 110–18.

repatriation of his body. Two days after the fatal shot, the Bardejov (Bártfa) army and the city dignitaries received the corpse at the city gate, placing it in the city's large church with a bell tolling, from where it was sent two days later towards Stuttgart via Moravia and then through Nuremberg. The collection of sermons during the grandiose funeral and the farewell oration also emphasized that the city of Bardejov too took part in the procession accompanying the duke of Wurttemberg, who had held the military command of the city.

Athleta Christi in the late seventeenth century – a modern portrait of Georg Friedrich

Several impressive publications were released about the funeral, which took place on 10 January 1686 in Stuttgart. Even later on, in 1689, a poem was published,⁴³ followed by a separate compilation of printed volumes along with the original title pages.⁴⁴ Speeches and songs by Christoph Kaldenbach (1613–1698), professor of history and poetics at the Tübingen Academy, were performed on 3 May 1686 at the university, but did not appear until 1689, printed by Georg Heinrich and Johann Conrad Reiss in Tübingen. Between the death and burial of the Duke of Wurttemberg, the commemoration and the appearance of the memorial speech, there were major changes on the Hungarian battlefields, from the recapture of Buda to the capture of Belgrade, but the situation in Wurttemberg changed in September 1688 when Louis XIV launched a campaign against the territories along the Rhine.

Lutheran eulogies have traditionally recalled the deceased's career in detail. The funeral speeches in the collection of sermons highlighted various aspects of the royal ideal, and this was complemented by a volume of fine poems compiled by teachers at the University of Tübingen. There was a close connection between the ducal court and the university in its heyday, and members of the princely family also studied at the University.⁴⁵ The speeches also referred to Georg Friedrich's education and the modern nature of the knowledge offered by the university. Georg Friedrich studied at the Ducal College in Tübingen from November 1672 to June 1676, where he gave several lectures. The duke's Latin oration, held on 29 November 1675, in the "Collegium Illustre" was published twice in 1675.⁴⁶ Georg Friedrich mastered the knowledge of the "knightly academy": horse riding, dancing, fencing, and he was fluent in Italian and French. The eulogy emphasized that he had acquired the knowledge necessary for the "art of war": geography, mathematics, and military engineering. In addition to the military virtues

43 Klag- und Trauer-Gedichte Georg Friedrich Herzogen zu Württemberg...

44 Unsterblicher Nachruhm Des Grossmüthigsten...

45 Kurze Relation Der den 23igsten September. Anno 1681...

46 Georgii Friderici, Ducis Wirtembergiae...

of Georg Friedrich, the speakers praised his political literacy, with which "he would have held his ground even in a period of peace."⁴⁷ The duke was interested in "historia universalis", "studium Politicorum", and "jus publicum", Tacitus, Hugo Grotius: *De jure pacis et belli*, and immersed himself in the works of Justus Lipsius.⁴⁸

In keeping with the expectations of the age, Georg Friedrich's studies were completed by a carefully organized knightly tour in order to build an international network of prominent contacts.⁴⁹ Family records related to his funeral preparations also show that they carefully selected background information: diary excerpts reflecting important stops during the tour.⁵⁰ The printed biography emphasized that Georg Friedrich became acquainted with the famous Swiss cities at the beginning of his journey, traveling to Schaffhausen, Zurich, Lucerne, Bern and Geneva. As a peculiar mental and physical test, they even referred to the perilous storm he experienced on Lake Lucitz near the village of Schwitz. After several months of study in Switzerland, Georg Friedrich gained experience of military science in Milan. He traveled from Milan to Verona and Padua to practice the local language. In Venice he also saw the carnival and the opera. Touching Ferrara, Rimini, Loreto, Ancona, Spoleto, and Rome, he traveled to Naples, and he too viewed the "great secret of nature," Mount Vesuvius. On the way back, he spent five months in Rome, where he also visited antique sites and palaces of cardinals. The young Lutheran duke also attended several audiences in the Papal state. The necrology also highlighted the fact that he was also solemnly received by Cardinal Rospigliosi and his brother, Prince Sagarolla, as well as by Cardinal Carlo Pio,⁵¹ Piccolomini and Cardinal Flavio Chigi,⁵² who was referred to as the "Patron of the German Nation". At the end of October 1677, he visited the Grand Duke of Florence, then went to Parma, and in Genova he was received by Prince Doria. He also visited the fortifications and the opera house of the famous city. In 1678 he visited the famous residence of the dukes of Savoy in Turin. After learning about Italian court etiquette, Georg Friedrich's continued his journey in France, since despite the Habsburg-Bourbon conflict, it was important to

47 They mentioned the name of Johann Eberhardt Varnbüler Hemmingen, and alluded to Johann Adam Osiander chancellor, professor of Theology. Hochsätter 55.

48 Hochsätter 56.

49 Maurer, *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung*; Leibetseder, *Die Kavalierstour*.

50 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart G 153 Bü 3. Königlichen Haus und Staats-Archiv (1685–1688.) Aus der alteren Geheimratsregistratur Familienarchiv Herzogen Württemberg. Prinzen Georg Friedrich.

51 Cardinal Piro Carlo di Savoia (1621–1689), who was the ambassador of the emperor in Rome from 18th July 1676. and played an important role in forming of Holy League. Kerekes, "Az oszmánellenes európai összefogás," 88.

52 Hochsätter 61. Pope Innocent XI reigned from 21 September 1676. Georg Friedrich, when he visited Rome, even met influential members of the courts of Pope Clement X. Cp. Tusor, *A barokk pápaság*, 64, 135–41.

experience life at the French court during its heyday and to build a personal network.⁵³ Georg Friedrich improved his command of French in Angers for five months, got to know Paris in the summer, then went on an extensive tour in Brittany, returning to Paris at the end of December, passing through Gascogne and Provence as well.⁵⁴ He was also received by the royal family and important ministers in April. From the middle of the seventeenth century, England also became a major destination for aristocratic travel. Georg Friedrich arrived there in May 1681, and a few days later he was received in Windsor, and according to the biography, he was able to speak at length with the king and queen. After enjoying the sights, he also visited Brussels, made a short tour around the Netherlands, visited his brother in The Hague, and arrived back home in October 1681, paying a short visit to East Friesland as well.⁵⁵

Georg Friedrich could only spend a short time with his family, because at the invitation of Charles of Lorraine, he also went quickly to Vienna. In November he took part in an imperial audience, offering his sword to fight the Turks; thus in January 1682 he was offered the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was stationed at Filakovo (Fülekk) in July 1682, but returned to Stuttgart due to illness in September, where he was recruited with an imperial patent in February 1683. He camped at Nördlingen on 9 March, from where he was assigned to the neighborhood of Bratislava, and on 6 May, he reported to Charles of Lorraine. The biography did not cover the decisive period of the imperial assistance, the plight of Vienna in 1683, but referred to “the siege of Vienna from well-known prints.”⁵⁶ Contemporaries not only considered the print reports reliable and informative, but were also aware of the political weight of the imperial public as well.

The private stories embedded in the history of the War of Reconquest at the liberation of Vienna only covered the fact that Georg Friedrich was wounded in the left leg on 15 August while drilling in the trench at Schottentor, but it was noted that he was soon able to continue fighting. Initially he served under Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg and then under Louis William, Margrave of Baden-Baden. He was also present at the Battle of Sturovo and the siege of Esztergom, returning to Stuttgart in the winter of 1683. In August 1684 he boarded a ship at Ulm in order to take part in the siege of Buda, but the army marched so slowly that he transferred to a mail vessel at Regensburg. As early as 1684, he was ordered to Upper Hungary under the command of Lieutenant General Johann Valentin Schulz. On 19 March 1685, he fell sick with high fever, which was difficult to remedy, and was again sent to Sáros County

53 Toma, “Nádasdy István.”

54 A fellow traveler was Benjamin von Minzingen.

55 Christine Charlotte (1644–1699) governed as the regent of East Frisia during the minority of her son from 1665 until 1690.

56 Hochsätter 67.

to General Aeneas Caprara, who was besieging Košice. According to the Protestant calendar, the detachment for the siege of Košice was completed on 7 October. At four o'clock in the morning of 8/18 October, after finishing his morning prayers and consulting with Caprara, he had just returned to his duties when he was hit by a stray bullet. His remains were taken from Košice to Prešov in a manner corresponding to the rank of the ducal family, just on the day of his grandfather's inauguration, where a service was held according to the Lutheran rite, over the body of the duke of Wurttemberg, who had lived for twenty-eight years, thirteen days and five hours.

Engravings of the final respects

The representational value of the collected volume of five sermons was enhanced by fine engravings. The frontispiece is a unique collection of emblems of Georg Friedrich's virtues, drawn in his name by Georg Friedrich and engraved by Philipp Kilian (1628–1693). Only Bartholomäus Kilian (1630–1696), who made a portrait of Georg Friedrich, was included in the accounts of the ducal court, but the famous Augsburg printing dynasty⁵⁷ of the age operated as a thriving family business. (Figure 2)

Framed by a laurel wreath at the center of the composition is Georg Friedrich, accompanied by death depicted as a skeleton in the pantheon of ancestors depicted in armor, surrounded by cedars symbolizing excellence.⁵⁸ The picture was inspired by the work of Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584–1648), a Spanish diplomat, for his son Philip IV, written in 1640, re-printed in 1650 in Cologne. The work was reprinted in a newer version which was made in 1686 in Leipzig, Jena and Frankfurt.⁵⁹ Saavedra's volume presented the expected political virtues largely using the emblems of Andrea Alciato (1492–1550) who created the particular etalons in 1531.⁶⁰ Saavedra's work was popular in the Holy Roman Empire after the 1640 Munich edition, illustrated with a hundred engravings by Johann Sadeler (1588–1665). The Milanese version of 1642 reached twenty editions by the eighteenth century. The work, translated from Spanish to Latin, was published in German as well in 1655 in Amsterdam.⁶¹

The oval-shaped central engraving is surrounded by small emblems that capture the deeds and virtues of Georg Friedrich. The top image evokes the relief of Vienna, in which Georg Friedrich also played a notable part, below which two fictional cityscapes

57 Gier and Janota, *Augsburger Buchdruck*; Paas, *Augsburg*.

58 R. Várkonyi, "A 'királyi cédrus'."

59 Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea Principis Christiano-Politici*.

60 Manning, *Voicing Dissent*, 176.

61 Peil, "Emblematische Fürstenspiegel," 54–92; Peil, "Saavedra in Deutschland."

can be seen at the capitulation of the duke of Wurttemberg at Prešov and on a prancing horse at the fortified city wall of Košice, leading a charge. The virtues of the young man were emphasized by ten emblems with ten ribbons explaining the acts. The two images of the prince's two first names were placed opposite each other. While his first name referred to the knightly struggle of St George the Dragon Slayer,⁶² in the second, the word peace and empire in Friedrich, indicating that he was fighting for the protection and peace of the Holy Roman Empire.⁶³ Also, as a pair of opposites, the artist composed an angel from the clouds handing over the princely hat,⁶⁴ but Death prevented Friedrich from wearing it on his merits.⁶⁵ Wurttemberg appeared on one of the emblems as a prominent mountain among the clouds. The creator derived the image of unexpected death lurking among the soldiery, the bravest lions, from the rank of General Wachtmeister, showing the fall of Georg Friedrich at dawn. The column of Power shows the duke's hat and a set of scales, in its bowls a book and an olive branch, and a sword and a palm branch. On both sides of the column, the deep piety of the Lutheran Georg Friedrich is symbolized by the Virgin Mary with a crucifix, while the armored Pallas Athene represents knowledge and culture.⁶⁶ Another emblem, with a pyramid⁶⁷ rising on shattered Turkish weapons, articulates responsibility for the exercise of power. Finally, two emblems refer to earthly and celestial glory, as was customary in depicting the deaths of great rulers. The symbol of the Earth illuminated by the Sun illustrates the significance of Georg Friedrich's actions,⁶⁸ while Athleta Christi is glorified from the clouds by Christ looking at the armored youth wounded by a cannonball.⁶⁹

The sermon collection also includes a portrait of the duke with four lines of poetry in front of some falling drapery and a gun carriage. The young man in armor holds a marshal's baton in his right hand while resting his left hand on a barrel. The image is surrounded by a laurel wreath, with an imperial eagle at the top, looted Turkish flags and weapons at the edge, and the defeated Turks at the bottom. The richly decorated, inscribed coffin of the Duke of Wurttemberg appeared in three engravings. The engravings and inscriptions can be clearly seen in the engraving by Johann David

62 Durch Christ-Ritterliches kämpffen, Sein die ärgste Feind zu dämpffen. 2. Tim. Cap. 4. Vers. 7.8.

63 So läst der Herr nach tapffer streiten, Zum Reich des Fridens eingeleitten.

64 Der Herzog nun sicher bey dem Herzog des lebens, So ist dem dein Wütten O Todt ganz vergebens.

65 Was bildet der Todt sich ein er ist nur wie ein Zwerg, Und gegen seine Pfeil, Würdt unser Held ein Berg.

66 In beeden gleichen Preiss verdient, Darumb sine Ruhm auch ewig grüent.

67 Wo ist dann nun, O blasser Todt, dein hier erhaltne Sigen? Der theure Held lebt hier und dort, wird nimmermehr erligen.

68 Wie hier der Sonnen Licht, am hohen Himmels Zelt, So leuchtet nun Sein Glanz, in der und jener Welt. Schöne and Henkel, *Emblemata*, 20; Schumann, *Die andere Sonne*; Knapp and Tüskés, "The motif of Death."

69 Kan zwar den Lebens-Faden brennen, Das Herz doch nicht von Jesu trennen.

Daniel, and in a small picture the death of the duke as a soldier of Christ. On the other side of the coffin, in front of the idealized view of Košice, is a scene captured in the sermon: the duke prays in the morning, and then a stray bullet ends his life. In the engraving, an angel gives him a laurel wreath of clouds, while in the foreground he places the princely crown on his books and his feathered helmet on a pedestal.⁷⁰ According to the inscription in the engraving, there is a short biography written by Philipp Jakob Zeiter under the crucifix depicted on the cover of the coffin. (Figure 3)

The funeral procession was illustrated with a picture based on a drawing by Thomas Georg Hopffer. The engraving was made by Johann Ulrich Krauss (1655–1719) of Augsburg, whose oeuvre includes depictions of funerals.⁷¹ The image of the funeral procession, which also lists the trumpets by name and includes several pages of explanations,⁷² simultaneously alludes to Georg Friedrich's military role and to the value of his education at the University of Tübingen. One third of the way along the funeral procession, representatives of the university, towns, and courtyard marched in front of the coffin, while behind them a troop cavalry could be seen as the deceased was escorted from the palace chapel to the princely grand church through the palace garden.

Most probably in 1686 a collection of mourning poems written on the occasion of the death of Georg Friedrich was first published by the University of Tübingen,⁷³ although a summary of the duke's court containing funeral expenses also marked the collection of poems as a separate item, albeit with only a small amount.⁷⁴ The collection of mourning poems, sermons, and the symbolic systems of the compositions formed a close-knit system of ideas, which indicates the well-thought-out concept of the funeral organizers. By the seventeenth century, the expected collection of virtues associated with the princely, aristocratic youth who had died on the battlefield had crystallized.⁷⁵ The wide range of information gathered to establish the exact biography of Georg Friedrich among the documents of the princely mourning

70 In early modern Europe the elements of the military funeral armor (helmet, sword, gauntlet) had symbolic meanings alluding to the knightly traditions. Cp. Szabó, "A fegyverzet darabjai," 115–24.

71 Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, XIX, 442; Hollstein, *German Engravings*, XIX, 96–154.

72 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart G 153 Bü 3. Königlichen Haus und Staats-Archiv (1685–1688.) Aus der alteren Geheimratsregistratur Familienarchiv Herzogen Württemberg. Prinzen Georg Friedrich. Printed version: Fürstliche Württembergische Leich-procession 1–16.

73 Traur- und Klag-Gedichte über Dem schnell und unvermuteten, dioch Hochseligen Ableiben, Des... Herrn Georg Friedrichs...; Traur-Gedichte über das leidige Ableiben des Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten...

74 LBW Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart G 153. Bü 4. 22.

75 More, "Obsequies for James II," 103–48.

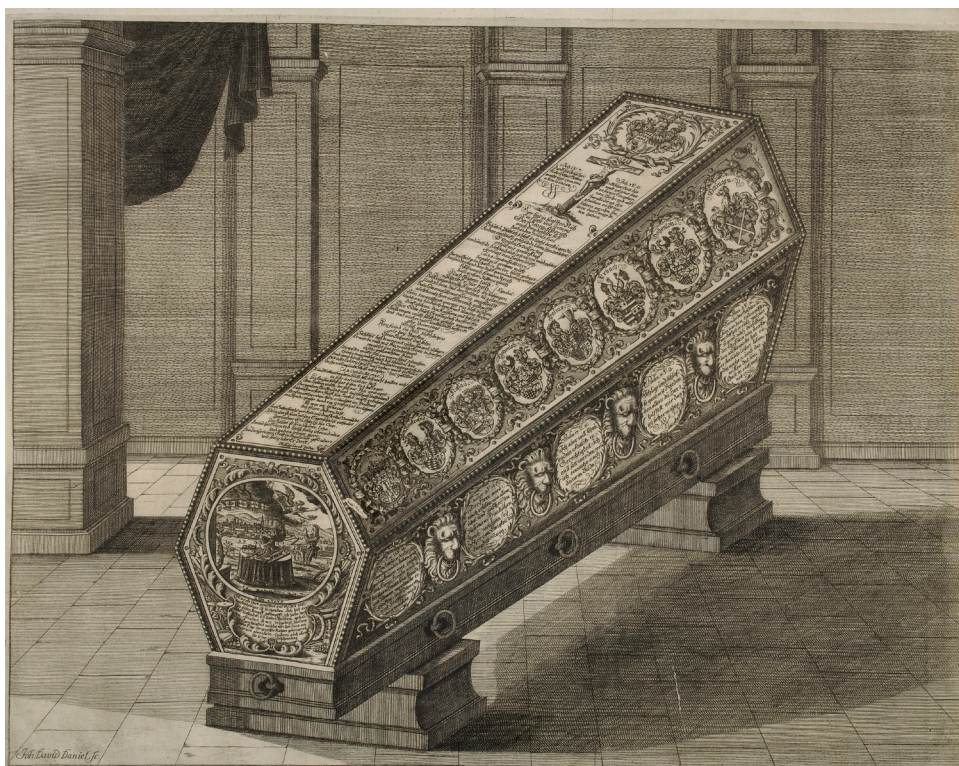


Figure 3 Decorated coffin of the Duke as a soldier of Christ (engraved by Johann David Daniel)
© Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart

ceremony in Wurttemberg proves that, despite the high level of knowledge of the expected system of norms, it was important to show how unique and remarkable the deceased had been. The farewell of Carl Friedrich, who died in 1698, venerated the Hercules and Perseus of Wurttemberg.⁷⁶ Wolfgang Julius Hohenloe, who was closely associated with the Wurttemberg ducal family, modeled his own funeral on the model of Georg Friedrich's farewell, molding his reputation from the fight against the Turks in the mid-seventeenth century to conform to the system of expectations and concepts at the end of the century.⁷⁷

In addition to the renaissance of the cults of Alexander the Great, Scanderbeg, and Hunyadi as a result of the wars against the Ottomans around the middle of the seventeenth century, the Aeneas topoi became especially popular during the

⁷⁶ Zwey christliche Leich-Predigten samt einer Sermon...; Wunder, *Der Administrator*.

⁷⁷ Wolfgang Julius Hohenlohe (1622–1698) died childless. The funeral ceremony planned and designed by himself was held 17 February 1699 in Neuenstein. Panter, "Totenfeier und Grabdenkmale," 87–99; G. Etényi, "Wolfgang Julius Hohenlohe."

Great Turkish War. In 1688, the Nuremberg publisher Georg Jacob Lang specifically dedicated the work of Virgil, illustrated with fifty engravings, to the noble youth.⁷⁸ In the 1670s and 80s, Homer's works were also published in many editions. A ceremonial hall evoking the Trojan War was built in honor of Emperor Leopold I, too.⁷⁹ On the one hand, the legends of the Trojan War emphasized the military talents and individual performance of a few generals, while on the other they held out the possibility of a new beginning in the territories liberated from the Turks, paralleling the changes in the population and utilization of geographical discoveries. Catholic propaganda also used the parable of purgatory following the war that devastated the Turkish world as a symbol of renewal during the liberation of Buda.⁸⁰

In the funeral sermon delivered in the court chapel on Sunday, 10 January 1686, Johann Bartolomeus Haage (1633–1709), a court preacher and councilor, compared the struggle of Christianity against the Ottomans with the struggle of the Greeks, referring to the current naval conflict where the Venetians were fighting for Morea. In his speech, he compared the sacrifices made for the glory of the emperor to the example of Hercules, Achilles, Hector, and Alexander the Great. The speech given by Johann Ulrich Pegitzer (1647–1708), later a court historian and archivist, professor of history from 1675, was also based on his knowledge of the Trojan War.⁸¹

The epicedium also cited the Greek wars as an example, the Württemberger physician Moriz Hoffmann cited the Trojan War,⁸² and a poem by Georgius Henricus Sapphun recalled the grief at the fall of Patroclus.⁸³ The prolific theological author Martin Dubowisky glorified Georg Friedrich as the royal cedar defending

78 Erneuertes Gedächtnus Römischen Tapferkeit...

79 Galavics, "Németalföldi barokk festők és grafikusok," 32.

80 Freschot, "Magyarország történetének," 358; Lukácsy, "A tűz szónoka"; Ács, "Jeruzsálem pusztulása"; Tasi, "Én mondom igazsággal és nagy örömmel."

81 Pollux Wirtembergicus Serenissimus Princeps Ac Dominus Dominus Georgicus Fridericus Dux...

82 Es trauret über diss das grosse Liecht der Sonnen, Und hüllet um sich her der Wolcken schwarzes Kleid./ Ja fast die ganze Welt betauret disen Krieger, So Trackiens Gewalt zu dämpfen war bedacht: Ja nich bedacht allein der vilmehr als ein Siger, Den ärgsten Christen-Feind zu Schanden hat gemacht./ Nun hat der Unglücks-Wind Germanien berühret, Indem vor Caschau ist elegt der Tapfre Held/ Als wessen Tapferkeit der Achmet oft gespüret/ Und dessen Tugend-Gold ein heisses Bley gefällt./ O unverdienter Lohn! dass Er durch sine Thaten/ Vil in Pannonien auf seine gebracht, In dessen tapfre Faust vil Festungen gerathen/ Ja das, was fermd war, sich underthan gemacht... Epicedia VI. 18–19.

83 Corporis exuvias patria procul et Genetrice /Pannoniis linquit Princeps Teccaeus in oris. / Nefati mirare vices? Sub sidere Crassus/ Occubuit Scythico, peregrino in littore Magnus, / Et peregre ad Trojam cecidit Patroclus in armis. / Terra breve est punctum, morientum patria ubique est:/ Hinc peregre moriens, patrio decedit in Orbe. Epicedia 25–26.

his domain.⁸⁴ The author of the German-language epicedium, which includes a long biography in verse, is unknown. The mourning poem concluding the biography, in which the image of the victim lost in defense of the emperor and the Holy Roman Empire reappeared, also lamented the loss of value and the waste of educated youth. The closing sonnet represented the traditional heroic cult of glory won with blood.⁸⁵

Epicedia also appeared in the collection of mourning poems published by the University of Tübingen, representing the Prešov Lutheran College and not only the cooperation of the two institutions, but also the relations between the Hungarian Lutherans and the Principality of Wurttemberg. One of the leading schools in Upper Hungary, the Prešov College, helped to build and further develop the institution into an academy financially and with books between 1665 and 1667 by Eberhard III, duke of Wurttemberg. The Department of Philosophical Theology was opened in 1667, where, in addition to the Rector, five full-time teachers taught the students. Rector Johann Bayer, who had previously taught there, introduced the teachings of Francis Bacon, emphasizing the importance of experimentation in physics, and Izsák Czabán, the vice-rector between 1661–1671, published a study in 1667 in which he sought to prove the existence of atoms by theoretical reasoning. The school, developed against the imperial will, was closed in 1671, but reopened in 1682, when the town fell into the hands of Imre Thököly. Since Thököly himself and much of his political circle had studied here, they supported its reopening. The depiction of the city by János Weber, a citizen of Prešov and a Doctor of Medicine, also captured the building of the Lutheran "college".⁸⁶ In addition to the glorified military virtue in the contemporary image of Hungary, the appearance of the reputation of leading schools is another change related to the widespread peregrination of Protestant students in Hungary. In 1687, among four Hungarians, a student from Prešov studied theology in Tübingen.⁸⁷

84 In Ducato tristiori personante buccina/ Nuncio dum tetra Cedros Fama Wirtembergicae/ Quassat Aulae luctuoso, sic trementes erigunt: Cedat horror, moeror omnis, conticescant naeniae/ Luctus ac dolor facessant et cadentes lachrymae. / Patriis Princeps ab oris en remotus sternitur, / Glande trajectus Gradivi, quo patescat omnibus, / Quod solum nil dulce curet Mors acerba Patriae./ Vita quamvis sit caduca, Fama floret perpetim./ Haec Ducem manet perenni digna Cedro gloria/ Et superstes in sepulcro, quaesiit quam fortiter. /Malo vinci gloriose, quam vigere molliter. Epicedia 27.

85 Ach schau Caschau! Durch dich der theure Held tod-sinket!/ Durch dich ganz Wirtemberg, in hohem Trauren steht! Ein Schmerzen volles Schwert durch Fürsten-Seelen geht./ O Junge Fürsten-Blut, dich Christen-Erde trinket/ Dem keine Türcken-Wut Sein Helden-Mut gekränkert. Epicedia 34.

86 Bubryák, "Weber János"; Bubryák, "Egy polgári mecénás."

87 1687. VII. 19. Johannes Zabanius Epperriensis, 1687. VII. 22. Michael Gütschius Schaesburgo Transylvanus, Georgius Hegyfalusi Hungarus Th. S. 1687. VIII. 11. Joh. Ferdinandus Weissbeck

Zsigmond Gutth wrote an anagram for Georg Friedrich on behalf of the Lutherans in Prešov,⁸⁸ Illés Ladivér and János Schwarz represented the Prešov College, and Jakob Zabler addressed the fallen duke's mother with a short poem on behalf of the Lutherans of Bardejov. János Schwarz, who studied in Tübingen in 1672,⁸⁹ indicated with a short Latin and a longer German poem and a few lines of recommendation that he expressed his condolences as a former student in Tübingen.⁹⁰ While the Latin mourning poem was based on Greek culture, the German ode made it clearer what the sad message of Košice on the banks of the Neckar meant: how the duke's warrior-tragedy would enter the world of the muses.⁹¹ Referring to the well-known origin of the name of Prešov, he addressed it as "Prešov Parnassus" and greeted Duke Eberhard⁹² and the ducal family of Württemberg,⁹³ but also glorified Emperor Leopold.⁹⁴

Illés Ladivér signed his poem as the director of the college in Prešov,⁹⁵ and the explanations in the letters attached to the poem also emphasized the school's network of relationships.⁹⁶ He did not study in Tübingen. After studying in Zilina (Zsolna), Levoča (Lőcse) and Bratislava—under Johann Amos Comenius

Posonio Phil. Stud. Bürk and Wille, *Die Matrikeln der Universität Tübingen*, Band 2, 409.

- 88 Bardejov opened its gates to the troops of Imre Thököly on 22 August 1682. A day later a new Lutheran council and senate began its work. Thököly's councilor, Dániel Guth, governed the senate. Kónya, "Hornouhorské slobodné," 75–81.
- 89 Bürk and Wille, *Die Matrikeln der Universität Tübingen*, Band 2, 353.
- 90 Also hat Ihre Hochfürstlichen Durchl. Als Seines auf der weitberühmten Tübingener Universität gewesenenen Hr. Rectoris Magnificentissimi und jüngst-vorgestellten Herren General-Wachtmesiters et Höchst-scherzlichen Abschied aus underthänigster devotion und condolenz betwienen wollen und sollen. M. Johannes Schwarz, Illust. Coll. Eper. Log. Et Phil. Pract. P.P.
- 91 Trauer-Ode/ Ober des unseligen Caschauer-Flusses Trauer-Post an den höchst-bestürzten Neccar-Strom. 1. Auf ihr Erdbeer-Parnassinnen, Auf bestürztet Helicon! Zwinge die verwirrte Sinnen, Jetzt zum neuen Trauer-Thon./ Da mit mehr als Donnerschrecken/ Fama rufft an unsern Ecken. 2. Prange nicht mit Freuden-Kränzen, Du betrübter Musen-Chor:/ Da sich soll die Frennd ergänzen,/ Schicke dich zum Trauer Flor: / Weil das unbeständig Glücke/ Unwesehens geht zurücke." *Epicedia* 23–25.
- 92 3. Muss von dir so tapfrem Helden, Prinz vom Grossen Eberhard! Ich erstaunte Kundert melden/ Das, was ich nie hatt' erwart'?'/ Soll mich, da ich mich sollt freuen, Dein und mein Verhängnus reuen?
- 93 8. Wirtemberg, du Siz der Jäger, Stuttgart, deiner Helden Haus:/ Mach' ich dir vil tausend Kläger/ Geht dein hoffen doch nicht aus, Weil der an den Sternen schweber, Noch in Herren Brüder lebet.
- 94 Varga, *A magyarországi protestáns*, 142–44 (E 223), 147 (E 227); Varga, "Valóság és barokk mese," 142–46; Varga, *A magyarországi protestáns*, 66, 73.
- 95 Elias Ladivér Ecc. Lipchen. Pastor. h.t. Coll. Stat. Evang. Eper. P.P. Direct. *Epicedia* 22.
- 96 A) Anno 1477. Acad. aedificata ab Eberhardo Barbato, Duce Wittembergiae Matris Mechtildis hortatu. Cujus alterum seculum clausit et decoravit sacr. Memor. CELSISSIMUS Dux Academ. TUBIN. Rect. An. 1676. B.) Ad Philippsburgum expugnatum c.) Ex Parmula Viennensi Turcas profligat, teli ictus vulnere, d.) Ad Cassoviam globo octo librarum e.) Fluvius alluens Cassoviam.

himself—he attended the universities of Erfurt and Wittenberg. Between 1668–1671 he taught at the Lutheran College in Prešov, then during the preaching trials Toruń, Danzig and Sighișoara were the stages of his migrations, from which he returned to Prešov in November 1682 at the invitation of Imre Thököly. He characterized his modern way of thinking by teaching politics⁹⁷ as a subject and published a summary of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* in Košice in 1685. Illés Ladivér represented the Prešov college in the collection of mourning poems. The empathic presence of the College of Prešov in the Tübingen publication may have resulted in the mistake of Korabinsky's lexicon, according to which the duke died in Prešov.⁹⁸

The mourning poems in Prešov had to be written quickly and sent to Tübingen, because Iliás Ladivér died on 2 April 1686,⁹⁹ and following another turn in political life, in 1687 the school in Prešov was closed again, and only from 1705 could it continue to operate as a two-grade school. In 1685, the citizens and soldiers of the town of Thököly received an amnesty from the ruler. The commander-in-chief of Upper Hungary, Antonio Caraffa, thought he had discovered a conspiracy by Thököly in Prešov in February 1687, accusing the citizens of the town of providing information and supplies to Ilona Zrínyi for Mukachevo, who had been surrounded since 1685. The *judicium delegatum* executed twenty-four citizens in the main square of Prešov, near the church of St Nicholas and the school, and then displayed the twenty-four severed heads in the city.¹⁰⁰ The executions were covered in printed weekly broadsheets, and these broadsheets remained in the library of the Saxon Elector in Dresden, serving as a source for later historians.¹⁰¹ The 1688 Tübingen calendar reported on the blockade of Székesfehérvár and the executions as a notable event.¹⁰²

The cult of Georg Friedrich, who fought in the relieving troops of the war against the Turks and died a heroic death, also represented an open political aspiration during the period of the Great Turkish War. The relationship between the emperor and the imperial orders, but also with regard to the exercise of the political and military weight of the electoral princes and princes, is a matter of separate

97 Education and political culture reached high levels at Košice, Prešov and Bardejov in the seventeenth century. Hargittay, *Gloria, fama, litteratura*, 89, 108–9.

98 Korabinsky, *Geographisch-Historisches*.

99 Lukáč, "Eliaš Ladivver," 221–31.

100 Kónya, *Az eperjesi véstörténelmszék*, 36–37; and Kónya, *Prešov, Bardejov a Sabinov*, 153–54.

101 Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden Hist. Hungar 501/28. Dresden. Ausführlicher Verlauff, Dess Am 5. Dieses Monats Martii 1687.

102 Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart HBF 3814. Neu Lingerichter Welthandel Historien Calender Verlegt und zu finden bey Hieronimo Lochnern. In Nürnberg. Schreib-Calend193-210.er.

military command.¹⁰³ The troops of the Duchy of Wurttemberg belonged to the units of the Swabian district, which were not given an independent command structure, but from 1683 were led by Karl Gustav von Baden-Durlach. The idea, which was also represented in the imperial assembly and in the imperial city, was crowned with success in 1696, when Eberhard Ludwig, duke of Wurttemberg, became the commander-in-chief of the Swabian relief forces, and from then on, the restoring dukes of Wurttemberg gained military status. The honor of the fallen Duke Georg Friedrich of Wurttemberg, which included both traditional topoi and a modern set of values, represented several interdependent political interests, typifying the high standard, literacy, and effectiveness of the propaganda of the Great Turkish War.

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103 Weber, “*Describere sine lacrimis vix liceat*.”

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- Boener, Johann Alexander, and Samuel Faber. Die Renn-Bahn der Ehren Auf welcher Fünf und zwanzig unvergleichliche Helden... Joh. Alex. Boener in Nürnberg Gedruckt Christ. Sigm. Froberg. Nürnberg, 1688. (Hubay 1009.)
- Boethio, Christophoro. Ruhm-Belorberter Triumph-leuchtender und Glantz-erhöheter Kriegs-Helms Christen. Nürnberg, 1688 2. 1685–1686.
- Chistliche Vermahlung und Gebett, Wider den Erb-Feind der Christenheit den Türcken, So im Herzogthumb Württemberg, durch die Prediger den Zuhörern, und in allen Schulen der Jugend... Gedruckt zu Stuttgart bey Johann Weyrich Rösslin, Im Jahr 1664.
- Danck-Gebett wegen der Herrlichen Victori Wider den Erb-Feind des Christlichen Nahmens in Ungarn bey Peterwardein den 5. Augustu 1716. Erhalten an dem Auf den XII. Sonntag nach Trinitatis. Stuttgart.
- Danck-Gebett wegen der Herrlichen Victori Wider den Erb-Feind des Christlichen Nahmens, den 16. Aug 1717 bey Belgrad erhalten. Wie auch Der Eroberung der Vestung Belgrad selbsten den 18. Aug darauff erfolget.
- Deometrii Georgius. Honor Posthumus in Illustrissimi quondam Comitis Domini, D. Nicolai Serini, Regnorum Croatiae, Dalmatiae, Sclavoniae et Bani, Luctuosum et toti Christiano orbi dolendum, et vivis exessum, scriptus. Tubingae. OSZK App.H. 2072
- Dreyzehn Predigen vom Türcken in wölthen gehandelt würdt von seines Regiments Ursprung, Glauben und Religion, vom Türkischen Alcoran.... Geprediget durch Jacobum Andrae D. Probst zu Tübingen... Stuttgart Landesbibliothek Theol. Oct. 18552.
- Erneuertes Gedächtnus Römischen Tapferkeit, an den unvergleichlichen Virgilianischen Helden Aeneas, und Seinen grossmüthigen Thaten: Zu mehrer Erläuterung Dess hochschätzbaren Althernus, Der Edlen Jugend Zum gemeinen Bersten In 50 Kupfern vorgebildet. Lang, Georg Jacob Nürnberg, Buggel 1688.
- Frescot, Casimir. "Magyarország történetének rövid foglalata, Nápoly, 1687." [Short survey of the history of Hungary, 1687] In *Buda visszafoglalásának emlékezete, 1686* [Memoirs of the re-capture of Buda, 1686], edited by Ferenc Szakály, 358. Budapest: Európa, 1986.

- Georgii Friderici. Ducis Wirtembergiae Et Tecciae, Comitis Montispeligardi Dynastae In Heidenheim, Oratio De Causis Democratiam Tempore Belli Corruptentibus, Itemque Conservantibus... Conscripta et solenniter habita Die XXIX Novembris Anno 1675. In Illustri Collegio. Tübingen Verleger: Johann Heinrich Reis.
- Hochsätter Johann Friedrich. Fünff Christliche Leichpredigten Samt Einer bey Nächtlicher Hoch-Fürstl. Solennen Beysetzung gehaltener Traur Sermon... Stuttgart, 1686 LBW G 153 Bü 3.
- Klag- und Trauer-Gedichte Georg Friedrich Herzogen zu Württemberg und Teck General Wachtmeister und Obersten über ein Regiment zu Fuss Als Dessen Hochfürstlicher Leichnam von Caschau in Ungarn den Residenz-Stuttgart gebracht und darauf den 12. Dieses in das Hochfürstliche Begräbnus mit gewöhnlichem Pracht... geschrieben und übergeben Christoph Kalbenbachen... Prof. Universitaet Tübingen... Reiss, 1689.
- Kurze Relation Der den 23igsten September. Anno 1681. Beschehenen Widereröffnung dess Fürstlichen Collegij Illustris zu Tübingen und Introduction dess Fürstl. Prinzen, H. J. Friedrichs, Herzogs zu Württemberg... Saavedra Fajardo, Diego. Idea Principis Christiano-Politici. (Konsantin Munich) Köln, 1650, Matthaeus Birckner, Johann Z. Nisius) Jena, 1686 VD 17 1:002094E.
- Traur-Gedichte über das leidige Ableiben des Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten... Parentations-Rede zu letzten unterthaenigsten Ehren abgefasst und bey stiller Music besungen,... Gedruckt bey Martin Rommey... 1686. OSZK App. H. 2285.
- Traur- und Klag-Gedichte über Dem schnell und unvermuteten, dioch Hochseligen Ableiben, Des... Herrn Georg Friedrichs, Herzogen zu Wirtember und Teck... OSZK App. H. 228.
- Unsterblicher Nachruhm Des Grossmüthigsten Helden, Des Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten und H. H. Georg Friedrichs Herzogen zu Württemberg und Teck... General Wachtmeisters Bey Ihro Hochfürstl. Durchleuchtigkeit Parentation Auff hoher Schul zu Tübingen den 3. Maj 1686 abgesungen. G.-Heinrich und Joh. C. Reiss, 1689.
- Wagner, Johann Christoph. Delineatio Provinciarum Pannoniae Et Imperii Turcici In Oriente: Eine Grundrichtige Beschreibung dess ganzen Anfangs sonderlich aber dess Hochlöblichen Königreichs Ungarn, und der ganzen Türckey, auch deren Völcker, welche selbigem Monarchen... Augspurg Koppmayer, 1685.
- Zwey christliche Leich-Predigten samt einer Sermon, Über dem Hoch-seeligen Ableiben Weiland dess Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn, Herr Friedrich Carls, Herzogen zu Württemberg und Teck... Ihro Röm, Kayserl. Majestaet General-Feld-Marschalls... Gedächtnus, Welche den 19. und 20. Decemb. Anno 1698. Stuttgart, bey Paul Treuen, 1699.

Broadsheets

- Die Belagerung Neuhäsel. engraved by Joachim Wichmann Im Jahr, 1685. Hamburg gedruckt bey Thomas Wiering. MNM TK 54 164.
- Eigentliche und nach dem natürlichen Grundris auf das genaueste aussgestaltete Kupffer-Abbildung, der Nieder-Ungarische Vestung Neuhäusel: Zusammt einer Summarischen kurzen Erzehlung, wie solche von dem Christlichen Kriegs-Heer dieses 1685. Jahr belägert und beschossen, auch was sich dann und wann bey geöffneten Approchen, und andern darvor angestellten Belägerungs Zubereitungen begeben. MNM TK T 3858.
- Summarische Bericht, was massen Caschau die Haupt-Stadt in Ober-Ungarn, durch den Kayserl. Herrn General-Feld-Marschll Caprara belägert, und den 17. (7.) Octob. Dieses 1685. Jahrs erobert. Nachgehends auch Graf Emerich Teckeli das Haupt der Ungarischen Rebellion durch den Bassa von Gross-Wardein mit List ingefängliche Verhaft genommen, in Eisen und Band geschlossen, und damit also die Ungarische Rebellion glücklich gedampft worden. OSZK App. M. 1068
- Warhaffte Vorstellung der erbaermlichen Tragödie, welche der Bassa von Gross Waradein dem Weltberuffenen Hungarischen Haupt-Rebellen Graf Emerich Teckely, allda im Monat Octobr. Dieses 1685. Jahrs gessiepelet.... Nürnberg, G. Jakob Schneider. OSZK App. M. 430. MNM TKT 9407.
- Warhafftige Abbildung der Ungarischen Vestung Neuhäsel, wie solche Anno. 1685. Den 19. Augustu durch die christliche Waffen mit sturmenden Hand, dem Erb-Feind abgetrunen und erobert worden...Louis Nicolas Hallart – Michael Wening, München.

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