

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The War People

The Daily Life of Common Soldiers

1618-1654

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

by

Lucian Edran Staiano-Daniels

2018

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2018

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in History
University of California, Los Angeles, 2018
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This dissertation aims to depict the daily life of early seventeenth-century common soldiers in as much detail as possible. It is based on intensive statistical study of common soldiers in Electoral Saxony during the Thirty Years War, through which I both analyze the demographics of soldiers' backgrounds and discuss military wages in depth. Drawing on microhistory and anthropology, I also follow the career of a single regiment, headed by Wolfgang von Mansfeld (1575-1638), from mustering-in in 1625 to dissolution in 1627. This regiment was made up largely of people from Saxony but it fought in Italy on behalf of the King of Spain, demonstrating the global, transnational nature of early-modern warfare. My findings upend several assumptions about early seventeenth-century soldiers and war. Contrary to the Military Revolution thesis, soldiers do not appear to have become more disciplined during this period, nor was drill particularly important to their daily lives. Common soldiers also took an active role in military justice.

The dissertation of Lucia Eileen Staiano-Daniels is approved.

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2018

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Glossary

Alfarez	A Spanish rank, second in command of a Spanish company, combining the duties of Fähndrich and Lieutenant
Arquebusiers	Unarmored cavalymen armed with a small long-barreled firearm
Artikellbrief, Articles of War	The document establishing a regiment, containing a list of rules for it.
Bestallung, pl. Bestellungen	Contract to order mercenary troops; often specifies payment.
Compagnie, Compagnia	Infantry company
Cornet	Cavalry flag bearer (See Fähndrich) or cavalry company
Cram, Kram	Of a soldier: Possessions, goods. Stuff. Of a civilian: House or shop
Cuirassiers	Cavalymen armored in $\frac{3}{4}$ plate and armed with pistols
Defensionsfändel	Regional militia
Doppelsöldner	Pikeman; more rarely, any soldier who is paid more than usual
Dragoons	Mounted infantry who dismount to fight. The lowest branch of the service.
Fähndrich	Infantry flag bearer. See Cornet.
Fahnenschmied	Cavalry smith
Feldwebel	A medium-ranking company level infantry officer, responsible for deployment on the field
Fendtlein, Fendlein, Fändlein, Fänlein, Fähnlein	Infantry company
Fourier	A medium-ranking company level infantry officer, responsible for scouting out locations and provisioning on the march
Führer	A medium-ranking company level infantry officer. Their duties include tending the flag when the Fähndrich can't.
Gefreiter corporal	Senior squad leader. One per infantry company. Listed first on the muster roll.
Gefreiter, gefreyter	Squad leader. One per every four infantrymen.

Gemeinwebel	A low-ranking company level infantry officer, possibly equivalent to sergeant
Gerichtsgeschworener	Member of a military tribunal
Gerichtsschreiber	Trial secretary
Gewehr	“Weapon.” Pike
Hauptmann, pl. Hauptleute	Infantry captain
Impresarius	Recruiting agent
Jung	The servant of a cavalry trooper
Knecht	When used for infantry: Landsknecht, common soldier. A term of respect. When used for cavalry: the servant of a cavalry trooper.
Kriegscommissarius	“Military commissioner” appointed by the head of state to oversee things like the mustering and payment of troops. Signs off on pay documents.
Kriegsrecht	Military law
Kurtzgewehr	“Short weapon.” Halberd
Lancepassade	An experienced soldier
Life Company	The colonel or head of state’s personal company
Musterschreiber	Company or regimental secretary. Recordkeeper.
Oberst	Colonel, commander of the most prestigious company in a regiment.
Oberst-Lieutenant, Lieutenant Colonel	Second in command of a regiment and commander of its second-most-prestigious company.
Oberst-Wachtmeister	Third in command of a regiment, commander of the third-most-senior company in a regiment
Prima plana	The first page of an infantry muster roll, and thus “the officers”
Provost	One of a regiment’s two top legal authorities. Convenes trials and helps determine punishments. Responsible for law enforcement within the regiment.
Reformed officer	Someone who used to hold a position in a reformed company or regiment. He is given the position of a pikeman but paid more than most pikemen, until they can find somewhere else to place him.

Regiment	<p>1. A body of infantry composed of more than one company and headed by a colonel.</p> <p>2. Rules, system, regulations. The military legal order. To “come before the regiment” is to go to court.</p> <p>3. Rod of office, “baton.”</p>
Rittmeister	Cavalry captain
Rotte	Squad: four men and a squad leader
Runtertzscher, rodelero	A soldier who fights with a sword and a round shield; sword-and-buckler man
Salva guardia	Letter of safe-conduct, pass
Schultheiss	Bailiff. One of a regiment’s two top legal authorities. Convenes trials and helps determine punishment. Helps investigate crimes.
Secretarius	Secretary
Seitengewehr	“Sidearm.” Sword.
Soldateska	A derogatory term for mercenaries as a group.
Söldner	A neutral term for a mercenary or mercenaries.
Squadron, escuadron	Cavalry company
To reform a unit	To dissolve it
Wachtmeister	Company or regimental officer, responsible for setting watch in camp and on the march
Wagenmeister	Wagon master, responsible for the baggage train
War People, People	Kriegsvolk, Kriegsleute. The word members of the military community use for themselves. A positive term for soldiers.

The People

The Mansfeld Regiment (Das Mansfeldisches Volck) (1625-1627)

Wolfgang von Mansfeld (Wolf): Colonel of the Mansfeld Regiment

Michael Meder: Feldscher of his Life Company

Mattheus Steiner: Regimental Bailiff and Secretary

Hans Wolf von Schingo: Regimental Provost (until Dec 1626)

Gottfried Reichbrodt: Regimental Provost (after Dec 1626)

Theodoro de Camargo: Lieutenant Colonel, Infantry

Victoria Guarde: his wife

Margaretha de Pelegrinis: her maid

Wilhem Stum: her page

Anna Luisa Ségers

Peter Georg Hoff

Juan Gammert: his Flag-Bearer

Theodoro de Camargo: his son

Vratislav Eusebius von Pernstein: Lieutenant Colonel, Cavalry

Eustachius Löser (Stach): Lieutenant Colonel, Cavalry

Wolfgang Winckelmann: Infantry Third-In-Command and Regimental Quartermaster

Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze: Flag Bearer

David von Bernleben: Flag Bearer

Felix Steter: Lieutenant

Hans Heinrich Tauerling

Andreas Melchior von Schneeberg: Feldwebel

Heinrich Teichmeyer: Musterschreiber

Christof Hubrich: Steward

David Schmidt: Squad Leader

Christof the Drummer

Captain Moser

Simon Löhr: Lieutenant

Christian Hendel: Führer

Heinrich Deckert: Feldwebel

Hans Gebler

Hans Albrecht: Musketeer

Valentin von Treutler: Gemeinwebel

Jonas Eckert

Michael Hevel: Flag Bearer

Johann Silbernagel: Feldwebel

Georg Schmaliner

Lucas Paz

Noc Münch

Georg Reinsberger

Maria: His Legal Wife

Hans Jungnickel

His Wife

Heinrich Lehnfeldt: Trumpeter who saw a rape

Christof Heschler: Cavalryman who saw a rape

Hans Geyer, Hans Full, and Christian Gottschalck: Three common soldiers who were tortured

The Sulz Regiment (Das Sulzches Volck) (1625-1627)

Alwig von Sulz: Colonel

His Third-In-Command

Dietrich von Starschedel the Younger's Free Company (1624)

Balthasar Kaltoffen: Pikeman

Nicholas Sonntag: Pikeman

Jonas Beck: Musketeer

Melchior Schröter: Musketeer

Maz Japzsch: Musketeer

Hanß Rümpler: Musketeer

The Dresden Unter-Guardia (1654)

Mattheus Seyfert Decker

Other

Melchior von Gruppach (served 1621-1651)

Hans Catherine (served at least 1619-1631)

Hans Schanck: Captain and Investigator of Crimes (1631)

 Wolf Balthasar von Krosowitz: His Flag Bearer

Bernhardt von Zwemer: Flag Bearer

Christian Erhardt: Feldscher

Augustin von Fritsch: Cavalry Lieutenant in the Imperialist Camargo-Reinach Regiment
(1632)

 Lieutenant Eichelberger and Lieutenant Jän: His Friends

The Metzsch Family

The von Breitenbach Family

Non-Soldiers

Gomez Suarez de Figueroa y Córdoba, Duke of Feria (“The Duke of Feria”): Governor of the

Duchy of Milan, 1618-1625

Gonzalo Andrés Domingo Fernández de Córdoba (“Cordoba”): Governor of the Duchy of

Milan, 1625-1629

Hans Jacob Schobinger and Wendel Beyer: fabric traders from St. Gallen

Ludwig von Bißing: college student in Wittenberg

Money, Dates, and Measurements

All dates for the Mansfeld Regiment and its Spanish/Italian overlords are in the New (Gregorian) Calendar. All dates for non-Mansfelder Saxon units are in the Old (Julian) Calendar, which at the time was ten days behind.

Pay in Saxon rolls is given in gulden and thalers. One ducat is four gulden. One gulden (abbreviated R or f) was worth 60 kreutzer since the Reichsmünzordnung of 1559. From 1623 onward, one thaler (abbreviated Rth with one or two horizontal strokes through the letters, or #) was worth 90 kreutzer, or 1.5 gulden.¹ One batzen is four kreutzer. One groschen is three kreutzer. One kreutzer is four pennies, which in the early seventeenth century is still written *denarii*, singular *denarius*. One *denarius* is two heller.

Many of the Mansfeld Regiment's accounts are done in Milanese money. One scudo (plural scudi) was worth 120 soldi. Although the exchange rate wasn't constant, members of the Mansfeld Regiment spoke as though one soldo was worth one-fifth of a batzen, slightly less than a kreutzer.

Members of the Mansfeld Regiment used the slang word "Zick" or "Zeck" for a coin that was worth one and a half scudi or 3 gulden, but which looked like a ducat from a distance.² This meant "nanny goat" in the German of the south but was probably a corruption of the Italian *zecchino*, the Venetian gold ducat, or *zecca*, "mint."

All distances and weights have been translated from seventeenth-century Saxon measurements to modern American measurements. Until 1839, the Saxon pound was about 467.2 grams as opposed to the American 453.6. The Saxon hundredweight was 110 Saxon pounds.

1 Eduard Döring: *Handbuch der Münz-, Wechsel-, Mass- und Gewichtskunde* (Koblenz: J Hölscher, 1854), 19-20.

2 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 64v.

It takes four gulden and twelve groschen to buy dry fodder for one horse for one month.

It takes six gulden for one soldier to feed and support himself for one month.

Vita

Lucia Staiano-Daniels was born in 1981, and educated in Catholic institutions and at home. Staiano-Daniels received a BA from St. John's College (Annapolis/Santa Fe) and pursued graduate education there and at New York University before coming to UCLA.

Introduction: The War People

Their word for themselves was *People*. Common soldiers during the early seventeenth century were *Die Leute*, *Das Volk*, *les gens*, *la gente*. They were *Das Kriegsvolk*, *Die Kriegsleute*, *les gens de guerre*, the War People. Neutral outsiders called them mercenaries, *Söldner*, or soldiers, *Soldaten*. Angry civilians or contemptuous officers called them *Soldateska*, a slur we translate as “soldiery.” When a warlord ordered them by the head in a contract or a company scribe counted them in a muster roll, they were “persons,” *Personen*. But they called themselves the People. This dissertation aims to present the daily lives of early modern common soldiers during the Thirty Years’ War in as much depth as possible, and to analyze their society as a subculture. When they call themselves *Kriegsleute* I translate it as War People. This phrase echoes classic works of ethnography.¹ It is deliberately defamiliarizing.

The daily lives of the War People are implicit in debates about the growth and centralization of modern armies and the modern state. Although theories about modern state building vary, an assumption common to all of them is that new political philosophies and new governmental structures were intertwined with a change in daily practice in early modern European armies. This assumption has gone largely unexamined. In 1906 Otto Hintze claimed that military organization and the organization of the state were interdependent and that social organization in the state both influenced and was influenced by the structure and organization of the military.² Gerhard Oestreich, Otto Hintze’s student, argued not only that heads of state were influenced by the political philosophy of Neostoicism, which advocated self-discipline, a

1 Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, *The Harmless People*, originally published 1959; Colin Turnbull, *The Forest People*, 1961; Napoleon Chagnon, *Yanomano: The Fierce People*, 1968; Colin Turnbull, *The Mountain People*, 1972. None of these works is without controversy.

2 Otto Hintze, “Military organization and the organization of the state,” tr. F Gilbert, *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 178-215.

centralized state, and a standing national army, but also that through reforms instituted by Maurice of Nassau these ideas produced a higher level of drill and discipline in the early-seventeenth-century Dutch army.³ The thesis that war and the needs of the military led to the development of the modern state is well-developed.⁴ Arguments relating to this thesis are varied.⁵ This discussion intersects with the theory of the early modern Military Revolution, especially in the original formulation given to it by Michael Roberts in 1955. Roberts claimed that tactical changes introduced by Maurice of Nassau and perfected by Gustavus Adolphus changed not only the level of training and discipline of the ordinary soldier but also the way he fought and lived. The medieval knight was an individual, but early modern soldiers lived and fought as part of a unit, as strictly bound to the word of command as their eighteenth or nineteenth-century successors.⁶ While early modern states centralized, modernized, and mobilized their resources for war, early modern military authorities supposedly extended their control over common soldiers on and off the field. Military changes not only had an impact on society in general, they had an impact on the society of soldiers. A soldier's daily routine would have changed. What it felt like to be a soldier would have been different.

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- 3 Gerhard Oestrich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, ed. Brigitta Oestrich and HG Koenigsberger, tr. David McLintock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
 - 4 Samuel Finer, "State and Nation-building in Europe: The Role of the Military," in Charles Tilly, *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 1975), 84-163; Charles Tilly, "Armies, Wars, and States," in idem, *Formations of National States*, 73-76; Richard Bean, "War and the Birth of the Nation State," *Journal of Economic History* 33 (1973), 203-221; William McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since AD 1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); Brian Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 1992).
 - 5 For an introduction to state-building theories see Thomas Ertman, *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-34; Benno Teschke, *The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics, and the Making of Modern International Relations* (Brooklyn: Verso, 2003), Chap. 4.
 - 6 Michael Roberts, "The Military Revolution, 1560–1660," reprinted in Clifford J Rogers, ed. *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings On The Military Transformation Of Early Modern Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995) 13-36, 14.

Historians study how seventeenth-century armies were supplied and how they traveled.⁷ We study how they were raised and financed, especially in the second half of the century.⁸ We study their operations and the battles they fought.⁹ But we still do not know much in detail about the way the War People lived. In 1994 Peter Burschel attempted to explicitly link the state-building thesis to the daily lives of soldiers with his study of common soldiers in early-modern southern Germany. His argument appeared to bear this thesis out: the degree of discipline and control over the common soldier seemed to increase from the sixteenth century to the seventeenth; soldiers also seemed to lose social status during this period.¹⁰ Burschel's study was based on very wide-ranging archival research, but his sources were patchy. He was forced to rest many of his claims on the normative pronouncements made in military manuals or Articles of War: what military authorities wanted to happen or believed was happening, rather than what

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- 7 Geza Perjés, "Army Provisioning, Logistics and Strategy in the Second Half of the 17th Century," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XVI (1970); Bernhard Kroener, *Les Routes et les Étapes: Die Versorgung der französischen Armeen in Nordostfrankreich (1635–1661): Ein Beitrag zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Ancien Régime* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1980); Jürgen Pohl, "Die Profiantirung der Keyserlichen Armaden Ahnbelangendt:" *Studien zur Versorgung der Kaiserlichen Armee 1634/1635* (Horn/Vienna: F Berger & Söhne, 1994); Cordula Kapser, *Die bayerische Kriegsorganisation in der zweiten Hälfte des dreissigjährigen Krieges 1635-1648/49* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1997); Erik A Lund, *War for the Every Day: Generals, Knowledge, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe, 1680-1740* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999); John Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610-1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Guy Rowlands, "Review of *Giant of the Grand Siècle* and *The Wars of Louis XIV*," by John Lynn," *French History*, 14 (2000), 450–4.
- 8 Hubert Salm, *Armeefinanzierung im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Die Niederrheinisch-Westfälische Reichskreis 1635-1650* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1990); David Parrott, *Richelieu's Army: War, Government, and Society in France, 1624-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Guy Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and the Army under Louis XIV: Royal Service and Private Interest 1661-1701* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- 9 To cite only some recent books, William P Guthrie, *Battles of the Thirty Years War: From White Mountain to Nordlingen, 1618-1635* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001); idem, *The Later Thirty Years War: From the Battle of Wittstock to the Treaty of Westphalia* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003); Pavel Hrnčíř, *Spanier auf dem Albuch: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Schlacht bei Nördlingen im Jahre 1634* (Maastricht: Shaker, 2007); Peter Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin Books, 2009); Lothar Höbelt, *Von Nördlingen bis Janckau: Kaiserliche Strategie und Kriegführung 1634-1645* (Vienna: Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, 2016); Peter Wilson, *Lützen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- 10 Peter Burschel, *Söldner in Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).

soldiers were actually doing. Similarly, Jan Willem Huntebrinker's 2010 study of early modern soldiers as a social group frequently relied on sources like pamphlets and broadsheets, depicting what civilian popular culture thought of soldiers, not necessarily what soldiers thought of themselves.¹¹ In terms of the granular details of the daily lives of the rank and file, early seventeenth-century armies are still often a black box.¹²

Meanwhile, discussions of state-building have not taken into account the impressions we already have of military life in the early seventeenth century. Fritz Redlich's classic presentation of German "military enterprisers" drew on memoirs, letters, biographies and autobiographies to present not only a prosopographical study of early modern high officers, but also glimpses into the lives of their work force: common mercenaries.¹³ Documents written by soldiers or officers also survive from this period. These texts, like the diary of a mercenary whose name was later determined to be Peter Hagendorf, recount the lives of seventeenth-century soldiers in their own words.¹⁴ We do not see the military discipline and organization that was supposedly developing during this period either in Redlich's study or these primary sources. These texts reveal expeditions hovering constantly on the brink of failure and common soldiers doing more or less as they please most of the time. Likewise, Geoffrey Parker's seminal early work on the Spanish Army of Flanders presents not only a military organization

11 Jan Willem Huntebrinker, *"Fromme Knechte" und "Garteteufel:" Söldner als soziale Gruppe im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Konstanz: UVK, 2010).

12 "Everyday life in camp was too mundane to attract much comment from the diarists--thousands of small households struggling to create an element of normality in the peripatetic and uncertain lives of the soldiers and their families." Geoff Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War 1618-1648* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 37.

13 Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and his Work Force*, 2 vols (Franz Steiner Verlag: Wiesbaden, 1964-1965).

14 Peter Hagendorf, ed. Jan Peters. *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Eine Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993); Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, Chap. 3.

that faced massive and intractable financial problems, but also proud soldiers willing to agitate for their rights through mutiny, who did so successfully.¹⁵ In light of the disorganization on the ground, the frequent calls for military discipline by officers seem more like contemporary mainstream, non-military laws and pronouncements: made in profusion but often disobeyed.¹⁶

A powerful counter to the state-building thesis has been advanced by the revisionist work of David Parrott on early seventeenth-century France. Parrott decoupled the traditional link between war and state-building, drawing on wide archival sources to argue that French armies were funded not by a modernizing fiscal system but by traditional methods of borrowing and raising taxes. Rather than war making the state, the financial and administrative pressures of conflict put tremendous strain on Richelieu's France.¹⁷ Parrott also probed the connection between the state-building thesis and the lives of common soldiers by pointing out that early seventeenth-century French soldiers do not appear to have been trained by drilling but learned how to fight gradually through participation in the military way of life. If two armies of comparable size met in the field, the deciding factor was probably the length of service of the troops.¹⁸ Parrott has helped clear away readings of seventeenth-century warfare that presented it as the precursor to eighteenth or nineteenth-century warfare and has correctly argued that historians must take it on its own terms. He has provided a clear voice in favor of reconsidering the narrative of military progress during the early modern period and has demonstrated that

15 Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); "Mutiny and Discontent in the Spanish Army of Flanders, 1572-1607," *Past & Present*, 58 (1973), 38-52.

16 Jürgen Schlumbohm, "Gesetze, die nicht durchgesetzt werden: ein Strukturmerkmal des frühneuzeitlichen Staates?," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 23.4 (1997), 647-663.

17 Parrott, *Richelieu's Army*.

18 David Parrott, "Strategy and Tactics in the Thirty Years' War: The 'military revolution,'" in Clifford J Rogers ed, *The military revolution debate: Readings on the military transformation of early modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1995); idem, *Richelieu's Army*.

supposedly archaic practices like private military enterprise did not simply fade away during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁹ I am indebted to him. However, like the narratives he argues against, Parrott implies things about the quotidian experiences of early modern soldiers but does not discuss them. His works are institutional histories and studies of state practice, not histories from below. A new history of seventeenth-century common soldiers from their own perspective is needed.²⁰

Seventeenth-century soldiers and minor officers were a marginal group, largely feared and hated by the wider society in which they lived. Whether or not their commanders received glory and honor in the high-profile profession of arms, these people were almost always forgotten. The vast majority of them did not get the chance to author their own history. They are therefore an ideal topic for history from below.²¹ But although historians have explored the experiences, mentalities, and daily lives of common soldiers, most of them have focused on the eighteenth century to the present day, not the seventeenth century.²² On the other hand, many German works on war and society in the early seventeenth century explore non-soldiers' experiences of war or interactions between soldiers and civilians, rather than soldiers' daily

19 David Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

20 Georg Iggers, "From Macro-to Microhistory: The History of Everyday Life," idem, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover: Wesleyan Press, 1997), 108.

21 EP Thompson, "History from Below," *The Times Literary Supplement* (1966), 279; Tim Hitchcock, Peter King, and Pamela Sharpe, eds. *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640-1840* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997); Tim Hitchcock, "A New History from Below," *History Workshop Journal*, 57 (2004), 294-298.

22 Stephen Brumwell, *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755-1763* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

lives.²³ Gregory Hanlon has made an effort to counteract this state of affairs in his two recent books on the Thirty Years War in Italy.²⁴ These books draw on muster rolls, medical documents, battle reports, and provisioning records to provide well-rounded accounts of the lives and battle experiences of soldiers in this neglected theater of the war. The first also provides a social history of the soldiers who fought for the Duchy of Parma in 1635 based on extensive muster roll data. However, in *Italy 1636* Hanlon explains the actions of men in the military with what he calls a “neo-Darwinian” approach: all people have evolved identical mental mechanisms, and male human beings are naturally violent, which is why they go to war. Whether he is correct or not, this approach only tells us about male biology; it tells us little about elements of the culture of early seventeenth-century soldiers that are strange to us. Nor does it explain why they should have a culture that is strange to us at all, if the mental structures of seventeenth-century mercenaries and the readers of this book are identical, and identically shaped by evolution.²⁵

This dissertation attempts to grapple with the mentality of common soldiers on their own terms. Historians may have shied away from the history of seventeenth-century common soldiers because they do not want to exhibit sympathy with them. Some historians from below regard it as their mission to show “retrospective solidarity” to the people they study.²⁶ But early

23 Benigna von Krusenstjern and Hans Medick, eds. *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe: Der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); the works put out by the Arbeitskreis Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit e. V.; Maron Lorenz, *Das Rad der Gewalt: Militär und Zivilbevölkerung in Norddeutschland nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2007); Huntebrinker, “*Fromme Knechte*” und “*Garteteufel*.”

24 Gregory Hanlon, *The Hero of Italy: The Duke of Parma and the Thirty Years' War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); idem, *Italy 1636: Cemetery of Armies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

25 Hanlon, *Italy 1636*, 141.

26 Marcus Rediker, “The Poetics of History from Below,” *Perspectives on History* (2010), <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/september-2010/the-poetics-of-history-from-below> accessed 26 April 2018. Rediker’s approach has been criticized for encouraging an ahistorical romanticism; for instance, when he says that pirates were collectivist and anti-authoritarian, and that they fought for social justice. Compare Marcus Rediker, *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden*

seventeenth-century soldiers were not only the victims of injustice, they were also its agents. An individual soldier might both suffer oppression and enact it during his career, acting in different ways at different times for different reasons, with different motivations from our notions of right and wrong. Moral clarity is hard to find in the lives of the War People. This is all the more reason they should be explored.

In the second half of 1625 a regiment of foot and horse under Count Wolf von Mansfeld traveled from Dresden to Lombardy to fight for the King of Spain. Their service was supposed to last six months and add to the reputation of the Count of Mansfeld with little effort on his part. But from the beginning, the regiment was dogged by hardship and financial difficulties. By 1625, the Spanish Monarchy and the Kingdom of France had been heading toward conflict over the strategically significant Valtelline for years. In these Swiss valleys, the "Spanish Road," Spain's military communications between its dominions in Italy and the Hapsburg Holy Roman Empire or the war in the Netherlands, abutted the route connecting France to its ally Venice. Both great powers cultivated proxies among the local authorities, who had come into violent conflict several times. In 1624, Richelieu sent troops into the Valtelline; in early 1625 the governor of the Duchy of Milan, a key Spanish possession, assembled an army of mostly German troops in response. The Mansfeld Regiment was probably intended to be held in reserve as an adjunct to this force. They were mustered in Milan at the beginning of November 1625. There, they did little of strategic importance.

The conflict that brought the Mansfeld Regiment to Lombardy ended in early 1626, but the regiment remained in-country after the cease-fire because Mansfeld and his officers did not

Age (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004) to Paul A Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront: American Maritime Culture in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

have the money to dismiss the troops. In early 1627 Albrecht von Wallenstein offered to bail the regiment out if they transferred into Imperial service. The Mansfeld Regiment left for the north that summer. Nearly half of them mutinied and left in Switzerland, and nearly half near Ulm. Only about 600 soldiers, starving and without weapons, made it to Frankfurt am Main. While the officers bickered with the burghers of Frankfurt and the Elector of Mainz, most of the remainder of the regiment gradually walked off. By October 1627, Wolf von Mansfeld no longer wrote about regathering his regiment.

The legal paperwork the Mansfeld Regiment kept from the beginning of its trip to Lombardy until shortly before it went back north was copied into three *Gerichtsbücher*, “court books.” The first two books handle the Mansfeld infantry’s legal matters. The third, which is incomplete, deals with the regiment’s cavalry. In addition to trial transcripts, these books contain copies of soldiers’ IOUs, copies of letters to members of the regiment relating to legal cases, deathbed scenes, criminal investigations, and a list of deserters from the infantry. The first book was cited by Jan Wilem Huntebrinker. He did not know what this primarily Saxon regiment was doing in Philip IV’s service, which was outside of the scope of his work.²⁷ The other two Mansfeld Regiment books, filed separately from the first, were probably unknown since the nineteenth century. A large number of letters written by Mansfeld and his higher officers also survive. I have attempted to piece together the lives of the Mansfeld Regiment’s members through the close reading of these documents. I prefer legal records, letters, notes, doodles, scraps, and offhand remarks to deliberately constructed narratives. Although I make use of diaries and memoirs in this book, they are too polished for me, too calculated and planned. Focusing more on scattered, informal material allowed me to eavesdrop on the actual

27 Huntebrinker, “*Fromme Knechte*” und “*Garteteufel*,” 40.

conversations of the War People, rather than studying only what they deliberately chose to tell posterity.

All this talking took place in at least five languages: German, French, Latin, Spanish, and several dialects of Italian, the native language of the civilians in the area and the administrative tongue of many Spanish officials. It's difficult to translate the lively, polyglot snap and fizz of seventeenth-century soldiers' German. The Mansfeld Regiment had its own slang. To *pull leather* is to draw your sword, to *take care of your own earthworks* to mind your own business. On Christmas Eve 1626, Stefan Spizer of the Mansfeld Regiment was sitting in front of the door to his quarters when a tailor came running down from the village and yelled "*Für dich, Soldat, Becce futui:*" "For you, soldier, I fucked your mouth!" That was three languages: German, the Bustocco dialect of Italian (*beche* means mouth), and perfect Latin.²⁸ The tailor had been looking for a fight and he got one--the two chased each other through town. But where had he learned Latin?²⁹

The technical term for this approach is "microhistory."³⁰ Like history from below, microhistory often seeks out the margins of power rather than the center, and focuses on people who do not conform to established norms.³¹ Microhistorians also focus on specific events, single social units, or single people: in the case of this work, a regiment which remained in being for about two years and the men, women, and children in it. This approach rejects grand narratives

28 Luigi Giavini, *Dizionario della lingua bustocca* Vol. 1 (Busto Arsizio: Pianezza Editore, 1983).

29 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 110.

30 John Brewer, "Microhistory and the Histories Of Everyday Life," *Cultural and Social History* 7.1 (2010), 87–109.

31 Georg Iggers, "From Macro-to Microhistory: The History of Everyday Life," idem, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover: Wesleyan Press, 1997), 105.

like the military revolution and the state building process. I test these generalizations against the concrete reality of the military life, and find they do not fit. But this is not merely a myopic account of a small group: I ground these explorations of individual human lives and actions on a statistical basis that is as large as possible. My demographic analysis of soldiers from the entire Saxon army during the entire Thirty Years War draws on every muster roll from this war in the Saxon State Archives in Dresden. Although the things this allows me to say about the Saxon army may not be correct, they are as well attested as they can be. Microhistory and this quantitative approach operate at different levels.³² They complement each other to explore daily life.

This dissertation tells the story of the Mansfeld Regiment roughly chronologically with some breaks for extended discussion of important topics. The first chapter introduces this regiment and describes the political situation that brought it to northern Italy. Here, I explore some central themes in the mentalities of the War People and argue that common soldiers had a strong sense of pride in their position, symbolized by the ability to brawl or use lethal force. This chapter also introduces the members of the Winckelmann Company, personal company of Quartermaster Wolfgang Winckelmann and third-most-honorable company in the regiment. In addition to Winckelmann, Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze, flag bearer of this company, and Felix Steter, lieutenant, will appear more than once in the Mansfeld Regiment's story.

Chapters Two and Seven take a step back to analyze the demographics of the Saxon army during the Thirty Years' War. They detail where the soldiers came from and how much they made. In chapter Two I argue that contrary to popular conception, mercenary soldiers were not rootless: most Saxon soldiers came from Saxony and Thuringia, while the origins of the

32 Ginzburg, "Microhistory," 18.

Mansfelders reflected the regiment's path south through Germany and Switzerland to northern Italy, picking up recruits along the way. The documentation is thick enough for me to track the careers of some individual common soldiers. Chapter Seven is also about statistics, in this case a discussion of soldiers' wages in the 1620s, the only decade for which I have very good data. Soldiers' wages varied substantially, probably corresponding to their social position within their own companies.

Chapter Three discusses military procurement and supply using the theft of a large amount of fabric from the Winckelmann Company as a starting point. Chapters Four and Five pause the narrative for extended discussions of important themes: the central importance of company flags as symbols and military justice. Chapter Five switches from a focus on the Mansfeld Regiment to a free company run by the Saxon officer Dietrich von Starschedel the Younger, which held two well-documented trials in the early 1620s. Common soldiers took an active part in early seventeenth-century military justice.

Chapter Six discusses women and families in the regiment through the lens of the murder of Victoria Guarde by her husband, Lieutenant Colonel Theodoro de Camargo. I use this incident as a jumping-off point for a discussion of rank, authority, and power in the early-modern military, for despite Camargo's exalted social position nobody respected him. Chapter Eight concludes the story of the Mansfeld Regiment with its ill-fated trip north in the summer and fall of 1627. Since the starving Mansfelders plundered villages around Frankfurt am Main when they got there, this chapter also discusses atrocities in early modern warfare. The last chapter briefly looks in on Alwig von Sulz, a colonel active in the area the Mansfeld Regiment ended up in. It uses his severe illness as an occasion to grapple with the War People's attitudes toward death and religion. This section also draws on recent findings in battlefield archaeology.

My research suggests that older interpretations of early seventeenth-century military life need revision. In contrast to previous arguments about common soldiers and social change, the members of the Mansfeld Regiment do not appear to have become more disciplined than their Renaissance forbears. Their officers, when they weren't suing or trying to kill one another, do not appear to have increased their level of control over them. Whether or not the social status of soldiers declined objectively, ordinary soldiers retained a scrappy pride in their own estate. This raises questions about continuity and modernization. David Parrott argued that contemporary French attempts to modernize the army failed and conservative elements of French military organization--private enterprise, networks of patronage--kept everything running. In contrast I argue that the changing opinions of elites rarely touched daily life in the regiment at all. This raises further questions about how conservative the patterns of military life are and reminds us that social change is neither natural nor inevitable.

This book attempts to reduce the dark sweep of the Thirty Years' War to a human scale: its effects on Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze, who was nervous and kind and liked to shoot his pistols out the window; on Melchior Gruppach, who began the war a pikemen and ended it a noble. Introducing ordinary soldiers and the things they did into the discussion of this great war also raises the issue of structure or determinism versus agency. Like discussions of the outbreak of war itself, an exploration of the lives and careers of mercenaries forces us to wrangle with the complexity of human agency in times and places where most choices are bad.³³

33 Compare Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York: Harper Collins, 2012), Introduction.

Chapter 1: Righteous Guys

Background to the 1625-1627 Campaign. The Mentalities of Common Soldiers

Months later, after he stabbed his wife twelve times but before the Mansfeld Regiment mutinied and dissolved itself, Theodoro de Camargo told the regimental bailiff and secretary, Mattheus Steiner, that he had never wanted to go to Lombardy in the first place. Theodoro or Thierry de Camargo, Comargo, Camario, Cammerario, or Carnay. Nobleman from Brabant.¹ Lieutenant Colonel of the Mansfeld Regiment's infantry. He had been an officer in the Spanish forces at the siege of Breda while his marriage fell apart, and after the city fell in summer 1625 the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands entrusted him to take the news to the Holy Roman Emperor.² When he arrived in Vienna, Camargo found that Wolf von Mansfeld was canvassing for a regiment to go to northern Italy on behalf of the King of Spain and wanted him to take command of the foot. Camargo answered that he was already serving Infanta Isabella and could not take another office, but after Ferdinand II wrote to Brussels the Infanta released him from her service and Ferdinand ordered him to take command of Mansfeld's infantry. With no obligation in the Spanish Netherlands Camargo had no further excuse, and in late 1625 he went down to northern Italy. His wife Victoria Guarde followed: by now, she was openly cheating on him.³ He would murder her in less than six months.

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- 1 Joseph van den Leene, *Le theatre de la noblesse du Brabant, representant les erections des terres, seigneuries, & noms des personnes, & des familles titrées, les creations des chevaleries, & octroys des marques d'honneurs & de noblesse: Accordez par les princes souverains ducs de Brabant, jusques au roy Philippe v. a present regnant. Divisé en trois parties, enrichies des genealogies, alliances, quartiers, epitaphes, & d'autres recherches anciennes & modernes* (Liege: JF Broncaert, 1705), 359.
 - 2 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 125-127; Herman Hugo, *The Siege of Breda by the Armes of Philip, 1627*, in *English Recusant Literature 1558-1640*, vol. 261, ed. DM Rogers, (London: The Scholar Press Ltd., nd), 141-142.
 - 3 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 128-129.

It was common for officers who served the Spanish Habsburgs to move into the service of the Imperial Habsburgs and vice versa, as Gregory Hanlon has demonstrated for Italian nobles in Habsburg service.⁴ Theodoro de Camargo was a subject of the King of Spain and Infanta Isabella who went to Lombardy in the King of Spain's service because the Emperor requested it. His colonel Wolf von Mansfeld was the feudal subject of the Elector of Saxony and an Imperial civil servant, and now his regiment, raised in Saxony, was going to war for the King of Spain.

It was to help safeguard the ability of the two branches of the House of Austria to aid each other that the Mansfeld Regiment had been raised in the first place. The Valtelline, a pair of roughly U-shaped pair of valleys in present-day northern Italy, had been contested for a while by 1625. This region was the shortest and most comfortable route between the Spanish possession of Milan and Tyrol, which belonged to the Archduke of Further Austria: an exposed synapse between the two Habsburg territories north to south. This was an important node on the so-called Spanish Road, the braid of routes by which Spain sent money, supplies, and troops back and forth between the Netherlands and Milan. But east to west, the Valtelline was also a trade route between the Kingdom of France and its ally, the Republic of Venice, and it abutted land belonging to Venice for thirty miles.⁵ It was a focus of French and Spanish foreign policy for decades. For Spain, this was the “gate and outer wall of Milan,” the doorway to the Alps, and it was controlled largely by heretics.⁶

4 Gregory Hanlon, *The Twilight of a Military Tradition: Italian Aristocrats and European Conflicts, 1560-1800*, (London: Routledge, 2014, original printing 1998).

5 Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, first edition 1972), 62-63. CV Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years' War* (New York: New York Review Books Classics, 2005, first edition 1938), 33.

6 Andreas Wendland, *Der Nutzen der Pässe und die Gefährdung der Seelen: Spanien, Mailand und der Kampf ums Weltlin (1620-1641)* (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 1995).

But not entirely. The Valtelline had been controlled by the Three Leagues or *Bünde*, a federation of three Swiss associations comprising the League of God's House, the League of the Ten Jurisdictions, and the Grey League. This federation is often known by the French word for the last of these groups as “the *Grisons*.” Spain and France had been cultivating different factions in this federation since the late sixteenth century. Sometimes the pro-Habsburg Catholic faction predominated in local politics and sometimes the anti-Habsburg Calvinist faction. Whoever was on top at any given time set up rigged courts to punish prominent members of the other side.⁷ In 1618 radical young Protestant clerics in the anti-Habsburg faction set up one such court in Thusis in an attempt to purge the region of Habsburg hegemony and Catholics. This provoked some of the Catholic notables in the region, who were in contact with Milan and Rome, to conspire against them. On the night of 18 July 1620 armed Catholics marched down the valley killing every Protestant they found. The killings lasted for fifteen days; the governor of Milan had sent troops to seal off the valley to prevent counterattacks. The valley was then garrisoned by Habsburg troops and was lost to the Three Leagues.⁸

This drew France further into the situation. During his lifetime Henri IV had secured the Valtelline passes for French use, and with that access now cut off, his successor Louis XIII pursued a diplomatic approach to control the passes at first. In 1621, the French diplomat François de Bassompierre went to Madrid to negotiate, but although the Spanish government agreed in the ensuing Treaty of Madrid to recognize the sovereignty of the Three Leagues over the Valtelline, they used the treaty's provision of free worship for Catholics as an excuse to keep troops in the area. Louis threatened military intervention in 1622; in response, papal troops were

7 Silvio Färber, “Bündner Wirren,” *Historisches Lexicon der Schweiz/Dictionaire Historique de la Suisse/Dizionario Storico della Svizzera* (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2001).

8 Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road*, 64; Wendland, *Der Nutzen der Pässe und die Gefährdung der Seelen*, 111-116.

brought in, supposedly to protect the religion of Catholic residents of the Valtelline, and Spanish troops continued to use the passes with impunity.⁹ On the seventh of February 1623 France, Venice, and the Duke of Savoy formed an alliance to put the Three Leagues back in control of the Valtelline. Cardinal Richelieu became Louis XIII's chief minister in April 1624, and in the summer he began preparations for a military expedition into the region.¹⁰

This expedition, under François-Hannibal d'Estrées, Marquis de Coeuvres, has been overshadowed by the later French entry into the region under Henri de Rohan in 1635. But these armies were not inconsiderable forces. De Coeuvres had more than seven regiments under him: one of proscribed Three Leaguers, recruited secretly in Zurich to foment insurrection, two Three Leagues regiments recruited in their own dominions, three Swiss regiments, one French regiment of infantry, and ten companies of French cavalry.¹¹ D-day was 26 October, new calendar. The roads were already iced over by November, but this force managed to liberate the Valtelline by mid-December. The daring winter operation quickly drove the papal troops out of their fortresses.¹²

For the Duke of Feria, Governor of the Duchy of Milan, “the water was up to his neck.” He withdrew units from Sardinia and Naples, took out a loan from Genoa, and raised troops in the Empire with the Emperor's help. A captain's patent for this endeavor survives from the sixth of December, 1624.¹³ One of the Imperial colonels raising and leading troops for the Spanish

9 John H Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 62, 72, 83; A Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII, The Just* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 134-135.

10 Jacques Humbert, “En Valtelline avec le Marquis de Coeuvres,” *Revue Historique de l'Armée*, 1958, 47-67, 49.

11 *Op. Cit.*

12 *Ibid.*, 51-55.

13 Barbara Stadler, *Pappenheim und die Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (Winterthur: Gemsberg-Verlag, 1991), 156. The patent from 6 Dec 1624 is cited in fn 34 on the same page.

army was Gottfried Heinrich Count of Pappenheim, already famous, who had been looking around for an opportunity to take Spanish service.¹⁴ He may have already had a reputation even in Italy, since the mercenary Peter Hagendorf made sure to mention in his diary that Pappenheim was his enemy while he was fighting for Venice in the Valtelline in 1625: “in the Valtelline, there the King in Spain was our enemy, how now count Pappenheim arrived, he powerfully harried us with fieldpieces and drove us out of the Valtelline from our positions, so we had to give way all the way to Turin...”¹⁵

Wolfgang, Count of Mansfeld (1575-1638) was one of the Imperial colonels who raised troops for the defense of Milan.¹⁶ A distant relative of the more famous anti-Imperial buccaneer Ernst von Mansfeld, Wolf von Mansfeld was a member of a large and powerful family with ties to both Electoral Saxony and the Imperial administration. The dynasty hailed from Eisleben, birthplace of Martin Luther—more precisely, the fortress of Mansfeld, perched above the little city of Tal Mansfeld, five and a half miles from Eisleben.¹⁷ Called “one of the most important, if now forgotten, commanders of the middle stage of the war” by Peter Wilson, Mansfeld was an Imperial Privy Councilor and a member of the *Reichskammer*, the Imperial Chamber, in addition

14 Stadler, *Pappenheim*, 154-156.

15 “In feltlin, da Ist *der köngnieg In spangen*, vnser feindt gewessen, wie nun *graff pabpenheim* Ankommen Ist, hat er vns mit stugken mechtig zugesedtzet vndt vns aus feltelin von vnser posten vertrieben, das wir haven must weichen bis nach turan...” Peter Hagendorf, ed. Jan Peters, *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Eine Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 37.

16 Stadler, *Pappenheim*, 160. In addition to Pappenheim and Mansfeld the Imperialist colonels who raised troops on behalf of the Spanish Monarchy for the 1625-1626 conflict in northern Italy were Christian von Ilow, Hannibal von Schauenburg, Wilhelm Salentin von Salm, Alois von Baldiron, and Alwig von Sulz, who appears in Chapter 3 and Chapter 9 of this book.

17 Robert J Christman, *Doctrinal Controversy and Lay Religiosity in Late Reformation Germany* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2011), 15-17.

to being a subject of the Elector of Saxony.¹⁸ Two of his four brothers were also Imperial officers; his younger brother Bruno von Mansfeld was the Imperial master of the hunt, an influential position in the court of an Emperor for whom hunting was as important as it was for Ferdinand II. Ferdinand later died in Bruno's arms.¹⁹ Bruno had converted to Catholicism by the turn of the century, as would all Wolf's brothers. Wolfgang himself was a Catholic sympathizer by the time his regiment went to Italy, and he later converted too.

The Electorate of Saxony is probably the least well-understood major player in the Thirty Years' War. Saxony was the most powerful Protestant state in the Empire. It repeatedly acted as a broker in negotiations or attempted negotiations, a center of gravity for smaller moderate Protestant political entities. Multiple, possibly conflicting, loyalties were not out of the ordinary for Saxons, especially before 1631. From the outside, Saxon Elector Johann Georg I's policies appear enigmatic or indecisive, and he did not come off well in nineteenth-century historiography.²⁰ But what looked like indecision was consistent policy, from the Elector's point of view. He was concerned above all else with upholding the constitution of the Empire as he saw it, and was only reluctantly pulled away from his allegiance to the Emperor. Sticking close to the Emperor was also a way for him to secure his hold on Albertine Saxony, which his ancestor had received after the Schmalkaldic War. Saxony's reluctant alliance with Sweden from 1631 to 1634 was an aberration in an otherwise pro-Imperial foreign policy.

Saxony's moderate, irenic viewpoint explains why early seventeenth-century Electoral policy—and the actions of many individual Saxons, like Mansfeld and some of his officers—was

18 Peter Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 398-399.

19 Felix Stieve, "Mansfeld, Graf Bruno III. Von," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol 20 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1884), 221.

20 Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years' War*, 62-65.

not only pro-Imperial but also pro-Habsburg in general, and pro-Spain. At first glance it seems odd for Spain to be cultivating the most staunchly Lutheran polity in the Empire. Saxony had been the birthplace of the Lutheran Reformation and most of the Electors until Augustus the Strong (the exception is Christian I) were devoutly Lutheran. But to contemporaries, Saxon policy in the early seventeenth century sometimes ended up looking more “Catholic” than “Protestant” because of its support for both sections of the Habsburg dynasty.²¹ Saxony had maintained a good relationship, *buen correspondencia*, with Spain from 1575 onward, although obtaining this compact had not been a foregone conclusion for either party. Spanish foreign policy during the reign of Philip II sought to maintain the balance of power within the Empire, and to this end the King of Spain pursued relationships with several politically important Protestant powers as long as they were not Calvinist, like Saxony or Brandenburg. Philip II thought Saxony would be able to foster peace within the Empire and hoped that Elector August of Saxony (1526-1586) would have some influence with the Palatinate, a continual thorn in his side. For his part, August refrained from supporting the Dutch against the Monarchy of Spain, even though one of his daughters had married William the Silent in 1561. Regular written exchanges between August of Saxony and Philip II took place from April 1576 (when Emperor Maximilian II visited Dresden) onward.²² Although no documents in the Saxon Hauptstaatsarchiv explicitly request Wolf von Mansfeld's participation in the war in Lombardy, it is not unusual for a Saxon notable who owed allegiance to the Elector of Saxony as well as the Emperor to raise and equip troops under the Emperor's aegis on behalf of the King of Spain.

The small conflict that brought the Mansfeld Regiment down to Italy officially ended in

21 Axel Gotthard, “Politice seint wir bápstisch’. Kursachsen und der deutsche Protestantismus im frühen 17. Jahrhundert,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 20 (1993), 275-319.

22 Friedrich Edelmayer, *Söldner und Pensionäre: Das Netzwerk Philipps II im Heiligen Römischen Reich*, (Vienna/Munich: R Oldenbourg Verlag, 2002), Chap. 6.

March 1626 with the treaty of Monzón. Even this minor war placed heavy financial burdens on some of the belligerents: it and the contemporary “miniwar” against the Huguenots together cost Louis XIII forty million livres a year, 25 million more than was taken in.²³ Surprisingly, the financial impact of this conflict on the Duchy of Milan looks comparatively light: although debt held by the city of Milan was already high and already rising, it plateaued while the Mansfeld Regiment was in Lombardy during 1625 and 1626.²⁴ Nevertheless, the Governor of Milan did not have—or claimed not to have—the money to spare to pay Mansfeld, or any of the other German colonels who were working for the Spanish Monarchy in northern Italy. At least Pappenheim was able to find money by mortgaging his dominions, raising 26,000 thalers for his campaign.²⁵

But Mansfeld's military enterprise was in deep financial trouble before his regiment even got to Italy, although the exact state of the Mansfeld Regiment's finances is unclear. In the fall of 1627, after everything had unraveled, Dam Vizthumb von Eckstadt claimed that the Governor of Milan owed the regiment the massive sum of 63,521 scudi. Vizthumb von Eckstadt, who went on to become a Saxon general but was then one of Mansfeld's captains, wrote the paper in his own hand and obviously at some speed; although the document has no name on it, his distinctive handwriting is unmistakable.²⁶ But an earlier document, when its figures are

23 Moote, *Louis XIII, The Just*, 182.

24 Giuseppe Bognetti and Giuseppe de Luca, “From Taxation to Indebtedness: The Urban System of Milan During the Austrias' Domination (1535-1706),” Michael Limberger and José Ignacio Andrés Ucendo, ed, *Taxation and Debt in the Early Modern City* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 29, 41 and 42. The general treasury of the city of Milan was the center of public finance administration for the Duchy of Milan (*Ibid.*, 32). For Spanish military endeavors in Lombardy after 1630, see Davide Maffi, *Il Baluardo della Corona: Guerra, esercito, finanze e società nella Lombardia seicentesca (1630-1660)* (Florence: Le Monnier Università/ Storia, 2007).

25 Stadler, *Pappenheim*, 159.

26 SHStAdr 10024 9239/5, *Allerhand Schriften, das aus italien zurückgekehrten Regiment zu Fuß des kais-generals grafen wolfgang mansfeld, dessen übler Zustand, aufenthalt zu frantfurt a.m. samt u.d.a.*, 63r-63v.

added up, ended up claiming that the Mansfeld Regiment actually owed the Governor of Milan at the end of its tour, totaling 1,501 scudi.²⁷ By this point, the Governor of Milan was the Duke of Feria's successor, Gonzalo de Córdoba, formerly the commander of Spanish troops in the Palatinate. Feria had been kind to common soldiers and gentle with his subordinates, despite a speech impediment which made him taciturn, but Córdoba was universally complained about. He treated Mansfeld's captains and Pappenheim with disrespect during the pullout in 1626 and 1627.²⁸ And his claims were false; Córdoba also tried to persuade Pappenheim that he owed Córdoba money when his regiment disbanded. In fact, Mansfeld and his officers had paid to raise the Mansfeld Regiment themselves. They had been hoping that someone associated with the administration of the Duchy of Milan would reimburse them for it since at least July 1625.²⁹

This was standard operating procedure. Mercenary commanders often functioned as creditors for the warlords that employed them: like his colleagues and enemies, Mansfeld was willing to accept a significant financial risk for the potential economic or social benefits that this kind of service might bring him later. As David Parrott pointed out, entrepreneurs like Mansfeld conducted war as a form of venture capitalism and relied on financial speculation, whether secured against a later payback from their employers or from contributions. Like contemporary privateers, these commanders or their quartermasters, such as the Mansfeld Regiment's Wolfgang Winckelmann, contracted for food, munitions, and equipment independently, although

27 SHStAdr 10024 9239/2, *Die beiden in italien stehenden regimenter des Grafen Wolfgang von Mansfeld: Schreiben desselben an die Unterbefehlshaber, des Rechnungswerk, die Abdankung u.a.bet, 1626-28, 24-82.*

28 Stadler, *Pappenheim*, 167.

29 Rough draft of letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to unknown recipient, probably the Duke of Feria, 29 July 1625 SHStAdr 10024 9737/13, *Italienische und französische Concepta derer Schreiben Graf Wolffgangs Zu Mansfeld an den Herzog zu Feria, Spanische Botschafter, und andere Ao 1625-26, 15, 18.*

they received subsidies from those who employed them.³⁰ But where Mansfeld got the cash to do this to begin with is unclear. In an undated document that was filed in a collection of papers dated 1627, he calculated that each month his estates brought in 2,913 thalers and 22 gulden available cash, and that it cost 2,768 thalers and 20 gulden to support one and a half companies and half a colonel's staff for a month. Once he added the 140 thalers he paid the Imperial *Kriegscommissarius* each month “for his cooperation,” Mansfeld’s monthly income exceeded expenses by only 5 thalers and 2 gulden.³¹ On this income alone, Wolf von Mansfeld would have been skating close to the edge even if one and a half companies and half of his staff were all that he had to support—plus, of course, the bribery. He was aided by the people he called “the other cavaliers, my officers” and that David Parrott called “shareholder-colonels,” theorizing they must have dumped their money along with their superiors into feeding and equipping the soldiers but not seeing direct evidence of it.³² In an embarrassing reversal of the usual direction that credit flowed from military entrepreneur to employer, “the Most Serene Elector of Saxony, my patron, most respected,” also “much advanced this recruitment” financially, “but not without great discommodity to his subjects.”³³ Like almost everything else connected with this regiment and its trip to Lombardy, this was a blow to Mansfeld's reputation.

The Duke of Feria had promised Mansfeld that his regiment would only be in Lombardy for a short time, and only “to support [*rafrescar*] the others,” possibly as a sort of reserve force.³⁴

30 David Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 225, 263.

31 SHStADr 10024 9186/2 66-67.

32 Parrott, *The Business of War*, 229; rough draft of letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to an unknown recipient, probably the Duke of Feria, 29 July 1625 SHStADr 10024 9737/13, 15.

33 Rough draft of letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to an unknown recipient, probably the Duke of Feria, 29 July 1625 SHStADr 10024 9737/13, 15.

34 Rough draft of letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to the Duke of Feria, 1 April 1626, SHStADr 10024 9737/13, 80.

But the events and decisions that brought the Mansfeld Regiment to northern Italy took place largely unknown to the common soldiers; many didn't even know where they were going as they slowly made their way south. Although they weren't legally a regiment yet, since they hadn't sworn their sacred oaths to their flags, their officers, and the King of Spain, the Mansfelders began to travel in late May, 1625.³⁵ Amid local human interest stories like the birth of a large baby the size of a two-month-old child, one Nuremberg chronicle noted that 2,500 infantry “under the Colonel Count Wolffen von Mansfelt” came through the city in little groups from the fourth to the ninth of July, bound for Günzburg between Augsburg and Ulm; 150 horse and 150 foot came by on the tenth, 300 more horse on the nineteenth. Someone told the citizens of Nuremberg where they were going, since the chronicler knew that this regiment was intended to “form a force of 3,000 on foot, and 1,000 horse, for the Milanese State.”³⁶ (Nuremberg itself had not wanted Mansfeld's “Undisciplinirt[es] Volck” anywhere near them.³⁷ It was eventually decided that his cavalry would have bread and beer, but no monetary remuneration.³⁸) On the nineteenth of July, Leopold, Archduke of Further Austria, reported that he had heard from Wolf Winckelmann, the regimental quartermaster, that 800 men had arrived near Lindau already.³⁹

35 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 8

36 “Der 4. 5. bis 9 Juli sint bey 2500 man zu fus troppenweis vhnbroche[...] volk vnter der Obristen Graff Wolffen von Mansfelt fur Italia gehörich hier fierüben auff der Musterplatz nach Güntzburg zwischen Augspurg vnd Ulm marsiert....10 Jul: 150 pfert Mansfeldisch volk fierüber marsirt, vnd gleich des fus volks weg vnd Quartier genomen....den 19 Juli sint abermahl 300 pfert Mansfeltisch hier fürüber vff der Musterplatz marsirt, welcher eine *armee* vor 3000 zu fus, vnd 1000 pferd solle richten, vor der Mayländischen *Stato*.” UCLA Library Special Collections MS *170/355, *Der Anndre Thail Nurembergische Cronica*, 348v.

37 SHStAdr 10024 9205/3, *Der Stadt Nürnberg Schreiben an den Kaiserl. General Grafen Wolfgang Mansfeldt, die Durchmarsche, Einquartirungen ü Kriegs[...]* 1625 Dergl. an den Herzog v. Friedland 1627, Document 2, 29 June 1625.

38 SHStAdr 10024 9205/3, Document 4, 18 July 1625.

39 SHStAdr 10024 9734/8, *Allerhand bestallunge vor Graff Wolffen von Mannsfeld theils von Keysser Rudolfo, Matthia, Ferdinando II, Churfurst Christiano II und Johann Georg I zu Sachsen, 1597-1626*, 19 July 1625.

Nobody was moving quickly; as of late August some of the infantry were near Lake Constance—at least, a pair of deserters thought they could make it there from the tiny nearby town of Taubenhof (now part of Stockach) where they had been staying.⁴⁰

The future regiment didn't travel together. Since even the best-maintained early modern roads were often little more than dirt tracks and would be ruined by any substantive convoy they couldn't have, nor could they have supported themselves off the land in their full numbers.⁴¹ Towns along the way were usually too small to house more than a small contingent of soldiers.⁴² Mansfelders were strung out in dribs and drabs along the loose braid of roads between southern Germany and northern Italy for months that summer *truppenweise*, “in troops.” People would have traveled between these little groups constantly—deserters, whores, children, officers carrying information back and forth, soldiers visiting friends in other companies, running errands for themselves or their superiors.

Letters went back and forth over the subject of quartering with the emotional effect of an injured man poking at a bruise. The inevitable conflicts between mercenaries and non-soldiers when they share a small dwelling against their will, familiar from recent historians' work.⁴³ This was exacerbated by the fact that Mansfeld's soldiers were not given enough money to cover their

40 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 25.

41 Erik Lund points this out in his valuable but frustrating work. “Nor could any early modern road have born a fraction of the Grand Convoy,” Prince Eugene's massive siege train of 1708, which “comprised 80 guns of 'great caliber,' each pulled by 26 horses, 20 mortars, each with 16 horses, and 4,000 wagons with 4—a total of 18,000 horses.” “For such an effort, 'road' means a right-of-way and a grade (and even that only vaguely: the documents speak of 'bringing...the convoy along' over barriers and inundations), not a surface.” Erik A Lund, *War for the Every Day: Generals, Knowledge, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe, 1680-1740* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), 107-108.

42 Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 87.

43 Maron Lorenz, *Das Rad der Gewalt: Militär und Zivilbevölkerung nach dem 30jährigen Krieg* (Cologne: Buhlau Verlag), 2007.

expenses as they traveled, which meant that they had to extort supplies from their unwilling hosts. “When I arrived today in this city I understood with the greatest displeasure and perturbation of spirit the coldness with which my cavalry was received in their bands, wanting (after having shared much work, and ~~employed great expense~~) (done more than obligation carried) to maintain them in the quarters on four batzen a day,” he wrote to the Duke of Fera on the seventeenth of September.⁴⁴ He complained again and again that the quarters for his troops were poorly arranged, and he wasn’t the only one: when the “Volckh” arrives near Lindau, wrote Archduke Leopold gingerly, “in accordance with His Imperial Roman Majesty our well-beloved *Herr* brother's good intention, they should be placed somewhat farther off, against Lake Constance. To which end the quarters—also because of such great hurrying—have not yet been able to be made completely right.”⁴⁵ What hurrying? Mansfeld often writes that his soldiers did not meet the deadlines he had set to arrive at the muster-places they were supposed to reach along the way.⁴⁶ Compared to the quick movements of the Marquis de Coeuvres or the Count of Pappenheim in the background, Mansfelder efforts display an almost motionless combination of delay and pointless hustling. Every postponement meant added hardship for the non-soldiers in the area.

Regimental staff should have traveled out ahead of the troops to arrange stopping-places beforehand at regular intervals. When Archduke Leopold mentioned communicating with the Mansfeld Regiment's quartermaster, something like this is probably what he had in mind. Without some planning, not a single soldier could have made it from Saxony to Lombardy: wagons had to be collected and horses and mules obtained, which meant the negotiation of

44 Rough draft of letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to the Duke of Fera, 17 Sept 1625, SHStADr 10024 9737/13, 24.

45 SHStADr 10024 9734/8, 19 Jul 1625.

46 Rough draft of letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to unknown recipient, 6 July 1625 SHStADr 10024 9737/13, 14.

contracts with the carters. Sleeping places also had to be arranged, unless the Mansfeld Regiment's officers expected their soldiers to sleep under hedges or in improvised shacks along the way, which often happened in the Spanish Army of Flanders.⁴⁷ Governments sympathetic to the Spanish Monarchy negotiated contracts along the Spanish Road to prepare the route beforehand and facilitate transportation of troops and supplies.⁴⁸ France also maintained a system of *étapes*, “steps” along predetermined routes to supply and house contingents of troops marching across the country. Although the burden fell most heavily on communities along the route, this system was supported by general taxes across entire provinces.⁴⁹ Was the Mansfeld Regiment supposed to benefit from similar planning? Mansfeld's mention of “muster-places” along the route implies that it was, but if that was the case, things were not working like they should have. Sometimes Mansfeld was barely ahead of his troops himself.⁵⁰

By May 28 1625, groups of Mansfelders had reached the area in and around Zwickau, southwest of Dresden. Soon enough, Fähndrich Hans Richter and captain of cavalry Dietrich von Weissbach almost fought a duel—no reason given. Duels and fights were common among early modern soldiers, revealing an important element of their worldview: the necessity of defending your personal interests, with force if necessary. In this case, that interest was honor, a critical part of soldiers' lives and an ideal place to begin getting to know the War People. This spat between a single pair of officers is a window into the distinct subculture that soldiers and officers formed

47 Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road*, 81.

48 *Ibid*, 87

49 David Parrott, *Richelieu's Army: War, Government, and Society in France, 1624-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 269.

50 Rough draft of letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to unknown recipient, probably the Duke of Feria, 29 July 1625 SHStAdr 10024 9737/13, 15.

along with their female partners and children.

An account from Mattheus Steiner specifies “how the fight was begun, concluded, and decided, at least it's how it appeared to [von Weissbach]. This is also from the city judge (I sought out and asked him), the Fourier Caspar Hummel,” one of the go-betweens, “as well as Herr Joachim Krieger,” a relative of the lieutenant colonel who led the company that Hans Richter belonged to, “who at that time was a *Musterschreiber*, who also lived near where the fight took place, I diligently requisitioned their testimony.” Mattheus Steiner was the regimental bailiff, one of the Mansfeld Regiment’s top legal authorities along with the Provost. He was an ex-pikeman from Römerstadt, now Rýmařov in Moravia.⁵¹ Steiner conducted interrogations and investigated crimes and misdeeds. He also examined bodies in cases of suspicious death. If not directly authored by Steiner or narrated by him, the regiment’s legal documents were copied by him, line by line into his neat hand. This story, then, comes to us through his eyes. Steiner was well-organized enough to put a tabbed index of names at the beginning of the regiment’s first court book, listing the soldiers who are mentioned in it alphabetically by first name. A densely-peopled world emerges in this account as Steiner bustles back and forth through Zwickau, crowded with soldiers crammed into the quarter near the Windisch Gate, where the duel was to take place.

Von Weissbach and Richter had tangled earlier, during which von Weissbach had injured his hand. Although he began that fight, he then “raised an objection” so it could heal. “In this he, with his hand once again set right,” could “[preserve] the needs of his honor and his uprightness.” Two honorable men—“*Mannspersonen*,” the word stresses their masculinity—were the go-betweens in this affair: Caspar Hummel, the Fourier, and Caspar Götz,

51 SHStADr 11237 10840/3 8.

a common soldier in the same company of infantry as Richter. With von Weissbach, Hummel and Götz agreed to “a proper working-out of the thing, to make a certain end of it with fist and sword,” “*falst und klingen.*” That is, with “swords and a shield to bear in the fist,” sword and buckler, an archaic choice by 1625. But when Hummel and Götz arrived at the city gate with the equipment for the fight, von Weissbach answered, “and in such a way that everyone could understand, that he was lame in one hand and everyone knew it.” “He would only be able to defend himself clumsily,” he said. He was obviously trying to back out and still preserve his honor.

Joined by Peter Welzsch, a cavalry cornet, and Martin Lezsch, an infantry Fähndrich, Hummel and Götz “came together and considered with one another, how to get down to this thing and attack it,” “so that both of them could be reconciled amicably with each other again.” The metaphor in their conversation is military; these four didn’t “solve” their problem but thought about how to “attack” it, *es vorzunehmen und anzugreifen*. The little band talked to Richter alone in his quarters for a long time, informing him of von Weissbach's intentions and trying to persuade him to drop the matter, “since both of them had come together in the presence of honorable people and settled accounts in the matter of all the different conflicts that were pending between them and therefore nullified all displeasure.” Although Richter was still “not content” then, when he and von Weissbach met later and “clapped each other on the back while having a good smoke” (*beyde einander bey gutem rauche an den halß geschlagen hatten*), he talked to von Weissbach about what Hummel had said, and they agreed that they were friends. This reconciliation was so important to them they asked that it be recorded, and so it concludes the Mansfeld Regiment’s record of their duel, the first entry in the regiment’s legal books.⁵²

52 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 1-8.

Many historical studies of dueling have analyzed it as an elite social custom. According to Victor Keirnan, its “affiliation was always and everywhere with social groups occupying a pre-eminent and privileged position, or inspired by the striving towards such a position.”⁵³ Like the willingness to risk their lives in combat, the “burden” of dueling was payment for the European nobility's exalted social position, one element of the story this class told itself to justify its place in the world.⁵⁴ Ryan Pederson has linked dueling in early-modern France to a survival of chivalric lines of thought, part of the “aristocratic economy of violence.” Sixteenth and seventeenth-century French nobles may not have been medieval knights, but they believed that they were like them, and that their duels were a continuation of the tradition of medieval single combat.⁵⁵ Research on dueling in later periods has expanded the focus to more groups than the nobility, such as German, French, or Italian bourgeois men. Nevertheless, these duelists were still elites and dueling reinforced their leading place in society.⁵⁶ But while Dietrich von Weissbach might have been a member of Saxony's elite—his family produced several officers during the war and he was probably related to Julius von Weissbach, a captain in the Saxon army during the 1620s—he was the only noble mentioned in this account. The rest of the parties in this incident were not nobles. One of the go-betweens, Caspar Götz, wasn't even an officer.

This abortive fight seems more like the duels observed by historians of violence like Pieter Spierenburg, who studied knife fighting in lower-class early-modern Amsterdam.

53 VG Keirnan, *The Duel in European History: Honour and the Reign of Aristocracy* (London: Zed Books, 2nd ed., 2016), 2.

54 Keirnan, *The Duel*, 15.

55 Ryan Anders Pederson, *Noble Violence and the Survival of Chivalry in France, 1560-1660* (PhD diss., SUNY Binghamton, 2007), 196-248.

56 Ute Frevert, *Men of Honor: A Social and Cultural History of the Duel* (London: Polity Press, 1995); Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Steven C Hughes, *Politics of the Sword: Dueling, Honor, and Masculinity in Modern Italy* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007), 136, 323.

According to Spierenburg, “popular duels” among the semi-respectable lower class revealed as much about ritual, honor, and masculinity as upper-class dueling. These were not meaningless brawls: knife fighters operated according to a shared “cultural script,” making sure that their fights were equal, for instance, trying not to embarrass their landlords, or refusing to draw weapons inside. They happened quickly, but knife fights followed a ritualistic course, with commonly accepted actions and routinely uttered phrases. Dutch men brawled too, “part of the ‘normal’ range of interactions through which Dutch people of both sexes argued, tested each other’s mettle, and (among men) affirmed their status as social equals.”⁵⁷ German townsmen also dueled, with the same attention to the fairness of the fight as was apparent in accounts of aristocratic duels. It was not until the eighteenth century that common dueling was redefined as “brawls” and criminalized.⁵⁸ Soldiers followed a similar social code, informal and largely unspoken but nonetheless powerful. In the Mansfeld Regiment, a soldier who lived according to this code—who was brave, dueled or scrapped when he was called out, smoked with his friends, paid for his share of the drinks, and deserted if his friends told him to—was a *rechtschaffener Kerl*, a “righteous guy.” The word has an implication of playing by the book, doing what’s expected, but soldiers did not use it to describe people who obey their superiors. An obedient soldier, one who followed orders and could be relied upon, was *redlich*, “upright.” *Rechtschaffen* was a word soldiers, even some officers, used when they were standing up for themselves.

These “righteous guys” butted heads with each other constantly. The social interactions of soldiers and officers often took the form of low-level competitions which could easily spin off

57 Pamela McVay, “Brawling Behaviors in the Dutch Colonial Empire: Changing Norms of Fairness?” Tonio Andrade and William Reger, ed., *The Limits of Empire: European Imperial Formations in Early Modern World History, Essays in Honor of Geoffrey Parker* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 239.

58 Barbara Thlusty, *The Martial Ethic in Early Modern Germany: Civil Duty and the Right of Arms* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 89-90.

into serious violence. Eighteenth-century officers also dueled frequently: Stephen Banks found that officers were responsible for many recorded English duels.⁵⁹ But in contrast to later militaries, what is striking in seventeenth-century fights is a comparatively relaxed attitude toward rank. In part, this rough egalitarianism may have been due to the temporary nature of regiments and the accompanying fluidity of military rank. Command structures had been firming up since the Renaissance, during which there was no uniform or fixed hierarchy off the field, no defined chain of command on it, and authority was dealt out ad-hoc depending on who showed up.⁶⁰ Regiments became longer-lasting in the 1630s and 40s. In the 1620s, when the Mansfeld Regiment was extant, they still dissolved frequently, often leaving their former officers in uncertain positions.⁶¹ Officers changed roles often; a muster-writer in one campaign could be a lieutenant in the next. Once a company dissolved, its social ordinances were no longer obligatory: Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen pointed out that as soon as “the flags have been ripped from their poles,” dissolving the companies, “the least / loosest / most frivolous scoundrel can call out his captain, his lieutenant / his Fähndrich / his Feldwebel / his corporal / his Wagonmaster / his quartermaster / the provost...Yes / and say to them: Hey man / you used to be my officer / but now you aren't / now you're not a hair better than I am” and fight him one-on-one for having bossed him around.⁶²

Anthropologists who work on modern Mediterranean cultures have noted that in

59 Stephen Banks, *A Polite Exchange of Bullets: The Duel and the English Gentleman, 1750-1850* (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2010), 77-78.

60 JR Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620* (Montreal/Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 131-132.

61 Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and his Work Force: A Study in European Economic and Social History*, Vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag CMBH, 1964), 226.

62 Johann von Wallhausen, *Kriegskunst zu Fuß*, Frankfurt am Main, 1615, 20.

societies “without clearly delineated spheres of competence,” individuals feel a constant need for respect and assert themselves to gain it.⁶³ People maintain honorable reputations in these hierarchical but disorganized societies through competition and rivalry, which may be why we see more of these behaviors among early modern mercenaries than later soldiers.⁶⁴ As Wolfgang Winckelmann yelled when he and his lieutenant Felix Steter got into a fight a year after the regiment got to Lombardy, “Am I going to command you, or are you going to command me?”⁶⁵

Most duels were between either officers or common soldiers, but a common soldier and a lower officer of the Mansfeld Regiment fought a duel at least once. On 12 April 1626, Gemeinwebel Valentin von Treutler and common soldier Jonas Eckert had a drink together in “their village” in Lombardy—the village they were quartered in, just like “home” was the building they were staying in at the time. As they were “walking home, very happy” (*in allen guten nach hause zungen*), on the street almost in the middle of the village, the village consul met von Treutler by chance and walked beside him. Eckert followed them both, then walked up and hit the consul once in the back of the head. “At that the peasants mobbed and threatened almost to wipe the soldiers out and smash them dead.” In the middle of this riot, von Treutler reprimanded Eckert repeatedly and ordered him “to keep his sword in and be obedient to him and stay in his quarters until his *Hauptmann* (captain) called for him.” But Eckert refused: he “became so insubordinate that he not only refused to put his sword back in the sheath but also reproached the Gemeinwebel,” he said that von Treutler “was taking that peasant’s side [*er hielt es mit dem bauren*] and other stuff in that vein, it was improper talk. And so finally he, the

63 JK Campbell, “Honour and the Devil,” JG Peristiany, *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 188.

64 Julian Pitt-Rivers, “Honour and Social Status,” JG Peristiany, *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 19-77.

65 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 205.

Gemeinweibel, after he was done exhorting him, went for his sword, and Eckert set himself against him, and received a wound.” On the sixteenth of April, Eckert died.⁶⁶

There’s a clear difference of rank here: von Treutler was giving orders and Eckert was supposed to follow them. When he did not, he was “insubordinate,” “repugnant,” *wiederwertig*--the same word used for mutinous soldiers. Von Treutler was acquitted of Eckert’s death not only because he had been acting in self-defense but also because of the latter’s insubordination. However, von Treutler and Eckert regarded each other as legitimate opponents. At no point did von Treutler refuse to fight Eckert because it would have lowered him to do so, nor did he call for regimental authorities to discipline his recalcitrant subordinate. Instead, he drew his sword to fight. Just as von Treutler and Eckert would not have drunk together in the first place if they had not regarded each other as equals at least on some level, they wouldn’t have tried to kill each other if it hadn’t been for some rough equality between them. The account never referred to their difference of birth—von Treutler was a noble, and Eckert was not.

Musketeers squatting four to a bed in someone else’s hovel led a different life from their colonel, set up in a gilded tent or a fine house requisitioned from an absent enemy, but they shared a set of values. This way of life committed them to protecting their honor, reputation, and status. Unlike their nineteenth-century counterparts, who were part of a “working class,” I do not believe that seventeenth-century soldiers viewed themselves as belonging to a separate social “class” from their officers.⁶⁷ Rather, both common soldiers and many officers were participants in a common way of life. One element of this culture was an implicit quasi-equality between officers and common soldiers; ironically, this probably caused relationships between these

66 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 171-177.

67 Nick Mansfield, *Soldiers as Workers: Class, Employment, Conflict, and the Nineteenth-Century Military* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), Introduction.

groups to be more fractious than in later centuries.

Prosperous nineteenth-century French bourgeois lived in a different social world from the ragamuffins of the Mansfeld Regiment, but the truculent communalism of the seventeenth-century military community is similar to the egalitarianism which historian Robert Nye links to fencing in republican France. “In principle, any man, no matter what his origins, could cultivate the art of fencing and engage in duels because the new regime recognized all men as free agents responsible for their actions....fencing and the duel helped promote equality because no man could refuse to cross swords with a legitimate opponent at the risk of personal shame and public ridicule.” However, when he writes that the French dueling world was egalitarian (for men) because it “recognized, at least in theory, no social boundaries in an activity once reserved for a narrow elite,” Nye is off the mark in his depiction of dueling before the nineteenth century: in the literal sense of their place in society or how much money they had, most of the Mansfeld Regiment’s righteous guys were far from elite.⁶⁸

And yet, while early seventeenth-century soldiers were underfed, mistreated, and swindled out of their pay, they were not the immiserated wretches of popular opinion. Historians’ conception of these soldiers has been almost uniformly either negative or pitying. Soldiers’ social status was supposedly much lower in the seventeenth century than it had been in the sixteenth, and the standard reason given for why anyone would make the otherwise inexplicable decision to be a soldier given these circumstances was that they had no choice. According to Fritz Redlich, Articles of War changed during the sixteenth century, from contracts which set out the rights and obligations of both soldiers and commanders to disciplinary precepts for soldiers alone, containing no mention of officers’ obligations toward them. From this he

68 Nye, *Male Codes of Honor*, 167.

reasoned that the position of soldiers in relation to their authorities also fell.⁶⁹ Similarly, Erik Swart contended that after the mid-1500s soldiers in Low Germany and the Netherlands lost social status; they didn't resist this erosion of their social position and power because economic conditions were so dismal from the 1570s onward. The marginal and unemployed men who were forced into military service also had to stay there because "they had nowhere else to go. Impoverishment had led to a situation where the alternative to soldiering was unemployment, begging, vagabondage, or crime."⁷⁰ In 1973, Geoffrey Parker wrote that the harsh conditions early modern soldiers endured were also "humiliating."⁷¹ Historian Lauro Martines is the most eloquent, and among the harshest: for him, the early modern common soldier was a deeply unfortunate person, held in contempt, often pressed by force from society's misfits and losers. No decent peasant or industrious craftsman would willingly take a place in the ranks alongside people like that, which may have been one reason why the desertion rates were so high.⁷² "Army life was a choice of last resort," he writes, citing the late sixteenth-century Spanish jurist Castillo de Bodavilla: "[war] is also useful because, with it, many men who are the feces and excrement of the Commonwealth are expelled and cast out as soldiers. If they were tolerated, they would corrupt, like the body's ill humors whose expulsion improves the good humors." The scum of the earth. "It was a view—the soldier as scum—that refused to die." Only if he were fighting in a religious war could such a creature gain honor.⁷³

69 Redlich, *German Military Enterpriser* vol. 1, 121.

70 Erik Swart, "From "Landsknecht" to "Soldier": The Low German Foot Soldiers of the Low Countries in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," *IRSH* 51 (2006), 92.

71 Geoffrey Parker, "Mutiny and Discontent in the Spanish Army of Flanders," *Past and Present*, 58.1 (1973), 38-52, 38.

72 Lauro Martines, *Furies: War in Europe 1450-1700* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), 37.

73 Martines, *Furies*, 49 and 25.

It is an enduring image. In part, it was drawn from popular conceptions of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century soldiering and Romantic treatments of the Thirty Years' War. Until recently, historians of the eighteenth century asserted that soldiers of the *ancien régime* were drawn into armies by force, coercion, or the fear of hardship; did not want to be there and deserted whenever possible; and were kept in line by savage, uncaring discipline. John Keegan wrote that the eighteenth-century army practiced a kind of military slavery, in which the “stereotyped, almost mechanical movements performed in serried ranks” required by close-order fighting in lines “exactly reflected the surrender of individuality its members had undergone.”⁷⁴ But recent historians of the eighteenth century looked more carefully at what motivated soldiers to join armies, and to stay in them. In his recent book, Ilya Berkovich has utilized autobiographical accounts of eighteenth-century soldiers to argue that they were influenced by both positive and negative incentives, such as the desire for honor or adventure, or the fear of shame. Instead of being simply passive recipients of discipline from above, these soldiers had their own beliefs and values, and their own reasons for becoming soldiers, deserting or refraining from desertion, or risking their lives in combat.⁷⁵ In this, Berkovich joins other historians of socially-marginalized groups in medieval or early modern Europe.⁷⁶ Like eighteenth-century soldiers, the soldiers of the early seventeenth century were motivated by their own values and criteria for behavior in addition to pressure from above.

74 John Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, (London: Hutchinson, 1993), 343; see also Michael Howard, *War in European History*, rev. edn., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 79-81

75 Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in the Armies of Old-Regime Europe*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 10-12.

76 Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early-Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975); David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Karl Härter, “Soziale Disziplinierung durch Strafe? Intentionen frühneuzeitlicher Polizeyordnungen und Staatliche Sanktionspraxis,” *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 26 (1999), 365-79.

Despite their marginal societal position and uncertain access to resources, and despite whatever other people may have thought of them, seventeenth-century soldiers had a fair amount of self-respect, drawn from their status as soldiers. Being a soldier was an *ehelicher Stand*, an “honorable estate.” Early modern Germany was a segmented society, divided into numerous subgroups called *Stände* (singular: *Stand*), “social orders” or “estates.” Each order in this world of corporate groups enjoyed different rights and privileges, which were limited and specific. There was no single law; instead, there were many overlapping jurisdictions: nobility, university students, members of the clergy, or members of different guilds.⁷⁷ Soldiers too followed their own legal code. To some extent, each of these groups also had its own way of life.

In modern terms, the War People formed a subculture, a group focused around certain activities and values distinctive enough to make them identifiably different from the dominant culture while also existing within it and belonging to it.⁷⁸ The military community was not disconnected from the wider world; it was not an entirely separate culture. The use of weapons, for instance, was widespread in contemporary German society, and male citizens were expected to defend their cities with force if they had to.⁷⁹ Soldiers came from the civilian world and might return to it. Despite the violence and rapine that soldiers visited on non-soldiers, positive relationships between them did exist, as a cache of letters addressed to members of Tilly’s army in mid-July 1625 from their civilian relatives, friends, and lovers demonstrates. One man had been so taken with the cavalymen who had been quartered in his house that he addressed them

77 Claudia Huerkamp, *Der Aufstieg der Ärzte im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 40.

78 John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson, and Brian Roberts, "Subcultures, Cultures and Class," in Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, eds., *Resistance through Rituals* (London: Hutchinson; Birmingham: Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1976).

79 Tlusty, *Martial Ethic*.

as “beloved sons,” in addition to taking the trouble to write them a letter after they had moved on.⁸⁰

But seventeenth-century professional soldiers were also a distinct group. They dressed differently from contemporary civilians, in elaborate finery when they could afford it: Spanish soldiers wore clothing of many colors rather than the civilian Hispanic black. They spoke differently: consider the military words the go-betweens used when discussing the duel between Von Weissbach and Richter. The Mansfeld Regiment had its own slang. And although both Swart and Burschel based part of their arguments for soldiers’ decline in status after the sixteenth century on a supposed change in the word used to refer to them, from the proud *Landsknecht* or *Knecht* to the oppressed *Soldat*, early seventeenth-century documents still called infantrymen *Knechte*, short for *Landsknechte*, into at least the 1630s.⁸¹

Impoverished and tattered, perhaps these righteous guys were elite after all, if only in their own estimation. Some historians concur, hypothesizing that by exercising choice at all, which they did when they volunteered, soldiers assumed a prerogative of the upper classes.⁸² In addition to defending their honor with violence, soldiers expressed their status by exercising their right to fight one another: when the judge of the town of Triptis and his retinue ran out to stop the musketeers Jonas Beck and Melchior Schröter from fighting with each other for fun in the street, Beck shouted in response “What are you asking, we are soldiers, we have the power to lead each other out” [*Waß fragt ihr darnach Wir seindt soldaten wir habens macht einander auß*

80 Fritz Wolff, “Feldpostbriefe aus dem Dreißigjährigen Kriege. Selbstzeugnisse der kleinen Leute,” Walter Heinemeyer, ed., *Hundert Jahre Historische Kommission für Hessen 1897-1997*, Vol I (Marburg: Historisches Kommission für Hessen, 1997), 481-512, 493.

81 SHStAdr 11237 108351/1, *Extract Der Zu Leipzig Zurück verbliebenden verwundeten Officierer und Knechte von der Kayserl. Armee*.

82 Dennis Showalter and William J Astore, *Soldiers’ Lives Through History: The Early Modern World* (Westport CT: Greenwood, 2007), 28.

zu faden].⁸³ (The military authorities would have preferred order had been kept instead: “Where had you heard,” asked the regimental bailiff during the interrogation, “that soldiers are free to lead one another out and fight with one another as often as they please?”⁸⁴)

This scrappy, combative military way of life was one of the factors that influenced the repeated disputes between Fähndrich Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze and Lieutenant Felix Steter, the two men who appear most often in the Mansfeld Regiment’s legal books. Schutze and Steter were both officers in Wolfgang Winckelmann’s company, and the pair sniped at each other constantly throughout the regiment’s stay in northern Italy. Their squabbings not only reveal the way the military subculture operated in peoples’ daily lives, they also illustrate the importance of individual personalities and choices, agency as well as structure. Within the framework the military subculture made available to them, Schutze and Steter made their own decisions, for better or worse.

Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze had already appeared in court in one of the regiment’s earliest cases, the accidental death of Hans Heinrich Tauerling. At roughly eight PM, 7 August 1625, in an unspecified location in Germany, as Schutze and his friends were finishing supper in an upper-story room, Schutze started shooting his pistols out the window for fun. These were probably the formidable mounted pistols you can see in seventeenth-century paintings, wheellock, as long as a man’s forearm and large enough in caliber to stick your index finger comfortably down the barrel. Schutze usually carried his pair holstered on his saddle. They were fully loaded, powder and bullet. Schutze had even sent his servant to go find his winding key,

83 SHStAdr 10024 9121/5, 23r-23v.

84 SHStAdr 10024 9121/5, 27r.

which he had lost; the man went through the building, each room of which was crammed with soldiers, and found it in Heinrich Gauert's room downstairs. While Schutze fired his pistols, two of his eating companions fired their muskets out the window next to him at his direction. A drummer accompanied them, beating his drum with each volley.

When Schutze finished one set of shots, he reloaded one of his pistols, but when he leveled it out the window it didn't fire, so he wound it again. But he left the safety off. Either when he pulled the hammer back or shortly before, the pistol went off unexpectedly, hitting his good friend Hans Heinrich Tauerling "through the head into the right eye and directly out the back."

The house where this took place was packed with soldiers, most of whom took Schutze's actions casually until they ended in a death. One of the witnesses said later that he did not know exactly how Tauerling got shot because he had been talking to someone else at the time—apparently he had been able to socialize through the previous musket and pistol shots, which were not only deafeningly loud but which produced clouds of choking, sulfurous black powder smoke in the crowded dining room. But he saw Tauerling fall, and thought the barrel had exploded. At Schutze's trial, the witnesses made it clear that Schutze and Tauerling had nothing against each other, and the regimental court decided that it had been an accident. Schutze was acquitted, but he had to take a purificatory oath. The tribunal also told him that he should take better care of his weapons.⁸⁵

Nine months later, on May 1, 1626, by now in Lombardy, Schutze and some other officers and soldiers got drunk together in the pub after midday, then went to Felix Steter, who was in a friend's lodgings, to keep drinking. Felix Steter came from Wiener Neustadt, just south

85 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 27-39.

of Vienna. He had known other members of the Mansfeld Regiment for some time: he had been a Gemeinweibel in Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt's company from 1620 to 1621, in the same regiment that Mattheus Steiner had served in as a pikeman.⁸⁶

Schutze was “completely blazed” (*er aber sehr berauschet gewesen*): he left the room and came back leading his horse. He mounted it, rode it into the room, and jumped over the table, but it didn't make the jump cleanly and fell with him on its back. Neither was hurt, but the horse's hind leg hit Felix Steter in the chest so that he “sank to the earth and lay before death.” Bystanders managed to revive Steter, and when Schutze asked him how he was doing, he seemed fine: “The horse gave me a good one,” he said, and headed back to his own quarters.

Nobody cared that that Winckelmann's Fähndrich had knocked the lieutenant unconscious in a drunken accident, including the lieutenant himself, and this was not why Schutze and Steter ended up going to court. But after Steter said he was all right, Schutze followed him down the street and began a series of fumbling and increasingly hysterical attempts to help. He tried to set Steter on his horse, and then tried to get Steter to come back to his own quarters with him. Having accidentally shot a friend of his in the head back in August, Schutze may now have been nervous about what he might have done to Steter. He wanted, however ineptly, to make amends. But Steter objected: “The officers who drank with me can get me home. Let me go, I have my own horse, if I want to ride I can fetch her but I'd rather not.”⁸⁷

From here, versions of what happened diverge. Felix Steter wrote a letter of complaint on May seventh, claiming that when he did not accept Schutze's help, Schutze grabbed Steter's “regiment” out of his hands and broke it in two, a clear challenge to his status as an officer.

86 SHStAdr 11237 10840/4 9.

87 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 14-16.

(“Regiment” was a word for the stout little rod of office that officers of the rank of Lieutenant on up carried habitually.) Schutze then supposedly insulted Steter in German, Italian, and possibly Spanish or French: “*Du schinder, du hundt, Caion, du Bestia*”—“you skinner, you dog, testicle, you beast.”⁸⁸ For Schutze to insult Steter on the street in front of other soldiers was bad enough, but to call him a *schinder*, a knacker or skinner, would have been a tremendously damaging insult. Skinners made their living handling the bodies and skins of dead animals and human corpses, and contemporary German society regarded all contact with these objects, especially skins, as polluting--except if you were doing magic. Skinners and executioners were the worst of the “dishonorable trades,” and were excluded from almost all normal life.⁸⁹ If this exchange had occurred in the way Steter claimed, and if Schutze and Steter had been common soldiers instead of officers in the third most senior company in the regiment, they probably would have drawn swords on the spot. Instead, Steter sued: this was a high injury, he wrote, and he could not bear such dishonor because of the office he bears. Uphold the praiseworthy war law, cite Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze, restore my honor to me and punish him, make him distasteful before others.

Steter insisted his colleagues would back him up: “many officers and soldiers, especially officers from my company, who had drunk with me, whom I hereby offer as witnesses, will not withhold [evidence of] this, or suffer it.” But while witnesses remembered the horse jumping the table, and a scuffle between the Fähndrich and the Lieutenant, nobody who was interrogated remembered hearing Schutze insult Steter. The company *Musterschreiber* Heinrich Teichmeyer had nothing against Schutze, but he did have something against the Lieutenant, he said. Feldwebel Andreas Melhorn, whom Steter had mentioned as a character witness against

88 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 16.

89 Kathy Stuart, *Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honor and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 2-3.

Schutze, confirmed that some time ago in Bern he and Steter had had a fight, but he said that he had never complained about him and the problems between them had been patched up. In fact, it was Steter he was still angry at, for reasons he did not specify. Steter had a history of disputes with other officers, it seemed. And squad leader Mattheus Pohl heard “the Lieutenant, after the insults he had poured out against the Fähndrich,” say that after the incident with the horse “he had good justification to take the flag for himself, and have him arrested.”⁹⁰ In the 1620s a Fähndrich made 70 gulden per month and was listed second on the *Prima Plana*, the part of the roll with the officers on it, while a company’s lieutenant made 60 and was listed third. Steter wanted Schutze's job, and he was attempting to invoke the values of the military community to get it, by claiming that his honor had been injured.

Mattheus Steiner and the rest of the tribunal were more subtle than Steter. They did not respond until the twentieth of May, when Steter reappeared before them and repeated his complaints. Their verdict was balanced between him and Schutze, at least on the surface. They stated that Fähndrich Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze had attacked his Lieutenant, Felix Steter, with “unseemly words,” and that Steter was now declared honorable. But they continued:

Because also however Lieutenant Steter sent after his witnesses the next morning and consulted with them about this incident, it is probable that he must have been no less drunk than the Fähndrich; whereas everyone, according to the counsel of our praiseworthy Articles of War, must hold themselves apart from drunkenness, and in the absence of their captain both officers and common soldiers must present the best example. Thus it falls to the high discretion of the Lieutenant Colonel whether or not both of them be arrested at the same time.⁹¹

90 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 23-26.

91 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 27-28.

The tone was arch, even humorous, especially the elaborate reference to the injunction against drinking, which many Articles of War contained but which were almost never referred to in practice. The members of the tribunal couldn't call Felix Steter a liar, because that would slander him. But the implication was clear: Steter had not conferred with his witnesses because he had been drunk, but because he had been trying to get them to lie for him. The tribunal knew what he was up to, and did not approve. If he tried to pursue the matter further, he would be punished. But this would not be the last time Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze and Felix Steter appeared in their regiment's legal records. Their running dispute had not ended.

Chapter 2: The Kind of People I Know You Will Like The Demography of Saxon Soldiers¹

But who were the War People? Most of the members of the Mansfeld Regiment are invisible to us as anything more than statistics. These statistics are valuable though, and can tell us what kind of people the members of the Mansfeld Regiment were to a limited extent. This chapter analyzes the demographic records of the Thirty Years' War Saxon army as a whole, both to shed light on the common soldier of the Thirty Years' War and to provide a basis for comparison with the Mansfeld Regiment.

1. *Demography of the Saxon Army*

Little demographic research has been done on early seventeenth-century armies, especially compared to the eighteenth century: European armies kept better-organized records then, and more of them have survived to the present day.² The popular conception of the origin of these soldiers is that they were rootless: drifters, disconnected not only from society in general but from the organic communities of the German “home towns.” In addition to depictions of soldiers in visual art like the works of Jacques Callot or Hans Ulrich Frank, or fiction like Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, this viewpoint probably arises from depictions of

1 Part of this chapter, in a modified form, appeared as “Most Saxon Soldiers are Saxon: The Myth of the Rootless Mercenary and the Origins of Soldiers in Electoral Saxony, 1618-1651” in the panel *Everything Old is New Again: Historical-Statistical Studies of Central European Armies 1618-1789* at the 2017 Annual Meeting of the Society for Military History, Jacksonville, Florida, 1 April 2017. Thanks to Nick Klein and Efron Licht (alphabetical order) for their assistance with the maps in that presentation. Thanks to Efron Licht for assistance with the maps in this chapter.

2 The comprehensiveness and detail of eighteenth-century military records has enabled some magnificent studies, like Andre Corvisier, *L'armée française de la fin du XVIIe siècle au ministère de Choiseul: Le soldat* (Paris, P.U. F., 1964); Christopher Duffy, *The Army of Maria Theresa: The Armed Forces of Imperial Austria, 1740-1780* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1977).

better-preserved later periods.³ Uncharitable seventeenth-century descriptions of soldiers as people unsuited for trade or agriculture reinforced this impression.⁴ Primary research on armies of the Thirty Years' War reveals a different picture. Cordula Kapser noted in her study of the Bavarian army after 1635 that fewer than thirty percent of soldiers were listed as unemployed or without occupation.⁵ She concluded that mercenary soldiers could not “simply be classified as ‘criminals’ or branded as the ‘scum of society.’”⁶ Although the occupations of the Scottish soldiers in Swedish service James Fallon studied were not listed systematically, he mentions some recruits whose occupations he was able to find, including smiths, tailors, a cooper, a mason, and a gardener.⁷ If not wealthy, these men may have been solidly employed before their enlistment.

But Fallon also recounts that “idle or masterless men” were forced into service, and that recruiters coerced, lied to, or press-ganged their targets. The recurrent assumption among English-speaking authors that recruiters during the Thirty Years' War coerced or pressed soldiers may have been because this was common in the British Isles. In the Saxon army there is only one reference to forced recruitment: in 1634, the Saxon colonel Heinrich von Büнау brought his regiment up to its promised strength by forcing militia (*Defensionsfändel*) members into service

3 David Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 163.

4 Geoffrey Parker, “The Soldier,” Rosario Villari, ed., *Baroque Personae* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 34.

5 Cordula Kapser, *Die bayrische Kriegsorganisation in der zweiten Hälfte des dreissigjährigen Krieges 1635-1648/49* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1997), 68-73.

6 Kapser, *Bayrische Kriegsorganisation*, 72.

7 James A Fallon, “Scottish Mercenaries in the Service of Denmark and Sweden, 1626-1632” (PhD diss, University of Glasgow, 1972), 90-91.

as regular soldiers. More than five hundred of them deserted.⁸ When desertion is as easy and ubiquitous as it was in the seventeenth century, most of the people who remain with one of these armies are probably there at least semi-willingly.⁹

The demographic analysis in this chapter is based on the surviving muster rolls for regular mercenaries in the Saxon State Archives in Dresden. It is derived from 169 company muster rolls, three monthly payrolls from the Saxon Hoffahne, and two housing lists. Two of the muster rolls look like copies of other rolls on file, leaving 167. Total sources therefore number 172. This analysis is based on every muster roll in the archive except the duplicates, not on a sample from an existing larger stock of rolls. Most of these sources date from the 1620s and late teens: although Saxony was only involved in the first stage of the war until 1625, there are 115 from that decade. Many rolls from the 1620s survive from each company, year by year or even month by month. Later decades are less well-covered: 47 rolls and the two housing lists are from the 1640s, but only eight rolls survive from the 1630s, even though the Saxon army was at its largest then. In contrast to some other armies' rolls, or Saxon rolls from the 1680s, Saxon muster rolls from the Thirty Years' War recorded only a few things: each soldier's full name, his rank or office, and often but not always his place of origin. Cavalry rolls were less well-organized than infantry rolls, but almost all cavalry rolls recorded the number of horses each trooper had and sometimes their state of health: this was more important to them even than the number of cavalymen. The non-military occupation each soldier pursued before he joined up was not

8 SHStAD 11237 10831/1, *Churf. Durchl. Zu Sachsen etc Erste und Andere Kriegsverfassung Nach entstandener Unruhe im Königreich Böhmen.*

9 In his new work, Ilya Berkovich stresses this for eighteenth-century soldiers. *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), Chap. 2.

recorded, although in 1619 one cavalry trooper, Stefan Hedeler, had a note in the roll after his name reading “A *Bürger* from Köthen.”¹⁰

These sources contain about 30,000 entries but many soldiers show up in more than one entry: there are about 13,000 individual soldiers whose places of origin are known—both listed in the original documents and locatable now. These men can be mapped.

The Thirty Years’ War was a vast conflict; as sources like a mass grave at the location of the 1636 battle of Wittstock demonstrate, soldiers came from across Europe. Archaeologists can tell from the isotopes in their teeth.¹¹ Certainly, the People traveled a great deal: during twenty-five years of service, Peter Hagendorf covered at least 25,000 kilometers.¹² Mercenaries themselves had a sense that their way of life entailed travel: “to march,” “march out,” or “go out” were the usual terms for going on campaign. “I really liked marching with you,” wrote one of the Mansfeld Regiment’s Fouriers to a friend the night before he deserted.¹³ But if these soldiers were truly rootless, their places of origin would be distributed throughout the Empire, maybe throughout Europe. And soldiers in the Saxon army came from across Germany, as well as places as far afield as Ireland, northern Italy, Sweden, and what is now Slovakia. They came from cities on the shores of the Baltic Sea from northern Germany all the way up to Reval (modern Tallinn, in Estonia), shadows of the Baltic trade. But most of them came from the east of central Europe, an area centered on Saxony.

10 SHStA D 11237 10839/5 3.

11 Brandenburgisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologisches Landesmuseum Brandenburg, *1636 - ihre letzte Schlacht: Leben im Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2012), 178-180.

12 Peter Burschel, “Himmelreich und Hölle: Ein Söldner, sein Tagesbuch, und die Ordnung des Krieges,” Benigna von Krusenstjern and Hans Medick, eds., *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe: Der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe* (Göttingen: Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, 1999), 181.

13 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 15.

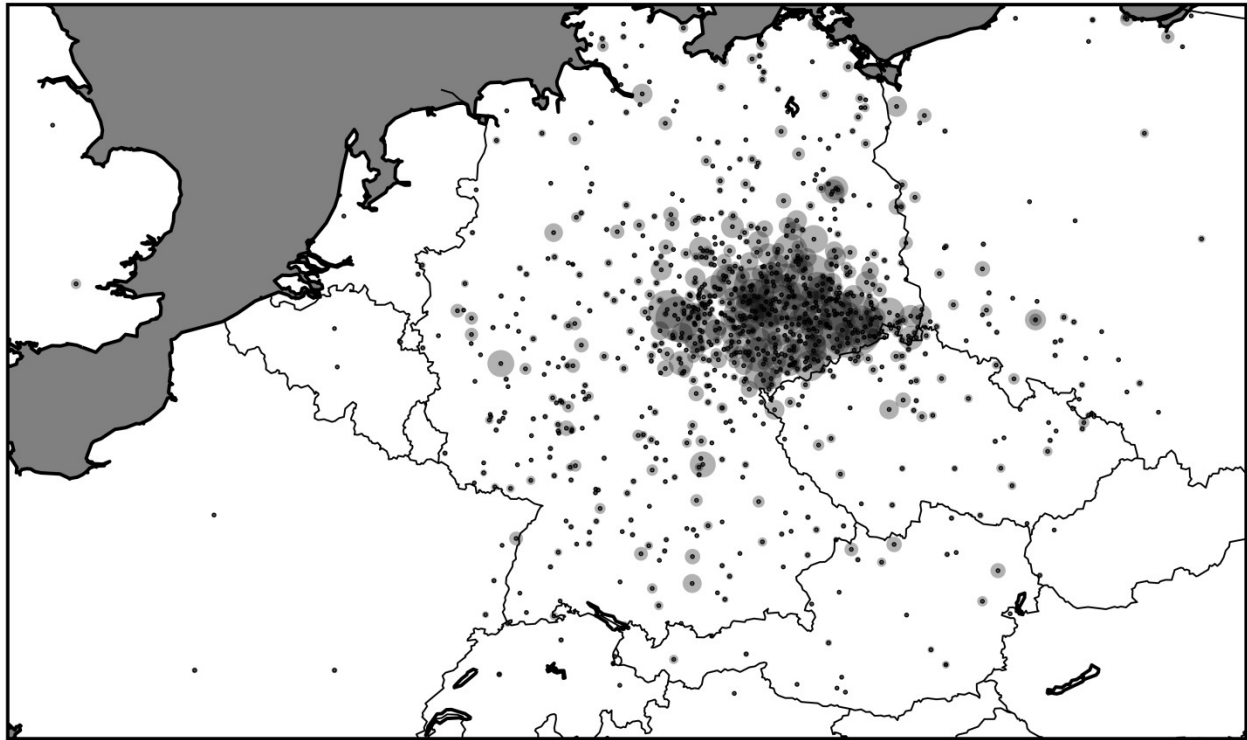


Figure 2.1: Origins of Saxon soldiers, all decades of Thirty Years' War

Figure 2.1 depicts the place of origin for Saxon soldiers in all decades of the Thirty Years' War. Each dot is a location from which one or more soldiers came. A larger penumbra around the dot means more soldiers came from that place. The region most Saxon soldiers came from looks like a flattened diamond with Mühlhausen roughly on the left point, the Bohemian city of Eger (modern Cheb) on the bottom, Magdeburg roughly at the top point, and Görlitz on the right point. Electoral Saxony is thickly populated with dots, and the city from which the most soldiers came is Dresden.

When we look at place of origin alone, the question of who ended up in the Saxon army seems more linguistic or regional than political or religious: men appear to have joined this army for reasons based on regional ties, native language (even native dialect), and how likely they

were to meet a recruiter, more than personal religious beliefs or political opinions, or the aims of their feudal overlords. Subdividing the results by decade makes this more clear.

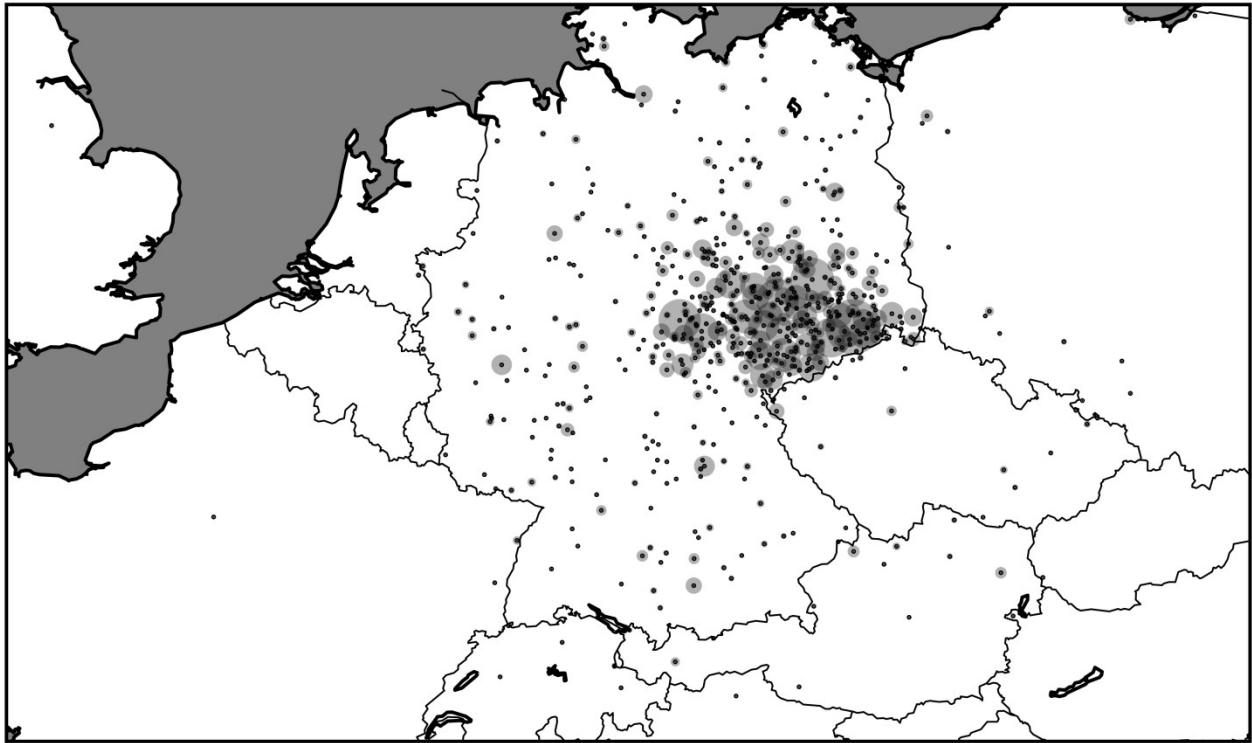


Figure 2.2: Origins of Saxon soldiers, 1620s

Figure 2.2 depicts the origins of Saxon soldiers during the first decade of the Thirty Years' War. For Saxony, this period began in 1618 with the Bohemian Revolt and ended in 1625, when the last Saxon regiments were mustered out.¹⁴ The overall distribution of soldiers is not very different from the pattern for the war as a whole—unsurprising, since this part of the war accounted for 115 out of 172 sources. Considering the political context, this is interesting. Although Saxony spent this part of the war as the Emperor's loyal vassal, regions that owed their allegiance to prominent anti-Imperialists are well-represented in this map. Duke Christian of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, the famous “mad Halberstadter” and staunch anti-Imperial paladin,

¹⁴ SHStAD 11237 10831/1.

was also the Margrave of Magdeburg—a position which by rights belonged to Johann Georg of Saxony, at least according to the list of the latter’s titles blazoned across almost every muster roll in Dresden.¹⁵ Territory belonging to Magdeburg extended in a little tongue of land into Electoral Saxony as far south as Halle: more than two hundred men from Magdeburg lands filled Saxon muster rolls in the 20s. The city of Bautzen was the largest and most important city in Upper Lusatia, which rebelled alongside the rest of the Bohemian lands in 1618. Saxon troops under Wolf von Mansfeld besieged it and took it in the fall of 1620.¹⁶ Fifty-three men from Bautzen alone appear in Saxon muster rolls of the 1620s, most after the city had fallen—not to mention people from throughout Upper and Lower Lusatia.

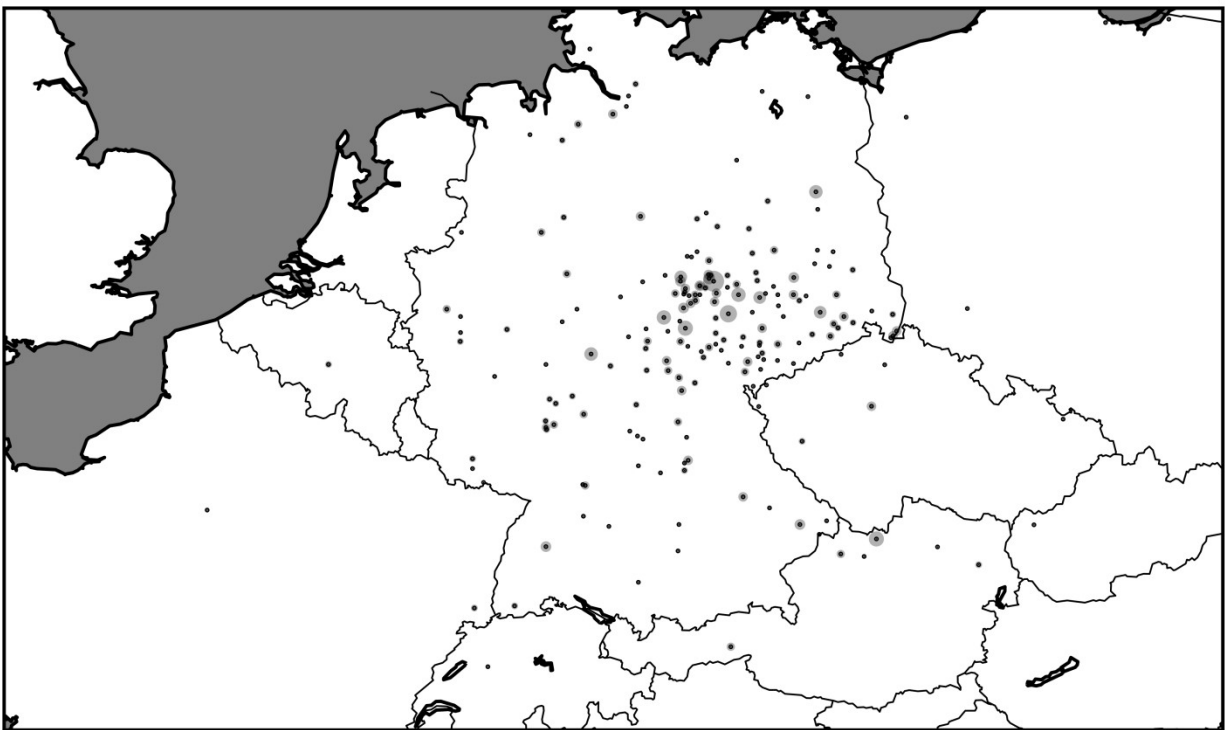


Figure 2.3: Origins of Saxon soldiers, 1630s

15 Peter Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin Books, 2009).

16 Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 301.

Data from the 1630s are idiosyncratic, probably because the number of surviving records is so small. Here, the diamond is weighted toward its northwestern corner, and the south and east are less well represented. Only eight company rolls from the 1630s survive in the Saxon Hauptstaatsarchiv, three of those from the same regiment: the limited area represented in this map may be the result of a small number of recruiting grounds. Scottish colonels recruited from carefully delineated areas, allowing them to draw on personal knowledge and clan ties to obtain their men.¹⁷ The regional quirks of the 1630s map, such as the “hole” around the Dresden area (only three soldiers from this decade come from Dresden) may be due to a similar division of territory; the rolls for the companies which recruited out of Dresden that decade could be lost.

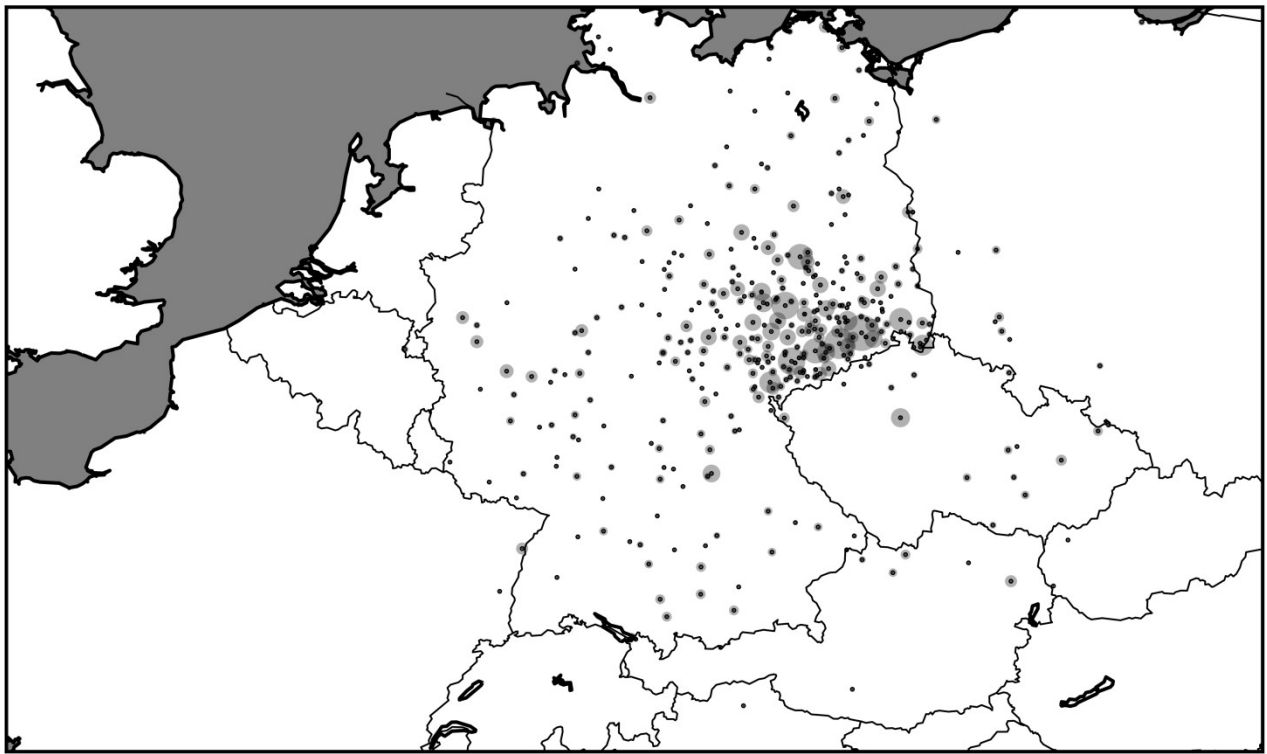


Figure 2.4: Origins of Saxon soldiers, 1640s

17 Fallon, “Scottish Mercenaries,” Chapter 6.

Figure 2.4 depicts the origins of Saxon soldiers during the 1640s. The same diamond shape is visible, although more strongly represented this time towards the eastern side, Electoral Saxony proper more than Thuringia. We cannot conclude that common soldiers during any decade of the Thirty Years' War were especially peripatetic before signing up. To judge from their mobility alone, these men do not appear to have been marginal members of their societies. However, although mercenaries were not rootless, many soldiers may have been younger sons or apprentices who never made master: people who could neither marry as civilians nor inherit. Soldiering was a viable choice for people who were blocked off from non-military opportunities.

The information in these maps allows us to test another longstanding belief about this conflict, which is that the longer the war continued, the more “internationalized” it became. Like the belief that the mercenaries who served in this war had been drifters before they enlisted, the belief that they came from everywhere in Europe is both a statement of fact and a value judgement: when the war became “internationalized,” it also grew more cruel. Nineteenth-century German representations of the horrors of the Thirty Years' War framed the conflict as one in which foreign invaders inflicted wanton violence upon German victims—the body of the humiliated and weak Germany. “Working through the trauma caused by German religious division and political fragmentation, these narratives dwelled on the violation of Germany by foreign mercenary armies of Italians, Walloons, Spaniards, Hungarians, Croats, and Cossacks.”¹⁸ This idea was still around in 2016, when Gregory Hanlon argued that soldiers were not “wanton destructive” before 1630, for during the first decade of the war “soldiers and civilians understood that they lived in a shared ‘imagined community’ and that peace would soon return.” Only after “the internationalization of the German war following 1631 and especially

18 Kevin Cramer, *The Thirty Years' War and German Memory in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), 181-182.

with the arrival of the Croat dragoons, gratuitous destruction taught populations that there were no such things as ‘friendly’ troops.”¹⁹ Whether implicit or explicit, the argument is that foreign soldiers’ foreignness (especially people from the Balkans) was itself responsible for cruelty. People who belonged to the same religious and cultural groups could not commit atrocities upon one another, goes this interpretation.²⁰ The presence of foreign troops is a synecdoche for social breakdown.

But Central European mercenary soldiers were always an international group. Though the Thirty Years’ War metastasized as non-Imperial powers like France and Sweden intervened, and regional spats like the war over the Valtelline or Sweden’s struggle with Sigismund Vasa got dragged into its orbit, this international element was always present. Saxon soldiers did not simply grow more diverse as the war went on. Instead, the shifting regional makeup of the men who ended up in Saxon armies reflected the course of the war. We can see this in Table 1.2, which lists by decade the raw number of soldiers in the Saxon army whose places of origin are known and who were not from the non-Swiss parts of the Germanosphere: the German part of the Holy Roman Empire (including Silesia), the Hereditary Lands of the House of Austria, territories of the Teutonic Order, and the Duchy of Pomerania.

19 Gregory Hanlon, *Italy 1636: Cemetery of Armies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 155.

20 Quentin Outram, “Demographic impact of early modern warfare,” *Social Science History*, 26 (2002), 245-272; 261-264.

Decade	1620s	1630s	1640s
Total soldiers	13,462	1,628	3,956
Total with unknown origin	3,742	712	1,112
Total with known origin	9,720	916	2,844
Bohemia and Moravia	274	28	247
Croatia	2	---	1
Denmark	8	3	9
England	12	---	3
Finland	---	1	---
France	8	1	5
Ireland	---	---	8
Italy	3	2	1
Livonia	6	---	4
Ottoman territories and Hungary	13	3	4
Poland-Lithuania	26	7	24
Romania	1	2	1
Scotland	10	---	11
Sweden	11	3	17
Switzerland	30	10	5
Spanish Netherlands and Burgundy	5	3	3
United Netherlands	9	2	3
Upper and Lower Lusatia	301	15	165

Table 2.1: Number of soldiers with non-German origins in the Saxon army by decade

It is imprecise to say that Saxon forces grew “more diverse” during the war. Instead, they grew a lot more Bohemian and Lusatian, specifically in the 1640s, when the percentage of Lusatians went up again after dipping. As the war began the Bohemian Estates, along with both Lusatias, were rebelling against the Emperor, which meant that soldiers recruited by people working for the Bohemian Estates and soldiers recruited by Saxon agents were been fighting on

opposite sides. But Ferdinand II began consolidating his hold over Bohemia after 1621.²¹ Meanwhile, although both Lusatias had been granted in pawn to Johann Georg in 1623, it was not until after the Peace of Prague in 1635 that the Emperor formally awarded them to Saxony. Saxon possession of these lands entailed many changes of ownership, and some Saxon captains and colonels eventually got Lusatian fiefs.²² Saxony was on the Imperial side from 1635 until the end of the war. By the 1640s, Lusatians would have been available to be recruited by Saxon officers directly, while Bohemians and Saxons served in two factions of an allied Imperial/Saxon force, and could have easily hopped from one army to the other.

By percentage, the Saxon army also became more Livonian, more Polish-Lithuanian, more Scottish, more Irish, and more Swedish during the war, but not by much. That is, it incorporated soldiers from Sweden's army and from regions associated with Sweden's sphere of influence, Europe's Baltic fringe. Likewise, the percentage of people from French territory shows a steady increase not entirely attributable to the fact that parts of Alsace were taken over by France after 1639. This process reflects not only Sweden's entry into the war but also the fact that Saxon forces spent the late 1630s and the 1640s fighting Swedish forces in the east of Central Europe.²³ Soldiers with Nordic last names appear in some rolls that did not record place of origin, such as Hendrickson, Erickson, and Leonardson, all from 1644.²⁴ The Saxon and Swedish armies spent long periods of time drifting around the same territory during the late thirties and forties, probably drawing from the same pool of potential soldiers. The origins of the

21 Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 357-358.

22 SHStAD 11237 10831/1.

23 Peter Wilson, "Meaningless conflict? The character of the Thirty Years War," FC Schneid, ed., *The Projection and Limitation of Imperial Powers 1618-1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 28.

24 SHStAD 11237 10841/13.

43 infantrymen listed in one of Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt's company rolls (undated, probably around 1635) as "received from the Swedes" were not reported, but they were probably similar in background to their comrades who had begun their careers in the Saxon army.²⁵ Like in other situations in which small-scale warfare becomes endemic to a place, the men of the Saxon and the Swedish armies late in the Thirty Years' War were likely familiar to each other.

The percentage of soldiers in the Saxon army from Denmark, Italy, the Ottoman territories, Royal and Ottoman Hungary, Switzerland, and both the Spanish Netherlands and the United Provinces rose in the 1630s and then fell again in the 1640s. This is less easy to explain and may be due to the small surviving number of soldiers from the 1630s amplifying the effects of any change. Eleven English soldiers, mostly pikemen, served in a single Saxon regiment in the 1620s, and three in the Saxon Life Regiment in 1645. In both cases, they would have been fighting for Imperial-aligned troops, a tiny reminder that the English did more during this conflict than simply support Protestants abroad. The smallest numbers are probably statistical noise, like the single Finn, squad leader Heinrich Hennig, recorded in Jonas Ernst Koenig's infantry company in 1635.²⁶

Most of the soldiers from Slovenia have German names, like the Tyroleans. Most of the Bohemians came from German-speaking areas in Bohemia or Moravia like the Sudetenland, Prague, or the area around Znaim, while the soldiers from Transylvania had German names too. These people could probably speak at least a little German of some kind when they joined up. On the other hand, the cuirassier Georg Ungar from Győr was probably Magyar, and Ungar,

25 SHStAD 11237 10841/3 doc 1.

26 SHStAD 11237 10841/3 doc 3.

“Hungarian,” was probably not his real family name.²⁷ There is a clear line between Habsburg areas of Southeastern Europe, from which several Saxon soldiers came, and Ottoman ones, from which only a few came. *Musterschreibers* became vaguer about location the further away from Saxony, Thuringia, Bohemia, and Silesia they got; the same person who specifies hamlets of ten or twenty people in east-central Europe will often write merely “England” or “Sweden” for more exotic places. Thomas Hartung, an English pikeman in AA von Walnitz’s company of von Schlieben’s Regiment, was recorded as coming from “Salop:” a short form of Shropshire, which the *musterschreiber* wrote down not knowing the difference.²⁸ Sometimes these brief entries reveal the making of emotional connections between soldiers from across Europe: William Mellin was a musketeer from 1619 to 1624 in a free company which belonged first to Eustachius Löser, then to Hans von Taube. Mellin came from Kingston, England, which his *musterschreiber* recorded accurately at first. By the fourth and last roll in which Mellin appears, the syllables of his hometown have morphed into Königstein: whether the *musterschreiber* did this consciously or unconsciously the effect is as though Mellin had come not from a distant country, but from the massive fortress just up the Elbe from Dresden—as though he too were Saxon.²⁹

It’s difficult to determine the religion of most of these men. Sometimes it’s clearer than others, as with the men in Dietrich von Taube’s life company in 1634, who gave their origin by their Catholic parishes rather than by their native cities. A solid block of them, their names almost uninterrupted—infantry rolls during this war did not always list soldiers strictly by seniority but sometimes in a more casual order, probably the order in which they stood in line while the muster was being written. These soldiers came from “Hofkirchenpfarr” in the bishopric

27 SHStAD 11237 10841/2 2.

28 SHStAD 11237 10840/4 10.

29 SHStAD 11237 10840/1-1, 11237 1040/1-2, 11237 10840/9, and 11237 10840/11-1.

of Passau; “Wolfsegger pfarr” (Wolfsegg, Bavaria); “Buerbacherpfarr,” the little town of Puerbach in northern Austria; and “Waizenkirchen pfarr,” right next to Puerbach, thirteen Catholics, southerners standing close together in the middle of a Saxon company.³⁰ Given names can also be a clue to confessional affiliation. Saints’ names were often given to Catholics, and names from the Bible, especially the Old Testament, were often given to Protestants.³¹ But the really emotional writing on names appears in the sixteenth century, not the seventeenth—the topic may have lost its urgency by the time the soldiers in these rolls were born.³² An individual’s given name at birth is also of no help if he or she changed religion later in life. In the end, it is unclear to which faith the rows of Hanses, Martins, and Baltzers belong.

Although Jews were expelled from Electoral Saxony in 1537, some soldiers in Saxon service may have been Jewish.³³ This is not as surprising as it seems; in contrast to many Gentile civilians, the military subculture in general appears not to have hated Jews. Swedish paymasters and quartermasters especially relied on Jewish traders to provide provisions for them since the Swedish army was short of ready funds, but most armies refrained from mistreating Jews and enforced this on the Gentile civilians under their control.³⁴ When the Saxons took Prague in

30 There were a number of men from what are now Austria and southern Bavaria in this company. SHStADr 11237 10841/12.

31 Anna-Maria Balbach, “Jakob, Johann, oder Joseph?—Frühneuzeitliche Vornamen im Streit der Konfessionen,” Jürgen Macha, Anna-Maria Balbach, Sarah Horstkamp, eds., *Konfession und. Sprache in der Frühen Neuzeit. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven*, (Münster: Waxmann 2012), 16.

32 Balbach, “Jakob, Johann, oder Joseph?” 19-20.

33 Jonathan Israel, “Central European Jewry during the Thirty Years’ War,” *Central European History*, 16.1 (1983), 3-30, 5.

34 Israel, “Central European Jewry,” 17-18, 24-25.

1632, there were clauses in the terms of surrender guaranteeing the safety of the city's Jewish population, which were respected.³⁵

If some Jews had become common soldiers in Saxon service, entering the military community fully rather than living on its fringes as traders or sutlers, this bellicosity might have been out of keeping with non-military Jewish life in Central Europe. Jews were one of the protected categories of people, like members of the clergy, whose "peace" was supposed to be guaranteed by the ruler. In return, they were not "weapons-capable:" although they were not forbidden from carrying weapons, it violated the terms under which they were protected.³⁶ While Jews were just as capable of brawling as Gentiles, they did not share their Christian contemporaries' positive or neutral attitudes toward fighting.³⁷ During a bloody brawl and swordfight in Frankfurt's Jewish quarter during Purim, a Jewish onlooker shouted "Are you Jews or Landsknechts, that you strike each other like that?"³⁸ But there was at least one Jewish Landsknecht, Salomon Ricco from Modena, who wrote in 1572 about his experience in the Italian Wars. According to him, his comrades knew he was Jewish, but they called him "the Modenese," not "the Jew;" perhaps they accepted him. Barbara Tlusty has found numerous examples of Jews serving as soldiers during the Thirty Years' War.³⁹ Entire companies of Jews fought in the army of contemporary Poland-Lithuania.⁴⁰ Saxon sources do not specify religion,

35 *Ibid.*, 22.

36 Barbara Tlusty, *The Martial Ethic in Early Modern Germany: Civic Duty and the Right of Arms* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 71.

37 *Ibid.*, 182.

38 *Ibid.*, 183.

39 *Ibid.*, 182.

40 Robert Frost, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558 – 1721* (London: Routledge, 2000), 191 fn 71.

but the surname of Martin Jude, a common soldier in Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt's company in 1635, is interesting.⁴¹ He appears in the roll right next to a man named Barthel Bernhold, which means they probably stood together during the mustering; Bernhold came from the small community of Gleicherwiesen in Thuringia, which was about one-third Jewish.⁴²

Historians argue that people who went into the cavalry came from a more rural background than those who entered the infantry since rural people had more experience with horses.⁴³ This argument reveals unfamiliarity with work in cities until well after the invention of the combustion engine. Transport and work like construction required the labor of horses in even the largest cities, while horse carcasses, hair, body parts, hides, and manure were valuable commodities. Large numbers of horses both living and dead were a routine presence in the crowded urban landscape.⁴⁴ The rural/urban composition of the Saxon army's cavalry and dragoons did not differ significantly from its infantry, as shown in Table 2.2.⁴⁵

41 SHStAdr 11237 10841/3 doc 1.

42 SHStAdr 11237 10841/3 doc 1; Thüringer Verband der Verfolgten des Naziregimes – Bund der Antifaschisten und Studienkreis deutscher Widerstand 1933–1945, ed., *Heimatgeschichtlicher Wegweiser zu Stätten des Widerstandes und der Verfolgung 1933–1945, Reihe: Heimatgeschichtliche Wegweiser Band 8: Thüringen* (Erfurt, 2003), 124.

43 For example, see Peter-Michael Hahn, "Kriegserfahrungen im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges," Dittmar Dahlman, ed., *Kinder und Jugendliche in Krieg und Revolution: vom Dreißigjährigen Krieg bis zu den Kindersoldaten Afrikas* (Paderborn and Munich: Schöningh 2000), 13-14.

44 Clay McShane and Joel A Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Ann Norton Greene, *Horses at Work: Harnessing Power in Industrial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

45 Early modern census information for Central Europe is complicated. A single documentation of the population of what is now Germany did not exist before 1867 (Rolf Gehrman, "German Census-Taking Before 1871," working paper for the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research WP 2009-023, August 2009, 4). Although local or regional counts were made in Austria from the sixteenth century onward, Maria Theresa had the first overall census in the Austro-Hungarian Empire taken in 1754 (Peter Teibenbacher, Diether Kramer, Wolfgang Göderle, "An Inventory of Austrian Census Materials, 1857-1910. Final Report," working paper for the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research WP2012-007, Dec 2012, 1). The information that produced these graphs was taken from local enumerations which were as close in time to the early seventeenth century as possible, supplemented with data from Paul Bairoch, Jean Batou, and Pierre Chevre, *La population des villes européennes de 800 à 1850* (Geneva: Centre of International Economic History, 1988). Early-modern

	Cavalry/Dragoons	Infantry
Total with Known Origin	1,451	10,106
Number		
>10,000	261	1634
5,000-10,000	250	1568
1,000-5,000	490	3740
<1,000	405	2977
thinly settled	18	85
estate/Schloss	27	101
Percentage		
>10,000	18%	16%
5,000-10,000	17%	16%
1,000-5,000	34%	37%
<1,000	28%	29%
thinly settled	1%	1%
estate/Schloss	2%	1%

Table 2.2: Number and percentage of soldiers by population of hometown and branch of service

Both infantry and cavalry/dragoons were proportionately more urban than the contemporary non-military population of the Empire, in which there were only 3,500 to 4,000 “cities,” with roughly 85% having fewer than a thousand people—about a third as large as a

enumerations of communities within the borders of the present-day state of Saxony can be found on the website of the Digitales Historisches Ortsverzeichnis von Sachsen, www.hov.isgv.de

good-strength infantry regiment.⁴⁶ The percentage of the general population in the Empire that lived in cities with more than 10,000 people in them was very small: 3% in the year 1500, 5.4% by 1700.⁴⁷ Unlike peasants, townspeople and city dwellers were not bound to their landlords, while they were also vulnerable to sudden shifts in the labor market or changes in the price of food and goods, both of which provided strong incentives for men and their families to take the chance on enlisting. John Lynn noted that famines coincided with spikes in French enlistment in 1694 and 1709.⁴⁸

But there are few ways to tell how prosperous a soldier was before he enlisted, whether a townsman from Dresden had been a sleek and comfortable burgher or forced into one army or another by hunger. Names are useful when they're in Latin; the parents of Justus Wilhelmus Lipsius, a pikeman from Erfurt, may have known Latin, and even have been familiar with the work of his famous namesake. Whether Lipsius was deliberately named after the Neostoic philosopher or not, someone in his family could afford an education at one point in their life.⁴⁹ *De Constantia*, Justus Lipsius the philosopher's most famous work, was published in 1583, which might have made it old enough for the parents of Justus Lipsius the pikeman, who was a soldier in 1621, to have read it before his birth. Most names are not this apposite. However, names make it easy to determine whether someone was noble or common-born.⁵⁰ This allows us,

46 Counting Bohemia and Moravia, but not Flanders or Reichsitalien. Heinz Schilling, *Die Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: R Oldenbourg Verlag, 2004), 3, 9. My results for the proportion of soldiers from urban and town backgrounds confirms Burschel's findings.

47 Schilling, *Die Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit*, 4.

48 John Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610-1715* (New York City: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 145-150.

49 SHStAdr 11237 10840/5 1.

50 German nobility is listed in https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_deutscher_Adelsgeschlechter. Bohemian nobility is listed in Adalbert Král von Dobrá Voda, *Der Adel von Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien* (Prague: I.

however crudely, to begin tracking the social mobility of lower officers and common soldiers.

Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 track the classes of cavalymen by rank and office, separated by decade. Tables 2.6, 2.7, and 2.8 do the same for infantry. As in the original documents, the branches appear in order of their prestige. Dragoons were the least prestigious branch of service: out of 381 counted dragoons there are only two incontrovertible nobles: Hans Wilhelm von Paudiz, common dragoon in Georg Götz's Life Company in 1645, and a Lieutenant Colonel whose last name was Haugwitz.⁵¹ When the dragoon squadron of the talented Saxon captain Andreas Masslener, nicknamed "Ungar," did exceptionally well, it was re-equipped as cavalry.⁵²

In addition to "noble" and "non-noble," a few men are listed as "unknown," such as some non-Germans, people listed only by initials, and soldiers or officers with obvious *noms de guerre* like von Apollo (a surname held by several soldiers and officers in the 1620s and 40s), Venus (Friedrich Venus, a Hauptmann in the 1620s), and de la Fortuna (Gideon de la Fortuna, a pikeman from 1620 to 1621).⁵³ Since this sorting is done by name not place of origin, the data also includes soldiers whose origins were not recorded or impossible to pin down.

Rank	Non-Noble	Noble	Unknown	Percent noble	Total
Rittmeister/Captain	5	14	0	74%	19
Cornet/Fähndrich	6	28	0	82%	34
Lieutenant	8	15	0	65%	23
Fourier	22	0	0	0	22
Musterschreiber	23	0	0	0	23
Smith	18	0	0	0	18
Saddler	1	0	0	0	1
Feldscher	27	0	0	0	27

Taussig), 1904. A list of Swedish noble houses is available at <https://www.riddarhuset.se/sprak/english/>. English, Irish, and Scottish nobility are listed at <http://www.burkespeerage.com/>.

51 SHStADr 11237 10841/13, SHStADr 11237 10831/1, 44.

52 SHStADr 11237 10831/1.

53 The von Apollos appear in SHStADr 11237 10840/3 1, 11237 10840/4 1, 11237 10839/11 5, and 11237 10841/1. Friedrich Venus appears in numerous documents, for instance SHStADr 11237 10841/6 10. Gideon de la Fortuna appears in SHStADr 11237 10840/3 10 and 11237 10840/4 6.

Wachtmeister	1	0	0	0	1
Drummer	2	0	0	0	2
Trumpeter	98	2	0	2%	100
Corporal	24	23	1	48%	48
Fahnenjunker	30	64	1	67%	95
Aufwarter	1	4	0	80%	5
Member of entourage	6	3	0	33%	9
Ordinary cavalryman	781	331	5	30%	1117
Jung	284	6	2	2%	292
Knecht	137	1	4	.07%	142
Total					1,978

Table 2.3: Number and percentage of nobles in Saxon cavalry, 1620s

Rank	Non-Noble	Noble	Unknown	Percent noble	Total
Rittmeister/Captain	0	3	0	100%	3
Cornet/Fähndrich	0	3	0	100%	3
Lieutenant	0	3	0	100%	3
Fourier	2	0	0	0	2
Musterschreiber	1	0	1	0	2
Smith	3	0	0	0	3
Saddler	2	0	1	0	3
Armorer	1	0	0	0	1
Feldscher	2	0	0	0	2
Wachtmeister	2	0	0	0	2
Trumpeter	9	0	0	0	9
Corporal	4	2	0	0	6
Fahnenjunker	0	1	0	100%	1
Ordinary cavalryman	230	9	2	4%	241
Total					281

Table 2.4: Number and percentage of nobles in Saxon cavalry, 1630s

Rank	Non-Noble	Noble	Unknown	Percent noble	Total
Rittmeister/Captain	17	7	1	28%	25
Cornet/Fähndrich	9	3	0	25%	12
Lieutenant	6	4	0	40%	10
Fourier	11	0	0	0	11
Musterschreiber	11	0	0	0	11

Smith	11	0	0	0	11
Saddler	3	0	0	0	3
Feldscher	9	0	0	0	9
Wachtmeister	10	1	0	9%	11
Trumpeter	14	0	0	0	14
Corporal	22	0	2	0	24
Fahnenjunker	2	1	0	33%	3
Ordinary cavalryman	643	13	1	2%	657
Knecht	117	0	0	0	117
Total				918	

Table 2.5: Number and percentage of nobles in Saxon cavalry, 1640s

Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 detail the raw numbers and percentage of noble and non-noble cavalymen by rank and office for each decade of the Thirty Years' War. Ranks are all company-level. Early seventeenth-century military ranks are inconsistent and idiosyncratic. Musterschreibers varied the way they recorded troops based on what may have been personal preference. These graphs list the officer ranks of Rittmeister/Captain, Cornet/Fähndrich, Lieutenant, Fourier, Feldscher, Musterschreiber, Wachtmeister, drummer and trumpeter, as well as smiths, saddlers, and from the 1630s, armorer (all the 1630 cavalry rolls were from cuirassier companies). They then list corporals and common cavalymen. Rolls in the 1620s sometimes record members of officers' entourages, although the actual number of hangers-on was almost certainly more than the number recorded on the rolls. Both common soldiers and officers had families, officers had lavish entourages, and at least officers and possibly also common soldiers had servants. The men listed as *aufwarter*, "attendant," in rolls in the 1620s probably also accompanied officers. Some cavalymen were listed as Fahnenjunkers, which is not a clear term. By the early eighteenth century, that word referred to young nobles "or when they are lacking, other mannered and courteous young people" who supervised the flag on the march, visited the sick, and led the drummers and the squad leaders. A Fahnenjunker reported to the Fähndrich and,

like the Fähndrich, had to have a good reputation among the soldiers; to this end, he was supposed to plead their cases before the authorities.⁵⁴ Many cavalymen also had Jungs and/or Knechte listed under them, who probably attended to the horses, helped buckle cuirassiers into their armor, and may have accompanied the troopers into combat.

In general there are more nobles in the top cavalry posts than there are in the other officer ranks or the non-officer positions. Seventy-four percent of rittmeisters were noble in the 1620s, 82% of Fähndriches/cornets, and 65% of lieutenants. The higher proportion of noble flag-bearers here is probably because of the extreme prestige attached to a company's flag. Both Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze and Felix Steter, as a non-noble Fähndrich and lieutenant, would have been unusual in 1625—perhaps one reason they quarreled so fiercely over Schutze's office is that they were both social climbers.

Nobles are also well-represented among non-officers: in the 1620s, 48% of corporals, 67% of fahnenjunkers, and 30% of regular cavalymen were noble. So were four out of five aufwarters and one third of those listed as belonging to someone's entourage. Knechts and jungs were rarely noble—those few nobles who did fill these roles almost all served officers. One of these was even a prince, “Stoffel, Prince von Schlauendorff.”⁵⁵ Below the top three company officer posts, captain, Fähndrich, and lieutenant, there are no nobles in any cavalry officer position except trumpeter and corporal. That is to say, the positions which required a specific

54 “Fahn=Juncker, Guidon, Porte-Drapeau, Gefreyter=Corporal, oder Führer, ist derjenige, welcher bey der Cavallerie die Standarte, daher sie auch Standar)Juncker heissen, und bey denen Dragonern und der Infanterie das Fähnlein, und Fahne hohlet, es auf dem Marche zu Zug und Wachten führet, und nach verrichtetem Dienst es wieder ins Quartier bringet. Er commadiret die Gefreyten und Tambours bey der Compagnie; visitiret die Krancken muß vor die Conservation der Fahne besorgt seyn, von allen, was passiret, zuförderts dem Fähnrich und hernach dem Lieutenant und Hauptmann rapportiren. Man nimmt hierzu gemeinlich junge von Adel, oder in deren Ermangelung sonst einen manierlichen und artigen jungen Menschen. Damit er auch bey denen Gemeinen in gutem Credit stehe, muß er öftters ein Vorbitter derer Delinquenten seyn, und so viel [illegible] thun laßt, die Sach mit guter Manier vermitteln helffen.” Johann Heinrich Zedler, ed., *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste* [...] Neunter Band, F. (Halle/Leipzig 1735), 98.

55 SHStADr 11237 10839/11 2.

technical skill, such as literacy or playing the massive cavalry kettledrums, were occupied almost entirely by common-born cavalymen. While many common troopers shared names with the Saxon noble families that fill the lists of colonels and members of the court, the people who kept a cavalry company going day to day—finding and arranging forage, crafting saddles and tack, repairing armor—were common born. A noble cavalry trooper in the 1620s could have easily found himself being led by his social inferior in battle.

As the war continued, the proportion of nobles even in higher company-level cavalry ranks collapsed. The 1630s are problematic because of the limited number of surviving records: only three cavalry rolls survive from the entire decade. It's possible that these companies exhibit a high proportion of nobility because they were cuirassiers, a more honorable position than arquebusiers. But we can see a fall in the percentage of nobility from the 1620s to the 1640s: the percentage of noble rittmeisters fell from 74% to 28%, noble flag-bearers from 82% to 25%, and noble lieutenants from 65% to 40%. There were no noble corporals in cavalry documents from the 1640s. There are far fewer noble non-officers in this decade as well: 30% of fahnenjunkers in the 1640s were noble, and only 2% of ordinary cavalry troopers.

Something similar happened in the infantry.

Rank	Non-Noble	Noble	Unknown	Percent noble	Total
Hauptmann	10	29	1	71%	41
Fähndrich	10	41	0	80%	51
Lieutenant	40	9	0	18%	49
Feldwebel	47	0	0	0	47
Musterschreiber	35	0	0	0	35
Feldscher	40	0	0	0	40
Führer	46	0	0	0	46
Fourier	46	0	0	0	46
Gemeinwebel	100	1	0	1%	101
Piper	40	0	0	0	40
Drummer	96	0	0	0	96

Aufwarter	5	3	1	33%	9
Adelsbursch	25	10	0	29%	35
Gefreiter	124	18	2	13%	144
Bodyguard	8	0	0	0	8
Pikeman	2921	211	15	7%	3147
Halberdier	729	7	2	9%	738
Musketeer	6745	37	9	0.5%	6791

Total **11,464**

Table 2.6: Number and percentage of nobles in Saxon infantry, 1620s

Rank	Non-Noble	Noble	Unknown	Percent noble	Total
Hauptmann	3	2	0	40%	5
Fähndrich	4	1	0	20%	5
Lieutenant	5	0	0	0	5
Feldwebel	5	1	0	17%	6
Musterschreiber	6	0	0	0	6
Feldscher	5	0	0	0	5
Führer	6	0	0	0	6
Fourier	6	0	0	0	6
Gemeinwebel	8	0	0	0	8
Sergeant	4	0	0	0	4
Corporal	20	0	0	0	20
Piper	2	0	0	0	2
Drummer	21	0	0	0	21
Gefreiter	125	0	0	0	125
Musketeer	249	0	0	0	249
Unspecified	870	3	1	0.3%	874
Total					1,347

Table 2.7: Number and percentage of nobles in Saxon infantry, 1630s

Rank	Non-Noble	Noble	Unknown	Percent noble	Total
Hauptmann	17	12	1	40%	30
Fähndrich	16	1	0	6%	17
Lieutenant	15	1	0	6%	16
Feldwebel	17	0	0	0	17
Musterschreiber	18	0	0	0	18
Feldscher	16	0	1	0	17

Führer	18	0	0	0	18
Fourier	17	1	0	6%	18
Gemeinwebel	10	0	0	0	10
Sergeant	24	0	0	0	24
Corporal	63	0	0	0	63
Piper	15	0	0	0	15
Drummer	58	1	1	2%	60
Aufwarter	8	2	0	20%	10
Bodyguard	28	0	1	0	29
Gefreiter	469	9	1	2%	479
Musketeer	131	0	0	0	131
Unspecified	1669	7	3	0.4%	1679
Gesindel	6	0	0	0	6
Total					2,657

Table 2.8: Number and percentage of nobles in Saxon infantry, 1640s

Tables 2.6, 2.7, and 2.8 detail the raw numbers and percentage of noble and non-noble infantry officers and common soldiers by rank and office for each decade of the Thirty Years' War. No regimental staff or officers are included. Infantry officers at the company level are those listed on the *prima plana*, literally the “first page” of the infantry roll: Hauptmann, Fähndrich, Lieutenant, Feldwebel, Musterschreiber, Feldscher, Führer, Fourier, two Gemeinwebels, one piper, and three drummers. Documents from the 1630s and 1640s also sometimes record sergeants and corporals; in this period, they are lower officers.

Infantrymen who fought with different weapons occupied different social strata in the company: pikemen were senior because the pike was the most honorable infantry weapon. Halberdiers were second in order of precedence, then musketeers. Documents from the 1620s often do not record which common soldiers are gefreiters (squad leaders), but whenever gefreiters are specified they're always either pikemen or halberdiers. Mixed pike and shot tactics survived until the turn of the eighteenth century but Saxon muster rolls from the 1630s and 1640s

never record which soldiers were pikemen and which were musketeers. Instead, these documents most often refer to “squad leaders” and “soldiers” or simply to “soldiers” in general. It’s possible that in many rolls from these decades, the soldiers referred to as “squad leaders” were also pikemen.

Like cavalry rolls, many infantry rolls list ill-defined positions. One company in the 1620s divided its pikemen into “Pigknir von Adelsbursch” and “Gemein Pigknir.”⁵⁶ In later usage, *Adelsbursch* meant a young noble or the younger son of a noble family, translated into Latin as “nobilis minor” and into French as “cadet.”⁵⁷ These pikemen may have been trainee officers of some sort, which is what the word “cadet” meant later, or they may also have been squad leaders. Despite the literal meaning, the pikemen designated as Adelsbursch were not all noble; slightly less than a third were, 10 out of 35. Several infantry rolls also count attendants (*Aufwarter*), bodyguards, and “the rabble” (*Gesindel*) attendant upon the baggage of some officers.

By the eighteenth century, nobles in the military were concentrated in the cavalry: the most glamorous job in the military, redolent to eighteenth-century officers of knighthood.⁵⁸ In the seventeenth century, things were somewhat more complicated. In the 1620s, 71% of infantry Hauptleute (the plural of Hauptmann) were noble, compared to 74% of Rittmeisters, the equivalent cavalry rank; and 80% of infantry Fähndriches were noble, compared to 82% of cavalry cornets. The largest discrepancy is among the lieutenants: 65% of cavalry lieutenants

56 SHStAdr 11237 10840/3 7 and 11237 10840/4 3.

57 *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, entry for “Adelsbursch;” Jean Philippe Andre, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Royal [...]* (Cologne and Frankfurt: 1715), “Adelsbursch.”

58 This phenomenon is attested in multiple sources; see for instance Gregory W Pedlow, *The Survival of the Hessian Nobility, 1770-1870* (Princeton: Princeton Legacy Library, 1988), 170.

were noble in this decade, but only 18% of infantry lieutenants. As was the case for cavalry officers in this decade, no nobles are attested in the remaining infantry officer ranks.

In the 1630s the percentage of nobles in most infantry officer ranks fell to 40% of infantry Hauptleute, 20% of Fähndriches, and no lieutenants. Although these percentages are far below the 100% noble background of the three top company-level ranks for cavalry in this decade, one Feldwebel out of the six attested for the 1630s was also a noble, slightly less than 17%: in contrast, no lower officers in the cavalry during this decade were noble. However, by the 1640s while the percentage of nobles among the Fähndriches fell precipitously to 6%, that of noble Hauptleute remained steady at 40%. Proportionally, more infantry captains in this decade came from a noble background than cavalry captains. Meanwhile, the percentage of noble infantry lieutenants rose, to slightly over 6%.

In general, the proportion of nobles among infantry officers declined over time, like the proportion of cavalry officers. It is possible that by the second generation of this war, the Saxon nobility was simply running out of men. Imperialist officers also became “plebeianized” as the war continued; one historian theorizes that the Emperor permitted this to occur as a check against any rival influence upon the army.⁵⁹ In the case of the Saxon army, however, this was more complicated than a simple linear development; where these officers ended up and what they ended up doing with their lives may have owed as much to individual choice or contingency as they did to larger trends.

Regular infantrymen from noble backgrounds are mentioned only rarely in secondary sources. In English-language historiography, these are called “gentlemen volunteers,” and

59 Michael Hochedlinger, “The Habsburg Monarchy: From ‘Military-Fiscal State’ to ‘Militarization,’” Christopher Storrs, ed., *The Fiscal-Military State in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Essays in Honor of P.G.M. Dickinson* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), 92.

they're associated more with the sixteenth century than the seventeenth.⁶⁰ They're especially well-attested in Spanish sources.⁶¹ Noble pikemen, *rodeleros*, and squad leaders also show up in Hungary.⁶² Although noble infantrymen are not numerous, they appear in Saxon muster rolls as well, where they made more money. Like noble officers, the greatest proportion of noble infantrymen is seen in the 1620s. The proportion of nobles in a position increases with the honor of the role: one half of one percent of musketeers in this decade were noble-born, 0.9% of halberdiers, 7% of pikemen, and 12.5% of squad leaders. Some of the noble pikemen and squad leaders may have been young men placed into these positions by their relatives to prepare for a military career literally “from the pike up.” Adam Adrian von Wallnitz, for example, was a pikeman in Löser’s free company in 1619. He was absent for at least two musterings—whether he left with permission or deserted is unrecorded—but he returned to the Saxon army next year, as a Fähndrich in the von Schliebens Regiment. By February 1621, he was the Hauptmann of a company of his own, a position he held until his regiment was dismissed in October 1622.⁶³ The noble halberdiers and musketeers are more interesting, since no secondary source mentions people like them. Although they were rarer in later decades and their role was often not specified, noble common soldiers also appear in documents from the 1630s and 40s. Nobles comprised 0.3% of common soldiers during the 1630s and 0.4% during the 1640s, only slightly less than the proportion of nobles in the musketeers in the 1620s. However, only 2% of squad leaders were

60 JR Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 138-139.

61 Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road: 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed 2004), 33-34.

62 Zoltán Péter Bagi, “The Life of Soldiers during the Long Turkish War (1593–1606),” *The Hungarian Historical Review* 4.2 (2015), 384-417, 387-388.

63 SHStADr 11237 10840/1-1, 11237 10840/3 9, 11237 10840/4 10, 11237 10840/5 3. For when Saxon regiments were raised and dismissed, see SHStADr 11237 10831/1.

nobles during the 1640s, a real decline from twenty years earlier. Nevertheless, like the proportion of noble lieutenants, the proportion of common soldiers and squad leaders who were of noble background ticked up in the 1640s from the previous decade.

Although the proportion of nobles was often greater in higher ranks of both the infantry and the cavalry, there appears to have been no military rank or office at the company level that was closed to commoners. Neither do more humble positions appear to have been closed to nobles. Both of these points hold especially true for dragoons: there were only two noble dragoons listed in all records, and one was a common soldier. Although roles with more social prestige often contained more nobles (such as pikemen as opposed to musketeers, or cavalry as opposed to infantry or dragoons), this was not always the case. Flags were so symbolically important that the military theorist Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen recommended that a company's flag-bearer be of a higher social standing than either the captain or the lieutenant. In the 1620s, infantry Fähndriches and cavalry cornets contained a higher proportion of nobility than the other top two ranks.⁶⁴ There is no indication in these brief entries of whether these nobles were born noble or became ennobled after successful military service. Some soldiers may have taken it upon themselves to claim noble status, especially officers like the cavalry corporal Hans Harold von Bauer who was listed in the Life Regiment in 1645; the name literally means "von Peasant."⁶⁵

64 Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen, *Kriegskunst zu Fuß, zu hochnöthigstem Nutzen und Besten nicht allein allen ankommenden Soldaten, sondern auch in Abrichtung eines gemeinen Landvolcks und Ausschuß in Fürstenthümern und Stätte*, printed by Heironymus Gallero, Oppenheim, 1615, 28; Dutch city-defense companies required their Vaandrighs to be of the social elite, but these companies were elite-dominated anyway. Joneath Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," Jan Bremmer and Hermann Roodenburg, ed. *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 84-128, 97.

65 SHStAdr 11237 10841/20 10.

If they were talented, if they lived long enough, and if they were very lucky, the early seventeenth-century military seems to have offered common-born soldiers the opportunity for upward social mobility and the chance to attain a position of respect. (However, this respect almost always came within the military subculture alone. Only people who were born common or poor and then became generals, like Johann Aldringen or Jan van Werth, could attain respect in the world at large.). In some cases, we can track this as it happens.

Surviving muster rolls from the 1620s in the Saxon State Archive in Dresden are so numerous that they cover the same companies through multiple musterings. Each gives a snapshot of a company at a particular moment; like a flipbook generating the illusion of movement. Collating this data, soldiers can be tracked from roll to roll over a period of time. The company in which one of the fastest social advancements is visible is the eighth company in the von Schlieben Regiment, captained first by Christian von Brandstein and then by Joachim von Zeutzsch. This is the company that Mattheus Steiner served in, four years before the Mansfeld Regiment went to Lombardy.⁶⁶ One of the Mansfeld Regiment's Provosts, Gottfried Reichbrodt, had been a *musterschreiber* in an infantry company, probably indicating some clerky training. In contrast, Steiner first appears in the records in 1620 as a common soldier: a pikeman, making ten gulden a month.⁶⁷ By 1621, Steiner had moved to another company in the same regiment and he made fourteen gulden a month, which means he had probably been promoted to squad leader.⁶⁸ His pay was above-average, but not elite. How he made the jump from pikeman to regimental bailiff and secretary is unknown.

66 Three rolls survive from this company: SHStADr 11237 10840/3 8, 11237 10840/4 8, and 11237 10840/5 8.

67 SHStADr 11237 10840/3 8. For Gottfried Reichbrodt see SHStADr 11237 10840/3 6, 11237 10840/4 4, and 11237 10840/57.

68 SHStADr 11237 10840/4 1.

One of the soldiers in Steiner's old company, Hans Leopold from Ziegenrück in Saxony, was listed as a musketeer in February 1620; he became the company *musterschreiber* on January 10, 1621. Most ascents in this company were not as steep. The musketeer Baltzer Lipman made 7 gulden a month in February 1620 and 8 gulden a month by April 1621, which is not a startling or unusual raise. Heinrich Rabner made it from musketeer to pikeman, with a corresponding raise of three gulden a month. Such advancements over time were common. The elite pikemen—the pikemen who were listed at the top of the roll, and who made the most—fed steadily into the ranks of the lower officers. Andreas Eisfeld went from elite pikeman to *Führer*, and Hans Georg Vogel became a *Gemeinweibel*. In another company, Hans Sparr from Torgau was brought on to replace an elite pikeman and eventually became the company doctor.⁶⁹

These little histories argue against another common negative stereotype of early seventeenth-century mercenaries: that they did not care about the armies in which they served.⁷⁰ The surviving muster rolls that span the longest period of time belong to a set of free companies of infantry which began their tenure under Colonel Dietrich von Starschedel the Elder. The best-documented of these companies, with four rolls surviving, is the fourth, which began under Eustachius Löser in summer 1619 and was taken over by Hans von Taube when Löser left to become the Lieutenant Colonel of another regiment.⁷¹ Of the 290 common soldiers in this company mustered in on 7 August 1619, 149 remained on the twelfth of March 1624 when the company was dismissed: 51%. (One or two of them were deserters who later returned to the same company.) 56% of musketeers and 46% of pikemen remained in the company for the entire

69 Friedrich Venus's company, 1621-1622, SHStAdr 11237 10841/8 no 10.

70 CV Wedgewood, *The Thirty Years' War* (New York: New York Review Books Classics, 2005, original 1938), 87.

71 SHStAdr 11237 10831/1.

4 years and seven months it was in being; only 24% of halberdiers served this entire time. It is possible that pikemen and halberdiers had higher mortality rates than musketeers, especially because they often covered retreats.

By modern standards this turnover is extremely low, but it mirrors research on early-modern Hungary which has found many experienced soldiers on the Military Border between Hapsburg and Ottoman territories, some who were soldiers for up to 25 or 30 years.⁷² The dead in a mass grave from the battlefield at Lützen showed numerous healed injuries, also suggesting longterm service.⁷³

Relatives went to war together frequently, like the pair of troopers listed in Moritz Herman von Oynhausen's company of cuirassiers in 1631, Franz von Nossitz the elder and Franz von Nossitz the younger. "These troopers still have no horses," comments the marginal note; "Franz von Nossitz the younger died at Eger."⁷⁴ Historians are already familiar with noble military dynasties which produced high officers like the Piccolomini or Montecuccoli, and the ranks of Saxon colonels and captains are full of representatives of families like the von Arnims. But the Metzches are a striking example of a military family of ordinary people. Heinrich Bernard Metzsch was an arquebusier in Caspar Pflugk's cavalry company in November 1618.⁷⁵ By 1620 Heinrich Bernard was gone, but Friedrich, Heinrich, Bernard, and Hans Caspar Metzsch were attested in the same company—the first three were so close that they were listed in one

72 Bagi, "The Life of Soldiers during the Long Turkish War," 391.

73 Nicole Nicklisch, Frank Ramsthaler, Harald Meller, Susanne Friederich, and Kurt W. Alt, "The face of war: Trauma analysis of a mass grave from the Battle of Lützen (1632)," *PLoS One* 12.5 (2017), <http://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0178252>.

74 SHStAdr 11237 10841/2 1.

75 SHStAdr 11237 10840/3 1, 11237 10831/2.

entry, as “Friedrich, Heinrich, and Bernard Metzsch, 6 horses.”⁷⁶ Meanwhile, Hans Adam Metzsch was a trooper in Hans Marschall’s company in the same regiment until 1622.⁷⁷ From 1620 to 1621 Hans Wilhelm Metzsch was a pikeman in the von Schlieben Regiment, a rare foray into the infantry for a member of this family.⁷⁸ From 1623 to 1624, Heinrich Bernard pops up again, this time as the captain of his own cavalry company under Wolf von Mansfeld.⁷⁹ Heinrich Sebastian Metzsch was a member of the Saxon Hoffahne in early spring 1624.⁸⁰ Martin Metzsch shows up as a cuirassier in 1631.⁸¹ Finally, in August 1645, Hans Georg Metzsch left Fischer's company of cavalry and joined the enemy.⁸² To speak of “desertion” in this context is imprecise: each of these people may have been in an individual company only briefly, but the Metzsch family as a group had a relationship with the cavalry (whether Saxon or otherwise) that spanned decades.⁸³

The family with one of the longest sustained commitments to Saxon arms is the von Breitenbachs. Julius Caesar von Breitenbach was a member of the Mansfeld Regiment who was in the room when Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze shot Hans Heinrich Tauerling in 1625. ⁸⁴

76 SHStADr 11237 10839/27 2.

77 SHStADr 11237 10839/27 3, 11237 10839/8 7.

78 SHStADr 11237 10840/4 1.

79 SHStADr 11237 10839/11 6.

80 SHStADr 11237 10840/11 doc 2 pp 7-62.

81 SHStADr 11237 10841/2 1.

82 SHStADr 11237 10841/13.

83 Luciano Pezzolo, “Professione militare e famiglia in Italia tra tardo medioevo e prima età moderna,” Anna Bellavitis and Isabelle Chabot eds., *La Justice des familles: Autour de la transmission des biens, des savoirs et des pouvoirs* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2011), 341–66; Gregory Hanlon, *The Hero of Italy: The Duke of Parma and the Thirty Years' War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 213.

84 SHStADr 10024 9119/38 pp 27-39.

Centurius von Breitenbach, named after the Roman military unit, was a corporal in Caspar Christoff von Nossitz's infantry company in 1681.⁸⁵ That makes 56 years of Saxon military service and at least 20 more of exuberant if possibly ill-informed love for classical Rome, since Julius Caesar von Breitenbach was probably at least a young man when he saw Tauerling get shot and he was presumably given his name at birth.

Strong regional ties are also evident in some companies, such as Carl von Krahe's company, in which 24 out of 222 common soldiers came from the small Thuringian city of Suhl.⁸⁶ Most of these men are listed one after the other in two large blocks, which probably means that they stuck close to one another while mustering in. These findings agree with things Gregory Hanlon found in muster rolls of soldiers in the service of the Duchy of Parma, in which groups of friends from the same place enlisted together and deserted together.⁸⁷

The records are too sparse to track soldiers over thirty years with statistical rigor, but some people remained in the Saxon army for multiple decades. Christoff Rauchhaupt from Gaschwitz was a pikeman from 1620 to 1622 in Andreas von Eberleben's company; in 1644 he was a corporal in Wolf Christoff von Arnim's Life Company.⁸⁸ A musketeer with the distinctive name of Hans Catherine served in Ernst von Günterrode's free company from 1619 to 1620, and may also be attested in Daniel von Schlieben's company in the same unit from 1623 to 1625. (The two entries have different hometowns listed: either one *musterschreiber* made a

85 *Rolla über des Hauptmanns Casper Christophen von Nossitz Zum Churfurstl: Sachß: Leib Regiment gehorige Compagnie Zu Fuß*, in the large bound collection of late seventeenth-century muster rolls SHStADr 11237 11241.

86 SHStADr 11237 10840/4 2.

87 Hanlon, *Hero of Italy*, 65.

88 SHStADr 11237 10841/6 18 doc 5, 11237 1041/1, 11237 10841/8 8, 11237 10841/13.

mistake or these are actually different people.)⁸⁹ Twelve years later he was on a tribunal for a murder trial in Wittenberg.⁹⁰

The steepest social ascent was that of Melchior Gruppach from Gruppach, a ghost town southeast of Delitzsch in Saxony. In 1621, Gruppach was a pikeman in the Löser/von Taube free company. He was already relatively highly paid for a pikeman at 13 gulden a month, which means he probably occupied a position of some responsibility and may already have had military experience.⁹¹ At some point after June 1621 he left, but he was back in the same company by May 1622, the top halberdier on the list this time, making the very good sum of 20 gulden a month.⁹² He left a second time, and when he returned by March 1623 he was listed as making only 17 gulden a month, a pikeman again.⁹³ Then he drops out of the record. By the early 1630s Gruppach was the Oberst Wachtmeister of the Electoral Field Life Guard, aka the Life Regiment, and probably the captain of one of its companies. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel of this regiment on April 26, 1632, then received absolute command of the regiment in 1639 when its colonel died.⁹⁴ In 1641 he and his troops occupied Zittau, where he came to the attention of the Saxon chronicler Johann Benedict Carpzov:

After the city of Görlitz was taken both armies broke off toward Silesia on the 13 Octobr., but the lieutenant colonel Melchior von Gruppach lodged near Zittau with eight companies of the Life Regiment to occupy it. This *Commandante* organized the watch daily with flags flying, and each time he had them appear on the city square in front of his quarters, while he held a prayer service

89 SHStADr 11237 10839/6, 11237 10840 /12.

90 SHStADr 11237 10796.

91 SHStADr 11237 10840/1 2.

92 SHStADr 11237 10840/9.

93 SHStADr 11237 10840/11 1.

94 SHStADr 10831/1.

under the regimental chaplain, which deserves to be mentioned as something unusually appropriate.⁹⁵

The impressively Protestant Gruppach was “von Gruppach” to Carpzov: it’s not recorded whether he had been ennobled along with receiving high office or took the liberty of referring to himself as a noble on his own. He received a commission as a full colonel in July 1643. Finally, in 1651, exactly thirty years after he first appeared in the historical record, the Life Regiment was dismissed and Colonel Melchior von Gruppach, former pikeman and habitual deserter, was granted the position of senior administrative officer (*Amphauptmann*) for Delitzsch, Bitterfeld, and Zörbig.⁹⁶

2. *Demography of the Mansfeld Regiment*

In the summer of 1625, when Theodoro de Camargo was staying in Brussels and Wolf von Mansfeld was trying to persuade him to join his expedition to Italy, Mansfeld wrote that he had already begun recruiting. “I assure you that you will find The Regiment made up of the kind of people I know you will like,” he wrote in clumsy French, probably Camargo’s native language.⁹⁷ Were the members of the Mansfeld Regiment good soldiers before everything fell

95 “Nach Eroberung der Stadt Görlitz brachten den 13 Octobr. die Armeen alle beyde nach Schlesien auf, nacher Zittau aber, waren der Obrist Lieutenant Melchior von Gruppach mit 8. Compagnien vom Leib-Regiment zur Besatzung eingelegt. Dieser *Commandante* ließ täglich die Wache mit fliegender Fahne aufziehen, und alle Zeit zuvor auf den Platz vor seinem Quartier durch den Feldprediger, Bethstunde halten, welcheß als etwas seltsames billig verdienet angemerket zu werden.” Johann Benedict Carpzov, *Analecta fastorum Zittaviensium, oder historischer Schauplatz der löblichen alten Sechs-Stadt des Marggraffthums Ober-Lausitz Zittau*. 1716, 241.

96 SHStADr 11237 10831/1.

97 “Au reste ie vous assure, que trouverer Le Regiment composé de telles gens, que ie sui certain, que vous vous entiendaient content.” Letter of Mansfeld to Theodoro de Camargo, 6 Aug 1625, SHStADr 10024 9737/13, *Italienische und französische Concepta derer Schreiben Graf Wolfgang zu Mansfeld an den Herzog von Feria, Spanischen bottschafter, und andere ao 1625-26*, 4-5.

apart? If so, what did this mean when an early-seventeenth-century colonel said it? How did this regiment compare to Saxon units in the Saxon army itself?

The Mansfeld Regiment's muster rolls cannot answer this question. But there is a list of deserters in the Mansfeld Regiment's legal books, as well as a list of soldiers in Wolfgang Winckelman's company who had been assembled after the fabric shipment was stolen from the Swiss agents.⁹⁸ The list of deserters records cities of origin as well as names; although the Winckelmann company list does not record place of origin, 7 of its names appear in recorded companies of the Saxon army in the 1620s. The origins of 102 members of the Mansfeld Regiment were also recorded in passing when they were discussed in the regiment's legal documents. These sources add up to a sample size of 358 Mansfelders whose hometowns are known. Figure 2.8 depicts their origins.

98 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6 219-232; 10024 9119/38 60-74.

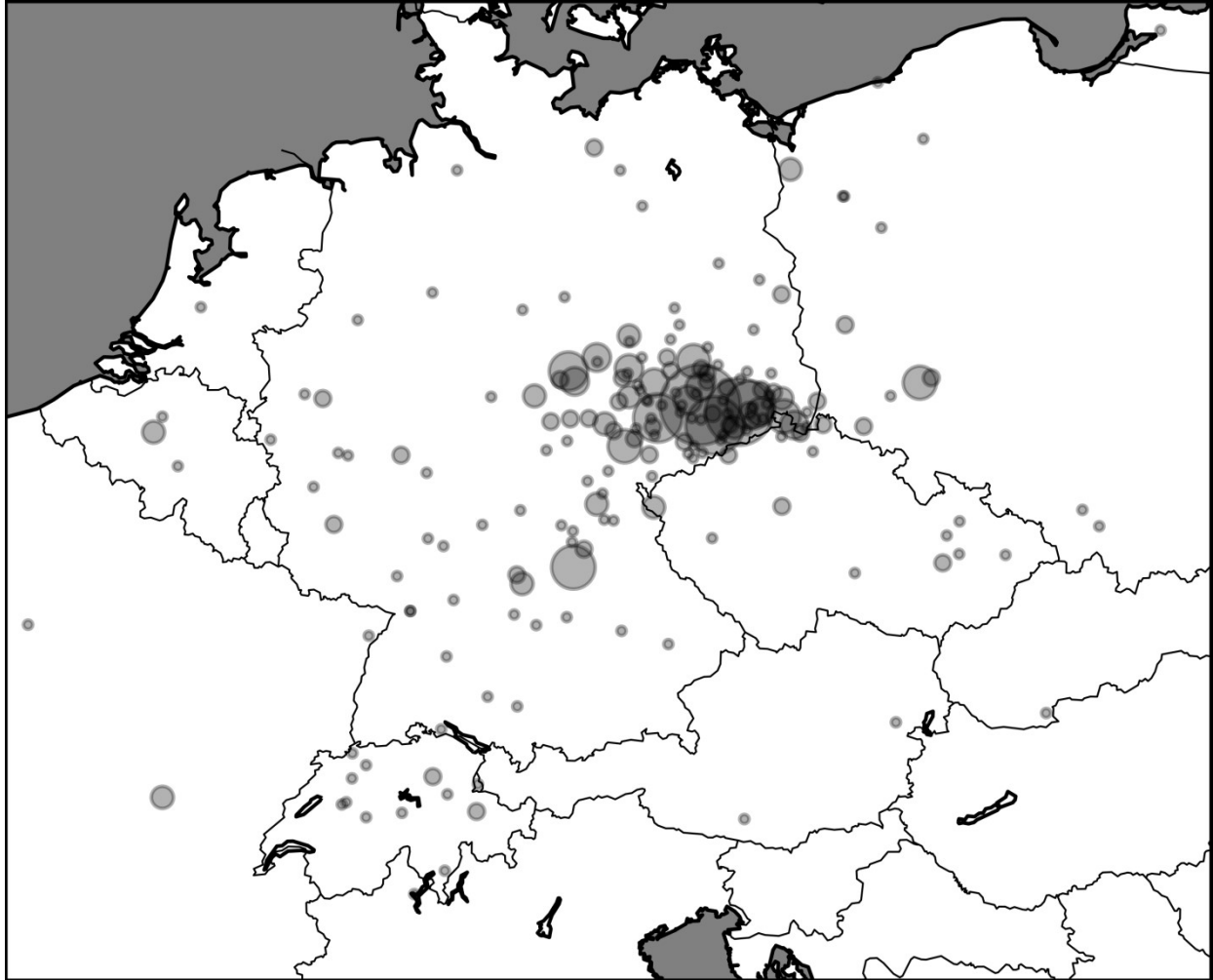


Figure 2.5: Origins of members of the Mansfeld Regiment, 1625-1627

Figure 2.5 depicts the origins of the members of the Mansfeld Regiment. The familiar diamond shape is still there, centered as before on the cities and towns of Saxony and Thuringia—in this case, the best-represented polities are Döbeln, Dresden, and Freiberg. But it's shifted, as though the shape had been pulled down and to the east. There are fewer soldiers from the north of Germany, and fewer Silesians. From Saxony, through Bavaria, down to Lake Constance, and into Switzerland, you can track the movement of this regiment by the people who ended up in it; the Mansfelders must have picked up recruits as they went like beads on a string. At least seven soldiers joined them in Nuremberg: while the author of *Der Anndre Thail*

Nurembergische Cronica was recording the regiment's presence, other citizens of Nuremberg were signing up.⁹⁹ More than three percent of the Mansfelders with known origins were Swiss, far above the percentage of Swiss people in the Saxon army in any decade. The Mansfeld Regiment also had a crop of people from the Spanish Netherlands and Burgundy, who probably came in with Camargo or due in some way to his influence: one Walloon was Victoria Guarde's driver. When left to their own devices, soldiers may have moved around less than historians previously thought, but regiments could be highly mobile, and if a soldier became attached to one it could pull him right across the map.

The Mansfeld Regiment was a comparatively southern regiment, a comparatively Swiss regiment, and a comparatively Belgian regiment. It may also have been a comparatively Catholic regiment, although it's difficult to tell considering the moratorium they appear to have placed on mentioning denominational differences in public. Despite the bitterness of the religious conflict that had touched off the war which brought the regiment to Lombardy, soldiers from both Protestant and Catholic Swiss regions were represented.

When Wolf von Mansfeld promised Camargo that he would like the members of the Mansfeld Regiment that had accumulated so far, he probably meant that at least some of them were experienced soldiers. David Parrott wrote about the crucial importance of experienced soldiers for the French army. Many historians had argued that the early seventeenth century was important for the development of standardized drill, backed up by printed manuals such as those put out by von Wallhausen or Jacob de Gheyn. Parrott, however, found that the evidence for the practical importance of such manuals is slim.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, there is no mention of drill in

99 UCLA Library Special Collections MS *170/355, *Der Anndre Thail Nurembergische Cronica*, 348 v.

100 David Parrott, *Richelieu's Army: War, Government, and Society in France 1624-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 38.

documents describe the daily lives of soldiers. In the absence of a standardized training regimen, experienced soldiers were essential for training new ones: contemporary texts are full of discussions of how important experienced men were and how important it was to distribute the new People among them.¹⁰¹

The Mansfeld Regiment appears to have been an experienced group of people before it left for Italy. Many officers already had careers, like Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt and his brother August, or Eustachius Löser. Wolfgang Winckelmann had already served under von Mansfeld more than once. Common soldiers who served both in earlier Saxon units and in the Mansfeld Regiment are also securely attested. It might be argued that a sample primarily taken from a list of deserters is problematic as a source for finding veterans: deserters could be more likely to be newer soldiers, whether because they would eventually realize they hated soldiering or because they had no social network within the military subculture. This is not the case, however: experienced soldiers also deserted from this regiment, such as Brosius Düring, who is documented in several Saxon units in 1620 and 1625.¹⁰² What may have been significant was place of origin: the deserters were proportionally less Saxon than the soldiers mentioned in the regiment's legal documents who did not desert. Whether this was because groups of soldiers with similar origins were more cohesive, as Hanlon argued, or because the language barrier between Saxons and non-Saxons would have made it difficult to travel alone--or something else entirely--we cannot know for sure.¹⁰³

101 Parrott, *Richelieu's Army*, 40-41, fn 80.

102 SHStAdr 11237 10841 6/18 doc 9; 11237 10840/12.

103 Hanlon, *Hero of Italy*, 109.

Like other Saxon units, the Mansfeld Regiment was probably not made up of drifters, dregs, or “the scum of the earth,” although there’s no way to tell how poor they were before they enlisted. Like other Saxon units, the regiment was largely common-born, even many of the officers. The makeup of the Mansfeld Regiment does clearly demonstrate one characteristic of seventeenth-century armies: regiments were always recruiting. Although a seventeenth-century company had less turnover than many historians previously thought, its composition fluctuated continually as soldiers deserted, got sick, or died, and were replaced.¹⁰⁴ In the Mansfeld Regiment’s case, we can see this process along the road to Lombardy itself.

104 Parrott, *Richelieu's Army*, 178.

Chapter 3: The Spinner-Lords of St Gallen Logistics, Corruption, and the Military History of Things

It was almost midnight when Hans Jacob Schobinger heard the officers talking about the fabric shipment. The campaigning season should have ended by now: it was Sunday, the last day of November, 1625. Schobinger had been staying in the Winckelmann Company's quarters at Beringen, Hieronymous Sebastian Schutze and Felix Steter's company. The rest of the Mansfeld Regiment was already in Lombardy; the infantry in and around the small town of Busto Arsizio near Milan, and the cavalry in Alessandria and Cremona. But the Winckelmann Company was still all the way up in Switzerland, practically on the shores of Lake Constance, 230 miles due north of Busto Arsizio. They had probably been waiting for Schobinger's shipment: twenty-one bales (*Pallen*) of fabric from St. Gallen, worth the vast sum of over eighteen thousand ducats. Now, Schobinger overheard a conversation between Wolfgang Winckelmann and Alwig von Sulz, the colonel of another German regiment in Spanish service. A week ago, said von Sulz to Winckelmann, he had been talking with some of Schobinger's teamsters. They had told von Sulz that their wagons had arrived at Beringen eleven days earlier—Thursday before last, the twentieth of November.¹

Wolfgang Winckelmann: shabby in old black silk satin breeches, an old embroidered swordbelt, old black mantle, little Italian cap, long black feather.² He was the quartermaster of the Mansfeld Regiment as well as the infantry's Oberst Wachtmeister, the commander of the regiment's third-most-prestigious company and third in command of the regiment. He had contracted with Schobinger and his colleagues, agents from St. Gallen, to buy this fabric for the regiment. But by the time Schobinger overheard von Sulz and Winckelmann, the shipment had

1 The full account of this event is in SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 35-78.

2 SHStADr 10024 9678/12, *INQUISITION Acta CONTRA Den Vorhafften Wolffen Wincklemann 1631*, 185.

been sitting in a farmyard about an hour outside Beringen for eleven days. What was Winckelmann doing?

It was dark by now, lit only by fire or tallow candles, and cold. Schobinger had been up all night. He may have been thinking about the late hour. Before the early modern period, night had been almost purely negative in western European thought, but historians note a process of “nocturnalization” that took place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as night took on a more many-faceted and ambiguous cast. For early moderns, night was no longer simply frightening: it was a metaphor for the soul’s ascetic journey towards God or the time in which Baroque court masques were staged to demonstrate the power of the sovereign.³ Meanwhile, ordinary city-dwellers were staying up later. But while the rest of the seventeenth century was “colonizing” the night, soldiers had always had to wake up at night or stay up late. Like von Sulz or Winckelmann, officers needed to look out for important business that might end up taking place at night. Common soldiers had to stand watch at all hours; the German word for squad leader, *gefreiter*, meant literally that he had been “freed” from having to stand watch. Soldiers were potentially “on call” 24 hours a day, either to attack—night actions were often part of siege warfare or guerilla warfare—or to suddenly defend themselves. This was an example of the hardship of a soldier’s life. “Willing service by day and night” was a common sign-off for letters. As the comrades of Jonas Beck emphasized when they pled for clemency after he had been sentenced to death for murder, he performed both “his march and his watches,” his duty both by day and night.⁴ Members of other professions worked at night too. Bakers in eighteenth-century

3 Craig Koslofsky, *Evening’s Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

4 SHStAdr 10024 9121/5, 62r-62v.

Paris started their work day between 11:30 PM and 2:30 AM; labor at night increased during the seventeenth century to feed growing cities like Paris.⁵ But while civil authorities “tolerated and policed” the burgeoning night life of cities, “they did not sanction it.”⁶ Despite the nocturnalizing process, for many people who were not part of the military subculture, “nightwalking” was still characteristic of criminality.

Soldiers stayed up late and moved around at night; they were less like most non-soldiers and more like college students, with whom they sometimes socialized in college towns. Both soldiers and students were young, unruly men who were accustomed to dominate urban space after dark with threat and noise.⁷ But unlike students, soldiers had to be prepared to perform their tasks at any hour. Attempts to make the night more welcoming to respectable people frequently led to tensions between city officials and students.⁸ Meanwhile, one of the reasons that the French secretary of state Louvois instituted street lighting in Lille at the comparatively early date of 1667, right after the city had been taken in the War of Devolution, was to make it harder for French troops occupying the newly-conquered city to commit crimes at night.⁹ Civilians could be compelled to associate with soldiers at night, as in the checkpoint Friedrich Friese passed through on a cold night in the winter of 1628. When Friedrich was about nine his father had accepted a position as a city councilor in Magdeburg and had traveled from Leipzig with his family to take it. Friedrich remembered later how he had stared at the soldiers’ burning

5 Steven Laurence Kaplan, *The Bakers of Paris and the Bread Question, 1700-1775* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 227-228; Alain Cabantous, *Histoire de la Nuit: XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 2009), 305.

6 Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire*, 133.

7 Alexandra Shepard, “Student Masculinity in Early Modern Cambridge,” Barbara Krug-Richter and Ruth-Elisabeth Mohrmann, eds., *Frühneuzeitliche Universitätskulturen: Kulturhistorische Perspektiven auf die Hochschulen in Europa* (Vienna/Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 71.

8 Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire*, 166-170.

9 *Ibid.*, 140-143.

match against the darkness.¹⁰ Night was sort of like soldiers: fascinating but still dangerous.

On the night of the 30th of November/morning of the first of December, Schobinger's teamsters came to him. They said they had a *salva guardia* from Mansfeld. A *salva guardia* was a letter of safe conduct which in theory protected the items mentioned in it from being looted. Colonels or captains sold these to property owners in regions controlled by armies. While this was often a form of open extortion, it's also possible that Wolf von Mansfeld gave a pass to the people hauling this cloth so they could ship it through Switzerland without danger.¹¹

Winckelmann should have inspected this document when the shipment arrived, but he hadn't done that either: the teamsters came "uninspected." For that matter, why had Winckelmann remained in Beringen, instead of receiving the fabric and giving the order to move south? "To avoid danger to the security of the farm," Schobinger walked through the dark with the teamsters to see the fabric himself.¹²

The farm was about an hour away on foot. When they got there, Schobinger ran into "a watch, with a total of four or five soldiers, all with their burning lanterns and muskets." Lit candles in the dark; lit match smoking. That was probably a *Rotte*, or squad: five men. As a merchant, Schobinger may not have known that. The lanterns bespoke their readiness, since not only could you see by lantern-light and use it to signal your lack of evil intentions to others, musketeers also relit their matches by the candles. Schobinger's investigation was barred by the intransigent self-possession of the early seventeenth-century common soldier: "I asked them if they knew if there were any traders there and whether they were to be inspected, which they did

10 Friedrich Friese, "Vom Magdeburgischen Unglück, vom Oberstadtschreiber Daniel Friese," K Lohmann, ed. *Die Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs von Otto Guericke und andere denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Dreissigjährigen Kriege* (Berlin, 1913), 186-187.

11 Fritz Redlich, *De Praeda Militari: Looting and Booty, 1500-1816* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1956), 45.

12 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 39-40.

not want to grant to me at all, it was not in the orders of the Herr Oberst-Quartermaster.”¹³

Many historians describe the seventeenth century as a period of increasing control over the soldier. The social disciplining of soldiers was supposedly one element of a complex of processes that formed the modern state: states increased their control over their civilian populations in part to raise tax money for larger armies, which were inhabited by soldiers who were themselves increasingly well-disciplined. The alleged change in the daily pattern of life for common soldiers and the supposed growth in power of the early modern state are connected: these disciplined soldiers were both be the object of state power and the agents of its force projection. But like the standard conceptions of the military legal system or the social status of soldiers, the assertion that soldiers were increasingly disciplined during the seventeenth century also rests on a view from outside. Texts which were either produced by soldiers, or by people like Schobinger describing their real-life interactions with soldiers, show that the reality was different. Moreover, although most modern theorists of social disciplining rest on the paradigmatic work of Michel Foucault, the passage in *Discipline and Punish* in which Foucault introduces the military explicitly contrasts later soldiers with the soldier of the early seventeenth century. Unlike the pliant human material of eighteenth-century theoretical writings, Foucault maintains, quoting a period writer, the seventeenth-century soldier is characterized by “a lively, alert manner, an erect head...a man of such a figure could not fail to be agile and strong;” if he becomes a pikeman, he “will have to march in step in order to have as much grace and gravity as possible, for the pike is an honorable weapon, worthy to be borne with gravity and boldness.”¹⁴ This is no passive recipient of drill and training, but an energetic possessor of honor in his own

13 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 40.

14 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, tr. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 135.

right. Unless the musketeers that Schobinger met in front of the farmyard were ordered to do something by one of their personal superiors, they were not about to go out of their way for some merchant they didn't know.

They were apparently within their rights to do this, since Winckelmann didn't protest when Schobinger walked all the way back to where he was staying very early on the morning of Monday the first of December and told the news first to von Sulz's third-in-command, then Winckelmann himself. Instead, later that morning, he asked if there was enough security on the place. Schobinger answered that he wanted the musketeers that were there to listen to him, "and so I was conscious of a certain reverence for [Winckelmann's] social status I offered him 12 ducats, he answered the 12 ducats so the soldiers could have a tip from it, which I certainly assented to" [*sic*].¹⁵ In addition to tipping these soldiers for following orders, Schobinger was giving Winckelmann a cut, with the understanding that Schobinger would check on the fabric Winckelmann himself had contracted to purchase.

Once the money was promised, Winckelmann ordered his Feldwebel to get a carriage together and take Schobinger back to the farm yet again. At least it was probably full day by this point, and Schobinger no longer had to walk. But when they got there, "we found only 18 bales, and already three entire bales, in addition to six small pieces, were gone." Schobinger loaded eight of the remaining bales into the carriage and took it back to Beringen. "Ten of the whole bales we left behind with the watch, asking them to pay very close attention to it with the promise of a tip that would come to them later." When Schobinger got back to Winckelmann's quarters, he couldn't find him:

Night came on, and in the evening in his lordly [*Graflich*] quarters,
I met the Herr Oberst Quartermaster and told him the above, and

15 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 41-42.

how I had brought the carriage back here, nothing more really, and because of the night I brought the remainder in here. Then the Herr Quarterm. asked me to promise to do him a favor, at which he asked for half, that is 6 ducats, of the entire that had been promised to the soldiers as a tip, and I handed it over at once, and he said that in the next day they'd get the rest according to his promise with thanks.

An officer there told von Sulz's third in command that Schobinger should go to the farm with Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze, Winckelmann's Fähndrich, and watch over it that night. The regiment needed to move out the next day.¹⁶ That was Monday, 1 December, 1625. Schobinger had eight bales of fabric safe with him. Ten were still at the farm. Three had vanished.

Tuesday, December 2. "Because of heavy rains, there was water everywhere," and then night fell again. "None of that could be accomplished."¹⁷

Schobinger continues: "In the morning, on Wednesday, very early, I myself went to that farmyard with the watch, and there we found neither watch nor any other person, the remaining ten bales had all been opened and carried away. And what we found we bundled together as best as we could and brought it back to Beringen in five bales."¹⁸ Eight bales were safe with Schobinger himself. Five had been salvaged from the ransacked farm, for a total of thirteen. By Wednesday December third, the total missing fabric now amounted to eight bales out of 21.

The agents of the Spinner-Lords of St. Gallen enumerated what had gone missing:

16 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 42-44.

17 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 44.

18 Loc. cit.

1 Bale Cambric	In which 96 pieces	Amounting to 1496 ducats
1 Bale Cloth (<i>Fazeli</i>)	“ “ 42 pieces	“ “ 976 d
1 Bale Fustian	“ “ 42 pieces	“ “ 770 d
1 Bale Kelsch	“ “ 36 p. halb ordre and ½ 50 g	“ “ 826 d
1½ Bales Kelsch	“ “ 54 p seine Kelsch	“ “ 1313.6 d
½ Bale cloth (<i>Farbelet</i>)	“ “ 18 p	“ “ 246 d
1 Bale Fine White Linen From St. Gallen	“ “ 49 p	“ “ 863.6 d
1 Bale cloth (<i>Farbelet</i>), except for 6 pc	Except for 6 pieces, remaining 30 p	“ “ 400 d

Table 3.1: Total value of missing cloth as enumerated by Schobinger and Beyer, 3 Dec 1625

The total amount taken was worth 6,892.12 ducats, or 115 silver crowns (Table 3.1).¹⁹

Several kinds of cloth were specified. Cambric (*Camb. Lit.*) is a plain-weave linen. Fustian (*Parchent*) is a coarse cloth woven of cotton and linen.²⁰ The word Kelsch or Golsch (*Colschen*) referred to coarse, heavy linen or hemp fabric made by peasants in Alsace; Grimm’s Dictionary specified that it was blue-and-white striped or plaid.²¹ It looks like mattress ticking. The word translated as “cloth” or “napkin cloth” is *fazeli* or *fazolet*, which means “cloth, neck cloth, handkerchief, or napkin” in Ladin, a group of dialects spoken in South Tyrol and the Trentino.²² *Farbelet* is probably a variant spelling of this word by a German-speaker. These fabrics were probably solid, durable, and plebian, dull-colored, the kind of thing that would be sold to a regiment by the bale. The Spinner-Lords of St. Gallen had them hauled in barrels.

19 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 45.

20 Alois Kiessling and Max Matthes, *Textil-Fachwörterbuch* (Berlin: Schiele & Schön, 1993), 145.

21 *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, entry for “Golsch.”

22 Johannes Kramer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Dolomitenladinischen*, Vol III D-H (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1990), 215.

By the seventeenth century, Switzerland was a European center of textile production and trade. St. Gallen especially was known for its fabrics. Like the trade in weapons, the trade networks that provided cloth for armies spanned Europe, crossing geographic, social and religious boundaries.²³ These networks could involve a great number of people and vast sums. In contemporary France cloth merchants contracted directly with the monarchy, while clothing was also demanded as tribute from French cities: an alternative form of taxation until at least the end of the war with Spain. The late-seventeenth-century French army made massive demands on cloth and leather production—sources from the turn of the seventeenth/eighteenth century mention as many as 13,000 suits of clothing, or 18,000 pairs of shoes from a single contractor. These were centralized efforts, directed by the French crown. They were also largely unsuccessful. The government was usually in arrears; merchants demanded cash in hand instead of assignments on future revenue, which could take months to pay out; the soldiers routinely went barefoot in the field.²⁴ The result was that during the seventeenth century, France was less well supplied than its enemies.²⁵

In contrast, except for Alwig von Sulz and his third-in-command, Winckelmann appears to have been handling the business of getting fabric for the Mansfeld Regiment on his own. This was common in the German-speaking world. Even after Wallenstein's death, the Imperial army retained a decentralized approach to supply in which commanders were also subcontractors.

23 Julia Zunckel, *Rüstungsgeschäfte im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Unternehmerkräfte, Militärgüter, und Marktstrategien im Handel zwischen Genua, Amsterdam, und Hamburg* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1997); David Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

24 John Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610-1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 169-179.

25 Bernhard Kroener, *Les Routes et les Étapes: Die Versorgung der französischen Armeen in Nordostfrankreich (1635–1661): Ein Beitrag zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Ancien Régime* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1980).

Although the Imperial Hofkriegsrat supervised this system, arranging support services was delegated to regimental leadership.²⁶ On his side of the exchange, Schobinger's colleague Wendel Beyer called himself the representative of "the Spinner-Lords of St. Gallen," *die Spindlicher-Herren von St. Gall*. They may have managed their end of the trade with the regiments that passed through the region as some sort of consortium.²⁷ Although military subcontracting like this worked less badly than the French crown's attempts to centralize their procurement, we shouldn't ignore the immense difficulty both Winckelmann and his local suppliers had in trading and transporting supplies. The textiles Winckelmann received a week and a half before the night of November 31, 1625 were already the product of the hard labor of innumerable people who wove them, took them from where they were produced to central locations, sold them and bought them more than once, and hauled them, slowly, over land or over water, from as far away as Augsburg and Alsace to St. Gallen, and thence to Beringen.

It was cloth Winckelmann had contracted for, not uniforms. Traditionally, military historians regarded the development of uniforms as one strand of the development of the modern army. John Keegan described it as a loss of individuality. Unlike the seventeenth or sixteenth-century mercenary, a uniformed soldier was dressed in livery, as though he were a servant of the sovereign who clothed him.²⁸ Uniforms supposedly fostered obedience, amplifying the effects of drill. To other historians, they symbolize governmental or royal control over the soldier, and therefore control of the legitimate exercise of violence that, until recently,

26 Parrott, *The Business of War*, 150, 309; Jürgen Pohl, "Die Profiantirung Der Keyserlichen Armaden Ahnbelangendt:" *Studien zur Versorgung der Kaiserlichen Armee 1635-35* (Horn/Vienna: F Berger & Söhne, 1994).

27 Parrott, *The Business of War*, 214.

28 John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 342-343.

was thought to be one of the characteristics of the modern state.²⁹ Uniforms were also beautiful: personal accounts by common soldiers in old-regime armies recount their pride in their uniforms. Recruiting-sergeants picked the best-looking men for recruiting parties and dressed them in new uniforms, if possible.³⁰ For these soldiers, distinctive dress reinforced their belonging in what Berkovich called the military counterculture.³¹

That was in the eighteenth century. The development of the uniform in Europe took place over a long time and does not appear to have been linear. During the seventeenth century, soldiers wore something more like proto-uniforms than uniforms. Often, the standard element was only one article of clothing rather than the entire suit, like a distinctive jacket or sash. Some late sixteenth-century Spanish holders of government contracts had to produce a thousand or more suits of clothing to the same design at one time, but the color wasn't specified.³² By the late seventeenth century, soldiers were often provided with basic sets of clothing that were the same in material and pattern.³³ These not-quite-uniforms were only semi-standardized, and for different reasons from modern uniforms, such as cost efficiency rather than the desire for discipline or the effacement of individuality. When a French military manual of the 1620s wrote about providing soldiers with clothing, this was so they could be "well-clothed," clothed in good outfits rather than rags, not identically clothed.³⁴ The Spanish theorist Martin de Eguiluz wrote

29 Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle*, 170; for critiques of the concept of the state as the only legitimate agent of violence I cite a conversation with Peter Wilson during a conference at All Souls College Oxford, "A Violent World? Changes and Limits to Large-Scale Violence in Early Modernity," 29 June-1 July 2017.

30 Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 140.

31 Berkovich, *Motivation in War*, 187.

32 Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road*, 138-139.

33 Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle*, 170.

34 Op. Cit.

that soldiers dressed in different colors would look more dangerous than soldiers dressed “all in black, so they look like citizens or shopkeepers.”³⁵ An anonymous Spanish tract from 1610 spelled it out: “There has never been a regulation for dress and weapons in the Spanish infantry because that would remove the spirit and fire which is necessary in a soldier.”³⁶ Like the eighteenth-century uniform, the clothing of seventeenth-century soldiers displayed their membership in a distinct social group, but what was on display was freedom rather than obedience: soldiers were exempt from sumptuary laws.³⁷ Complaints survive from Spanish colonels peeved at having to wear black at court.³⁸ By the sixteenth century dressing oneself had become a means of self-expression for urban dwellers, social elites, and soldiers.³⁹ That freedom was itself the mark of a soldier’s place in the social order: if only soldiers are exempt from sumptuary laws then that’s how they’re marked. The sartorial exuberance of a soldier who could afford to dress up was a visual depiction of his station in life. It was a physical manifestation of his inner fire, the same spirit that provoked the watch in the farmyard to mouth off to Schobinger and stay where they were until they had been tipped to obey him.

In contrast to the archaic elements that still hung on in their armies like the use of halberdiers, in the area of proto-uniforms the Saxons were ahead of the curve. As early as 1613 standard mantles were worn by members of city shooting companies in Electoral Saxony; some

35 Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road*, 138.

36 Op. Cit.

37 Op. Cit.

38 JR Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620* (Montreal/Ontario: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998), 127-128.

39 Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

still survive.⁴⁰ But these garments were striped, which was probably viewed at the time as dishonorable and demeaning.⁴¹ Documents from 1618 survive in the Saxon State Archives stipulating uniform jackets of a different color for each new Saxon company.⁴² (About thirty years later, Melchior von Gruppach's patent raising him to colonel specifically mentioned the provision of mantles for his musketeers.⁴³) Robert Monro, then a lieutenant in Gustavus Adolphus's army, may have been looking at something like this when he described the Saxons at Breitenfeld as "the most complete little Armie, for personages of men, comely statures, well armed, and well arraide, that ever mine eyes did looke on, whose Officers did all looke, as if they were going in their best Apparell and Armes to be painted; where nothing was defective the eye could behold," while he and his comrades had spent the night in a freshly-plowed field.⁴⁴ Unlike records relating to Saxon units in the Saxon army, no stipulations for uniform jackets or mantles for the Mansfeld Regiment survive in the Saxon archive. Its soldiers may have received standard cloth only as a byproduct of the process of buying cloth in bulk; except for the "white linen" and the kelsch, there is no specification that all the pieces in this shipment were the same color. Once they got the cloth, soldiers or their family members were probably expected to cut out and sew the clothing themselves.

But more than a third of Schobinger's shipment went missing instead. Now the

40 Roland Sennewald, *Die Kursachsen im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Band 1: Das kursächsische Heer im Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Berlin: Zeughaus Verlag, 2013), 633.

41 Kathy Stuart, *Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honor and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 138; Michel Pastoreau, tr. Joy Gladding, *The Devil's Cloth: A History of Stripes and Striped Fabric* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

42 Sennewald, *Das kursächsische Heer im Dreißigjährigen Krieg*, 634.

43 *Ibid.*, 637.

44 Robert Monro, ed. William S Brockington Jr, *Monro, His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keys* (Westport: Praeger, 1999), 189.

Winckelmann Company's system of justice swung noisily into action. Mattheus Steiner, along with the Mansfeld Regiment's first Provost Hans Wolf von Schingo and Captain-Lieutenant Andreas Medringer, opened an inquest on December 16.⁴⁵

The eleven soldiers and officers that went to the farmyard early on the morning of December third testified: when they got there, they found the barrels in which some of the fabric had been transported lying open. "Some pieces of linen were strewn around," said Andreas Melchior von Schneeberg, Feldwebel, "which he collected and laid together, and put them together with the other things." Then Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze "honored him" with two pieces of linen, one piece of fustian, and one piece of napkin fabric (*Tellertuch=fazolet?*), he said.⁴⁶ Felix Steter testified that squad leader Gregory Drescher, who had the watch over the musketeers in the farmyard, told him the goods were there. Three barrels had obviously been broken open. Earlier, Winckelmann had told Steter to tell the musketeers "You should keep good watch," and Steter dutifully passed this order on, while having his boy fetch nine pieces of linen "from which he cut up two pieces and sold seven pieces for seven ducats."⁴⁷ Schutze had been ordered by Winckelmann through Steter "to go to the farmyard and lead the watch away, and if he found any barrels with wares in them, he should bring whatever he could." Schutze obeyed "because he felt guilty, he wanted to be more obedient." It had not been so long ago that he accidentally shot his friend. The lingering guilt didn't stop Schutze that evening from taking, "with his own hands, roughly 13 pieces of fustian, ten pieces of small white linen, five pieces of napkin fabric (*servetel=fazolet?*), and some pieces of mended goods." He told the squad leader that he was responsible for his men and gave him four pieces of fabric. Schutze also gave some

45 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 47.

46 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 48.

47 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 49-50.

fabric to the quartermaster, “receiving a warning,” and “honored” the Feldwebel with some.⁴⁸

Wednesday afternoon, still chilly and damp from last night’s rain, precious pieces of cloth were scattered around the farm courtyard: both officers and men of the watch had helped themselves to the scattered remnants of this shipment with little sense of wrongdoing. Even Schutze, preoccupied with guilt for unrelated reasons: according to Oberst Quartermaster Winckelmann a sack full of fabric sat in Schutze’s quarters, “which his People received.”⁴⁹

On the ninth of January, 1626, Camargo ordered Mattheus Steiner to assemble Winckelmann’s entire company, which he did on or near January 11.⁵⁰ Which soldiers who were not on watch on the morning of December third had taken pieces of cloth? What had they done with them? Did any of them still have any?

The soldiers testified matter-of-factly: not a single common soldier or lower officer attempted to hide his theft. It’s well known from contemporary descriptions and secondary sources that seventeenth-century soldiers stole: things belonging to enemies, things belonging to their own side, things belonging to civilians who happened to be in their way. Soldiers stole for themselves, independently of the military “tax of violence,” the contributions systems in which commanders fed and financed their troops through pillage. They may have stolen for fun; they definitely stole because their employers could not afford to feed or pay them.⁵¹

Like the members of the watch, some of the rest of the Winckelmann Company had taken pieces of cloth for themselves and parceled out some to one another. The word they used for this

48 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 50-52.

49 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 58.

50 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 59, 75.

51 John Lynn, “How War Fed War: The Tax of Violence and Contributions during the Grand Siècle,” *Journal of Modern History* 65 (1993), 286-310.

was *verehret*, they “honored” one another with this. It’s the same word that Peter Hagendorf used to describe his comrades giving him a share of their booty from Magdeburg in cash, since Hagendorf had been wounded and couldn’t make the sack itself.⁵² In many archaic societies, gift-giving built communal bonds, based on the idea of reciprocity: the recipient will eventually pay the giver back. Nothing is given anonymously.⁵³ The Winckelmann Company was not an archaic society. Like the rest of the Mansfeld Regiment, its soldiers served the King of Spain in exchange for money and food—payment, not gift. But beneath the level of official military supply, in which the commander paid and supplied his People, goods circulated more informally. Soldiers spoke of this in terms of respect paid and honor done: if one soldier gave another a piece of scavenged cloth, it was not a purely material relationship.

If we could represent the hand-overs of cloth from soldier to soldier as lines in a network, we could map the relationships within this company of friendship or obligation. “David Zenischen, sick, received six ells of red linen from Michael Melhorn, and was honored by it [*verehret bekommen*].” Barthel Baumgärtel had been a member of the watch on the farmhouse, and he had been busy. He shared two pieces of linen with his comrades (*gesellen*), then he turned around and sold two and a half ells of “blue and white stuff” to Andreas Faubig, five ells of linen to Andreas Gaunitz for a shirt, five ells of “blue and white ticked” to Christoff Fritz, linen to Caspar Schmidt, and four and a half ells of unspecified fabric to Caspar Thamb. (These soldiers knew that *kelsch* was blue and white, but not the word for it: the technical words Schrobinger and his colleagues used were as unknown to them as specifically military terms were to Schrobinger.) Some soldiers exchanged gifts with one another, or with others: Christoff Zisner

52 Peter Hagendorf, ed. Jan Peters, *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Eine Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 47.

53 Marcel Mauss, *The Gift* (London: Routledge, 2002, first ed 1954).

received “blue stuff” as a gift from Michael Kiezen for a pair of hose. Georg Seyfried received a piece of linen from Fähndrich Schutze because he helped carry everything. Gregor Grezmar bought six ells of fustian from another soldier and “paid his respects to his wife with four ells of multicolored stuff as true payment.” Many soldiers quickly made clothing out of the fabric. Hans Werner bought fustian for a pair of pants from the Fähndrich’s bodyguard, and Joseph Rosenhauer, “sick, received linen from the Fähndrich’s bodyguard for frills.” Adam Pellitz may have tried to hide his involvement: he was wearing a pair of fustian pants when the company was assembled, and he said that “his lord the Quartermaster Lieutenant gave them to him.”⁵⁴

When the flurry of questioning subsided, the total monetary value of the fabric that Steiner managed to track down was not that high. One of the Swiss agents made a list of the fabric that the soldiers of Winckelmann’s company had taken for themselves or sold (Table 3.2):

4 pc ordinary kelsch		Each 55 P	220 P
1 pc <i>deho soppo</i>		.....	83
6 pc Augsburg fustian		Each 55	330
3 pc cloth (<i>Fazolet</i>) 155 M ^d 16		Each 12	155
1 pc cloth 54 M ^d 20		Each 16	72
1 pc cloth 50 M ^d 26		Each 22	91.8
2 pc rough cloth, from which some was cut out		.....	100
1 pc linen from the region	No. 19200	.....	34
2 pc Dato [ditto]	No. 21220	Ea 38	76
1 pc Dato	No. 27280	.....	50
1 pc Deto	No. 26270	.....	48
1 pc Deto	No. 30310	56

54 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 60-74.

1 pc linen from St. Gallen	No. 24151	48
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Table 3.2: Total value of cloth that Steiner found in Winckelmann Company, 11 Jan 1626⁵⁵

This list is interesting for two reasons. First, it has catalogue numbers in it. Textiles had been labelled with numbers since the Middle Ages, but the practice is still somewhat understudied, mostly because of lack of documentation. These numbers categorized the prices of different grades of fabric, listed the sizes of different kinds of fabric, or denoted a textile's origin.⁵⁶ Practices varied widely by region so exactly what the numbers in this list signify is unclear. There is an obvious difference in price among different kinds of "linen from the region" (*landt leinradt*), as well as between "linen from the region" and "linen from St. Gallen" (*galler leinwadt*). The numbers may also catalogue individual bales of fabric for shipping, as a kind of early-modern tracking system.

Secondly, the total value of the cloth in this list amounted to only 1,363.8 Milanese pounds or 780 ducats, about a ninth of the original 6,892.12 ducat loss. The soldiers who picked through the farmyard on Wednesday afternoon, December 3, had just been scavenging. Three or four ells of cloth is valuable to a common soldier but compared to the kind of money a trader or a high officer handles it's not a big deal. At some point before the night of November 31/Dec 1, three full bales of cloth went missing from Schobinger's and Beyer's shipment. By this point the barrels had been in a farmyard near Beringen for eleven days, so this could have happened at any time during this period. The remaining barrels were cracked open and pieces of fabric amounting to an additional five bales' worth were taken some time between Monday December 1 and the

55 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 77.

56 Christoff Jeggle, "Labeling with Numbers? Weavers, Merchants and the Valuation of Linen in Seventeenth-Century Münster," Bert de Munck and Dries Lyna ed., *Concepts of Value in European Material Culture, 1500-1900* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 33-56, 33.

early morning of Wednesday December 3, probably on Tuesday, when most of the soldiers were indoors or otherwise trying to shelter from the heavy rain.

After Schobinger and Beyer brought the original theft up in their written complaint, dated 3 December, nobody mentioned this again.

After Winckelmann's company had been assembled and questioned, and the value of the cloths they had taken totaled up, Wendel Beyer wrote an irate letter (undated) demanding the refund of the entire 780 ducat sum in cash, representing both the whole pieces of cloth that Steiner had been able to track down and the cloth that the soldiers had already "turned to their own use." (In this letter, the soldiers were "*Soldaten*," decidedly not "*Leute*:" those who were involved with the military community tended to be the ones who called them "the People," and by that point Beyer wanted to be involved as little as possible.) He demanded that Winckelmann himself "give [him] satisfaction," not the regimental Schultheiss or anyone else.⁵⁷

On the thirteenth of January, another letter from Beyer recounted that Mattheus Steiner gave him 26 pieces of cloth which he had collected himself from the soldiers of Winckelmann's company, and one thousand five hundred Milanese pounds in cash. "For such a quittance," wrote Beyer stiffly, "in the name of the aforementioned Spinner-Lords, about all the wares broken up and taken [taken "*auser brehmen*"], I will have no more deliveries or claims upon Herr Winckelmann." He signed the letter in his capacity as the representative of the Spinner-Lords of St. Gallen, and that was the last time either trader appears in the record.⁵⁸

For most of the people in Beringen that winter, this incident ended well. The soldiers of Winckelmann's company who had already made their fabric into clothing got to keep it, which

57 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 75-76.

58 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 78.

meant that those soldiers who had been most in need of clothing probably got to keep their new outfits. Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze got to assuage his guilt by obeying orders and providing for his immediate subordinates by distributing cloth to them. Mattheus Steiner, probably the most overworked member of the Mansfeld Regiment, comes across as diligent and well-meaning, which he does most of the time. Only Hans Jacob Schobinger and Wendel Beyer came out behind—7,000 ducats was a tremendous amount of money, and 1,500 Milanese pounds didn't come close to covering it.

And that original theft? 6,892.12 ducats worth of cloth: where had it gone? A copy of a letter from Mansfeld to Winckelmann exists, written from Milan on 16 December. It's brief, and doesn't say much: only that Winckelmann should reimburse the people from St. Gallen "so they become content." The enigmatic postscript is more interesting: "PS: In this and in other things you have been unsuccessful [*verfehlet*], because you need to know how to be more decisive [*dorinnen ihr bescheids bedürftig*]. Along with the Lieutenant Colonel, you should take a break."⁵⁹ Wolf von Mansfeld and Wolfgang Winckelmann had worked together for a while by late 1625: Winckelmann had been a cavalry trooper in Mansfeld's life company back in 1620, and he also led a company in the cavalry regiment Mansfeld raised in 1623.⁶⁰ By now, Mansfeld was also an experienced commander. He knew what Winckelmann had done.

The bedrock of the Mansfeld Regiment was food. One and a half pounds of bread per soldier per day: that was the minimum necessary to keep the People alive and the regiment

59 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 46.

60 SHStADr 11237 10839/7.

together. The loaves were big and coarse, a 50-50 mixture of wheat and rye.⁶¹ Historians describe the tremendous resources and effort necessary to bake and transport bread in the quantities needed by military units; as one Spanish commander wrote, “feeding eight thousand men for two months is no joke.”⁶² According to Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt, the Mansfeld Regiment had 2,518 infantrymen in it at highest count and 2,084 at the lowest.⁶³ (I have not found the regiment’s cavalry musters.) The daily rations of the individual infantrymen alone therefore numbered about 2,500, but non-combatant workers and soldiers’ families also had to be fed and people of higher rank received more rations. No wonder manuals didn’t write about the number of “soldiers” that had to be fed, but the number of “mouths.”⁶⁴ Although the real number of people in the train varied widely, the standard total number of “mouths” was half again as much as the number of soldiers: the “mouths” of the Mansfeld Regiment’s infantry would therefore have consumed about 3,750 rations every day, at least 5,625 pounds of bread. If $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound of flour produces one pound of bread, that’s about 4,200 pounds of flour. One pound of grain produces one pound of flour, for if it was intended for soldiers the grain was ground husks and all. In sum, the Mansfeld Regiment’s infantry alone required at least about 4,200 pounds of wheat and rye every day, not counting other food or drink, and not counting fodder for horses and draft animals.⁶⁵ Grinding the grain was difficult too, since there were rarely enough mills nearby to support an army and their capacity was not high. This explains the strategic importance

61 Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road*, 138.

62 *Ibid.*, 79.

63 Figures derived from lists in SHStAdr 10024 9239/2, *Die Beiden in Italien Stehenden Regimenten des Graffen Wolfgang von Mansfeld: Schreibung Desselben An die Unterbefehlshaber, des Rechnungswerk, die Abdankung d.a. bet 1626-28*, 54-82.

64 Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road*, 79.

65 Geza Perjés, “Army Provisioning, Logistics and Strategy in the Second Half of the 17th Century,” *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XVI (1970), 5.

of mills in seventeenth-century guerrilla warfare: setting fire to them to deny them to your enemy was a common tactic.⁶⁶

The regiment procured their bread from local suppliers: Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt wrote that the regimental authorities paid for it with money that the Governor of Milan had given them (it turned out to be not quite enough to cover the costs). This amount was standard: 5 soldi, 2 denarii per loaf outside the territory of the Duchy of Milan, and 4 soldi, 2 denarii inside it.⁶⁷ With the exception of Winckelmann's company, up in Switzerland until winter, the Mansfeld Regiment was more stationary than many other units during the Thirty Years' War: once the main body of infantry got to the area around Milan and the cavalry to Alessandria and Cremona, they stayed there until the regiment's finances collapsed and they went back north. When we think of the daily life of this regiment, we must also think of wagons full of grain, flour, bread, and firewood shuttling back and forth between local bakers and the soldiers scattered in Busto Arsizio, Gallarate, Legnano, and Alessandria.

The way members of the Mansfeld Regiment talked about bread reveals an almost invisible informal circulation of food within the regiment, like the exchanges of stolen cloth among the members of Winckelmann's company. On New Year's Eve 1625, Gefreiter Corporal Georg Pushner and Gemeinwebel Hans Hopf, quartered in a single room, fought because Pushner said that Hopf had sold him "about 2 slices [*klippen*] of commissary bread, about which he said he held him for a rogue until it was delivered."⁶⁸ Exchanges of cloth and food are some of the few places that women are visible in the records of the Mansfeld Regiment: we've already seen that George Grezmar of Winckelmann's company paid another soldier's wife back with

66 *Ibid.*, 8-9.

67 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 54-55.

68 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 83.

“four ells of multicolored stuff,” and when Pushner “[did] not want to admit that he said anything about the bread sale” because publically accusing another soldier of dishonor was worse than renegeing on a deal in the first place, “he said that women made the testimony about that,” which suggests they must have been there.⁶⁹ “While they were talking, the corporal’s wife went into the cellar for wine, but the Gemeinwebel wanted to call her back with much talk of no account, and in particular that she was a street-robbing thief and whore.”⁷⁰ When Pushner said that Hopf had sold bread but not delivered it, it was Pushner’s wife that Hopf revenged himself on by insult; she had probably been the one who bought the bread. Just as they bought, sold, and exchanged cloth and made it into clothing, the women of the Mansfeld Regiment also traded in food and prepared it, trying to keep themselves and their men and children alive on slender means.⁷¹

In the French army, any food other than the standard ration loaf came from local providers, whom the soldiers would ideally pay out of their income. What that was varied depending on the location of the unit, the state of local agriculture, and the extent to which the soldiers were perceived to form a part of the local community. Nevertheless, by the 1630s this process was centrally supervised by the crown.⁷² In units in or from the German-speaking world officers seem to have arranged for the provision of more than bread alone, whether by regiment or by company. A provision account (*Proviand-Rechnung*) survives for three companies in a

69 Loc. Cit.

70 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 84.

71 Barton C Hacker, “Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance,” *Signs* 6.4 (1981), 643-671; John Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

72 David Parrott, *Richelieu's Army: War, Government, and Society in France, 1624-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 385.

cavalry regiment Wolf von Mansfeld led before this Mansfeld Regiment shipped out, from 1623 to early 1624. This document itemizes the intake and consumption of grain, beer, and meat for the people and oats, hay, and straw for the horses in Mansfeld's own company and two others, although the regiment had seven companies total.⁷³ A level of central control must have existed here, since the records were supervised by a Saxon *General-Proviantmeister*.⁷⁴

An army in the field was a vast resettlement camp for animals and people. Even relatively small units like these cavalry companies required tremendous amounts of food, livestock, and supplies to stay operational. During the 65 days from November 15 1623 to 19 January 1624, the three companies in this account received about 16,510 pounds of veal from the department of Delitzsch, where the regiment was stationed, and about 4,817 pounds of veal from the nearby department of Schkeuditz. They also received “10 Polish oxen which were sent living from Naumburg” (after they butchered and ate them, the scribe duly recorded their skins under “assets received”).⁷⁵ Just one of these companies, Captain Anthony von Bösen's, consumed about 1,117 pounds of “Polish meat” and 6,184 pounds of “meat from Saxony” during this period; veal, beef, and the meat of wethers.⁷⁶ A cavalry company has about eighty combatants on paper, so that's roughly one and a half pounds of meat per person per day, probably less given the presence of “mouths” who were not on the rolls. This was not standard over the entire regiment: companies were ordered by their position in a regiment with the first company being the most honorable, and in this *Proviant-Rechnung* more highly-esteemed companies were given

73 SHStADr 11237 10940/20, *Proviant-Rechnung im Haupt-Quartier Dölitzsch 1624*; SHStADr 11237 10831/1 *Churf. Durchl. Zu Sachsen etc Erste und Andere Kriegsverfassung Nach entstandener Unruhe im Königreich Böhmen*.

74 SHStADr 11237 10940/20, 1.

75 SHStADr 11237 10940/20, 5-6; 11.

76 SHStADr 11237 10940/20, 31-33.

more supplies. If three cavalry companies stationed in a town north of Leipzig sourced cattle from as far away as Poland, imagine what it took to feed armies in the field.

Before people ate these cattle they had to be fed and watered, just like the horses on which the soldiers rode and the horses and oxen that pulled their wagons. Since officers went mounted and all heavy overland transport was hauled by animals, both cavalry and infantry required great numbers of livestock. A 1,000 pound horse needs about 14,000 to 16,000 calories per day to live, more if it's doing heavy labor, if it's pregnant, or if it's cold or wet out.⁷⁷

Depending on how old it is, what it's eating, whether or not it's lactating, and what it's doing, a horse also requires anywhere from four and a half to 24 gallons of water a day, which had to be sourced on the spot from rivers, lakes, or wells.⁷⁸ Since it was impossible to haul great quantities of fodder for long distances, fodder requisitions were made directly from the surrounding area.⁷⁹

Between 15 November 1623 and 19 January 1624, the one hundred horses of Anthony von Bösen's cavalry company consumed 6,500 bundles of hay, about 700 bundles of hay a week. This weighed, in total, 105,205 pounds. They also ate 1,300 scheffel of oats; this was a volume measurement for goods like grain, but since this varied from region to region—even city to city in Saxony—it's difficult to tell how much that was. Considering that one scheffel was 54 liters in Delitzsch and 107 in Dresden, it was a large amount.⁸⁰ In addition to dry fodder like hay or oats, these horses would also have been on pasture or eaten fresh-cut grass until winter set in fully. As Erik Lund points out for the eighteenth century, officers probably knew which

77 Using the calculations obtained in National Research Council, *Nutrient Requirements of Horses: Sixth Revised Edition* (Washington DC: The National Academies Press, 2007), Table 1-2, 9.

78 *Nutrient Requirements of Horses*, Table 7-1, 131.

79 Perjés, "Army Provisioning," 14.

80 SHStAdr 11237 10940/20, 41, 46.

vegetation was most nutritious and where it grew, while many common soldiers probably knew how to swing a scythe (considering how urban the seventeenth-century Saxon army was, they might have learned this after they enrolled). Armies ran on everyday skills like this: “war in the age of grass.”⁸¹

Feeding the horses was also a reason many seventeenth-century strategic and tactical decisions were made which look so desultory to modern observers. The yearly rhythm of military activity followed the agricultural seasons. For roughly three months of winter, campaigning suspended and the horses were fed dry fodder in stalls. Then came the months of new spring grass, when the horses were turned out to pasture for the first time: military thinkers from France to the Ottoman Empire recognized the importance of “purging” or “purifying” horses by allowing them to graze on new grass before a campaign began, after months of meager winter feeding. Six to eight weeks of summer followed, when unripe grain could be cut and fed to horses—ruining that year’s harvest for the civilians in the area. Yearly fighting could then begin. With fall came the harvest, and then the beginning of winter. When the animals were switched to primarily dry fodder in early winter, it meant the end of the campaign season.⁸² (The Mansfeld *Proviand-Rechnung* records, which track the consumption of dry fodder, record a period from November to January.) It wasn’t mentioned in any of the Mansfeld Regiment sources, but common soldiers probably spent much of their time cutting grass or grain.

The needs of horses and human beings were also responsible for a frustrating little factor in seventeenth-century strategy which an Imperial *Kriegscommissarius* named Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla pointed out in a letter to Wolf von Mansfeld: information travelled

81 Erik A Lund, *War for the Every Day: Generals, Knowledge, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe, 1680-1740*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), 66.

82 Perjés, “Army Provisioning,” 15-16.

more slowly in an area that had already been plundered. In a ruined area the subunits of a regiment must spread out in order to live; the more ravaged the area, the farther apart they must go. Compounding this, it was harder to feed post-horses off the land in such a place: if the “land itself was very screwed up, you can’t progress with post horses, but you must serve yourself with your own provender, so it takes more time to go.”⁸³ A place with few resources also decelerated the travel of information.

There are no provisions records from the Mansfeld Regiment in Dresden. Like their muster rolls, if these survive at all they are probably in Spain. But here too the regimental authorities probably directed the distribution of more foods than just bread. A mutiny in the Moser Company of the Mansfeld Regiment was catalyzed when Captain Moser’s Feldwebel Heinrich Deckert “was sent to the company with the commissary of bread, wine, cheese, and sausage.” According to Deckert, the food “was to be shared out by the Gemeinwebels and Corporals.” (Georg Pushner and Hans Hopf had been a Gefreiter Corporal and a Gemeinwebel: Pushner and his wife may have been trying to get bread for Pushner’s subordinates.) But when Deckert got there, a soldier named Hans Gebler picked up a piece of bread, objected to the lack of meat, and threw the bread back in the basket. With this public repudiation of the food his superiors had offered him, the mutiny was on.⁸⁴ Someone had promised Gebler meat; Gebler must have regarded this as realistically within their power to promise, or else he wouldn’t have bothered to object when it was broken. From the way the mutiny is described we can tell that the distribution of “bread, wine, cheese, and sausage” was coordinated at the company level: the

83 “man auch weil das landt selt herumb seer verderbt, mitt Post Pferdten nit fort komen kan, sondern muß sich seiner eigenen rasß bedienen, also dz etwaß mehr Zeit darauff gehen wirdt.” Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla to Wolf von Mansfeld, 12 Nov 1627. SHStADr 10024 9235/4, *Entrepffende das Sulzische Regiment Zu Fuß, Mannsfeldica, 1627*, 45r.

84 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 91.

Feldwebel gave the food to corporals and Gemeinwebels, who distributed it in turn to the people. The 1623-1624 Mansfeld cavalry *Proviand-Rechnung* may also indicate the presence of some kind of distribution system, since meat was handed out to captains, cornets, and lieutenants twelve pounds at a time.⁸⁵ Your military superiors gave you food and to reject this food was to reject their authority.

Members of the Mansfeld Regiment mention a variety of foods. Georg Reinsberger and his “legal wife” Maria got into a fight with Hans Jungnickel and his “wife” on April 15, 1626, when both women were trying to cook over the same hearth. (Unlike the British military couples studied by Jennie Hurl-Eamon, the members of the Mansfeld Regiment may have made an explicit verbal distinction between women who were legally married to the soldiers they went around with, and women who were not.⁸⁶) Maria was hanging “a little bit of green herbs” over the fire when Hans Jungnickel's partner hammered a nail into the wall so she could cook too, knocking soot and dust into Maria's pot. In addition to greens, the two couples had eggs that night: not much food.⁸⁷ In their lodgings in Gallarate, Hans Full and Christian Gottschalck hung some rice over the fire but while they were waiting for it to cook, “the host’s boy dabbed [it] all full of ashes so they couldn’t eat or enjoy it.” Instead of rice that night, “they ate a piece of cheese with one another,” and the peasant with whom they were staying threw in “a goblet of terrible and inferior wine.”⁸⁸ Locally sourced food varied with the location: these soldiers drank wine instead of beer, and rice is grown in Lombardy and Piedmont.

85 SHStAdr 11237 10940/20, 31-33.

86 Jennie Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century: “The Girl I Left Behind Me”* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 9.

87 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 189-198.

88 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 96.

When everything worked right, soldiers probably ate well. Analysis of chemical residues on the teeth of soldiers in early seventeenth-century mass graves reveals they ate more meat than contemporary civilians.⁸⁹ Things frequently did not work right. Anxiety is palpable every time a member of the Mansfeld Regiment, wedged into his or her smoky little room, talks about food. If a fight broke out when Hans Jungnickel's partner knocked debris into Maria's pot, it may have been because those greens and an egg were all Maria had to eat that day and she hated either having to eat ashes or go hungry. Right before Pushner, Hopf, and Pushner's wife began to yell at one another, their host had given them "a little to eat," when Hopf asked him "with intense yearning" to give him two Zicks. The civilian responded "that he didn't have to give him anything."⁹⁰ No wonder the Mansfeld Regiment's soldiers, as well as at least one officer, stole sheep.⁹¹ No wonder that in fall 1625 seven hundred horsemen launched a raid on a nearby castle for food and fodder. They managed to kill and rape a few civilians, little else.⁹²

Regimental authorities also provided their soldiers with weapons. For the infantry, these were matchlock muskets, huge clumsy things which came up to a man's shoulder, and pikes, fifteen-to-eighteen-foot long ash spears tipped with a steel head the size of your open hand. Muskets were probably not made to a standard: each squad had casting equipment so the soldiers could make their own bullets. If a soldier found or was given bullets that were too large for his

89 *1636 - ihre letzte Schlacht*, 111-113; Bettina Jungklaus, "A mass grave from the Thirty Years' War on Friedländer Tor Neubrandenburg," in the conference *Battlefield and mass grave - spectra interdisciplinary evaluation of locations of violence*, Brandenburg an der Havel, November 21 2011.

90 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 84.

91 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 95-109.

92 SHStAdr 10024 9739/5, 25-42.

firearm, he planed them into cylinders with a knife.⁹³ Considering that when a Feldwebel in the Mansfeld Regiment wanted his soldiers to fire a blank salute he ordered them to tip their muskets down and let the bullets roll out, if a soldier had bullets that were too small for his firearm he probably did not regard it as a problem, or as out of the ordinary.⁹⁴ You got about twelve bullets to the pound of lead, so a matchlock musket is roughly the same caliber as a modern 12 gauge shotgun. Although Saxon units in the Saxon army fielded 20 halberdiers per infantry company during the 1620s, it is unclear whether the Mansfeld Regiment had any. As of the 1620s, cavalymen were divided into lancers, cuirassiers, and arquebusiers. The Mansfeld Regiment's cavalry were arquebusiers, lightly armored or unarmored cavalry armed with smaller versions of an infantry musket. When the finances of their companies were healthy enough to equip them, lancers and cuirassiers wore three-quarter plate, covering everything but the buttocks, back of the thighs, and legs below the knee. Lancers carried massive, thick lances and cuirassiers had at least two pistols. Lances were big and heavy, serious weapons tipped with steel: four years previously at the Battle of Neuhäusel, the Count of Buquoy, commander of the Imperial army, was severely wounded by two lance blows and died in Theodoro de Camargo's arms.⁹⁵

Infantry tactics rested on the coordinated action of pikemen and musketeers: musketeers shot, while pikemen protected them during the fiddly reloading process, or assaulted at close range.⁹⁶ Some historians have described pike tactics as clumsy, close-order pushing which

93 *1636 - ihre letzte Schlacht*, 78.

94 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 127-128.

95 Milos Kouřil, *Documenta Bohemica bellum tricennale illustrantia*, Tomus III: *Der Kampf des Hauses Habsburg gegen die Niederlande & ihre Verbündeten: Quellen zur Geschichte des Pfälzisch-Niederländisch-Ungarischen Krieges, 1621-1625* (Prague: Academica, 1976). No. 140, 66.

96 Peter Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 86-88.

required strength but little training or initiative.⁹⁷ This conception is based on the lingering assumption that before Maurice of Nassau and Gustavus Adolphus, tactics were dominated by “mass” rather than the intelligent utilization of firearms.⁹⁸ It is a profound misunderstanding. Fifteen to eighteen feet of ash spear takes practice to wield effectively, but it is not as heavy as it first seems. Pikemen also didn’t lean on one another but instead maintained three feet or more between one another, outstretched arm to outstretched arm: the musketeers walked between their rows to perform their evolutions.

The pike was superior to the musket, not because it was a more effective weapon, but because as Foucault’s source noted, it was more honorable.⁹⁹ Pikemen “outranked” musketeers: they made more and were listed before them on the rolls. When noblemen served as common infantry, they were most often squad leaders or pikemen. According to Kirchhof, if a soldier died in camp he should be born to the grave on a stretcher made of pikes.¹⁰⁰ Debates existed about the pike’s usefulness, but writers agreed about its status. In contracts and muster rolls the word “weapon” (*Gewehr*) on its own with no further elaboration means a pike. A “short-weapon” (*Kurtzgewehr*) is a halberd.¹⁰¹ A “side-weapon” (*Seitengewehr*) is literally a sidearm, a sword. Muskets and other firearms were not “weapons:” a contract from 1619 is careful to specify that

97 Michael Roberts, “The Military Revolution, 1560–1660,” reprinted in Clifford J Rogers, ed. *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings On The Military Transformation Of Early Modern Europe*. (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995) 13-36, 14; Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle*, 457; Parrott, *Richelieu’s Army*, 21.

98 Parrott, *Richelieu’s Army*, 20.

99 Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy*, 88.

100 Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina, Kriegs Regiments Historische und außführliche Beschreibung: Wie / und was massen / solches bey unsern löblichen Vorfahren / und der alten Mannlichen Teutschen Nation vorzeiten / insonderheit aber bey den Großmächtigsten Keysern / Maximiliano I und Carolo Vund folgendes in ublichem Gebrauch gehalten / auch nach und nach verbessert worden: in drey unterschiedliche Disemß oder Bücher abgetheilet*, printed by Joachim Brathering, Frankfurt am Main, 1602, 203.

101 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 103-115.

the three hundred soldiers it's ordering should be supplied "with weapons and muskets."¹⁰²

As in many armies, the Mansfelders were required to purchase their weapons and armor on credit from regimental leadership.¹⁰³ In the Mansfeld Regiment they did this in installments, which we know because when members of it walked off on the way through Switzerland, they "partly sold and partly gave away their weapons, the cost for which they had still been two thirds indebted."¹⁰⁴ A thriving trade in second-hand military goods was around to take advantage of this opportunity. "Building materials, military supplies, weapons, metals, leather goods, pillaged items, household belongings, luxury possessions, food products, and clothing" could all be bought and sold in places where armies or individual units stayed or passed through.¹⁰⁵ Second-hand traders were part of daily life in army encampments.¹⁰⁶ Things were recycled as well as reused, especially metal. Meanwhile, soldiers frequently resold the things they looted. The fabric which disappeared from Schobinger's and Beyer's shipment may have been resold on the second-hand market.

Wolfgang Winckelmann survived the Mansfeld Regiment's Italian adventure. He moved into Imperial service after he came back to Germany and kept doing the kinds of things he had done while serving Wolf von Mansfeld in Italy, but less subtly. In January 1631 he was

102 SHStAdr 11237 10798/4, *Niedereingegebene Feld-Kriegs-Und Andere Bestellungen, De Ais 1618, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 32, 35, 39*, p. 2v section 5: the soldiers should with the necessary "Wustungen, Wehren, Musqueten, und dergleichen Zugehörig aus Sr. Churf. Dr. Zeughaus bewehret gemacht." Emphasis mine.

103 Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road*, 139.

104 SHStAdr 10024 9239/2, 51r-52r.

105 Brian Sandberg, "The Magazine of All Their Pillaging: Armies as Sites of Second-Hand Exchange during the French Wars of Religion," Laurence Fontaine, ed., *Alternative Exchanges: Second-Hand Circulation from the Sixteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 76-96, 78.

106 Sandberg, "The Magazine of All Their Pillaging," 81.

arrested for sacking an estate near Halle that belonged to Joachim Goldstein, the chancellor of Merseburg and a feudal subordinate of the Elector of Saxony, therefore subject to his jurisdiction. It turned out that Winckelmann had removed agricultural products and livestock worth 11,832.5 thaler; the violence sent refugees streaming toward Leipzig.¹⁰⁷ The inquiry dragged on: by February 1632, he was kept in a room in the Rathaus in Dresden, on only “1 and a half Maß of table wine” (about three pints), “3 Maß beer” (about seven pints), and “2 [loaves] of white bread” a day.¹⁰⁸ Winckelmann remained jailed for years, during which Saxony changed sides twice.¹⁰⁹ Once he and his wife had paid off the costs of his upkeep during his imprisonment (the provost and other officials in Dresden and Leipzig complained repeatedly about the cost of his alcohol consumption, and of his butter and cheese), he was ordered released on 1 August 1637, although because he still owed a little he remained fettered until the fifth of August. Then Wolfgang Winckelmann walked out of jail, and disappeared from the historical record.¹¹⁰

107 SHStADr 10024 9678/12, 39.

108 SHStADr 10024 9678/12, 56-58.

109 SHStADr 10024 9678/12, 89-90.

110 SHStADr 10024 9678/12, 114-116, 122 ff. Winckelmann’s release order is p. 202 in the same file.

Chapter 4: No Flag Flies over an Honorless Man Flags in the Military Subculture

On November second 1625, the members of the Mansfeld Regiment swore their oath to their Articles of War in Gallarate, five miles northwest of Busto Arsizio. With this act, they formally became a regiment.

Robert Monro later described what that might have looked, sounded, and felt like. The event he describes took place in March 1627. His colonel having recovered from an illness,

orders were given, his Regiment should be brought in Armes at *Eittho*, where his Majestie would take their Oathes of fidelitie. The Regiment being come together at the *Randezvouz*, was drawn vp in three divisions, artending his Majesties coming, in good order of battaile, all Officers being placed according to their stations orderly, Colours fleeing, Drummes beating, horses neyng, his Majestie comes royally forward, Salutes the Regiment, and is saluted againe with all due respect, and reverence, used at such times; his Majestie having viewed Front, Flancks, and Reare, the Regiment fronting allwayes toward his Ma^{tie}, who having made a stand ordained the Regiment to march by him in divisions, which orderly done, and with great respect, and reverence, as became; his Majestie being mightily well pleased, did prayse the Regiment, that ever thereafter was most praise worthy. The Colonell, and the principall Officers having kissed his Majesties hand, retired to their former stations, till the Oath was publikely given, both by Officers, and soulders being drawne in a Ring by conversion, as use is, at such times. The Oath finished, the Articles of warres reade, and published, by a Banke of the *Drummer Major*, and his associates, the Regiment remitted marches off orderly by companies, to their quarters, to remain till orders were given, for their vp-breaking.¹

The soldiers gave the oath, like they did most of their public business, in their “ring,” a massive circular assembly of all combatants. It was not only sworn outdoors for pragmatic reasons, but because all oaths in the King of Sweden's army had to be sworn outdoors, just like their criminal

1 Robert Monro, William S. Brockington, ed. *Monro, His Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment Called Mac-Keys* (Westport: Praeger, 1999), 14-15.

trials were carried out in the open.² Flags unfurled, the noise and smell of horses, drums beating—up to three per company, each as long as the torso of a full grown man and wider; in those numbers, their heavy sound would linger in the air for a few seconds after the drummers had stopped. An early seventeenth-century formation, even a relatively narrow one like the Swedish used then, was so deep it could simply change its facing to keep looking at the King of Sweden as he circled them. And only after swearing on its Articles of War and beginning its course as a regiment were the Mac-Keys “praise worthy” (Monro wrote that it would be praiseworthy “ever thereafter”), just as the Mansfeld Regiment would be *loblich* once it had sworn to its Articles: because it was now sworn to its law, and the law was praiseworthy, just as God was. Only after the regiment swore to its Articles could its officers take it to war.

An *Artikellbrief*, Articles of War, was the official legislation of a regiment or free company, and its legal foundation.³ Its regulations were binding on common soldiers and officers alike; in the Mansfeld Regiment everyone swore the same oath, not different oaths for officers and men.⁴ The Mansfeld Regiment's Articles⁵ were signed in Gallarate on the first of November 1625 and sworn to the next day, but may have been composed to a standard model: Möller writes that Articles of War were composed when the mercenary contract was drawn up,

2 Gustavus Adolphus's 1621 Articles of War, William Winthrop, *Military Law: Volume 2* (Washington, WH Morrison, 1886), 907-918, Article 144, Article 159.

3 Hans-Michael Möller, *Das Regiment der Landsknechte: Untersuchungen zur Verfassung, Recht, und Selbstverständnis in deutschen Söldnerherren des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Fritz Steiner Verlag, 1976), 31.

4 This was not a universal practice. Peter Wilson, “Early Modern Military Justice,” Davide Maffi ed., *Tra marte e astrea. Giustizia e giurisdizione militare nell' Europa della prima eta moderna (secc. XVI-XVIII)* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2012), 43-85, 50. Yet even for units where the oaths were different for officers and common soldiers, Wilson criticizes older analyses which make a false distinction between a supposed “oath of loyalty” for the former and one of “submission” for the latter.

5 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, XXII-XXIX.

before a regiment was raised.⁶ These Articles are written in Mattheus Steiner's pale brown ink and tidy hand, and signed and sealed in shiny red wax by Wolf von Mansfeld over a thin band of twisted red-and-black string, still bright. Unless this was deliberately mislabeled, Mansfeld was in northern Italy with his regiment at least briefly, before he went back north to his own estates.

Before the members of a regiment mustered in and swore to obey the Articles of War they were supposedly harder to keep under military discipline because they were not yet obligated to obey it.⁷ But colonels talked about "my soldiers"⁸ or "my regiment"⁹ before they were mustered in, so being mustered in and swearing to obey the Articles of War do not appear to have been constitutive of a regiment's identity like the presence of flags on their poles was for a company.

The Mansfeld Regiment's Articles of War were not concerned with "social disciplining" or the inner morality of the soldiers. They didn't mention sodomy, adultery, or contact with prostitutes, like an Articles of War Burschel cites from 1620 for soldiers in the service of Herzog August von Sachsen-Lauenburg, nor did they mention blasphemy and gambling.¹⁰ They called upon the soldiers to "renounce drunkenness," but in practice this was ignored almost entirely, only cited when the authorities were already looking for a reason to punish someone.¹¹

These Articles of War enjoined a life pleasing to God with a combination of

6 Möller, *Das Regiment der Landsknechte*, 32.

7 SHStAdr 10024 9737/13, p. 6: "...benche io ho paura che questo sarà con grandissima difficoltà, et con più grandi spese che si la nostra fusse fatta qui; oltre che la disciplina militare sopra una gente non ancora obligata non potrà esser in suo vigore."

8 Wolf von Mansfeld, in SHStAdr 10024 9737/13.

9 Alwig von Sultz, in SHStAdr 10024 9235/4, 9-10.

10 Burschel, *Söldner in Nordwestdeutschland*, 137.

11 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, XXVIII, Article 24.

tentativeness and specificity that might have been due to the Mansfeld's Regiment's position as a multireligious group from Saxony in the service of the King of Spain. When an Articles of War from 1645 for soldiers in the service of Herzog Christian Ludwig von Braunschweig-Lüneburg specified they should go to church regularly, take the Eucharist, and “pray continually and with diligence,”¹² the word used for “Eucharist” is *Abendmahl*, a specifically Protestant term. But the Mansfeld Regiment's Articles said that its members should “flee swearing, complaining, and avoiding God's Word” without specifying which denomination God's Word was in: while the mention of the word of God (rather than, for instance, the sacraments) is Protestant, more loaded terms were carefully avoided. Compare this to Gustavus Adolphus' 1621 Articles of War, which began with a prohibition against witchcraft and the enchantment of weapons and continued at length from there.¹³

This reluctance to bring up anything specific about religion is especially manifest in the first Article, which establishes that the Mansfeld Regiment must:

pledge and swear to the serene [*durchlauchtig*] greatly powerful prince and lord, Lord PHILIP the fourth, king of Spain both Sicilies, Portugal and Navarre, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Milan, Gelder, Luxembourg, Count of Habsburg, Flanders and Artois etc, our gracious lord, His Royal Maj truly to serve, to keep from damage and to further his use...

The lines run through Philip IV's sonorous titles without once mentioning Catholicism. But the articles also enjoined the Mansfeld Regiment to “ask for victory from above from their hearts” (*unnd den Sieg vonn oben herab von herzen bitten*); this regiment's prayers may have come from

12 Burschel, *Söldner in Nordwestdeutschland*, 137.

13 Preamble in Tryntje Helfferich, ed. and trans., *The Thirty Years War: A Documentary History* (Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2009), 125-126. Full articles in William Winthrop, *Military Law: Volume 2*, 907-918.

any one of a number of religions, but they had to be sincere.¹⁴

The Mansfeld Regiment's Articles are brief and pragmatic. There are 27 of them, as opposed to 167 of Gustavus Adolphus' 1621 Articles. Many of them handled interactions among soldiers, such as Article 8, “If we are overcome [*erobert*] in battle or by storm, the one who plunders another or takes his things shall himself be stripped [*erobert*] of his place in the mess [*Mahlstadt*], but instead you should remain in good order, under threat of corporal punishment.” Soldiers were told not to fight with one another (Article 13), not to pick fights or form factional groups based on national origin (Article 14), and to be content with the quarters they were assigned, “especially where there is cavalry, [to] give way politely, to accommodate the traveling of their horses” (Article 22)—this copy was infantry-specific. The Articles forbade mutiny and unauthorized assemblies, told the soldiers not to fight the Provost if he comes to apprehend someone, and not to plunder without the colonel's knowledge.

Some of the articles described customs of war that were already almost a thousand years old, like the prohibitions on damaging “cloisters, hospitals, and mills, as well as anything belonging to them” and harming “women who are giving birth, pregnant women, maidens, heralds, old people,” and “servants of spiritual matters” (Article 4): these go back to the medieval Peace of God.¹⁵ There's a ringing archaic cadence to some of the lines:

In castles, cities, and other occupied places which have been actively taken, none of you should fall into them, or plunder them, or go into them or come out of them, it will really be ordered there to allow the secured places to remain and, by securing, remain peaceful, and not to do anything else to it or act toward them, without the knowledge and permission of the Colonel, or whoever has the command, on pain of corporal punishment. (Article 7)

14 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, XXIII, Article 3.

15 HEJ Cowdrey, “The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century,” *Past & Present* 46 (1970), 42-67.

According to Möller this kind of language, which doubles related words for the same general thing, is characteristic of traditional German law. Apart from this chanting quality, the Mansfeld Regiment's Articles are written in normal German, rather than the legalese of the military legal documents Peter Wilson discusses.¹⁶ There are fewer Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French words here than in an everyday letter from one of the Mansfeld Regiment's officers to another.

But mentions of payment already had an embarrassed tone: “You should, on the thirtieth day of every month served, each month, be paid. If there is a delay, you should bear it with patience, and not lessen your marches and watches because of it, nor anything else that pertains to the service of the lord” (Article 4). The soldiers listening to these Articles as they were read aloud on November second would have known how tenuous the regiment's financial situation really was. As it turns out, the infantry was mustered for pay just four times: November second 1625, almost a year later on September second 1626, on varying dates in February 1627, and finally 5 July 1627, six days before Mansfeld attempted to transfer them into Imperial service.

The captains were to have these articles read out loud to their soldiers at least twice a month (Article 27); the copy of the Mansfeld Regiment's *Artikellbrief* that is preserved has been cut down along the sides where portions, dirtied by the repeated brush of fingers as they turned and held these pages, have been removed.

The members of the Mansfeld Regiment assembled in the plaza of Gallarate that chilly fall day, against russet brick and white stone, would not only have been swearing their oaths to the King of Spain, they would also have been swearing to the regiment's flags. Flags are

¹⁶ Wilson, “Early Modern Military Justice,” 49.

important enough in the seventeenth-century military mindset to pause briefly in following the Mansfeld Regiment's progress through northern Italy and explore their significance.

Wittenberg, May 11, 1631. His file is incomplete, but Fähndrich Bernhardt von Zwemer probably would have been pardoned for killing Ludwig von Bißing on the grounds of self-defense. A small crowd of soldiers, who had been drinking with some students, agreed that von Bißing, a college student at the University of Wittenberg, was seriously invested in his fight with von Zwemer. The fight had started the day before, when von Zwemer told von Bißing "Soldiers have to stand watch." At that point the pair of them heard the city bells ring, and von Bißing said that students had to follow the bells. They followed a set schedule. Their concept of time was beginning to be disciplined.¹⁷ He may have been trying to say: we're like soldiers too. Von Zwemer may have been jealous. "You must be a dog's cunt, then," he said, and the two began to fight. Eventually, they stopped fighting and went to sleep. Next day they began to argue again and the crowd of young men threw von Bißing out of the room.

Out on the stairs the bodyguard Albinus Neuman tried to talk him down: "Junker Bißing, too much has happened to you, let it wait until morning" (*Junker Bißing ist euch Zuviel geschehen, laß es bleiben bis morgen*). But although the soldiers tried to hold the door shut, he forced his way back into the room so violently the wooden latch broke. Von Zwemer even threw and broke a glass against the door to stop him, to no avail. According to von Zwemer, von Bißing attacked him so quickly that he didn't have time to draw his sword at first, "so I parried with the sheath." Von Bißing's father was an important figure in Wittenberg and some of the questions put to the witnesses were done so at his urging, but the evidence was on von Zwemer's

¹⁷ EP Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (1967), 56-97.

side.

His real blunder was what he did after he stabbed von Bißing. Company surgeon Christian Erhardt had been drinking “in the Fähndrich's host's room with people from his own country” when he heard there was a fight going on. He got there in time to open the door onto the aftermath—he didn’t believe what was happening until he looked under the table and saw von Bißing there, dying. Then he took the sword out of von Zwemer's hand. Von Bißing fell under the table, von Zwemer said, and then he silently walked out. He almost made it out of the city, but when he hit the checkpoint at the outer door of the Schloß Gate he didn’t want to dismount to be searched, so the musketeers there turned him over to squad leader Lorenz Muller, on watch at the Elser Gate. Muller apprehended him and called for the watch. He only learned later that von Zwemer had injured someone and was trying to escape. In the words of the people in charge of the investigation and trial, this attempt to flee made von Zwemer “a fugitive from the Fendtlein and *Compagnie*, against the law of war and his own sworn oath.” The officers in charge of the investigation had not spoken with such heat about the killing. Von Bißing died that night at 8 pm.

Sometimes Fendtlein (Fendlein, Fändlein, Fänlein, Fähnlein, “little flag”) means company, but in this context it means the flag itself. Von Zwemer was the flag bearer of an infantry company, and when he abandoned his flag he shamed himself deeply: after he had been found, someone brought the company flag into the Captain's quarters, removing it from where it had been stored until then, probably von Zwemer's room.¹⁸ He no longer deserved to tend it.

Since von Zwemer was a Fähndrich, an infantry flag bearer, this flag would have been a large piece of silk or silk blend, roughly square, up to about nine feet by nine. Cavalry or

18 The von Bißing/von Zwemer murder case is SHStADr, 11237 10796, incomplete.

dragoon flags, borne by Cornets, were smaller, thicker, and stiffer, about one yard by one and a half. The largest infantry flags were of pure silk—the more expensive the material, the thinner and finer it was, and the larger a flag could be without becoming prohibitively heavy, so during the war flags tended to get smaller as fine silk became more difficult to afford. There were several kinds of weaving, which gave different visual effects. The silk/linen blend called Taft, also called Sendel or Zindel, could be woven so that the silk threads were all that was visible, while damask fabric was thick and textured, woven of innumerable extra-fine threads. Damask was expensive and looked it, but it was also heavy. Atlas, also called satin, was especially shiny. Kardeck often showed up in older descriptions: it was made of wool and silk twisted together in a four-ply thread. The flags were nailed onto their poles with short brass big-headed nails that look like upholstery tacks. Infantry flagpoles were short enough to be lifted with one hand if the flag was light enough, a few feet protruding beyond the bottom of the flag for a handle, sometimes wrapped in leather. For heavier flags, the pole was about half the length of a pike, twice as tall as a person. A cavalry flagpole was about a person's height, but thicker than those for the infantry, with a butt end that fitted into a socket on a rider's stirrup. Flagpoles were often surmounted with spearheads and could be brightly painted.¹⁹ The spearheads could be stout and functional or decoratively cut, and sometimes these decorations were also significant, like the IHS, a Catholic sign, or the Cross of Burgundy, a Spanish symbol, cut into some Imperialist spearheads.²⁰ From its spearhead hung with tassels, to the fabric it was crafted from, to its pole itself, von Zwemer's flag would have been a magnificent and splendid object.

Each company of foot or horse had a flag. They served a pragmatic function as signs,

19 Roland Sennwald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreißigjährigen Krieg 1618-1648* (Berlin: Zeughaus Verlag, 2013), 16, 22.

20 Antje and Jürgen Lucht, *Fahnen und Standarten aus der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges 1618-1648*, Band 2: *Die Katholische Liega und die Kaiserliche Armee* (Freiberg: Buvin Verlag, 2015), 102.

ways to tell your own force apart from your comrades or your enemies and make sure you knew where you should be. Wilhelm Dilich (*Kriegsbuch*, 1607) counted them among the “visual signs,” “[*Signa*] *dem gesicht*” (as opposed to the “auditory signs,” “[*Signa*] *dem gehör*”), which included “banners / banderoles / flags and field-signs / also something of a difference in jackets and mantles,” the offhandedness of the last example bespeaking the time when he wrote: this author was used to proto-uniforms, not uniforms.²¹ Dilich wrote that the flags of all the companies in the regiment (except that of the colonel's personal company, which was white) were of varied colors, whatever color you pleased.²² By the Thirty Years' War a regiment's flags were often the same color or otherwise similar in design, while the colonel's company's flag echoed the common theme with more white.²³ When an army was in camp, each company's flagpole, if it was long enough so the flag's bright silk wouldn't drag in the camp's suck of filth, was driven into the earth before that company's row of tents or shacks. It let the company know where they lived. According to Wallhausen, each company's assembly-place should be in front of the Fähndrich's lodgings.²⁴ While the company was quartered in other peoples' houses, the flag was kept in the Fähndrich's room; Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof, who had been a mercenary, said that “each Fähndrich sticks his flag out the window of his lodgings / so everyone can find his quarters better.”²⁵ In battle, the Fähndriches either lined up in the exact center of the infantry

21 Wilhelm Dilich, *Geograph. und Histor., Kriegsbuch / darin die Alte und Neue Militia eigentlich beschrieben un alle Krigßneulinge / Bau und Buchsenmeistern / zu nutz und guter anleitug in Druck geben und verfertigt*, printed by Wilhelm Wessel, Cassel, 1607, 267.

22 Dillich, *Kriegsbuch*, 267.

23 For instance, see Regiment Dam Vitzthum von Eckstedt 1632, Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg* 94-95.

24 Wallhausen, *Manuale Militaire*, 128.

25 “Jeglicher Fähndrich stecket sein Fähnlein an seinem Losament zum Fenster hinaus / kan männiglich sein Quartier desto besser finden.” Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, 123.

block with the pikemen around them, or if the army fought according to Swedish drill, they stood in the center front of the infantry formation, in front of the pikes. Both pikes and flags were honorable objects, and pikes were often described as “cloaking” or “covering” the flag with their honorable presence (*bedecken*). When taking a city by storm, the place of honor was the very front, and the Fähndrich's place was there, again “cloaked” by the pikes.²⁶ Carrying, displaying, and tending to this flag was the most important thing he did. Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze was a Fähndrich.

Commentators distinguished between the “presentation side” of the flag and the “opposite side.” The “presentation side” was the “outermost side,” the side that the Fähndrich displayed to others as he approached his enemies or allies, flourished the flag, carried it uncased on his shoulder, or took part in rituals.²⁷ Designs could be painted or embroidered onto the presentation side of a flag only or on both sides, but if designs were on both sides they were not the same, such as the flag of one of Pappenheim's cavalry companies, which featured a naked Venus surrounded with flaming cannonballs on both sides, surmounted on the presentation side with “Mit Freyden Dran” and on the opposite side with “Mit Glück Darvon:” “with joy toward” the field of battle, and “with good fortune returning from” it.²⁸ These designs could be political, such as personal coats of arms or the arms of heads of state like the lion of Saxony or the three crowns of the King of Sweden. Religious images were also common: many Catholic forces had the Blessed Virgin or saints on their flags, while at least two Saxon flags depicted a Lutheran soldier dragging a monk on a hurdle.²⁹ Hans-Michael Möller, in his discussion of the

26 Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 33.

27 *Ibid.*, 34.

28 Lucht, *Fahnen*. 51.

29 Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 77.

landsknechts of the previous century, writes of the “mythos” of the flag: according to him, the flag was an object of almost religious veneration for these soldiers. This veneration was supported by rituals like the oath comparing the flag being handed over to the Fähndrich to Christ commending the care of the Virgin Mary to St. John before his death (John 19:26-17).³⁰ I have not seen this scriptural reference in seventeenth-century sources, but the religious force of holy images, Biblical quotations, or references to God on a flag still contributed to its power as an object of reverence.

Many designs on flags were emblems, which represented abstract concepts in the form of concrete images often accompanied by mottoes or epigrams in Latin or the vernacular.³¹ Emblems were central to Renaissance and Baroque thought, and books of emblems had spread throughout Europe since the publication of Alciati's *Emblemata* in 1531; one historian estimates the number of emblem-books that flooded the European market from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries to have been in the seven digits.³² Officers and soldiers who were literate at all were probably at least glancingly familiar with emblem books, while those who couldn't read or write would have encountered emblems in architecture and street processions; in stained glass windows and sermons; in needlework and in *Castra doloris*, the elaborate structures displayed in churches atop the biers of the famous dead.³³ Many soldiers probably knew what emblems were. And although most of them couldn't have read the Latin epigrams painted on many flags, they

30 Möller, *Das Regiment der Landsknechte*, 65.

31 Henry Green, *Andrea Alciati and his Books of Emblems: A Biographical and Bibliographical study* (London: 1872); Albrecht Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama in Zeitalter des Barock* (Munich: Beck, 1964); Dietrich Jöns, *Das "Sinnen-Bild": Studien zur allegorischen Bildlichkeit bei Andreas Gryphius* (Stuttgart: JB Metzlersesche, 1968); Peter M Daly, *Emblem Theory* (Neldeln/Liechtenstein: KTO Press, 1979).

32 Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama in Zeitalter des Barock*, 18.

33 Daly, *Emblem Theory*, 12.

had a chance of being able to read the vernacular ones.

Emblems may also have increased the potency of flags as ritual objects for the most well-educated, since they had originally been intended as an attempt to recreate the lost universal language of the Egyptian hieroglyphs. The humanists had supposed this writing to have been the original language from before the fall of man, and the attempt to recreate a universal language whose elements would not be merely symbols but the things themselves obsessed early modern scholars. Emblems or *characteristica* (that word always had occult overtones) had magical power.³⁴ When one of the company flags of the Regiment Alt-Schleinitz under Herzog Friedrich Wilhelm II von Altenburg depicted a hedgehog accompanied by the epigram *ME ME VIRTUTE INVOLVO*, “I enfold myself in my own virtue,”³⁵ depending on how well-educated the observer was this was not just a symbol of the German or Swiss mercenary infantry that was more than a hundred years old by this point, it was also a way to tap into the hidden networks of magical correspondence that underlay all visible reality.³⁶ Not only did a hedgehog's spines signify *virtus* (a concept which encompassed moral uprightness, martial spirit, and power, translated into German as either “Tugend” or “Kraft”) because of the similarity between them and a block of pikemen, the animal was connected to the attribute on a spiritual level. The emblem—and the flag that carried it—made that manifest.

Although they carried side-weapons like a sword or Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze's pair of pistols, Fähndriches were supposed to carry no other weapons, and were not required to fight. Instead, they were to tend their flag and present it in battle. When a Fähndrich is carrying

34 Robin Raybould, *An Introduction to the Symbolic Literature of the Renaissance* (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2005), 170-178.

35 Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 132-133.

36 For correspondences, see Ioan P. Culianu, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

the flag, wrote von Wallhausen, he is to bow to nobody but the colonel.³⁷ He was also not supposed to tip his hat, but that was because the flag was large and heavy and his hands were full. Instead, he was to dip the flag, but not so much that it would touch the ground and get dirty. Cavalry cornets were farther away from the ground, so they could dip their flags lower without danger.³⁸ “Nothing in the world is more proper for the Fähndrich to take to himself / than his flag / which has been entrusted (*vertrawet*) to him and which he is urged to look after” —*vertrauen* was the same verb used when official documents described a company's relationship to its captain.³⁹

The flag was handed over to its Fähndrich in a ritual, some of the words of which are specified by Kirchhof:

And if you lose a hand to the enemy / you should take the flag in your other hand. And if that one too (God forbid) is shot or hacked off: / you should fall with it between your teeth / protect it as long as you live / with kicking / snatching it away / and defend it as much as is humanly possible for you. And before you willingly cede it to the enemy / wrap and wind yourself in it / and thus wait for life or death.⁴⁰

These words were probably part of a stereotypical formula. They were echoed nineteen years later in von Walhausen's *Defensio Patriae*. According to him, after a newly-mustered company has been assembled in a ring, officers in the center, and the soldiers have been told to obey their

37 Wallhausen, *Manuale Militaire*, 128.

38 Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 34.

39 “Der Fähndrich behört sich keines Dings der Welt mehr anzumassen / als seines Fähnleins / welches ihm vertrawet und wahrzunehmen anbefohlen,” Wallhausen, *Kriegskunst zu Fuß*, 27.

40 “Vnd da jr vom feindt die eine handt verlieren / sollet jhr das fähnlein in die ander handt fassen. Da euch dieselbige auch (gott wöls verhüten) abgeschossen oder geschlagen wurde: / sollet ihr mit den zähnen dreyn fallen / es so lang ewer leib und leben wehret / mit treten / reissen / und wie euch menschlich und müglich / vertheydigen. Auch ehe jhr es willig den feinden vberliesset / euch dareyn winden und wickeln / und also lebens oder todt erwarten.” Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, 74.

officers in a spirit of equality and asked whether they have anything against these particular officers and whether they are content with them, they should swear an oath to follow them, and:

After this they hand the flag to the Fähndrich / admonish him / that such a thing was given and entrusted to him / so that he should bring it to the field flying and unwound / when and at the time and hour when he is ordered to do so / and by it he should live and die / And before giving it up / he should wrap himself in it and let himself be lifted and swung in it / and it would be as it were his coffin: Which he affirms so they let him also swear an oath on it.⁴¹

Whether or not he had ever read a military manual, or could read, these words show up again in the mouth of Christian Hendel, the Führer of the Moser Company in the Mansfeld Regiment. When that company mutinied, the Fähndrich ordered Hendel to take the flag and speak to them. (As a Führer, Hendel's duties included tending the flag when the Fähndrich couldn't and helping to bear it on the march.⁴²) And when they formed a ring around him and told him "Get out of here with the flag or we will shoot you dead," he replied "This flag is mine and entrusted to me, I will live and die by it and then I will be wrapped in it" (*das fendel wehre sein unnd ihme vertrauet, er wolte dabey leben und sterben auch sich darauf ein daßelbe gewickelt*).⁴³ Was he echoing what had been told to him when he received that flag? In any case, for Hendel being wrapped in the flag wasn't the alternative to surrendering it like it was in these published texts, it was a metaphor for what he may have thought the end of his life would look like in general. His willingness to die for flag and company eclipsed his relationship to the King

41 "Nach diesem gibt man dem Fähnrich das Fähnlein in die Handt / errinert ihn / daß ihm solcher Gestalt dasselbige gegeben und vertrauet werde / daß er dasselbige soll zu Feldt führen fliegendt und eingewunden / wann und was Zeit und stundt ihm solches anbefohlen würdt / bey demselbigen zu leben und zu sterben / Auch ehe er es verlassen solte / sich in dasselbig einzuwickeln und darinnen erwurgen zu lassen / und gleichsamb sein Todenlade seyn: So er das bejahet so läst man ihne auch ein Eyd drauff schweren." Wallhausen, *Defensio patriae*, 69.

42 Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 38.

43 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 95.

of Spain, whom he never mentioned. This was the only shroud he was likely to have if he died in battle: combat dead were stripped where they fell and buried naked on the field, if they were buried at all.

The flag's function as the focus of the company bled into its bearer in regulations, in battle, and in daily life. In contemporary Dutch militia companies the Vaandrig was required to be unmarried, since he embodied the company's potency.⁴⁴ They were supposed to be a visual focus too; the flag bearers in visual art from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries rest their hands on their hips or on the pommels of their swords, sticking their elbows out in a swaggering, macho display. If the picture is of a group of soldiers, often the flag bearer's in the center.⁴⁵ Was the self-conscious, obedient (except when he was drunk) Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze clothed as magnificently as them? We cannot know.

Wallhausen described the Fähndrich in highly colored terms: "every captain should strive here / to have a young hero as a Fähndrich / who is happy / to have nothing else to think about / than his honor and the flag / and to exert himself with nothing else."⁴⁶ A Fähndrich was supposed to be young; he was also supposed to be of a higher social standing than the Hauptmann or Lieutenant. A Fähndrich should make himself beloved by the soldiers so they would more willingly follow him, and stay with him in times of danger.⁴⁷ He was supposed to plead on behalf of the common soldiers. He was not supposed to treat them roughly, so if they

44 Joneath Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Hermann Roodenburg (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 84-128, 97.

45 Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," 90, 101.

46 "ein jeder Capitän dahin soll trachten / daß er Junge Helden zu Fähnderich habe / die da frewdig / nichts mehr zudencken haben / dann allein ihr Ehr und Fähnlein / sich auch mit nichts anders zubemühen." Wallhausen, *Kriegs Kunst Zu Fuß*, 27-28.

47 Wallhausen, *Manuale Militaire*, 127-128.

became mutinous and were refusing to see the other officers, he could plead for loyalty.⁴⁸

Something like this actually happened during the Mansfeld Regiment's grim trip north in summer 1627: when the remnants of the regiment got to Sachsenhausen the People requested “either their dismissal or money, and wanted to go no further,” and it was a Fähndrich who “with great affirmations persuaded them that when they came over the Main they would find good quarters and money, and that Frankfurt would give them some thousands of Reichsthalers.” This was a desperate and pathetic lie; Frankfurt denied them quartering despite their Imperial patent.⁴⁹

Since the flag was the visible sign of the company's identity, its honorable presence admitted people into the company. This belief lingered for a long time: in 1731, Caspar Wüstle, a deserter in Augsburg, was dishonored by having his name affixed to the gallows. His parents negotiated an agreement with the authorities: he would turn himself in and be whipped for three days to the beat of the drum, and then he could receive an honorable discharge. But the corporals who were to administer the whipping refused to do it. Since Wüstle's name had been attached to the gallows, he was dishonorable and therefore contaminating. Soldiers were an honorable estate, so they could not touch Wüstle's body—the corporals said they'd be expelled from their regiment if they whipped him. Wüstle was not considered honorable again until flags were swung over him. Only then could he be punished physically, and only once he was part of the military community again could he be expelled from it.⁵⁰ Conversely, soldiers who were being punished for a crime were, in the words of Mattheus Steiner, only “shipped on back to their flag as honorable soldiers” after their punishment had been completed. When Lieutenant Colonel Johann Wolf von Schrauttenbach, employed by the Margrave of Hesse, said that “no flag flies

48 Lorenz von Troupitzen, *Kriegs Kunst Nach Königlicher Schwedischer Manier*, 6.

49 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 30v-31r.

50 Stuart, *Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts*, 135, 140.

over a shamed man,” this was true almost by definition: if you weren’t honorable you weren’t allowed to come into contact with the flag, but the flag’s presence made you honorable.⁵¹

While a Fähndrich’s honor was in doubt, he wasn’t allowed to carry his flag. After the second dispute between Fähndrich Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze and Lieutenant Feliz Steter, Schutze’s flag was removed from his lodging and remained confiscated while his suit was pending. We know this because he told Theodoro de Camargo about it in his complaint against Steter: “at your grace’s order for a time until now i was confined to the herr hauptmann’s and the regimental provost’s, hanns wolff von schingo, and after that other Fähndriches’ quarters, during which the flag was taken out of my lodgings (which despairs me greatly) [*mir zu höchsten despert*] and given to another to unfurl.” As long as his honor was in question due to the accusations that Steter had leveled against him, Schutze could not perform his office, and may not even have been allowed to touch the company flag. In his complaint against Steter, Schutze requested that “his” flag, “which was taken away unjustly, once again be delivered to my hand and...be allowed to remain with me.”⁵² He delivered this letter to Camargo by hand.⁵³ When Camargo objected to this, Schutze “excused himself most strenuously,” claiming that “he had not known that it was on His Grace’s orders that the flag was taken from him, but completely thought that Lieutenant Steter had done it on his own account.”⁵⁴

The flag was the focus of the company, a visual signification of its identity and its

51 SHStADr 10024 9119/30, doc. 2.

52 “mich eine zeit hero uf eur gnade bewelich inn deß herren hauptmann unnd regiments profosen, hanns wolff von schingo, unndt hernach anderer Fähndriche quartier enthaltten, unnter deß das fendtlein aus meinenn *losament* (mir zu höchsten despert) nehmen und ein anderen enwerffen zu laßen.” SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 47-48.

53 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 90.

54 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 88.

power. When a newly raised regiment was given its flags, or a regiment was given replacement flags after the loss or destruction of the originals, they were nailed to their poles and handed over to the Fähndriches in the presence of the assembled soldiers. This was an occasion for celebratory ritual, and was notable enough for Peter Hagendorf to mention it when he enrolled in one of Pappenheim's regiments in 1627: “on Saint John's Day our flags were nailed to their poles at Rheinbischofsheim.”⁵⁵

There was a difference between cased or rolled flags and unfurled flags. An honorable capitulation granted a defeated army permission to march away from the field or fallen strong place with their drums beating and music playing, a bullet in each musketeer's mouth and their matches lit, and “flags flying,” which meant uncased and unfurled. *I can still fight you if I want; I simply choose not to.* If an army did not get those terms they had to extinguish their torches and furl their flags; perhaps the commander might have to dismount and walk away on foot.⁵⁶ If it was important to unfurl the flag (and it was to Schutze, who specifically mentioned in his complaint against Steter that someone else was now allowed “to unfurl” his flag, *es enwerffen*), how much more splendid was the practice known as “flag exercises,” “letting the flag fly,” or “swinging the flag,” in which a Fähndrich performed gymnastic-like exercises while twirling and flourishing the flag, such as spinning it or passing it under one leg.⁵⁷ The sober author of the *Kriegs Kunst Nach Königlicher Schwedischer Manier* did not approve, writing that the Fähndrich should “not exhibit himself like an idiot (like you do in shows and when playing the jester) with peculiar foolish poses, which do not befit a Fähndrich / but present himself with

55 Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 31.

56 Jane Finucane, “Before the Storm: Civilians Under Siege during the Thirty Years’ War,” Alex Dowdall and John Horne, ed. *Civilians Under Siege from Sarajevo to Troy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 137-162, 144.

57 Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 34-35.

grave bearing, and while marching guide the flag upwards in his right hand.”⁵⁸ But Wallhausen thought it was a beautiful display, writing that the Fähndrich is “shut up right in the middle of a battalion / and there he has nothing more to do / than hold his flag / swing it / and put heart into the soldiers” (*den Soldaten ein gut Hertz zusprechen*).⁵⁹ The most elaborate gestures probably weren’t done in or before combat: since flags should not get dirty, moves like passing the flag under one leg would have been done in places with stone floors which could be brushed clean, like courtyards. These exercises could also be difficult to do with the biggest flags, whose extreme size curtailed the number of possible movements. According to Sennewald, flag-swinging would not have been part of a mercenary's everyday war experience.⁶⁰ When people did get a chance to see it, it must have been impressive.

The distinction between cased or furled flags and unfurled flags was also a legal one. For the flags also flew for battle, and for everyone but Fähndriches it was specifically the presence of uncased and unfurled flags that made the difference between the usual desertion (*Außreisen*) and *Fahnenflucht*, “fleeing the flag,” leaving the field of battle while the flags were flying.⁶¹ The latter was a terrible deed, which was why anyone next to a soldier in the act of committing it was allowed to kill him on the spot.⁶²

Taking flags in combat was an important marker of victory, and counting the number of flags you had taken versus the number of flags your enemy had taken from you was one of the

58 Troupitzen, *Kriegs Kunst Nach Königlicher Schwedischer Manier*, 6.

59 Wallhausen, *Kriegskunst zu Fuß*, 27.

60 Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 34

61 Michael Kaiser, “Außreiser und Meuterer im Dreißigjährigen Krieg,” Ulrich Bröckling und Michael Sikora, ed., *Armeen und ihre Deserteure. Vernachlässigte Kapitel einer Militärgeschichte der Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht), 1998, 49-71.

62 Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 29.

ways commanders ascertained victory or defeat. The flags of defeated enemies were trophies, presented to commanders and displayed in public places. But taking a flag also meant defeating the company to which it belonged, for if a flag was taken in combat, the company was dissolved and the legal strictures binding it were no longer in force. If its soldiers were to flee after their flag was taken, it would no longer be *Fahnenflucht*. Similarly, mercenary contracts specified that the companies they ordered were to be paid “as long as the flags fly on their poles” (*solange das fendhell an der Stangen sein wirdt*), as in the case of Claus von Taube's 1631 contract.⁶³ This was a literal statement.

Normally, when a company was dismissed the flag was ripped off its pole.⁶⁴ The significance of this act, as well as how it feels to break up your company, was clear to the Mansfeld Regiment's Lieutenant Colonel Eustachius Löser. To the regiment, Löser was “Stach,” pronounced “Stack;” except in the most official documents, nobody called him by his given name. Löser was a garrulous young officer, one of the regiment's three lieutenant colonels, with charge over the cavalry. He had been born in his familial possession of Alsdorf in the Mansfelder Lands, making him his colonel's feudal subject. When Saxony peeled away from the Empire and allied with Sweden six years after the Mansfeld Regiment went down to Lombardy Löser went with it, receiving a colonel's patent in May 1631.⁶⁵ He led a regiment at Breitenfeld, and took part in a savage little action to retake Leipzig from the Imperialists after Lützen. By 1634 he was

63 Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 28, SHStAdr 11237 10798.

64 Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 28-29. Destroying a company's flag was a punishment in Imperial armies, but according to Sennewald this was not the case in Saxon units (loc. cit.).

65 SHStAdr 11237 10831/1 *Churf. Durchl. Zu Sachsen etc Erste und Andere Kriegsverfassung Nach entstandener Unruhe im Königreich Böhmen*.

a General-Major and commandant of Zittau.⁶⁶ In this letter, Löser wrote, with more emotional insight than grasp of written German grammar: “when the dismissal publicly takes place the cornets in the presence the riders ripped from their poles not only the riders but also the rittmeisters gets sad in large part and so everyone count in his purse and then have to deal with his affairs.”⁶⁷

Conversely, when a company ripped its flag off its pole, it dissolved. While the Mansfeld Regiment was falling apart, five companies mutinied on their way through Switzerland: they “ripped their flags from their poles, forced passes and money from the captains, and partly sold and partly gave away their weapons, the cost of which they had still been two thirds indebted for.” The author of this report consistently referred to the state of being obedient to a company's regulations as “being willing to follow the flag,” which was both synecdoche and literal truth: “Now of the remaining eight flags, some *companies* also wanted to follow them, so they received instructions to let the flags remain on their poles, and remained in good order until they got to the borders of the empire.” When the remnants of the Mansfeld Regiment reached Wangen and Memmingen, “they ripped the flags from their poles themselves, handed them over to the Fähndriches, and walked away.” And so it was “that no more than the officers” of the dissolved companies “and two flying flags, which were Daniel von Schlieben’s and Carol von Komnitz’s” –that is, von Schlieben’s and von Komnitz’s companies were still complete and loyal—“arrived at Frankfurt am Main.”⁶⁸ Like Renaissance military memoirists, the Mansfelders

66 SHStAdr 11237 10831/1.

67 “wan aber die abdanckungk öffendlich gesehen die cornet in *presntz* die Reutter von der Stangen gerissen wirdt der mundt niht allein den Reuttern sondern auch den Ritmeistern zum guthen theil fallen unt sih also ein jehliche nach seinem beuttel rechten unt seine sache darnach anstellen mushen.” SHStAdr 10024 9239/2, 32v.

68 “Wievöl nun von den ubrigen acht fendlein, etzliche *compagnien* solchen auch nachgehen wollen, so haben sie sich doch noch so weitt weißten laßen, daß sie die fendlein an stangen gelaßen, und biß uff reichs bordem in ordnung verblieben.” SHStAdr 10024 9239/2, 51r-52r.

conceptualized an abstract state largely in terms of concrete things or acts: to be a member of a company was to walk behind its flag and to allow it to remain on its pole.⁶⁹

Flags were also beautiful. These were luxury objects, often well-made, but for military writers they were also beautiful in a specific way: they shone. Silk could be made to be shiny. Linen and hemp take dye only with difficulty; linen gets paler with every wash. But silk can be dyed bright colors, which these flags sometimes still are—brilliant red, gold-shot scarlet; dark green or acid seafoam; deep, clear blue. If a regiment was prosperous, at least right after it was raised, these colors would have given a magnificent impression against the dull clothing of the common soldiers—massive flags streaming in the wind, smaller banners hung from cavalry trumpets, draperies hung from the kettledrums of cavalry drummers, little banderoles at the tip of every lance, all as bright as the dyer could manage. These flags were not only bright, depending on the kind of silk they were made of they could be crisp too, draping in sharper, lighter folds than soft, heavy, coarse woolen clothing. A flag also makes a sharp snapping noise in the wind, or when it's waved quickly. The overall impression would have been one of brightness, briskness, energy, and vigor, like the kind of spirit admired by soldiers, who complimented one another with the words *wacker*, valiant and alert, or *frisch*, brisk. Feathers, which you wore in your hat if you could afford them, were similarly light, sprightly, and expensive, and they were also symbols of “dashing masculine courage,” another visual equivalent of the zip and fire that these men were supposed to display.⁷⁰ No wonder one of the ways soldiers referred to an army was the old phrase *helle haufen*, the best of the forces, the elite; the “bright band.”

The colors of flags were meaningful as symbols too, but it's difficult to see what they

69 Yuval Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History, and Identity 1450-1600* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), 105-106.

70 Rublak, *Dressing Up*, 54-55.

would have signified to observers at the time, or if they had the same meaning for every observer. Black was somber and frightening, as in the flags of the Swedish general Ake Tott, which were black and each adorned with a death's head; a pun on his name, which sounds like “death” in German. It was also expensive, which made it attractive. Green was ambivalent: it was the color of nature, vivid new life, and young love, and it might have been fashionable in the 1620s, but it was also technically difficult to dye a good-looking green and many greens were harmful chemically, which may have contributed to its aura of bad luck. On board ships green was thought to attract lightning, which may have been why Colbert issued an edict in 1673 requiring officers to have a ship destroyed if any part of its hull was green. Le Tellier hated green so much he had the green in his coat of arms replaced with another color and banned all regiments in the service of Louis XIV from wearing it.⁷¹ Red was the color of the flames and exploding cannonballs that regularly graced flags. It was also the color of the Habsburgs; unusually well-off members of the Mansfeld Regiment might have worn red sashes over their heavy blue-and-white ticking. Pink is pale red: all three of the Mansfeld Regiment's legal books tie shut with pink silk ribbons. Spinola wears a pink sash in Velasquez's *Surrender of Breda*.

White was especially important. Kirchhof wrote that the flag of the Oberst's personal company, which was white, was “larger and more beautiful” than the other flags in the regiment. He also thought the employer's arms should be “in gold and silver most luminously painted and finished” on it.⁷² Beauty had been associated with light since before the Middle Ages: Thomas Aquinas had been drawing on Dionysus when he said that beauty requires proportion, integrity,

71 Michel Pastoreau, *Green: The History of a Color* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 155-163.

72 Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, 85.

and *claritas*—clarity and luminosity.⁷³ *Claritas* was manifest in brightly colored clothing and precious stones, which meant that it also bespoke wealth—a scarlet coat's cochineal dye was expensive.⁷⁴ And seventeenth-century military flags cost a great deal: one flag cost an average of between 40 and 50 gulden, five times the amount a pikeman could usually pull down per month. This historian also cites a 1620 order for 20 flags of “double-taffeta,” thick and strong silk, for the Schlieben and Goldstein regiments that came to 800 florins for the whole thing.⁷⁵ Like a regiment, flags were the physical manifestations of the colonel's ability to raise money or credit; like a regiment they meant power.

But light was also beautiful because God was light, or light emanated from God.⁷⁶ Since God was also the source of law and righteousness, the association of a flag's shining qualities with the divine would have reinforced and been reinforced by its role as the embodiment of the company's legal status. The association between light and law is manifest in the way trials were held in the previous century when the army was in camp. In the sixteenth century trials took place on the Larmplatz, the assembly place, with the backs of the presiding officers to the east, behind the rising sun. This had a pragmatic function, since people need light to see and space to assemble, and if a trial began in the morning, the sun would be over the shoulders of the trial committee, illuminating their papers without getting in their eyes. (It would get in the eyes of the accused, though.) But as Möller pointed out, it also made the law literally *durchleuchtig*, a word which was often used to mean “majestic” or “famous.” “Eure Durchlaucht” is often translated into English as “Your Highness” or “Your Serene Highness;”

73 Umberto Eco, *On Beauty: History of a Western Idea* (London: Martin Secker and Warburg, 2004), 99.

74 Eco, *On Beauty*, 104-105.

75 Sennewald, *Die Kursächsischen Feldzeichen im Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 19.

76 Eco, *On Beauty*, 102.

the king of Spain is *durchleuchtig* in the Mansfeld Regiment's Articles of War. But its literal etymology means "shining through," translucent, something clear or open so light can come through it.⁷⁷ This access to light may have been why criminal trials in Gustavus Adolphus's army were supposed to be held outside, "under the blue skies."⁷⁸

Whether the real-life exercise of justice was imperfect or deliberately perverted, as in Wolfgang Winckelmann's or Theodoro de Camargo's cases, mercenaries knew their companies and regiments were bodies which had their own law and operated according to the law. Flags expressed this status as a kind of military sacramental, something touched by the sacred in the life of men. The glitter of gold or silver paint, the radiance of sun-touched silk, and the snapping of light fabric taken by the wind, however rich and splendid, were physical expressions of this deeper spiritual reality. Whatever happened in the world of soldiers, this was the ideal.

77 Möller, *Das Regiment der Landsknechte*, 211.

78 Gustavus Adolphus's 1621 Articles of War, Article 144, Article 159.

Chapter 5: Masters in the Things of War

The Legal Process

Wednesday, May 20, 1626: Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze and Felix Steter were coming back from their most recent court appearance together. Steter had appeared before the military tribunal that day to testify regarding his complaint against Schutze from May 1. Although Schutze's remarks weren't recorded, he had gone along. Now, Schutze and Steter were returning: they and their retinues were mounted, and they were accompanied by at least six musketeers on foot. It was about an hour from Legnano to Busto Arsizio, but the Winckelmann Company's Fähndrich and Lieutenant still did not travel outside the Mansfeld Regiment's home base without an escort. When they were "about a musket shot before the city," the two officers began to quarrel again.¹

Once again, Felix Steter's version of events differs from all other witnesses. According to Steter, Schutze rode in front of him and waited for him next to the footpath. "Herr Lieutenant, the Fähndrich halts there and the bodyguard does not want to go on, but I have spoken to him, go gently now, do you think he'll do anything to us," said Steter's bodyguard. Steter rode between Schutze and his companion, the steward Christian Hubrich, when Schutze broke into a run, galloped toward him, and rode around him. "Finally he grabbed onto my horse, onto the saddle, and spoke with these words," said Steter: "'you dog, I want to give it to you right now [*du hundert ich wolte dirs bald machen*],' and he laid his hand on his pistol. At which I said, 'Do you want to attack me on the street? [*wilt du mich den auf der straßen angreifen*] I'll ride back and file suit against you in the regiment for a street-robber and a rogue.' But he barred the way to me with his horse and would not let me ride on, but I rode out with violence." Then the two rode toward

1 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 43.

Busto Arsizio.²

Fähndrich Schutze is savagely and deliberately violent in this account, which is not the way he usually behaved. Schutze's and Christof Hubrich's counter-complaints and the eyewitness reports of some of the watching musketeers tell a different story.

According to Fähndrich Schutze and Christof Hubrich, Schutze had indeed gone off the main path— into some bushes, which knocked his hat off. He turned onto the footpath “to ride away from the lieutenant's gaze,” but Steter followed him, calling him a robber and a rogue “in a loud voice.”³ “Throughout my life, I [have] behaved conscientiously,” Schutze wrote later, “with all uprightness and virtue, so that nobody had any cause against me,” which is why this stung so badly.⁴ As an honorable man, he had to answer such an injury: “He is no rogue nor highway robber but an honorable soldier,” and he rode back to Busto Arsizio. Lieutenant Steter rode after him, galloping through the watch, and called out to Hubrich, who had halted in a courtyard, that he was a rogue and a highway robber exactly like the Fähndrich.⁵

All three mounted men pulled up. Steter called out to a musketeer squad leader named David Schmidt, who had seen and heard everything, “if he had been there, and would testify to the real truth.” The squad leader knew Steter wanted him to lie: he answered “He would, if he should be asked, and give witness in the matter which was due an honorable soldier.” That was clearly a denial, and Steter knew it. At once, “the aforementioned Lieutenant cursed all the sacraments to the squad leader, and on the way and when they stopped often wanted to beat him.” The entire watch “saw this and heard this,” although accounts differed as to whether

2 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 43-44.

3 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 54.

4 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 47.

5 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 54-55.

Schmidt refused to lie for Steter because of his apprehension of his own honor, or because he thought Schutze was an honorable officer and didn't deserve to be slandered.⁶ In any case, squad leader Schmidt had enough pride to stand up to his Lieutenant, even in the face of physical threats.

As soon as Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze, Felix Steter, and Christoff Hubrich galloped into Busto Arsizio, they rushed for the authorities so they could sue: Steter went for Lieutenant Colonel Theodoro de Camargo, and Schutze went to Mattheus Steiner. Hubrich promptly filed his own suit against Steter at the same time Schutze and Steter brought suit and counter-suit against each other. The three of them barely stopped to dismount.⁷

Historians have been impressed for a while with German military jurisprudence from a century before Schutze and Steter were alive, that of the sixteenth-century Landsknechts.⁸ For these commentators, the independent jurisdiction Landsknecht companies had, the right to try their own members under the authority of their captains, was emblematic of their corporate identity. "The Landsknechts regarded themselves as an 'order', and had their own forms of administration and jurisdiction, as well as customs and habits, which provided strong internal cohesion."⁹ Not only was each Landsknecht company a legally independent unit, but common soldiers could also participate in the administration of justice by sitting on military tribunals.

6 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 56, 62-63.

7 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 44, 78-79.

8 As Peter Burschel points out, sixteenth-century German military organization has received attention from legal historians for at least a hundred years. *Söldner in Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 131.

9 Erik Swart, "From "Landsknecht" to "Soldier": The Low German Foot Soldiers of the Low Countries in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," *IRSH* 51 (2006), 75-92, 79.

These trials not only expressed the captains' power as independent agents, but were also opportunities for common soldiers to participate in the direction of their own affairs.

Military justice during Schutze and Steter's war is less immediately impressive than this easily romanticizable embodiment of Landsknecht social identity. Historians tend to describe it in two ways. According to historians who focus on social disciplining, the old legal corporatism disappeared by the seventeenth century, after which common soldiers no longer sat on tribunals. Erik Swart points out that William of Orange's Articles of War for August 1573 and May 1574 put the administration of justice in the armies of the Low Countries into the hands of the captains, rather than tribunals, which had both officers and common soldiers on them.¹⁰ Peter Burschel argues that soldiers were no longer allowed to try their comrades from about 1600 onward: "Like the Landsknecht, the independent, untutored military courts also disappeared from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century." Instead of experienced soldiers, the tribunals were now filled with experienced jurists.¹¹ In Sweden's army, these jurists were responsible to a centralized authority.¹² In addition to imposing greater control from the center, military authorities also supposedly cracked down on various forms of immorality among the troops, as Burschel claims from a review of Articles of War.¹³ This contention is supported by the wealth of published

10 Swart, "From "Landsknecht" to "Soldier," 83.

11 Burschel, *Söldner in Nordwestdeutschland*, 143.

12 In Swedish military justice each regiment was overseen by a legally trained Auditeur, who was not a member of the regiment he supervised. Above these were Ober-, General-, and Provinzial-Auditeuren, in a system stretching all the way back to Stockholm. During the war the General Auditeur already had the power to punish without the assent of a regiment's colonel ("ohne des Regiments Obersten willen zu straffen macht haben sol"). Maron Lorenz, *Das Rad der Gewalt: Militär und Zivilbevölkerung in Norddeutschland nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 103, 110.

13 Burschel, *Söldner in Nordwestdeutschland*, 137. Tallet also claims that a survey of military legal procedure and Articles of War reveals that the life of the common soldier was becoming ever more hedged about with regulations and discipline, but for him this is a long-term development which really begins to be felt in the late seventeenth century. Frank Tallett, *War and Society in Early Modern Europe: 1495-1715* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 124-125.

early modern military legal ordinances, which became more extensive and more draconian as the seventeenth century progressed.¹⁴ But what the authorities want to happen is not always what takes place.¹⁵

Narratives like Burschel's often focus on the seventeenth century as a whole and pass over the Thirty Year's War itself. They are disconnected from the other view of military justice during this period, which is based primarily on accounts of the war. Here there's barely any law to speak of in armies: the military legal process is careless and arbitrary, cruel on the one hand or nonexistent on the other. This is closer to the truth. Historians are already familiar with the flamboyant cruelty of early modern justice. According to older analyses, this cruelty served a pragmatic function: since the authorities could not control misdeeds, they sought to deter crime through elaborate displays of public violence.¹⁶ More recent historians argue that the ritual of execution sacralized the act of putting someone to death, supporting the authority of the sovereign by appealing to the greater authority of God.¹⁷ When historians cite the supposed cruelty of military justice, they echo arguments like the former: because military authorities

14 The most well-known published military legal compendium is Fronsberger's *Von Kayserlichem Kriegßbrechten*, 1563. At the beginning of the eighteenth century many published military legal compendia appeared, which reproduced ordinances from the seventeenth century.

15 Peter Wilson criticizes the “social disciplining” approach to seventeenth century military jurisprudence in “Early Modern Military Justice,” Davide Maffi ed., *Tra marte e astrea. Giustizia e giurisdizione militare nell' Europa della prima eta moderna (secc. XVI-XVIII)* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2012), 43-85, 43-45. Other good recent studies are Lorenz, *Das Rad der Gewalt*, and Martin Paul Schennach, “Lokale Obrigkeiten und Soldaten. Militärgerichtsbarkeit in Tirol in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts,” Andrea Griesebner, Martin Scheutz, Herwig Weigl, ed., *Justiz und Gerechtigkeit. Historische Beiträge (16.-19. Jahrhundert)* (Vienna: Studienverlag, 2002).

16 The signal work is Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 1978. Other works on this topic include Peter Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression: From a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), and Richard van Dülmen, *Theatre of Horror: Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

17 Richard J Evans, *Rituals of Retribution: Capital Punishment in Germany, 1600-1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

could not trust their fractious charges, they enacted harsh justice against those they could catch, like the common soldiers and officers the diarist Hans Heberle saw beheaded in the Geislingen marketplace, ten at a time.¹⁸

This view is shaped by things that happened rather than an analysis of what military theorists wished would happen, but it is also an analysis from outside the lives of ordinary members of the military community. It is uninformed by a view into the quotidian work of military tribunals as they made decisions and passed judgment. A close examination of archival sources from Saxon units reveals something different. Early modern military units operated according to a law which was variable, flexible, and offered scope for common soldiers to participate. At its best, this way of doing things was concerned with maintaining justice within the military community and sometimes even between that community and the outside world, but it was often not at its best. Nevertheless, the sources also reveal conscientious, thoughtful, and just people participating in tribunals and collecting evidence. The military subculture was also a moral community, with its own notion of justice.

A regiment was a self-regulating legal entity which had jurisdiction over its own members.¹⁹ Free companies (companies that were raised on their own and owned by a colonel) appear to have been semi-independent if they had been incorporated into a regiment, often trying their own members but still under the supervision of regimental legal officers. While the Mansfeld Regiment sometimes ran legal issues past the Governor of Milan, much of the time

18 Lauro Martines, *Furies: War in Europe 1450-1700* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), 14.

19 In this way regiments were similar to other independent jurisdictions within Germany's legally pluralist society. John Griffiths, "What is Legal Pluralism?," *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 24 (1986); Richard J Ross and Philip Stern, "Reconstructing Early Modern Notions of Legal Pluralism, Lauren Bendon and Richard J Ross, ed., *Legal Pluralism and Empires, 1500-1850* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 109-142.

regiments and to some extent free companies governed themselves, like German cities on the move.

Although Gustavus Adolphus' Articles of War specified what military tribunals in his army should look like, the Mansfeld Regiment's did not; evidence for what its trials and trials in other Saxon units were like comes from the trials themselves. Like contemporary Saxon civilians, officers often brought suit to reclaim injured honor in response to insults or demeaning physical attacks.²⁰ If a suit was successful, the insulter could be forced to make a public apology and state that he knew only good things about the injured party. The injured party could also receive a *Gerichtlicher schein*, a “legal ticket,” a statement written and sealed by the Regimental Schultheiss. A legal ticket could also prove someone had lent you money, but the one a soldier got when he sued someone successfully certified that he was an honorable man. Some of these were reproduced in the Mansfeld Regiment's court books. The originals were probably carried by their owners as they traveled.

Often the trial was headed by a bailiff like Mattheus Steiner.²¹ But while this was common, it wasn't necessary. If the case was like murder, where one person couldn't confront another, the words of the charge were framed as though the Provost brought the suit, similarly to a non-military *Inquisitionsprozess*, in which there was no accuser. Common soldiers were more likely than officers to duel each other instead of sue, and minor disputes among them were

20 Eileen H Crosby, *Claiming Honor: Injury, Honor, and the Legal Process in Saxony, 1650-1730*. PhD diss., Cornell, 2004, 92-93.

21 The *Schultheißgericht*, “Schultheiss court,” was already fully in use by the seventeenth century. Hans-Michael Möller, *Das Regiment der Landsknechte: Untersuchungen zur Verfassung, Recht, und Selbstverständnis in deutschen Söldnerherren des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Fritz Steiner Verlag, 1976). Schennach, “Lokale Obrigkeiten und Soldaten,” 200.

mediated by officers. (Wallhausen said the Fähndrich should do it.) Most of the time, this mediation was probably not recorded.²²

Military courts were concerned with the fairness of their trials: a defendant had the right to face his accuser and would not be tried when he was absent from the regiment. If he couldn't be present for the trial due to illness or injury, or if he could not defend himself for some other reason, someone would speak for him. They would not try someone who did not understand what was going on, whether because of mental incapacity or because he did not speak the same language as the members of the tribunal.²³ Members of the military community were familiar with the legal process and involved themselves in it readily, whether as disputants or witnesses. When Martin Seyfried Deckert shot himself in 1654, squad leader Peter Baldin told Hans Thomson that he definitely wanted "to see where he had shot himself here so I can report it" (*Ich will gleichwoll sehen, wo er sich hier geschossen hat, damit ichs mechte berichten kann*).²⁴

I have selected six lists of the members of military tribunals, among them three covering members of Dietrich von Starschedel the Younger's free company and two from the Mansfeld Regiment. They are clustered around the 1620s: the examples from the Starschedel company are from late 1624 and early 1625, those from the Mansfeld Regiment are from 1626 and 1627, and the last is from 1631. In addition to the tribunals from the Mansfeld Regiment, the examples in this sample were chosen because the ones from Starschedel the Younger's free company contain original signatures, and because the tribunal from 1631 involved a veteran soldier I was already

22 Compare the court-mediated Vergleich in civilian justice, Ulrike Ludwig, *Das Herz der Justitia*, PhD diss., Technische Universität Dresden, 2008, 74-76.

23 Lorenz, *Das Rad der Gewalt*, 128.

24 SHStAdr 10024 9121/14, doc 2.

familiar with. The records from the Starschedel company are unusually thorough, and they include a detailed description of the reasoning by which the tribunals reached their decisions. This chapter largely focuses on them. (There are a large number of military trials in the Dresden archive that I have not examined.)

On September 29, 1624 Balthasar Kaltoffen and Nicholas Sonntag, squadmate pikemen (*Spieß-gesellen*) in Dietrich von Starschedel the Younger's company, were drinking together in a tavern in Neustadt on the Orla, where they were quartered. After they had drunk about a quart of wine, Sonntag asked Kaltoffen for his sword; he wanted to exchange swords as a pledge of brotherhood, but Kaltoffen refused. "I paid for that sword," he said; "it's for defending my life." The two stood up together, left the tavern, and fought outside. Sonntag was killed.²⁵ This case was tried twice, first in Dresden on October 21 by a tribunal of assessors made up of higher and lower officers as well as senior common soldiers, headed by Starschedel's regimental bailiffs (Table 5.1). Here as in all tables, original spelling and capitalization have been preserved.

Heinrich Müller	Regimental Schultheiß
George Heinrich von Gohrer	Fähndrich
Christoff Kreischen	Lieutenant
Sontagk Weber	Wachtmeister
Hans Dreschel	Wachtmeister
Matthes Krezmer	Nachtwachtmeister
Christoff Steudieger	Gerichtsgeschworene
Berthel Bergkmann	
Carl Siegmundt von Redestock	Rottmeister
Christoff John	Rottm:
Hans Bernhardt von Rottenbutz	Runtertzscher

25 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 1-17.

Hans Cieckler	Runtertzscher
Melcher GuttJahr	
Daniel Kalbersberger	Gefreiter
Elias Pollnher	
Caspar Gütze	Gerichts Webel
Hans Feßler	Gerichts Schreiber

Table 5.1: Assessores, Kaltoffen/Sonntag case, 21 Oct 1624

Few of these men came from the same company as Kaltoffen and Sonntag, nor did they come from von Starschedel the Elder’s company.²⁶ They might have been regimental level officials or they might have come from other companies in von Starschedel the Elder’s regiment. They were not all officers: squad leaders also took part in the process (Rottmeister is an archaic term for gefreiter). “Runtertzscher” is one spelling of the German word for a soldier who fights with a sword and buckler. If this was a position of honor, like the special honor afforded to pikemen, it would make sense that sword-and-buckler men were among the *Assessores* in this case. The *Gerichtsgeschworene* were probably common soldiers with some defined office on the tribunal. By the 1640s, Saxon rolls record them officially.

Kaltoffen was let go on the ground of self-defense. On November 10, a new tribunal was assembled to review the Kaltoffen/Sonntag case at the behest of the Elector of Saxony and on the prior recommendation of Heinrich Müller, the Regimental Schultheiss. This tribunal was made up of six squad leaders, six pikemen, and six musketeers as well as a number of officers. Almost all the tribunal members were from the same company as Kaltoffen and Sonntag. As was still the case in the German-speaking world in the eighteenth century, the tribunal members made their decisions in groups—officers, squad leaders, and so on. Each participant signed his name at

26 SHStADr 11237 10840/7 8

the end of the document with his own hand. The list of names is reproduced in Figure 5.1 and transcribed in Table 5.2.

Wolf Luyt Von
~~Christoph~~
 Peter Leibner
 Jeronias Heselbarth Joltwebell
~~Johann~~
 Erney Franck gemainweibel
 Franz Hans Moßbauer
 Michel Weber
 Wenzel Hoffmann
 Siegemund Lense
 Andrea Ditzel
 Berg Jödingen.

gefänglich.

Thomas Imball
 Christoff Pfeiffer.
 Hans Wägen
 Michel Bergmeister.
 Christoff Witzler
 Mathias Dürrfeldt.

Süßfeldt.

Adam Stein
 Hans fastenberg
 Matthes Lerman
 Michel Gwinckler
 Christoff Eller.
 Christoff Votzall

Müßgüter.

Figure 5.1: Tribunal signatures, Kaltoffen/Sonntag case, November 10, 1624

Wolff Ernst von Teüchern	Fähndrich
Peter Liebener	Leitened [Lieutenant]
Jeremias Heselbartt	Feltwebell
Hannß Schmid	Gemeinwebel
Lorenz Franck	Gemeinwebel
	Frantz von Moßorff
Gefreitt	Michel Weber
	Wentzel Hofferman
	Siegemundt lowe
	Andreas Oschiez
	Georg höldinger
	Thomas deubell
Doppelsoldner	Christoff Pfeiffer
	hans burger
	Michel Bergkmeister
	Christof Richder
	Melchior durrfeldt
	Aßmus Stein
Mußquedier	hans fastenberger
	Matthes herman
	Mickel Steinbrucker
	Christoff Eller
	Christoff Wetzell

Table 5.2: Transcription of tribunal signatures, Kaltoffen/Sonntag case, November 10, 1624

The members of the tribunal gave their decisions according to their rank and the honor of their roles: officers first, then squad leaders, pikemen, and musketeers. Although they acquitted Kaltoffen unanimously, the reason varied by rank and position. Whether from a

calculated desire to curry favor or because their positions placed them in more contact with superiors, the officers emphasized the ties of obligation which bound them to their warlord. Sonntag gave Kaltoffen “sufficient cause to take him outside,” they said, since he had wanted to take his sword, “which he bore in order to serve Your Electoral Majesty, and “for defending [*defendierung*] his life.” The squad leaders, in contrast, mentioned the political world outside their regiment only vaguely: for them it was a case of self-defense for Kaltoffen because Sonntag “wanted to wrest from his side the weapon with which he receives money from the lord.” This was a stock phrase for mercenary service, in which the identity of that lord was somewhat unclear compared to the mention of money. The pikemen valorized a soldier's place in the world without mentioning any “lord” at all, the Elector of Saxony or otherwise. For them, “because Balthasar Kaltoffen defended his Honor and good name,” he “acted with right,” even though he “had to use a weapon to defend himself.” The musketeers concurred, but also said Kaltoffen had been forced into the fight.²⁷

Unlike the tribunal of *Assessores*, there were no legal officials here, only soldiers and officers. Numerically the tribunal was dominated by common soldiers, fifteen out of twenty, organized into neat blocks, in the same order that their decisions were recorded, and probably in the same order they were delivered out loud. Like the Fährdrich tended the visible embodiment of the company's identity and law and administered informal justice among the common soldiers, a Fährdrich's name headed this list. That's also because the list was ordered by rank: in the 1620s, the Fährdrich was the second officer in the company after the captain.

The Starschedel tribunal that tried the musketeers Jonas Beck, Melchior Schröter, Maz Japzsch, and Hanß Rümpler for leaving the company without an overnight pass, precipitating a

27 SHStAdr 10024 9121/5, 16r-17r.

brawl, and killing a man was organized similarly and made up of almost the same people. The case was recorded at greater length though; it's more complicated.

On October 20, 1624, Jonas Beck and his squadmates left their quarters in Kronberg and walked to Leibsdorf to visit Beck's old company. It had been Beck's idea; he had come to their room and asked Schröter and Japzsch if they wanted to go with him. He stood "in front of the bed" to do it: it was morning in late October, and Schröter and Japzsch were probably sitting or lying in bed together, where it was warmer.²⁸ An entire squad may have slept in that bed in addition to whatever civilians they were quartered on, who don't appear in this account, being irrelevant to their social life. Rümpler was in the market when Beck "asked him if he'd like to come out and hang out with him" (*ob er ihm zu gefallen mit hinauß spatzieren wolt befragt*).²⁹ The other three had been concerned about whether it was right to leave, but Beck told Schröter and Japzsch that he had the lieutenant's permission: not only was his pass prepared, he said, but he had received a glove from the lieutenant, an extension of his superior's hand and potent token of the trust he allegedly had in Beck.³⁰ Rümpler must have wondered whether or not Beck wanted to desert, since Beck told him that "because he was content he would come back again," taking for granted both his ability to walk off if he felt like it and his right to do so if he wasn't satisfied with life in this company.

The rest of the squad didn't know this, but Beck's pass was only for the day. He had been hoping to travel to his old company on that pass, then get another pass from his old lieutenant and travel back on it, possibly staying out overnight. Beck was probably less

28 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 44v.

29 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 44v-45r.

30 Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones, "Fetishizing the Glove in Renaissance Europe," *Critical Inquiry* 28.1 (2001), 114-132, 118-119.

experienced than his higher-paid friends (he made 8 gulden/month to Rümpler's ten and Japzsch's nine; Schröter made 7, which was the norm).³¹ He was probably younger too: he had been a drummer in another company back in 1621/1622, and drummers were usually teenagers, which means Beck was probably in his early 20s by late 1624, if that.³² But he had a more proactive personality than the rest of his squad, and a can-do attitude.

On their way back from Leibsdorf the four stopped in Triptis in the afternoon, at the home of Nickel Hetzer, smith and tavern-keeper. There they drank some beer and ate two carp, which they had brought with them for their host to cook. There was a weird tension in the air already; a *Stadtknecht*, the lowest member of a city's law-enforcement apparatus, came into the place speaking Polish to them, then sat down at the table next to Beck and asked him if he spoke Polish. When Beck answered no, he left.³³ Later, Beck and Schröter went outside, “set upon each other with their fists, but intending no harm,” then came back into the tavern with each other, settled their bill, and went out again to fight some more, under the light where they could see. They came back in “shout[ing] for joy.” Some witnesses said the two had their swords out. The defendants did not agree how or when it happened, but a mob of town-dwellers soon gathered, some with clubs: “they came with big trees and other weapons to fall upon him and beat him,” said Beck.³⁴ The four of them were surprised by this attack: they had not been watching the inhabitants of Triptis, but the inhabitants of Triptis had been watching them.

This testimony was fragmented, contradictory, told from the vantage points of people who were in different places. The townspeople and the soldiers each described the other as a

31 SHStADr 11237 10840/7 8.

32 SHStADr 11237 10840/7 8.

33 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 18v.

34 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 19r.

frightening, hostile force; the judge who came upon the brawl remembered telling the soldiers that he would fine them. Japzsch and Rümpler, who were attempting to barricade themselves inside Hetzer's place almost the whole time, barely saw anything happen; they remembered the event primarily as a town full of people attacking them. At some point, Hetzer called the judge, who arrived with his retinue. In the ensuing “battle,” the defendants were badly beaten, and one of the judge's retinue snapped Beck's rapier with a warhammer and wounded him in the hand. “By God's sacraments, you've wounded me,” said Beck, and ran him through with his broken sword.³⁵ “The short guy stabbed me!” yelled the judge's man. “I've said my part” (*ô wie sticht mich der kleine Ich hab mein theil gesaget*). He took three full steps into the entryway of Paul Hahn the beadle's house, possibly looking for a place to shield himself, but he didn't make it to the door.³⁶ Georg Hetzer didn't see him fall, but he told the tribunal what it looked like to watch a man die: “At that he gave no word more and his face was different.”³⁷

The defendants and the witnesses were questioned several times; only during the barkeeper Nickel Hetzer's interrogation was Maz Japzsch's full name recorded, Mattheus—everyone in his company, including the officers conducting the trial, called him Maz or Matz.³⁸ The tribunal gave its judgement on January 10, 1625; as in the Kaltoffen/Sonntag case, everyone signed his name. Sixteen out of 23 members of this tribunal, 70%, were common soldiers. Although regimental bailiff Müller was involved in the trial, questioning defendants and exchanging letters with the Elector of Saxony, no outside legal experts were. The signed page is reproduced as Figure 5.2, and the list is transcribed as Table 5.3.

35 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 22v.

36 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 38v.

37 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 22r.

38 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 22r.

Jan. 10 Eyn January 1625.

1. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 2. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 3. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 4. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 5. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 6. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 7. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 8. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 9. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 10. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 11. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 12. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 13. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 14. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
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 25. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 26. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 27. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 28. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 29. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 30. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*
 31. *Magist. Jan. van den Broeck*

60

Figure 5.2: Tribunal signatures, Triptis case, 10 Jan 1625

Wolff Ernst von Teuchern	Fähndrich
Peter liebner	Leitnant
Jeremias Hesselbart	Feltwebel
Casparus Richter	Furier
Simon Herre	Vorier
Lorenz Franck	Gemein webel
Hanns Schmidt	Gemeinwebel
Hanns Rudolf	g. corporal
	Frantz von Maßdorff
Gefreytte	Michel Schapschorn
	Lorenz Herforth
	Siegmund Leb
	Georg Heltinger
	Michel Weber
	Thomas Deubell
Duppelsöldner	Christoff Pfeiffer
	Hans Burger
	Chrisdof Richdar
	Michel Barckmeister
	Melcher Durrfeld
	Matthes Herman
Musquedirer	Christoff Eller
	Nicol Steinbrecker
	Christoff Dirhne
	Hans Fastenberger

Table 5.3: Transcription of tribunal signatures, Triptis case, 10 Jan 1625

In both of these cases, this company may have deliberately selected tribunals that reflected the entire military community, since low-paid as well as more highly paid men were on them.

Trials in the Mansfeld Regiment were overseen by Mattheus Steiner and the Regimental Provost, at first Hanns Wolf von Schingo, later Gottfried Reichbrodt. Cases could be reviewed by the Lieutenant Colonel or Colonels (Theodoro de Camargo in the case of the infantry, Stach Löser and Vratislav Eusebius von Pernstein for the cavalry), who could pardon the condemned. The only Mansfeld Regiment cases where the members of the tribunal were counted and specified involved important regimental personnel: in one case, Theodore Camargo had stabbed his wife to death; in the other, Felix Steter had gotten into a fight with Wolfgang Wincklemann, his captain. (Camargo went free, while although Steter was castigated he was too.) The Mansfeld Regiment tribunals were large and contained relatively few common soldiers; these differences could both be due to the importance of the officers being tried. (The largest Saxon tribunal I have seen, twenty-six men, also tried an officer.³⁹) Tribunals for more ordinary cases were probably smaller, if for no other reason than the difficulty of assembling the requisite personnel for a large tribunal every time a trial was held.

The tribunal that oversaw Camargo's trial was made up largely of men who weren't part of the regiment; Hurschleben, for instance, is another regiment's bailiff, while Nicola Husse was an Alfarez, a Spanish rank. Wolf von Mansfeld had requested this to avoid the appearance of favoritism.⁴⁰ They are as follows (Table 5.4):

39 Sennewald, *Das Kursächsische Heer im Dreißigjährigen Krieg*, 645.

40 SHStAdr 10024 9737/13, *Italienische und französische Concepta derer Schreiben Graf Wolffgangs Zu Mansfeld an den Herzog zu Feria, Spanische Botschafter, und andere Ao 1625-26, 76-77*. Rough draft of letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to the Duke of Feria, undated but filed with papers dated 1 April 1626.

1. Sebastian Hurschleben	Prais. Schamb. Regiment Schultheiss
2. Erhart Wurmbßer von Fenterheimb	Hauptmann and Quartermaster
3. Veidt Dietrich von Steinheimb	Hauptmann
4. Diz Melcher von Roßenbach	Hauptm
5. Georg Ulrich Genhardt	The Obrist Lieutenant's Fähndrich
6. Hanns Georg <i>Quaranta</i>	The Obrist Wachtmeister's Fähndrich
7. <i>Nicola Husse</i>	Alfs
8. Johann Adam von Malerdorff	Fähndrich
9. Matthias Kirchhofen	Leutenant
10. Heinrich Andreas von Doguil	Leut
11. Michel Pez	Feltwebel
12. Adam Meder	Feltwebel
13. Hanns Merten Hirsh	Feltwebel
14. Caspar Brier	Feltwebel
15. Wolff Kirchner	Gerichtsgeschworener
16. Ernst Christoff Waldt	Furier
17. Hieronymus Schretlein	Furer
18. Barthel Bollmann	Gefreyter Corporal
19. Peter Treymann	Corp.
20. Georg Guttmann	Corp.
21. Claudy Weynacht	Corp.
22. Sebastian Kirch	Corp.
23. Dippolt Kein	Corp.
24. Nicolas Geltmeyer	Gefreyter
25. Adam Membrisch	Gefreyter

Table 5.4: Tribunal, Camargo case, April 16, 1626

Although the fight between Wolfgang Wincklemann and Felix Steter took place in February 1627, the second Mansfeld Regiment tribunal whose members were itemized met on June ninth, two days before the regiment headed north for the last time. It looked like this (Table 5.5):

1. Mattheus Steiner	Regimental Schultheiß
2. Georg Rudolph von Kürbitz	Hauptm
3. Carl von Komnitz	Hauptm.
4. Andreas Meidiger	Hauptm.
5. Hanns Heinrich von Arnns Waldt	Leut.
6. Samuel Müller	Leut.
7. Michael Hoffmann	Leut.
8. Christoff von Zaszviz	Fähndrich
9. Michael Henel	Fähndrich
10. Georg Kaubel	Feldtwebel
11. Heinrich Rabener	Feldtwebel
12. Hannß Georg Steube	Stabhalter
13. Simon Claus	Gerichtsgeschworener
14. Matthes Martin	Gerichtsgeschworener
15. Jacob Babst	Fürer
16. Caspar Beck	Fürer
17. Paul Schurer	Fur.
18. Caspar Schulz	Fur.
19. Andreas Lehman	Gemein Webel
20. Heinrich Müller	Gemein Webel
21. Adam Heffiche	
22. Mertten Wurbmb	Corp.
23. Sebastian Drauttner	Corp.
24. Hanns Anes	Gef
25. Hannß Stattmüller	Gef

Table 5.5: Tribunal, Wincklemann/Steter case, 9 June 1627

The Wittenberg tribunal that examined von Bißing's father's petition during the von Zwemer/von Bißing case in 1631 was made up of seventeen men, including four identified as *Gerichtsgeschworene* (Table 5.6).⁴¹ Although it took place in the bailiff's quarters, “which back

41 SHStADr 11237 10796.

then was at Paul Hanßberger's, on the marketplace,” whether for its symbolic connection with the process of justice or because it was the only room they could find that had enough space for everyone to meet, the bailiff himself wasn't there.

Hauptleute	Albanus von Brandstein Claus von Tauben
Leutenambte	Ludowig Sanneman Nicol Steinhauser
Fähnriche	Wolff Bastian von Közschau Christoff von Neündorff
Gerichtsgeschworene	Hans Müller Christoff König Caspar Richter Hans Katharinus
Feldwebel	Philip Baumgartner daniel Bernitt
Gefreyter Corporal	Georg Roß
Gefreyte	Johann Gerlman Lorenz Schleizer Wilhelm Lichtniger Martin Heber

Table 5.6: Tribunal, von Zwemer/von Bißing case, May 1631

In 1619 the man with the unusual name of Hans Catherine (“Katharinus”), now the fourth *Gerichtsgeschworener* in Table 5.6, had been a musketeer in a free company belonging to

Ernst von Günterode. He may also have served four years later in a different company in the same unit. Catherine may have been able to become some kind of officer in the twelve years since he was a common soldier, but it's more likely that common soldiers could also become *Gerichtsgeschworene*, permanent or semi-permanent court personnel. Sennewald writes that *Gerichtsgeschworene* were "selected soldiers."⁴² 52% of this tribunal were common soldiers, probably experienced ones like Catherine. Peter Hagendorf spent some time as a *Gerichtsgeschworener*, and he was both literate and highly experienced.⁴³

As a historian notes for Imperial military justice in the Tyrol during the 1630s, there seems to have been no standard military tribunal in Saxon units in the 1620s.⁴⁴ Dietrich von Starschedel the Younger's free company's tribunals were not like tribunals in the Mansfeld Regiment, and it's probable that neither of them were like tribunals in other units. At the best of times military justice was better-ordered than just scooping a soldier up on the march and hanging him for looting, but it was still a relatively simple process. Trials were usually over quickly. Military courts did not send away for university trained jurists like non-military courts habitually did. While Gustavus Adolphus' Articles of War made a distinction between civil and criminal trials, like Saxon civilian justice, Saxon military units did not.⁴⁵

Although these trials were not egalitarian, they allowed common soldiers to participate in the legal affairs of their community, even trying high-ranking officers. (The examples from the Mansfeld Regiment trials didn't have many common soldiers on them, but almost all their

42 Sennewald, *Das Kursächsische Heer im Dreißigjährigen Krieg*, 645.

43 Peter Hagendorf, ed. Jan Peters, *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Eine Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 97.

44 Schennach, "Lokale Obrigkeiten und Soldaten," 213.

45 Gustavus Adolphus's 1621 Articles of War, William Winthrop, *Military Law: Volume 2* (Washington, WH Morrison, 1886), 907-918, Article 159; Ludwig, *Das Herz der Justitia*, Section III.

members were outranked by the accused.) These trials were enacted by the military community for itself: in the von Bißing/von Zwemer case a captain, Hans Schanck, investigated the crimes and questioned the witnesses. One of the witnesses, Fähndrich Wolf Balthasar von Krosowitz, was Schank's own second-in-command. Von Krosowitz didn't have his sword on him when the fight started; he asked his servant to throw it to him, which he did—he must have lobbed the rapier behind the struggling cluster, at least seven men crammed into a little room, two of them fighting for their lives on each side of the table in the middle—but even then he did not draw. He told Schanck he could not get to his weapon in time, but he might have frozen. It may have been only because Schanck was his captain that von Krosowitz was able to tell him that he blamed himself for von Bißing's death.⁴⁶

Soldiers also participated in the legal process informally: in the Triptis case the defendants ended up arguing with the court and intervening in the proceedings. As it was being heard, Müller wrote the Elector that the defendants “are very disputatious about the articles” (a series of angry questions he put to them) “because they will not stand for all they have been charged with, and in all points they agree so I don't know what to do against them. The townspeople, the judge, and everyone that was at the fight must also be heard under oath, or else unbiased and reasonable People will take this thing in a hostile manner.” (As usual, when spoken by someone connected with the military community, “People,” *leutr*, refers to members of the military community; the inhabitants of Triptis are “the townspeople,” *Bürger*.) Müller questioned the defendants on the articles that had excited their anger, but he also questioned the civilian witnesses under oath about the brawl, like the defendants wanted.⁴⁷

46 SHStADr 11237 10796.

47 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 31r-31v.

Beck was sentenced to death, but “the soldiers of the praiseworthy Free Company...Generally and One By One” wrote the Elector of Saxony a letter in which they appealed to his mercy, invoked “the tearful pleas of the incarcerated,” said that Our Lady had preserved the company from condemning anyone to death so far, and blamed the incident on “hasty human weakness” and the fact that Beck was drunk.⁴⁸ These soldiers were careful to frame their plea for mercy as an appealing story. They were conscious of the way men of their estate were supposed to be seen to behave in letters to the powerful, for they stressed that Beck

has uprightly seen his enemy beneath his eyes, who well-befits his march and his watches as an upright manly soldier, he has already honorably tried his hand at the things of war during his youth, so that the praiseworthy *Compagnia* has been satisfied with him, and beyond a doubt he will attain high dignity in the future, if his young life is preserved, and at need he could be promoted.⁴⁹

Von Starschedel the Younger also asked for a pardon, since “my entire *Compagnia*” wanted “an amelioration of the sentence,” and “I don't want to refuse them this.”⁵⁰ No qualms about Beck's sentence had been recorded during the trial itself, but in a tight-knit, conservative society like this decision-making can push toward consensus even without explicit coercion. Controversy must have circulated throughout the company beneath the agreement depicted in the written record, coming out by word of mouth, impromptu pleas for mercy as the colonel rode past.

Both von Starschedel the Younger and the Elector of Saxony were in an invidious position, since von Starschedel hadn't received any money to pay his troops; by November they were pawning their clothes to buy food from his sutlers. “We are getting beer for the soldiers on

48 Drunkenness was a reason for pardon in contemporary Saxon civilian law (Ludwig, *Das Herz der Justitia*, 195). Sennewald claims that it was not in military law (Sennewald, *Das Kursächsische Heer*, 646), but this appears not to have been the case in practice.

49 SHStAdr 10024 9121/5, 62r-62v. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Seventeenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

50 SHStAdr 10024 9121/5, 61v.

credit,” wrote von Starschedel; “because of the inability [*unnermögens*] of the council and the entire population of citizens” (they were probably objecting to having money extorted out of them) “we can never give them cash in hand.”⁵¹ As long as cash wasn’t forthcoming from whatever source, the Elector probably had to stay on von Starschedel's good side, while von Starschedel had to keep his soldiers as satisfied as possible. Things were rocky for this company in general; on March 31, 1625, 186 soldiers were paid off early and dismissed (*Cahzirt*), 59% of this company's full complement of 314.⁵² In the end Beck was allowed to live, but while the Elector of Saxony ruled that he should be expelled from the company, he was one of the few soldiers from that company who wasn’t: when the troops were mustered for this dismissal, it was discovered that Beck and five other soldiers (including another Nicol Sonntag, probably a relative of the man Baltzer Kaltoffen killed) had left. Like he told his friends the previous October, Beck had stayed as long as he was content.⁵³

The participants in military tribunals don’t seem to have been formally educated in law. When Heinrich Müller wrote to the Elector of Saxony about the kind of person a military tribunal required, he said that he should be “an experienced master in the things of war” (*so ein meister in kriegs sachen erfehrene*).⁵⁴ Although he didn’t say “literate,” everyone in both Starschedel cases could sign his name. Some of the tribunal participants were sharp thinkers. The defendants “might object that they wanted to come back to quarters at the right time” before the fight broke out, but “they all know that after 7 PM where they began their lightminded screwing around they would not have been able to get through the gate,” said Führer Caspar Richter: the

51 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 14v.

52 SHStADr 11237 10840/7 8.

53 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 63v; SHStADr 11237 10840/7 8.

54 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 3r.

city gates shut at seven, which means the defendants were also looking at a charge for deliberately staying out overnight without passes.⁵⁵ But like the Landsknecht law Möller cited, the Starschedel tribunal members' reasons for making their decisions were based on religion, convention, and their understanding of their role as soldiers, not Roman law: murder is against the fifth commandment; self-defense is necessary; a soldier must not allow his sword to be taken from him and may kill to prevent it; “whoever shed man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed” (Genesis 9:6).

The exceptions are interesting. Some military legal personnel were probably familiar with the law of the Empire and Saxony. Heinrich Müller wrote that it was not right to set oneself against the laws either in little cities or in villages, since it was ordered in something he called the “Saxon constructions” (*Constructionibus*).⁵⁶ This might have been a garbled reference to “constitutions,” legal codes. The Mansfeld Regiment's second Provost, Gottfried Reichbrodt, who replaced Hans Wolf von Schingo sometime around early December 1626,⁵⁷ liked legal precedent more than his predecessor did. When the Fähndrich of Theodore Camargo's personal company deserted, Reichbrodt cited not only the relevant parts of the Mansfeld Regiment's Articles of War but also an article from an *Artikellbrief* that was “given in the City of Vienna, 13 November Ao. 1566,” and Mattheus Steiner reproduced this citation verbatim in one of his legal books. This was common; Steiner was dotting his Is and crossing his Ts. But he preserved the quotation's distinctive word choice, syntax, and spelling, which were all different from his own and from Reichbrodt's writing style. Reichbrodt, from whom he copied, must have in turn been copying from a written text, a book he carried with him all the way to Lombardy. Reichbrodt

55 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 52v.

56 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 24v.

57 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 106-107.

even cited his source: “In the Teutschen Key: Kriegs Recht *Lib. Imo. Fol. 16.*”⁵⁸ This specifically military precedent hints at the existence of a written military legal tradition more sophisticated than the simple invocation of “the old usage of war,” and more compendious and varied than the military legal documents historians know about already, like the influential 1570 Imperial Articles of War.⁵⁹

A striking element of punishment in the Mansfeld Regiment is the use of dead trees as gallows. Armies frequently hanged men from trees when gallows weren’t available, but several people in this regiment's administration stressed that the tree had to be dead; specifically, “withered” (*dürr*). When Theodore Camargo's Fähndrich deserted, Camargo wrote that he should “be hanged from a withered and no green tree.”⁶⁰ When Hanns Geyer, Hanns Heinberger, and Matthes Blanckenberg stole a sheep from the civilians some friends of theirs had been quartered on, the tribunal ruled that “they shall be hanged either from the gallows [*Justiciani*] or from a withered tree.”⁶¹ Or the tree could be metaphorical: when Feldwebel Johann Silbernagel skipped town instead of letting his dispute with Fähndrich Michael Hevel go to trial (he had even been allowed his choice of dates and showed up to none of them), Steiner wrote that “Silbernagel's name...as an honor-forgetting, oathbreaking rogue and thief, is publicly nailed to the gallows. Both here and in whatever place and location he may enter, it is hung on a withered tree: well-deserved punishment for him, and a frightening and marked example for others.”⁶² At the

58 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 153.

59 Wilson, “Early Modern Military Justice,” 51-52.

60 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 155.

61 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 109.

62 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 226.

end of a list of deserters in the back of the Mansfeld Regiment's second infantry legal book, Steiner wrote that just as these men “displayed themselves deserters,” their dishonor should also be displayed: if they returned, “let them be hanged on a withered tree.” If they did not return, their names should be nailed to the gallows.⁶³

The idea that a withered tree is good for a hanging had an ancient pedigree in the Empire. Older legal terminology from the German-speaking world differentiated hanging from a withered tree from hanging from a green tree: the former was the harsher punishment. The leafless tree, specifically the withered bough, stood for the letter G, for gallows (*Galgen*).⁶⁴ “To ride the withered tree” was metonymy for being hanged, like “riding in the air” or “wearing the black band,” for in the civilian world a black band was tied around the eyes of the condemned. To come “to no green branch” was “to go to the gallows,” and Camargo echoed those words when he condemned his Fährdrich.⁶⁵ This punishment was exceptionally dishonoring, like hanging someone's corpse upside down or hanging them next to a dog. In hanging malefactors or their names from withered trees, Camargo, Steiner, and the Mansfeld Regiment's tribunal were expunging them. Most of these people were deserters. They rejected the regiment so the regiment rejected them, casting them out not only from the military community but from the vegetal source of life, and nailing them to something dead.

63 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 239.

64 Müller-Bergström, “Galgen,” in Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, ed. *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, Band III (Berlin/Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1987), 267.

65 “Die Strafen der Vorzeit und Gegenwart,” in Ferdinand Stolle, ed. *Die Gartenlaube* (Leipzig: Verlag von Ernst Keil, 1856), 304 and fn 1.

But was military justice especially willing to kill? Anecdotes suggest it was. The tree in Jacques Callot's *The Hanging* is thick with corpses or dying men, although its heavy black leaves might have surprised Mattheus Steiner. The *Justiz* that Silbernagel's name was nailed to would have been built by the Mansfeld Regiment in Busto Arsizio when they arrived: one of the first things a unit did when it came to a place where it planned to spend a lot of time was build a gallows to put fear into the soldiers.⁶⁶ But the cases brought before the Mansfeld Regiment are listed systematically in Table 5.7, broken up by punishment for capital and non-capital cases. Some soldiers received more than one punishment. When he shot Hans Heinrich Tauerling, Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze was made to swear an oath that he didn't mean to do it, confined to quarters, and deprived of his office for nine days: his case appears on this list three times. Mediations are not included in this list, nor are cases that were dropped or where the accused received no punishments.

Death Penalty	Number of soldiers
Beheaded	1
Hanged	3
Condemned to death, pardoned	11
Non-Death Penalty	
Chained (months)	4
“ (two weeks or less)	9
Relieved of office (temporarily)	2
“ “ (permanently)	2
Made to pay victim's medical fees	2
Confined to quarters	2

66 Sennewald, *Das Kursächsische Heer im Dreißigjährigen Krieg*, 646.

Barred from quarters	1
Made to wear six sets of harness	3
Made to stand watch (at length)	1
“ “ (at all)	3
Black mark on record	10
Made to relinquish stolen goods	38
Made to swear a purificatory oath or apologize	6

Table 5.7: Punishments in the Mansfeld Regiment

The most common crime for which soldiers were condemned to death was murder, but even if a soldier killed someone without cause he was likely to be pardoned: of the fifteen soldiers who were condemned to death while the Mansfeld Regiment was active, eleven were pardoned and four were executed. In one case, soldiers fighting in front of the place where the Haupt-Watch had been set were condemned to death even though nobody had been killed, “because such blows and fights have become far too common.” They were pardoned quickly: the aim had probably been to intimidate brawlers instead of kill anyone.⁶⁷ The man who was beheaded had killed another soldier in a fight, like many of the men who had been pardoned, but unlike them he stabbed his opponent from behind and ran.⁶⁸ Most of the men who were hanged had threatened the cohesion of the regiment. Hans Albrecht, whose body was left hanging for three days, the most severe punishment recorded in the Mansfeld Regiment, had been one of the mutineers in Moser’s company. Unlike the others, he had shot at his Feldwebel and attacked a transport boat.⁶⁹ Georg Schmaliner had been one of the ringleaders in a wage dispute.⁷⁰ Only

67 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 200.

68 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 79-82.

69 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 97-98.

Hans Geyer was a thief.⁷¹ In all of those cases others were involved, and the men condemned were only the most prominent.

Most punishments in the Mansfeld Regiment were light, like having a “black mark” or “black register” recorded against you. The recipients of this varied from attempted deserters to Noc Münch and four other cavalrymen who robbed a rider on the open road near Alessandria, robbing him of “a mantle, a sword, a short jacket, a pair of stockings, and 30 batzen in cash.” They also had to turn the goods over to one of the Lieutenant Colonels. The source doesn’t mention returning them to their former owner.⁷² Almost none of these punishments were physically harmful, but they could be awkward and annoying, like having to wear six suits of armor or to stand watch—whether for an unusually long amount of time or at all, which these soldiers regarded as a punishment. Sometimes punishments varied by rank: Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze was deprived of his office twice, both temporarily (once for accidentally shooting Tauerling, once while one of his disputes with Lieutenant Steter was pending), but both times squad leaders “once again had to march with the lowest,” it was permanent.

The Mansfeld Regiment's legal personnel did not record any difference between punishments for crimes committed “in time of war” and those committed “in time of peace,” although hostilities in this region largely ended in early March 1626 and the regiment remained in being for more than a year afterward. And although it was supposedly more difficult to get soldiers to obey military discipline before they swore to the Articles of War, cases from August and September 1625 reveal normal punishments: one soldier was put in chains for fourteen days and another for some unspecified time, two received black marks against them, and Schutze was

70 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 34.

71 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 95-109.

72 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 49.

punished for shooting Tauerling. Nor was there any mention of especially severe punishments for crimes committed in combat.

The most important factor in the punishment of a crime was the effect of the crime or the potential punishment on the survival of the regiment. Threats to regimental cohesion or the authority of the command structure were slapped down hard: when Georg Schmaliner and Lucas Paz brought up a discrepancy between the wages they had been promised and what they were receiving, they were condemned to death after a brief trial, even though the Governor of Milan was responsible for the breach of promise, not the regiment.⁷³ But when it was not feasible to punish criminals severely without damaging the regiment's ability to function, punishments were either light or foregone entirely, like when members of Winckelmann's company, who account for 32 of the 38 soldiers who had to return stolen goods, were just told to return the stolen cloth that had not yet been made into clothing.

It's too simplistic to say that the Mansfeld Regiment was simply reluctant to punish crime, as Martin Schennach argued. What military authorities were often reluctant to punish were offenses against civilians, the subject of Schennach's article. Soldiers were more valuable to them than non-soldiers. The captain of the Imperialist soldier Erhart Stocker made this clear in his argument with the Land Court of Schlanders in the Tyrol: not only was it unclear whether Stocker had been responsible for the death of a tavernkeeper when he stabbed him, but Stocker was an experienced soldier and his captain needed him to supplement his lower officers, especially to train the new People (*jungen leithen*). "In favorem militiae et defensionis patriae," he asked for a pardon.⁷⁴ Most of the Mansfeld Regiment cases handled disputes or violence

73 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 30-35; SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 63v.

74 Schennach, "Lokale Obrigkeiten und Soldaten," 210-211.

between soldiers or offenses against the regiment like desertion or mutiny. This was what the legal authorities really cared about; although there are some cases handling mistreatment of non-soldiers, it is impossible to know how much went unrecorded and unprosecuted.

What the Mansfeld Regiment was reluctant to do was torture soldiers: in only one Mansfeld Regiment case were defendants put to the torture. My findings agree with both Schennach and the work of Maron Lorenz on soldiers working for the Swedish army in Swedish-occupied northern Germany after the war. According to Lorenz, while soldiers were tortured in some areas, in many armies this was reserved only for crimes like espionage, treason, or murder, not everyday crimes like planning desertion.⁷⁵ By the following century, military courts abolished torture entirely, before civilian justice did.⁷⁶

The first reason for this was pragmatic. The seventeenth-century members of the Swedish army Lorenz studied were not tortured for the same reason the eighteenth-century English soldiers Arthur Gilbert studied were flogged instead of given some punishment that would have crippled them: willing soldiers were rare and valuable, and needed to be able to do all the things their profession required.⁷⁷ But torture also dishonored, and military authorities were ambivalent about dishonoring soldiers. Peter Wilson pointed out that like civilian punishments, many military punishments involved dishonor, like decimation or disbanding of regiments that fled during battle, or tearing up their flags.⁷⁸ And the legal authorities of the Mansfeld Regiment dishonored its condemned when they hanged them from withered trees.

75 Lorenz, *Das Rad der Gewalt*, 132.

76 Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), Chap. 3.

77 Lorenz, *Das Rad der Gewalt*, 132. Arthur Gilbert, "Military and Civilian Justice in Eighteenth-Century England: An Assessment," *Journal of British Studies* 17.2 (1978), 41-65, 56.

78 Wilson, "Early Modern Military Justice," 77.

They were also careful to say that a soldier who had been confined to his quarters was sent back to his flag “as an honorable soldier” when his punishment was over, which implies that they may not have been honorable while they were being punished. However, the Mansfeld Regiment also refrained from dishonoring punishments such as dismemberment, the exposure of body parts, or mutilation. They didn’t break on the wheel, nor did they flog. Every now and then an officer beat a subordinate in anger, but this was a part of life, not a formal punishment. The most severe punishment recorded by this regiment was Hans Albrecht's, who was hanged from a withered tree and left there for three days, but this was “wet hand hanging:” they took him down before he rotted completely.⁷⁹ The embarrassing punishments the Mansfeld Regiment employed—making someone wear six harnesses, making him stand watch, or barring him from his own quarters—might have made the recipient look funny, or made him annoying to his friends (since a man who has been barred from his quarters needs to find somewhere else to sleep), but they were not dishonorable. Dishonoring a soldier would be a serious punishment, for despite the fear and contempt many civilians felt for them, these people belonged to an honorable estate, more honorable than all others in the eyes of their own community.

That consciousness of themselves as separate and honorable was associated for soldiers with a respect for the military law. The word for this was *Kriegs Recht*, literally “War Law:” soldiers never used the word “law” without that qualifier. This reverence was religiously inflected, since God was the source of law and conceptualized like an earthly legal authority writ large; in the previous century some German law books, civil and military, told the *Gerichtsgeschworene* to be mindful of the last day, when they would be judged by God “and the

79 Sennewald claims that it was general practice not to allow the bodies of soldiers to hang from the gallows for longer than three days, but this is not supported by evidence from other sources. *Das Kursächsische Heer*, 646-647.

twelve apostles,” like an earthly court with its jurors. This was especially apposite since the tribunals one historian cites often had twelve members.⁸⁰ Yet although the law was imbued with religion, military legal procedure in the Mansfeld Regiment was less explicitly religious than civilian justice: judgments were pronounced in the name of Colonel Mansfeld and his valid patents, not the name of God. This may have been due to the Mansfeld Regiment’s specific place between the religious divisions of early-modern Europe as a regiment full of Saxons and Swiss people serving the king of Spain.

Soldiers' commitment to the war law was a more important allegiance for many of them than the master they served. One of the most unequivocal expressions of this attitude came from the reformed Feldwebel Johann Masson of the Mansfeld Regiment; as a Frenchman, Masson was from the same country as the employers of his regiment's enemies. But when he tried to separate the fighters in a brawl between peasants and soldiers and one of his subordinates insulted him for his trouble, he spat that he could not bear that kind of talk “when he's doing this to bestow the praiseworthy Imperial War Law [on his subordinates] completely and to trust in it” (*alß tut er diese sache denn löblichen keyserlichen kriegsrecht gantzlich anheimb geben unndt vertrauenn*).⁸¹

Sixteenth and seventeenth-century soldiers believed their armies were well-ordered because they had “regiment,” a multivalent word. “Regiment” meant a military body composed of more than one company, headed by a colonel, but it also meant rules, system, or regulation, like the modern English “regimen:” the beginning of the title of Fronsberger's 1565 military legal compendium was *Von Kayserlichem Kriegßrechten, Malefitz vnd Schuldhändlen, Ordnung vnd*

80 Möller, *Das Regiment der Landsknechte*, 140.

81 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 2-3.

Regiment. It also meant “government.” To “bring something or someone before the regiment,” before the community and its law, meant to go to trial, to sue somebody. “Regiment” also meant a military baton or rod of office, a short, thick wooden rod about a yard long, sometimes painted red or green or inlaid with mother-of-pearl. They appear in paintings of early modern generals, but in the Mansfeld Regiment, officers down to the level of at least lieutenant carried them. These regiments symbolized the authority granted to these officers by the law. The reason we know who carried them in the Mansfeld Regiment is that their bearers hit people with them in fights. After Captain Richter died, a brawl broke out between his *Musterschreiber* and a number of other officers over how much money Richter had owed them and what would happen to the company, and a lieutenant hit the *Musterschreiber* “with the regiment.”⁸² When the musketeer Michael Ullman, like squad leader David Schmidt, refused to lie for Felix Steter about the quarrel Steter had been having with Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze, “the Lieutenant lifted the regiment and said I want to beat you and cursed all the sacraments before him.”⁸³ (Despite their undisciplined nature, these tussles were still governed by social norms: the people being hit or threatened with regiments were subordinate to those doing the hitting. You hit your equals or superiors with something else.)

But respect, even reverence, for the idea of law coincided with a messy, tumultuous reality. People with powerful relatives were acquitted, legal officials varied from painstaking to careless, their supervisors complained about them, and whether the authorities wanted to maintain order or not, they also knew that in many cases the only way soldiers could eat was if

82 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 171.

83 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 63-64.

they stole food or extorted it by force from others.⁸⁴ However, despite the popular conception of military justice during the seventeenth century as exceptionally careless or brutal, it's difficult to think of any legal system in which nobody cuts corners, turns a blind eye to "necessary" crimes, or ignores the misdeeds of the powerful. As Wilson pointed out, military justice in early modern Germany reflected norms that were current throughout early modern German society.⁸⁵ If we judge legal systems on the basis of how much of a voice they gave ordinary people, seventeenth-century German military justice comes out ahead of its civilian counterparts; both Camargo and Steter were tried not even by a jury of their peers, but a jury of their subordinates. And unlike civilian notaries, Mattheus Steiner did not charge for his services, like a note certifying a debt or the enumeration of the cash in the purse of a dying *Musterschreiber*.

Sometimes something more sinister slips into view. Only three members of the Mansfeld Regiment were tortured: Hans Geyer, Hans Full, and Christian Gottschalck. Geyer had taken part in the theft of a sheep with some other soldiers, and Full and Gottschalck had known the crime was going to occur, implicated Geyer's accomplices, and may have been in on it. Geyer and the other thieves were hungry and wanted the meat, but their *Fourier* had also planned the theft and put them up to it. Might this have had something to do with why they were tortured and nobody else in the regiment was, including those guilty of more serious crimes? It wasn't an attempt to get them to recant their claim that the *Fourier* had anything to do with the theft, since Full only mentioned the *Fourier*'s involvement after the *peinliche Fragung* began. Perhaps it was the collusion among Geyer, his accomplices, and Gottschalck and Full that motivated the

84 Many historians make this point as well; Schennach, "Lokale Obrigkeiten und Soldaten," 201-202.

85 Wilson, "Early Modern Military Justice," 84-85. Comparisons of military and civilian justice by eighteenth-century historians concur broadly with this judgment, although Arthur Gilbert concludes that military justice was neither better nor worse than civilian justice for the opposite reason from Wilson, writing that the military milieu differed so greatly from the civilian milieu that little comparison was possible between the systems of law that fit each society. "Military and Civilian Justice in Eighteenth Century England," 63.

Mansfeld Regiment's legal personnel. In any case, the common soldiers were tortured and condemned to hang, although all but Geyer were pardoned, but the Fourier was never touched.⁸⁶

Punishments in the Mansfeld Regiment got more severe as the regiment's finances fell apart. Most of the times a member of the regiment was put in chains it was for a brief period, a few days to two weeks. But four men were sentenced to be fettered for months at a time, from eight weeks to almost four months. All of these cases were decided late in the regiment's lifespan, from October 8 1626 to February 11 1627. This wasn't because Gottfried Reichbrodt liked harsher punishments than Hans Wolf von Schingo: Reichbrodt became the new Provost around December 1626. Nor are the crimes particularly severe: two of the condemned accidentally shot people and received months in chains for it—back in August 1625, Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze spent nine days confined to his quarters for the same thing. But during the winter of 1626-1627, Mansfeld was scrambling to find a way to pay the members of the regiment enough to dismiss them; the regiment took their last trip north in summer 1627. As in the torture of Geyer, Full, and Gottschalck, perhaps the Provosts—even Mattheus Steiner, who was otherwise a conscientious and decent man—were taking their frustration and despair out in one of the few ways they could, by mistreating the criminals that came before them.

Power in the daily life of the War People was based on the willing consent of the governed in addition to coercion, necessity, or violence. Conversely, in many cases the violence that superiors did to inferiors does not look like a way to maintain power but an enraged or panicked reaction to its loss. In the Mansfeld Regiment this is most apparent in the life and career of Lieutenant Colonel Theodoro de Camargo and his murder of Victoria Guarde.

86 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 95-109.

Chapter 6: To Be Happy Doing What You Want The Death of Victoria Guarde and the Life of Theodoro de Camargo

Victoria Guarde died alone. The bleak terror of her death is fully apparent only if we remember two things about seventeenth-century western Europe, which were true from England to the Empire. The first is that there was almost no privacy. Historians have been studying the development of the “private sphere” for a while. The nineteenth and twentieth-century separation between the “public” and the “private,” which may now be fading, developed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this analysis, the developing public sphere formed a space for public opinion and the critical discussion of matters of public relevance, while the private became the realm of domesticity, articulated in new forms of art and architecture like the homes that were built during this period or the later domestic novel.¹ These are complex sociological issues, but in the concrete literal sense, people in the early modern period were rarely alone.² The War People, shoved into other peoples’ dwellings in existing communities, were alone even less. Mansfelders habitually referred not to “houses” to describe where they were quartered, but to “rooms,” where they and their families were crammed by their authorities. They may have reacted to solitude not with relief at the chance to be alone, but with bafflement at a situation so foreign to their everyday lives. Aloneness may also have meant fear: when Peter Hagendorf fell behind his mates on the march because he was hungover, three peasants jumped him and took his coat and satchel. When he reached the safety of his regiment he was laughed

1 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, (Cambridge: Polity, 1989); TCW Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

2 Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 155.

at.³ As long as they were alive, soldiers were rarely alone--if they knew what was good for them.

The second is the “good death.” An ideal seventeenth-century death was beautiful and edifying. The dead person prepared spiritually. He or she was the center of attention, surrounded by relatives and friends, and was expected to say a few words of instruction, forgive his or her enemies, and distribute his or her earthly goods. The good death was a non-military ritual, which the social world of the military shared. Victoria’s death had not been good.

She lay on her back in the middle of “a vaulted room” in Theodoro de Camargo’s quarters, hands up, over her body. Her dress was purple-brown but the bodice was gone: above the waist all she had on was her big linen shift, torn open, leaving one breast exposed. Mattheus Steiner had been a soldier for at least six years and had probably seen many things, but he wrote that when he found her, Victoria lay in “a welter of blood” (*ein großen gebluth*). Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt had ordered him to Camargo’s quarters; now he and the eight other witnesses stood together in the vaulted room looking at the body. Captain-Lieutenant Andreas Medringer; Andreas Weigel, who was now a Fähndrich but who became Mansfeld’s Hoffmeister in three years;⁴ Heinrich Muller, Gemeinwebel; Hans Fleck, squad leader; the *Gerichtsgeschworene* Abraham Sonnewald, Ulrich Braunert, and David Henning; and Peter Kirchner, regimental surgeon. “God have mercy on her soul,” Steiner wrote. It was Sunday, the first of March, 1626.⁵

Victoria Guarde’s murder was one of the few things that happened in the Mansfeld Regiment that a comparatively modern historian already knows about. An account appears in the mid-nineteenth-century archivist Karl von Weber’s *Aus vier Jahrhunderten*, an antiquarian

3 Peter Hagendorf, ed. Jan Peters, *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Eine Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 103.

4 SHStADr 10024 9119/24.

5 Victoria Guarde’s death and Theodoro de Camargo’s interrogation and trial from SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 120-164.

collection of interesting events from documents in the archives in Dresden. Through von Weber's fanciful gaze, the murder takes place on a mild spring day, Camargo is quartered in a plundered castle, and Victoria Guarde is young and beautiful.⁶ In fact, we have no way of knowing what Guarde looked like, much less her quarters in Gallarate, only that she lay on the floor (*Boden*, the ground) in her purple dress, covered in blood, and that Mattheus Steiner and Peter Kirchner lifted her up:

And enjoined by the Regiment's aforementioned surgeon, to lift her up and inspect what kind of wounds she had on her body, which at my command he did, and the dead body of the aforementioned Victoria Guarde was found with the aforementioned wounds, thus: five stab wounds on the left breast, one through the left shoulder, two on the left side, one over the belly button, one under the left arm, one more or less [*unngleichen einen*] above the left hand on the arm, and one through the right breast, in all twelve stab wounds.

One of her earrings was broken, all the little chain links split.⁷ Had they stripped and washed the body first and carried it outside, or did Kirchner and Steiner kneel in clotted gore in the indoor half-light and stick their fingers into it to make their examination? The room would have stunk of blood. Victoria had been savagely attacked: except for the defensive wound on her left wrist, probably received as she had attempted to shield herself, any one of those could have been fatal on its own. The assailant knew what he was doing; there's a big artery in the armpit. The murder weapon had been a stiletto, a long thin Italian dagger.

In addition to the examination of Victoria Guarde's body, I have found two more military autopsies. When the Mansfelders Georg Reinsberger, Hans Jungnickel, and their female partners got into a fight in April 1626, Jungnickel cut Reinsberger behind the left ear with what

6 Karl von Weber, *Aus vier Jahrhunderten. Mittheilungen aus dem Haupt-Staatsarchive zu Dresden*, Vol I (Tauchnitz: Leipzig 1857), 28-41. The account here is based on another copy of the Camargo/Guarde file, filed separately from other Mansfeld Regiment documents.

7 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 122.

the men in the room, who cut wood, called “an Italian woodcutting knife” and Reinsberger’s wife Maria, who made food, called “a cleaver.” Reinsberger died in his sleep twelve days later. Since the link between Reinsberger’s injury and his death was unclear, Peter Kirchner performed an autopsy: “not only to open the places where the injured man was wounded, but also to let me inspect him in the company of the other officers, and also, according to our intellect, to report whether he was robbed of his life through these wounds,” wrote Mattheus Steiner. Because Reinsberger’s wound “was not found to be very deep” and “the brain pan also [was] in no way hurt [*laediret*] or injured,” Kirchner concluded that the earlier blow hadn’t been what killed him: Jungnickel was not charged with murder.⁸ After Balthasar Kaltoffen and Nicholas Sonntag began to argue in the pub in Neustadt back in 1624, they fought with swords outside. Sonntag came at Kaltoffen, but Kaltoffen parried with a thrust: a common move, since compared to later swords rapiers were heavy and slow to wield. “Sonntag however had fully committed to the lunge with his entire weight” (*wehre mit ganzem leibe fur ihm gelegen*), he unbalanced himself “and violently ran himself upon the stab into Kaltoffen’s sword, on the left side, next to the heart, at that he let his own sword fall, and took a single step, and at once looked down and fell to the ground, and he died.”⁹ Starschedel the Younger’s company surgeon Lorenz Mann and his colleagues opened the body up and found that “the dead man’s heart was entirely perforated by that stab wound, and we unfortunately learned and found it to be untreatable.”¹⁰ Even if a surgeon had been on the scene at the time, Sonntag would have been doomed.

Surgeons’ educations varied. Paulus Burkner wrote his report on the 1654 suicide of the guardsman Mattheus Seyfert Decker himself in a little round hand, Latin mixed easily into the

8 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 189-198.

9 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 9v.

10 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 10r.

German; Michael Meder, “Michael the Feldscher,” surgeon of Mansfeld’s own Life Company, was respectfully addressed as “Master” (*Meister*) but said himself that he “could not read, much less write.”¹¹ Either because they were relatively unstudied or because they dealt more with wounds than with illness, these military surgeons do not appear to have been caught in the same epistemological wilderness as some doctors were at the time, or some modern historians of the body were about twenty years ago. In her study of an eighteenth-century doctor, Barbara Duden noticed a gulf between the living body, mysterious nexus of invisible fluid movements, and the dead body opened up for study: the second did not necessarily lead to any more knowledge of the first.¹² Peter Kirchner and Lorenz Mann did not give any indication they believed this: if a stab through the heart or a bullet through the eye appeared to have been the cause of death, they said it was.

There was no doubt about who had killed Victoria Guarde, and Camargo made no attempt to deny it. He seemed open and straightforward at first, and spoke at length to Mattheus Steiner when he questioned him two days after the murder on March 3. Victoria Guarde was a noble of Cremona, he said, although “because of her evil beginnings, [she] was walled up by her parents.” They had gotten married several years ago. There had been some mistake regarding her dowry, and it had not been given to him. But he seemed dismissive about that—it was only “some hellers or pennies’ worth,” he said. Nevertheless, Camargo treated her well “according to his estate, at all times, without any lack or defect...which many witnesses would testify to.”¹³

The trouble started when Camargo left Italy and went to Germany in the service of the

11 For Paulus Burkner see SHStAdr 10024 9121/14, doc 3. For Michael Meder see SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 172-173.

12 Barbara Duden, tr. Thomas Dunlap, *The Woman Beneath the Skin: A Doctor’s Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), Chap. 5.

13 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 123.

King of Spain. This was probably in 1619, with a force recruited out of Naples that went up through the Brenner Pass that summer under Carlo Spinelli and Guiliermo Verdugo.¹⁴ By the early 1620s Camargo was on General Verdugo's staff.¹⁵ He had left Guarde with her parents “because he wanted her to be safer,” and before he left he made a will in which “6,000 crowns went to her (in case he didn’t come back).” Camargo had his own agent (*Kaufmann*) witness it, a personal illustration of the financial independence of the high officers. Shortly after Camargo went to war, Victoria allegedly began to fight with her parents again, and wrote to him that she refused to stay with them anymore. He allowed her to move into a cloister near Milan. This was no ascetic journey: Camargo told his agent that “everything she wanted should be toted up in a receipt, and he would follow it” and buy those things for her.¹⁶

From 1622 to 1623 Camargo was a captain in a regiment belonging to Ott Fugger, a scion of the powerful Fugger family and one of the most active generals in Bavarian service during the Thirty Years' War.¹⁷ At some point Camargo was wounded. Victoria Guarde got the news in her cloister and wrote back: “It grieves me to hear that you have been hurt, but even more that you did not die” (*Es wehre ihr laidt der Beschädigung halben, aber noch mehr, daß er nicht gar todt bliebenn seye*). After that, “without his foreknowledge or permission,” Victoria got herself out of the cloister, “and never did she have the will or intention to do him any good.”

14 Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power 1492-1763* (London: Allen Lane, 2002), 316.

15 Milos Kouřil, *Documenta Bohemica bellum tricennale illustrantia Tomus III Der Kampf des Hauses Habsburg gegen die Niederlande & ihre Verbündeten: Quellen zur Geschichte des Pfälzisch-Niederländisch-Ungarischen Krieges, 1621-1625* (Prague: Academica, 1976). No. 140, 66.

16 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 124-125.

17 Stephanie Haberer, *Ott Heinrich Fugger (1592-1644): Biographische Analyse typologischer Handlungsfelder in der Epoche des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2004), 256.

From then on, “she began to live an unseemly life.”¹⁸

Ambrogio Spinola laid siege to Breda in summer 1624, and Camargo followed when Gonzalo de Córdoba sent him there. (Camargo does not make much of this, but he was well-connected in the Spanish military.) An eyewitness account of the siege of Breda by Spinola’s confessor Herman Hugo puts him on the Spanish side.¹⁹ Camargo had been pleased to leave Germany and get back to his homeland, but when he sent his personal servant (*Cammerdiener*) to Milan with orders to bring Victoria back, she put him off for thirteen months. She wanted to stay with her lechery, Camargo said. Finally she left Milan and went to Villette, in Vaud; one of the men she was sleeping with had been ordered to go to Tafers (*Taverna*, wrote Steiner), in nearby Fribourg. “He left with such a good title,” sniped Camargo. Steiner let the little jab pass unremarked. While she was in the Swiss Confederacy, Victoria had a surgical abortion since she got pregnant and needed to hide the evidence. She would have carried her boyfriend’s unborn child (*ihres bulers cannterfert*—literally his “image” in medieval Italian) “with her at all times, except in Switzerland she went to Faci again, and scraped it out with an itty-bitty knife.” This was a thing, said Camargo in imperfect German, “that mens aren’t supposed to know about” [*sic: manns*].²⁰ Victoria was full of secrets.

18 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 125-126.

19 Herman Hugo, *The Siege of Breda by the Armes of Philip*, 1627, in *English Recusant Literature 1558-1640*, vol. 261, ed. D.M. Rogers (London: The Scolar Press Ltd., nd) 141-142.

20 “doch in Schweizerlandt zu Faci wieder hier fürgezogen, unndt mit einem kleinen messerleinn ausgekrazet, daß manns nicht kennen sollen.” SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 129. The evidence for surgical abortion is sparse before the nineteenth century, although Tertullian describes the tools for it, as does Ovid. Tertullian, *De Anima* 25.5 – 6, http://www.tertullian.org/anf/anf03/anf03-22.htm#P2823_965593 accessed 14 Oct 2017. Julian Barr, *Tertullian and the Unborn Child: Christian and Pagan Attitudes in Historical Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 157. Unlike civilian women who committed infanticide or had abortions in this period, Guarde was not unmarried, but since she and Camargo both traveled frequently she had been away from him when the child was conceived. Margaret Brannon Lewis, *Infanticide and Abortion in Early Modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 2016), 7-8. (Lewis mentions herbal methods, but not surgical ones. *Infanticide and Abortion*, 123.) The implication of Camargo’s testimony here is not only that there was an established abortion provider in Switzerland, but that Guarde knew about it.

When Guarde got to the Netherlands, Camargo settled her in Brussels with a friend of his. She asked for “her own house, in which she could have her free will” and Camargo gave it to her, as well as “4,000 crowns, cash in hand,” for a carriage and servants.²¹ Camargo repeatedly brought up the amount of money he had spent on Victoria. He had supported her according to his estate, he said, he had spent money on her carriage, her wall hangings, her furniture. Unlike some non-military nobles he wasn’t ashamed to discuss this, or the money he had spent and made as a mercenary: part of the reason he eventually could no longer let Guarde’s behavior continue was that he was “a Cavalier who from youth on up had striven for honor, and furthermore had attained it, he had assiduously done it with the greatest capability [*vermögen*].”²² His money had enabled his pursuit of honor; he had probably financed some of his own military ventures. Not only would Camargo be described as a military enterpriser by historians, this phrase is probably close to the way he thought of himself. If so, he conceptualized his relationship with Victoria in similar terms: he’d spent a lot on her, and she hadn’t held up her end of the contract.

Historians who study gender have noted there was more than one model of masculinity in early modern western Europe. The power of the male head of household was strengthened during this period.²³ In the German-speaking world, influential *Hausvater* literature illustrated the way early-modern husbands or fathers should exercise power over the other members of the

21 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 125-127.

22 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 132.

23 Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977); Steven Osment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

household, although the ideal and the reality of family life often did not match up.²⁴ But if we define patriarchy literally as the primacy of fathers or heads of households, there were also non-patriarchal or anti-patriarchal masculinities. German journeymen defined themselves by their masculinity and their membership in all-male journeymens' associations, which boasted elaborate codes of honor. The men in these groups were young and unruly. They lived together in hostels, gained status by traveling widely, and were forbidden to marry or to have any sexual contact with women—a different life from the stolid husbands and fathers of *Hausvater* literature. If patriarchal virtues included thrift, reliability, and well-ordered marriages, journeymens' virtues included transience, looseness with money, bravery, comradeship, and celibacy.²⁵ Early-modern universities were bastions of patriarchy insofar as their role was supposedly to prepare students for elite adult male life, but students themselves constructed countercultures based on subversion of normative codes of conduct: they valued brawling, indiscipline, verbal wit, and heavy drinking. Student countercultures were in many ways opposed to the dominant elite male culture, but they were only made up of men and boys who could go to college in the first place: not patriarchs but future patriarchs. Universities were not simplistically “anti-patriarchal,” but riddled with tensions between different competing models of manhood.²⁶

Soldiers were also conscious of themselves as men: one form of respectful address was for the person writing a letter to call the recipient “stern and manly,” *Streng und Mannlich*. To

24 Gotthardt Frühsorge, “Die Begründung der ‘väterlichen Gesellschaft’ in der europäischen oeconomia christiana. Zur Rolle des Vaters in der ‘Hausväterliteratur’ des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland,” Hubertus Tellenbach, ed., *Das Vaterbild im Abendland*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1978).

25 Merry Wiesener, “Wandervogels and Women: Journeymens’ Concepts of Masculinity in Early Modern Germany,” *Journal of Social History* 24.4 (1991), 767-782.

26 Alexandra Shepard, “Student Masculinity in Early Modern Cambridge,” Barbara Krug-Richter and Ruth-Elisabeth Mohrmann, *Frühneuzeitliche Universitätskulturen: Kulturhistorische Perspektiven auf die Hochschulen in Europa* (Vienna/Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 74.

some contemporary observers, soldiers were prototypically masculine.²⁷ Although the world of the War People wasn't as uniformly masculine as many armies became later, military violence was mostly a male prerogative.²⁸ But while soldiers may have been manly, they were also threatening and disruptive outsiders as far as non-military society was concerned, not privileged patriarchs. Warrior masculinity was dangerous, not fully dependable: mortal violence was always implied in it. The norms of the military subculture were different from those of students, heads of households, or journeymen. (In fact, you became ineligible for future guild membership if you enlisted.²⁹) In addition to loyalty, self-possession, zip and dash, litigiousness, touching honorable objects, and dueling, the way Camargo talked about his past shows that mercenary honor also included the ability to make money, the willingness to put your money on the line for others, and the expectation that it would be paid back. That was for officers, "cavaliers" like him, but when Peter Hagendorf's comrades gave him cash after the fall of Magdeburg, the word he used to describe this was "honored."

Camargo continued his testimony, describing his trip to Italy with the Mansfeld Regiment; Victoria joined him a little later, and they were both quartered in Gallarate. Here is where his story gets problematic. He told Steiner, who was writing it down, that Guarde had been sleeping with other officers more-or-less behind his back for years. She cavorted with different cavaliers in her room, he said. She slutted around with them on the road and in Milan.

As soon as he turned his back on the house she went whoring around to her boyfriends (because [Camargo] wasn't present to go to her)...And there was also a nobleman from her homeland

27 Alexandra Shepard, "Manhood, Patriarchy, and Gender in Early Modern History," Amy E. Leonard and Karen L. Nelson, *Masculinities, Violence, Childhood: Attending to Early Modern Women--and Men* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011), 81.

28 Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

29 Wiesner, "Wandervogels and Women," 775.

visiting him, in [Camargo's] absence, once when she was lying in bed, he came to her...she gave him to grab her breast and then her whole body. And she had allowed him as much as to sleep by her, but however out of fear of [Camargo]...he left, and told five captains about this magnificent deed of his wife's.³⁰

Certain corners of the Spanish army in Italy must have been full of the story. Camargo had it from the servants: listening at keyholes, whispers behind Victoria's back. This much may be true. Camargo also said that Victoria had planned to kill him, that she told someone that "if she knew somebody who would poison him or bring news that he had died, she would honor him with a pair of gloves worth 1,000 pistoles."³¹ This part may have been false. At least, it was convenient for Camargo to be able to present his act as preemptive self-defense instead of murder. And the part where Victoria's maid begged her, weeping and on bended knee, to reconcile with Camargo because he was "a valiant cavalier" who "not only loves you greatly but has also willingly done everything your heart desires" was almost certainly a lie: either Camargo was making it up or the maid had been flattering him when she told him she had done it.³²

But the most interesting inconsistencies in Camargo's story took place in the way he talked about Victoria's family. He claimed that she'd been confined by her parents before he had met her because of "her evil beginnings," and that she had fought with them so often that at one point she would have rather lived in a convent than in Cremona. He must have wanted her to seem dangerously unstable, possibly even possessed. But then Victoria's relatives came up in his testimony again: Victoria was on the way to visit her sister when one of her old boyfriends met her on the road along with two other men, all three dressed in monks' habits. Her sister helped

30 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 127-132.

31 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 130-131.

32 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 128-129.

her cheat too, carrying messages between Victoria and her boyfriends.³³ According to Peter Georg Hoff, a German from Mechlin who had been employed by Camargo, Victoria also spent some time with her father. At one point, she had been supposed to meet Hoff in camp at Lippstadt and from there go to Milan with him on Camargo's orders, but she wasn't there: it turned out that she had gone to Cremona to be with her father, and she spent at least a month with him.³⁴ Family tensions can calm down over time, someone can be on bad terms with her parents but good terms with her siblings, and someone who had refused to live with her parents could have later made up with her father enough to spend a month in his house, but Camargo may also have been portraying Victoria's relationship with her family as worse than it really was. And if Victoria really had been such a wayward woman, it was certainly strange that Theodoro de Camargo's father appeared to be on decent terms with her: according to Victoria's page, he went to Brussels to visit her, and met her on the road to Ghent.³⁵

Mattheus Steiner never followed up on these inconsistencies. Neither did he ask Camargo about his angry remarks about Victoria's dowry: that he had not received anything but that was all right, it would have only been "a few pennies" anyway. Had he killed her because of a dispute about her dowry, not because of her infidelity? If Camargo had been attempting to mislead Steiner, the latter may not have picked up on it because of one of the most striking elements of the early modern military subculture: soldiers were terrible at lying.

It's not that soldiers did not lie, nor did they accuse one another of being untruthful when they fought: unlike the late medieval English men studied by Derek Neal, who tried hard to establish a reputation for honesty and plain dealing, for mercenaries the worst insult possible was

33 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 130.

34 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 144.

35 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 138.

to call another soldier a dog's cunt (despicable, low) or a bird (light-minded, frivolous, or unreliable), not a liar.³⁶ It's that when mercenaries lied, they were bad at it. Felix Steter tried repeatedly to get Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze demoted but nobody else went along with his testimony and everyone could see through what he said; Jonas Beck and his squadmates swore that they had planned to only stop in Triptis, not stay there overnight; an unnamed Fähndrich in the Mansfeld Regiment got his soldiers over the Main by promising them that Frankfurt would give them thousands of thalers. Camargo may have caught Steiner unprepared: there were some obvious falsehoods in his testimony, but if he had been lying about the dowry or Victoria's natal kin he was less bad at it than most.

In their lack of concern with lying as a topic and their incompetence at it, the War People may have been unique in early modern western Europe. For non-soldiers, lying was a hot topic of discussion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The intellectual historian Perez Zagorin argued that lying was widespread in early modern Europe as a response to religious persecution: "we must be struck by how intensely aware" writers of the period "were of the problem of dissimulation...the idea that people went masked and habitually dissimulated their true beliefs came readily to contemporary minds."³⁷ Whether it was moral to lie to escape death was a pressing issue; for some thinkers, this led to the self-protective doctrine of "legitimate dissimulation," which Zagorin called "a submerged continent" in early modern European religious, intellectual, and social life. Meanwhile, theologians discussed dissimulation and lying in scripture, as they had since the Middle Ages.³⁸ In contemporary England, the Oath of

36 Derek Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008).

37 Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 255.

38 Dallas G Denery II, *The Devil Wins: A History of Lying from the Garden of Eden to the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

Supremacy (1535), which required anyone taking public office to swear to the preeminence of the monarch as supreme governor of the church, and the Oath of Allegiance (1606), which stated that the Pope did not have the authority to depose the monarch and which Catholics were forbidden to take, gave rise to international debates about truth, falsehood, and the nature of oaths.³⁹

But the writers who peopled this “age of dissimulation” were theologians, political theorists, courtiers, and members of minority religious groups, not soldiers. While the Mansfeld Regiment was religiously mixed, its members did not lie about religion; instead, they remained silent about doctrinal differences. This refrained from articulating one part of the truth, but it wasn’t lying. Some historians have conflated lying and dissimulation.⁴⁰ But Jon Snyder maintained that writers of the time regarded falsehood and the concealment of the truth as significantly different things. This historian defined dissimulation as the control of your gestures, speech, and affect to screen your true feelings or intentions: for him, it was concealment and secrecy, not falsehood, which pervaded the age.⁴¹

Insofar as dissimulation may have depended upon a growing consciousness of the difference between the exterior and the interior self, for several historians the idea of secrecy is also tied up in the distinction between “public” and “private.” Snyder argued that the centrality of dissimulation as a theme in early modern texts was a byproduct of what Norbert Elias called

39 Andrew Hadfield, *Lying in Early Modern English Culture: From the Oath of Supremacy to the Oath of Allegiance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

40 Jean-Pierre Cavallé, *Dis/simulations. Jules-César Vanini, François de La Mothe Le Vayer, Gabriel Naudé, Louis Machon et Torquato Accetto. Religion, morale et politique au XVII e siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002).

41 Jon R Snyder, *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

the “civilizing process,” in which defecation, eating and drinking, violence, and sex gradually grew more controlled and relegated to the private realm during the early modern period.⁴² Like theorists of early modern military discipline and drill, Elias believed that the cause of this increasing regimentation of the body—in this case, the bodies of civilians—was the growth of the early modern state.⁴³ Not saying what you mean is another indication of growing standards of self-restraint: like bodily processes, thoughts and intentions should also be private.⁴⁴ Is this what was going on in the Mansfeld Regiment? The regiment’s authorities sometimes hid the truth with subtle words or silence—it would have been catastrophic for an officer to have let the regiment’s financial difficulties slip to the soldiers, and when Georg Schmaliner and Lucas Paz brought up a discrepancy between the wages they had been promised and what they were receiving, they were quickly condemned to death.⁴⁵ In this case, the regimental authorities weren’t even covering for themselves, but for Gonzalo de Córdoba, whom they hated. Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt complained bitterly about Córdoba’s attempt to swindle them by withholding the money that his predecessor had promised, but that didn’t stop the regiment’s officers from executing people who protested the pay discrepancy.⁴⁶ Wolf von Mansfeld almost certainly knew Wolfgang Winckelmann had embezzled almost seven thousand ducats worth of fabric back in November 1625, but he said nothing, merely told him to take a vacation for a while. Technically, Winckelmann never lied about the theft—he just stayed quiet about it.

42 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process, Vol.I. The History of Manners* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969).

43 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process, Vol.II. State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982).

44 Snyder, *Dissimulation*, Chap. 2.

45 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 30-35.

46 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 63v. For Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt’s complaint, SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 63r, article 3.

Yet there remains an openness, even naïveté, about the War People that is out of keeping with the description of the early modern period as an age of dissimulation. Officers were no more sophisticated than the rank and file. Mansfeld may have let Winckelmann's embezzlement go with a wink and a nod, but he also itemized his monthly bribe to the Imperial Kriegscommissarius in writing. Wolfgang Winckelmann knew how to dissimulate, but when he tried to explicitly lie he was as inept as any of the regiment's common soldiers. This is apparent in the account of a later fight he had with his lieutenant Felix Steter.⁴⁷ I bring this incident up in full not only because it illustrates how bad mercenaries were at lying, but also because this is the last time Felix Steter appears in his regiment's documents. Like Camargo, Felix Steter spent a lot of time trying to get one over on others but not quite succeeding. Camargo may also have been the only person in the regiment who could stand him: when Steter picked a fight with other officers it was specifically Camargo he complained to.

On the night of January 24, 1627, Winckelmann invited his Fähndrich (who by now was no longer Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze but an otherwise unknown man named David von Bernleben), Captain Moser's Fähndrich, "and, as usual, my collected officers, to join me at table." What this meant, even for the third in command of the regiment, was that he and these officers sat together on the bed in front of the table (*welches in seinem camin bey seinem bette uber der tafel beschen*).⁴⁸ "And I had a great time with them [*mich auch mit ihnen lustig erzeiget*]." But as the party was winding down, "when most of the officers were drunk and left, Lieutenant Felix Steter came into my room, where my flag was [*alldar mein Fendl*], walked

47 The Winckelmann/Steter case is found in SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 184-219.

48 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 204.

toward me, and said, Herr Hauptmann, how can you tolerate the Musterschreiber, who is such a lightminded rogue and thief, among your company?”⁴⁹ Unless the musterschreiber (unnamed in this account, the replacement for Heinrich Teichmeyer, who was dead) was Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze in a new office, Steter had apparently gotten tired of harassing Schutze and moved on to another target. Winckelmann reported that he told Steter to

consider whether he could back up his claims, because the Musterschreiber was an officer as much as another, and such a [dishonorable] person would not have been suffered at my table. If he knew something about him, he should remain quiet today because there was no time to talk about things like that this evening, therefore he should get a drink down him [*eins austrinken*] and be happy.⁵⁰

For Steter to dishonor his captain’s musterschreiber was to dishonor his captain himself, which was serious business—especially in front of the company flag.

Steter drank Winckelmann’s wine, but he refused to calm down and he refused to leave. He stayed in the room, cursing and insulting the musterschreiber. “For God’s sake, go away and sleep and let me rest,” begged Winckelmann, joined by both Fähndriches and Christian Hubrich. “So I went out of my room to the door to the hall so he would leave,” reported Winckelmann, “and he said that he had drunk too much wine at my place.” After the officers led him out of the room Steter came back repeatedly, the last time with a weapon. When he drew it is unclear, but at some point he had a stiletto in his hand. Winckelmann “took his sword from the wall,” off the nail where it had been hanging, “drew it, and threw the sheath on the bed;” he was stabbed twice.⁵¹ David von Bernleben blocked Steter’s stiletto by throwing a carpet over Steter’s hand (he didn’t know Winckelmann had been wounded until the latter opened his jacket to show him),

49 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 185.

50 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 185-186.

51 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 213.

and in the fight both von Bernleben and the Gefreiter-Corporal were wounded. Steter ran across the street into a big white “Italian house” to save himself (*einem welsch hauß salviret*), which probably meant a building where no soldiers were quartered.⁵² Winckelmann yelled for the watch, and at once a drummer began to beat the alarm.⁵³ Then he ran outside after Steter, onto the stairs outside the front door. He stood there bleeding while the drum hammered on, with a wound and loaded pistol in his hand, yelling into the night. On his orders a group of soldiers followed Steter and manhandled him back, roughing him and his wife up in the process: when they hauled Steter to the foot of the stairs where Winckelmann was standing, Winckelmann almost shot him. He shouted “that nobody [should] talk to me or have anything to do with me,” complained Steter: “The Hauptmann said he wanted to give 200 Zicks to [the person who would] lay my head in front of his ass.”⁵⁴

Steter may have stabbed Winckelmann, but he said later that “he didn’t anticipate” that Winckelmann “would use such violence against him, and thus fall upon him with murderous resistance.”⁵⁵ Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze seems to have been unusually circumspect for a seventeenth-century officer, anxious and concerned. He had let Steter antagonize him for a year, and his only response was to take legal action. Winckelmann was utterly self-confident. Steter had finally picked a target who was fully prepared to push back physically.

The verdict hinged on determining who had drawn his weapon first, Steter or Winckelmann: whoever had drawn first, the other would have been acting in self-defense. Many witnesses said that they didn’t know whether Steter had drawn his weapon before he ran toward

52 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 187-188.

53 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 205.

54 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 210-211.

55 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 216.

Winckelmann, or after Winckelmann had drawn his. (Some of them just hadn't seen what had happened in the first place, like Christof the Drummer, who had been gambling.⁵⁶) Winckelmann himself said that Steter had drawn his weapon first, "secretly."⁵⁷ The witnesses just couldn't see it. Steter walked: although he had "behaved himself indecently," Winckelmann could not be proven to have been acting in self-defense. (The case was left to Camargo's discretion and tabled. Since the last trial took place just a few days before the regiment went north, it was moot anyway.) Winckelmann was an experienced officer, a man who had successfully embezzled almost seven thousand ducats worth of fabric a year before and remained silent about it, as thoroughly corrupt as any official of his time, and he could not manage to construct a convincing lie in court.⁵⁸

Were the War People this bad at lying because they never spent any time alone? Perhaps the distinction between public and private, outside the self and inside it, was less of an issue for them. According to Elias, the civilizing process had been accompanied by the development of greater spatial separation among people. If so, this would be in sharp contrast to the Upriver People, an ethnic group from Borneo studied by the anthropologist Peter Metcalf. They lived in huge longhouses, "hundreds of people living under one roof, and no possibility of privacy, even if such a thing were conceived of, let alone desired." They had just as little privacy as early modern soldiers, but according to Metcalf it is precisely for that reason that the Upriver People developed a greater tolerance for lying than exists among people who experience and value their personal space. They were better at it than seventeenth-century soldiers, too.⁵⁹ In this area,

56 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 208.

57 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 187.

58 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 216.

59 Peter Metcalf, *They Lie, We Lie: Getting On With Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 2002), 5.

similar lives led to opposite outcomes—although the Mansfelders still kept secrets.

Theodoro de Camargo finished his testimony: he could not let his wife’s adultery stand and he was afraid that “if he pardoned her” she’d poison him, “therefore he had judged her himself with a stiletto, because of her great evil deeds; for others it should be an abhorrent example and to her a well-earned punishment.”⁶⁰ The last phrase was used when the death verdict was reached in a capital case: Camargo must have spoken it in court a hundred times. Although he did not explicitly compare his domestic authority as the head of his household to the legal authority of a colonel or the presiding officer of a tribunal, with this rhetoric he was attempting to frame himself as an agent of the law, like the English conception of a husband as a political authority writ small (as in the description of a wife murdering her husband as “petty treason”).⁶¹ Mattheus Steiner did not react outwardly: there is no evidence in this part of his account to indicate what he thought about Camargo’s justification for Victoria’s death. But he agreed to act as Camargo’s representative and collect evidence in his defense, so he went to Milan with some officers from the neighboring Schaumburg Regiment and questioned some of the family’s servants.

In these reports Victoria comes off not as unstable so much as lonely and homesick. She hadn’t wanted to go to the Netherlands, and it turns out that the men she was associating with—whether she’d been sleeping with them or not—were all other Italians. Victoria’s page, fifteen-year-old Wilhem Stum from Brussels, said that it was well-known that when she lived in Brussels “different Italian lords” visited her. They stayed until the middle of the night many

60 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 132.

61 Frances Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550 – 1700* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1994), Chap. 1.

times, and regaled her with food and other presents. Once Wilhelm looked in and saw for himself that an Italian officer was sitting on the bed with Victoria playing cards.⁶² She joined up with a Count Rosario on the two days' travel into Milan, "and they were happy with each other."⁶³ She held banquets with her boyfriends and made merry, eating and drinking, enjoying the pleasures of the body that Camargo would eventually attack. Michael de Labey saw her give Count Rosario a sash of "flesh-colored silk," *Leibfarbe*.⁶⁴ When Camargo said that Victoria had let one of her boyfriends "grab her breast and then her whole body (*Leib*)," you wonder if that was the same breast he stabbed five times.⁶⁵

Steiner did not speak enough Italian to conduct an examination in it, so a Milanese lord questioned Victoria's maid Margaretha de Pelegrinis in Italian while Steiner translated it into German.⁶⁶ Margareta had not been happy with Victoria's adultery. When she eventually quit because "this could not remain hidden for long," other households refused to hire her, since they knew where she'd been a maid. Margaretha may have also been where Camargo got the idea that Victoria had been planning to poison him, since she said that one of Victoria's boyfriends had given her poison to kill Camargo with. She had been hanging around officers with a bad reputation, said Margaretha.⁶⁷ Anna Luisa Ségers from Maastricht said Victoria went around with another officer even though Camargo was a better-looking man. She also said that once she realized what was going on she begged Victoria "many times by God's will to leave off from the

62 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 137-138.

63 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 139.

64 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 143.

65 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 122.

66 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 151.

67 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 153-155.

thing because the Herr Lieutenant Colonel would learn about it and he would take such an evil exit,” but Victoria only laughed and said “she wanted to be happy doing what she liked, because it was the kind of thing she did” (*sie wolle ihres gefallens lustig sein, dann es also der brauch*).⁶⁸ She was shortsighted to pursue happiness like this: the women around Victoria took it for granted that the relationship between her and Camargo would eventually lead to violence. If Victoria really had been planning to kill him, so did she, she was just gambling on being the one who got to do it, not the one to whom it was done.⁶⁹

The trial took place on 16 April 1626, in Alessandria. In light of the “collected information” (especially “the great honor, love, loyalty, and monetary assets” that Victoria had received from “her lord”), the verdict was that Camargo had been “moved to wrath...in order to save his honor and reputation, he was advised and forced by necessity to this extremity of life and body.”⁷⁰ Aristotle had described the “wrath” (*Zorn, ira*) that Camargo was moved to as the impulse of a superior to seek revenge against a slight by someone of lower rank.⁷¹ (Camargo was moved to the same emotion when his Fähndrich deserted a year later.⁷²) The angry person is angry because of his or her superior rank, and from the *Summa* to Locke the desire for revenge is always described as a part of it.⁷³ This social understanding of anger as stemming from a

68 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 156-157.

69 Frances Dolan argued that if early modern people were becoming “individuals” in the modern sense but marriage made husband and wife “one flesh,” one individual had to be suppressed, so marital conflicts necessitated violence. *Marriage and Violence: The Early Modern Legacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

70 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 160-161.

71 Karl A.E. Enenkel and Anita Traninger, “Introduction: Discourses of Anger in the Early Modern Period,” idem ed., *Discourses of Anger in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 2.

72 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 148.

73 Johannes F Lehmann, “Feeling Rage: The Transformation of the Concept of Anger in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Ibid.*, 17-18.

relationship between unequal parties held from the classical period until after the seventeenth century: it was only in the late eighteenth century that the desire for revenge was discarded as a motive for anger.⁷⁴ In Camargo's case this is gendered: he was Victoria's "lord." She had not only paid back his expenses with disloyalty, she was disobedient. Her sexual license was a threat to his honor.⁷⁵ He was exonerated.⁷⁶

Up in Leipzig, Wolf von Mansfeld had known Camargo had murdered his wife since at least the first of April: "I cannot express with what travail and amazement I have received the news of the incident that took place between my Lieutenant Colonel Camargo and his wife," he had written to the Duke of Feria. The regiment must "administer justice to the one who was accused," and "considering my absence and in order to flee every cause of suspicion, I would prefer it if his cause were judged by a judicial inquiry made up of other regiments of the German nation, with neither love nor hatred." Nevertheless, he continued smoothly, "I recommend his person to the clemency of Your Excellency, under the shadow of which I can hope for nothing from you save grace and favor and mainly because I desire greatly that he be with the regiment as soon as possible the prosperity of my Regiment...requires his presence as soon as possible."⁷⁷ It's discreet, but it's there: the verdict had been probably been determined from the beginning. The trial was carried out like everything was normal, and in public hardly anyone said a thing.

Yet was there a breath of something else in the way Mattheus Steiner wrote the

74 Idem, *In Abgrund der Wut: Zur Kultur und Literaturgeschichte des Zorns* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag, 2012).

75 Christopher Black, *Early Modern Italy: A Social History* (London: Routledge, 2001), 118.

76 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 161.

77 SHStAdr 10024 9737/13, *Italienische und französische Concepta derer Schreiben Graf Wolffgangs Zu Mansfeld an den Herzog zu Feria, Spanische Botschafter, und andere Ao 1625-26, 76-77*: Rough draft of letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to the Duke of Feria, undated but filed with papers dated 1 April 1626.

summation of the verdict? After he wrote that “the Herr Lieutenant Colonel, as an honorable and prominent cavalier and high officer...had been moved to wrath,” Steiner continued: “(although nobody should be the judge in his own case).”⁷⁸ Is this enough to detect a note of disapproval? For no other dead person but Victoria Guarde had Steiner written, “God have mercy on their soul.” Steiner may have been trying to signify discontent with the way the trial was conducted, even his own hostility to Camargo’s actions. The next time he came into conflict with Camargo, he was not so indirect.

Victoria Guarde and Theodoro de Camargo might have been less miserable if Guarde had been less well-born and Camargo had been a common soldier. As it was, their marriage illustrates the individual human cost of life in the service of the House of Austria. Camargo left the Spanish Netherlands reluctantly and only when directly ordered to; Victoria was alone in Brussels and Ghent except for the Italian officers she slept with; both of them travelled at an exhausting rate. The Spanish Monarchy was a conglomerate which spanned the globe, made possible by the collaboration of people from many nations, who had no common language, history, culture, or way of making war—not even a single religion.⁷⁹ Victoria Guarde and Theodoro de Camargo were two of these people. Their uprootedness was not the sole cause of their difficulties, but attempting to manage their daily lives while keeping up the pace and distance of travel among different locations in Lombardy, Piedmont, the Spanish Netherlands, and Germany must have been corrosive.

78 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 160-161.

79 Kamen, *Spain’s Road to Empire*, xxv-xxiv; David Parrott, *Foreword*, Eduardo de Mesa, *The Irish in the Spanish Armies in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Boydell Press, 2014), xii.

Before the eighteenth century in western and central Europe, women went on campaign with armies in large numbers.⁸⁰ Skirts hiked up to their knees and belted around the waist, mud to the tops of their shoes, they people contemporary paintings and engravings, as skinny and tattered as the men. They filled the functions that support staff did later: preparing food, sewing, washing, taking care of the sick, digging and construction, hauling the big guns into place or traversing them. Sometimes they show up in legal records. Soldiers didn't carry, it was demeaning, so on their backs women carried "knapsacks, cloaks, shawls, pots, kettles, pans, brooms, small bags, roosters, all kinds of trash."⁸¹ They carried straw. Wood wasn't issued so they picked up branches on the way and carried them. Their wicker backpacks were like great baskets, wood-framed and fastened over their shoulders with ropes or leather straps. They carried fresh-dug earth for fortifications, and they dug it too. They carried water jugs, canteens, their mens' clothing, their clothing, collars and stockings, sheets and blankets, tents and the poles for tents. They carried food.⁸² An anonymous diary from 1612 records that these women walked with small dogs on ropes; when the weather was bad, when the horses struggled up to their hocks in mud, they carried the dogs in their arms.⁸³

They carried children. The author of one eyewitness account saw military women

80 For women and armies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Barton C Hacker, "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance," *Signs* 6.4 (1981), John Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), and Mary Ailes, *Courage and Grief: Women and Sweden's Thirty Years' War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018). For military masculinity and the diminished but still interesting place of women in armies in the eighteenth century see Jennie Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century: "The Girl I Left Behind Me"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). It was only after military supply grew more modernized and women were no longer needed that authorities were able to act on their disapproval and restrict their presence with armies. Ailes, *Courage and Grief*, 8-9.

81 Kirchof, *Militaris Disciplina*, cited in Wilhelm Haberling, "Army Prostitution and its Control: An Historical Study," in Victor Robinson, ed., *Morals in Wartime: Including General Survey from Ancient Times; Morals in the First World War and Morals in the Second World War* (New York: Publishers Foundation, 1943), 33-34.

82 Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare*, 160-163.

83 Hans Delbrück, *The Dawn of Modern Warfare: History of the Art of War Vol IV* (Lincoln, NE, 1990), 66.

carrying tiny children in bundles on their heads to leave their hands free for the rest of their baggage.⁸⁴ But the lives of children in early seventeenth-century armies have scarcely been explored.⁸⁵ Grimmelshausen had been one of them, kidnapped as a teenager and forced to serve in the Imperial army. The woman he married had also been a member of the military community as a child; she was a soldier's daughter.⁸⁶ It was common for the daughters of officers and common soldiers to remain part of the military community when they grew up, and to marry soldiers.⁸⁷ The *Jungs* and *Knechte* listed in cavalry rolls, "boys" and "servants," were probably teens. Some of them grew up to become cavalymen. Some of them died, like the 14-to-17-year olds in the burials found in the camp at Latdorf, where a Swedish army spent the fall and winter of 1644. These young mens' bones were marked by hard physical labor.⁸⁸ But it's difficult to produce hard statistics for children in the military community during this conflict. Although Saxon muster rolls from the 1680s recorded how many children went along with each soldier, earlier field army records did not. However, the children in the Saxon fortress of Königstein were counted on the orders of the Elector of Saxony at least twice. One of these counts happened on May 3 1670, the other is undated but may have taken place during the 1620s.⁸⁹ Königstein contained far more children proportionally than field armies in the 1680s: more than four per

84 S. Riezler, ed, "Kriegstagebücher aus dem ligistischen Hauptquartier 1620," *Abhandlungen des Phil.-Hist. Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 23 (1906), 77–210, 171.

85 Peter-Michael Hahn, "Kriegserfahrungen im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges," Dittmar Dahlman, ed., *Kinder und Jugendliche in Krieg und Revolution: vom Dreißigjährigen Krieg bis zu den Kindersoldaten Afrikas* (Paderborn and Munich: Schönigh 2000).

86 Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 818.

87 Ailes, *Courage and Grief*, 55-56

88 J Fahr and P Pacak, "Das schwedische Feldlager Latdorf," S Friederich et al, *Archäologie am Kalkteich 22 in Latdorf. Die Chemie stimmt! Arch. Sachsen-Anhalt* (Halle: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt, 2008), 105-114.

89 SHStAdr 11237 10803/8, *Die Garnison des Berg Vestung Königstein de Ao 1623 biß 80*; #1, #141.

family instead of the one or two for soldiers in field companies, both the “bodily children” of the soldiers they lived with and “of their household.” Members of units that were more mobile may have sent their children to stay with either civilian relatives or to relatives in forts or garrisons like Königstein when they were on the move.

Fatherhood is as important as motherhood in the military community but less visible. Sometimes glimpses appear in muster rolls, or the counts of children in Königstein. Simon Funcke of Königstein, who had served for a total of 19 years, was recorded as having “two little daughters, one over ten” and “a very small little son” (*Ein gar klein Söhnlein*).⁹⁰ Peter Hagendorf spent the sack of Magdeburg in his shack outside the city because he was recovering from wounds, but he was also watching his three-year-old daughter Elizabeth since his wife had gone into the city to plunder. Elizabeth would have watched Magdeburg burn with him.⁹¹ Hagendorf was probably a loving father: when Melchert Christoff, his youngest and only surviving son, turned five, he paid ten gulden a year plus clothes to send him to school.⁹² This boy was also his first child to live past babyhood. He may have wanted to keep him safe. Camargo never mentioned this but he was a father too: he had at least one child, a son who was also named Theodoro.⁹³

First-hand accounts of seventeenth-century military life are full of military women and children—some by the women themselves, like the Styrian Maria Cordula Freiin von Pranckh,

90 SHStADr 11237 10803/8; #1.

91 Peter Hagendorf, ed. Jan Peters, *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Eine Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 47.

92 *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreißigjährigen Krieg*, 123.

93 This Theodoro de Camargo eventually lived in the Netherlands and married a woman named Marie l’Hermitte (1622-1661), who remarried after his death. Papers relating to their family and her second husband’s family are in her second husband’s family papers in the Dutch National Archive. These papers are inventoried in WD Post, *Inventaris van het archief van de familie Snouckaert van Schauburg, 1487-1986* (Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, 1986).

who recounted her experiences in a commemorative book which she began for her female relatives in 1673 and worked on until her death. Maria Cordula's oldest half-brother had been a captain, and so was her first husband.⁹⁴ Military manuals described womens' activities, like Kirchhof's account of what a baptism looks like in camp:

If a woman in camp has a child / the child's father takes as many godparents as he likes. If the regiment lies in a city / a small town or else nearby / they bear the little child into the church themselves / and the preacher who belongs to the camp / baptizes it. But if there is none available / you need to get the pastor of the city. If the church is somewhat far away from the camp, however / and it is not easy or safe to reach / it happens in camp. And when the baptism is done in the city / or in camp / a landsknecht's woman / as well-decorated as she wants to be / especially if she can get stuff from the child's father for that / carries the child / covers it / if nothing else seems to be available / with a clean cloth.

Other godmothers and women / follow the child next. After that the godfathers / the men / and other requisite soldiers. They need at least one piper and a drummer to go before them / to the baptism and back again. After the baptism people send the mother / a gold crown or a Thaler from each of the godparents. After that, if there's time and enough space in the camp, people sit / together, they live with the one whom God allows / well / and they have a good little drink together.⁹⁵

This is a militarization of familiar rituals, in which a baptismal procession only leaves the sheltering earthen walls of the camp—stinking with human waste and the dead animals they threw over the earthworks into the trench, but familiar and reassuring—if it's safe. Drums and music precede the child, since he or she is a new member of the People.

94 Maria Cordula von Pranckh, ed. Joseph Zahn, "Gedenkbuch der Frau Maria Cordula, Freiin von Pranck, verwitwete Hacke, geb. Radhaupt, 1595–1700 (1707)," in *Steiermärkische Geschichtsblätter* 2/1 (1881), 9–29, 9.

95 Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, 147-148.

Hard statistics are rarer. Saxon muster rolls from the 1680s and the eighteenth century recorded whether soldiers were married, but rolls from the Thirty Years' War do not. Some other records did. Strength returns are large sheets of paper, sometimes used to wrap stacks of muster rolls, which summarized data in tabular form.⁹⁶ These returns contained more information than muster rolls alone, sometimes including the number of women in a regiment: one big table summing up the effectives in three cavalry companies at Luckau at some point in the 1640s recorded 20 women and nine children for 89 officers and men.⁹⁷ Along with 57 men, a 1633 list of Imperialist prisoners in Leipzig listed 20 women, the widows of dead Imperialist soldiers. A male prisoner had two children and a maidservant with him who were mentioned in a marginal note but not counted in the list, so it's unknown exactly how many women were there who were not recorded.⁹⁸ One historian has pointed out that even in the eighteenth century scarcely half the people in an army were men.⁹⁹

The relationships military women created knit together companies and regiments. These networks are now almost invisible: partnerships, whether long or short-term (as Kirchhof noted wryly about "this People:" "those who today join their hands together / tomorrow walk away from each other with their feet"¹⁰⁰); family relationships between soldiers on the female side,

96 The graphic representation of data in militaries is an interesting topic which is currently being explored by Claire Phillips and Peter Wilson at Oxford. Although most of the tables they study date from the 1680s, I have found many tables from the 1640s and three from the 1630s. Peter Wilson, personal correspondence, 23 Aug 2016.

97 SHStAdr 11237 10841/13, *Eingegebene Muster Rollen und Extracte von Ihro Chur Furstl: Durchl: zu Sachßen Regimentern zu Roß und Fuß von Anno 1630 bis Anno 1640, 9 Convol.*

98 SHStAdr 11237 108351-1 *Extract der in Leipzig zuruckgebliebenen und verwunderten Offiziere und Knechte von der Kaiserl. Armee 1633.*

99 Stefan Kroll, *Soldaten im 18. Jahrhundert zwischen Friedensalltag und Kriegserfahrung: Lebenswelten und Kultur in der kursächsischen Armee 1728-1796* (Paderborn: Schöningh Paderborn, 2006), 49.

100 "Wie auch etliche heut mit den Händen zusammen gehen warden / so lauffen sie morgen mit den Füßen wider von einander." Kirchhof, *Militaris Disciplina*, 147.

which passed down no name. Peter Hagendorf hung out with members of his second wife's family.¹⁰¹ The godparents of all Maria Cordula von Pranckh's children were members of the military community, while between 1646 and 1700 she was the godmother to 78 children.¹⁰² Maria Cordula's officers and their female relatives seem to have spent a lot of time attending the baptisms of her children. Back in 1595, the godmother of the infant who grew up to become Maria Cordula's father had been the wife of a Colonel-Hoffmeister, which means that von Pranckh's little book records a series of relationships of marriage and godparentage which were largely military and substantially female, and spanned more than a hundred years.¹⁰³

Camargo transferred into Imperial service after the Mansfeld Regiment returned to Germany. He was promoted to colonel, and by 1632 he and Colonel Hans Heinrich von Reinach were military commandants of the city of Stade, near Hamburg. There he appears in the memoir of Augustin von Fritsch, a cavalry lieutenant in von Reinach's regiment. Fritsch (?-1662) spent 31 or 34 years with the Bavarian and Imperialist armies. He rose from common musketeer to colonel and was eventually ennobled. He wrote his memoirs in 1660, shortly before his death.¹⁰⁴ They give a good impression of Camargo's actions as a commander.

In an engagement outside Stade in 1632, von Reinach told von Fritsch to "wait on" Camargo, but enemy horsemen kept presenting themselves for single combat and von Fritsch and

101 Geoff Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War 1618-1648* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 34.

102 Von Pranckh, "Gedenkbuch," 19-28.

103 Von Pranckh, "Gedenkbuch," 9.

104 Geoff Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War 1618-1648* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 140-141.

his comrades eventually fought with them against Camargo's will. The two bands of cavalry closed with each other, riders fanning out to engage one another singly: “each kicked off to his man and I to one all in red clothing” with a carbine under his cloak. Von Fritsch's horse was shot in the breast and his stirrup was shot away. “Would to God you had been shot,” yelled Camargo when he saw the damage. Von Fritsch's comrades Lieutenant Eichelberger and Lieutenant Jän showed up with reinforcements after the fighting had gone on for a while, and:

then Lieutenant Eichelberger called out, whoever is a rider should come to him, or else you are all scoundrels, then everyone came out and rode to both Lieutenants, whereupon the Colonel [Camargo] became fearfully enraged, and swore that the aforementioned Lieutenant Eichelberger would hang, at which I said, I want to overtake you and tell them the herr Colonel's opinion, at which he said, I should ride back and ask both lieutenants whether with such a small force they should go to the enemy and leave the people so willfully, in the devil's name they should go back or they will both be hanged, so I went to them and I told them that, and Eichelberger said that von Reinach had the command and not Camargo, at which Eichelberger said to me, Brother do you want to help me lead my troop, and I answered, Why not¹⁰⁵

The scrap ended in victory for Fritsch and his friends; they returned to the city, “and there Colonel Camargo complained about Lieutenant Eichelberger, to my Colonel, and had wanted to hang him, which von Reinach did not do, in fact he praised us all, that we had been so brave...”¹⁰⁶

105 “da dann der Leutenant Eichelberger gerueffen, waß Reutter sein, sollen zu Inen khommen, sonst seins alle schelmmen, dan dann alles daruon vnnd zu den beyden Leutenanten geritten, daryber sich der Obrist schröcklich erzirnt, vnnd geschworen daß er gedachten Leutenant Eichelberger wolte henckhen lassen, darauf ich gesagt, ich will sye woll einhollen, vnnd Inen deß herrn Obristen Mainung sagen, darauf er gesagt, ich solle hinreutten, vnnd den beeden Leutenanten sagen, Obs mit so wenig Mannschafft vf den Feindt wollen gehen, vnnd daß Volckh muetwillig verlieren, sollten sich ins Teufels nammen zurüch scheren, oder sollen alle beyde gehenckt werden, da ich zu Inen khommen, vnnd Inen solches angedeut, hat der Eichelberger gesagt, der von Reimach sey Commandant, vnnd nicht der Comargo, darauf dann mehrgedachter Aichelberger mich angeredt, Brueder wilt mir mein Troppen helffen führen, darauf ich geantwort, Warumb nicht” Augustin von Fritsch, ed Hans J Rudnik, *Tagebuch des Augustin von Fritsch: Taten und Schicksal im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Obrist und Kommandant von Parkstein und der Stadt Weiden* (Merching: Forum Verlag, 2012), 123-124.

106 “...da dann der Oberist Comargo dem Leutenant Aichlberger, bey meinen Obristen verclagt, vnnd haben wollen daß er henckhen solle, welches aber der von Reinach nicht gethan, sondern vnß alle gelobt, daß wir vnß

Fritsch was attached to his “beloved colonel” Reinach and presents him here as on his side, while Camargo was clearly in the wrong.¹⁰⁷ A modern observer might find it hard to tell why without thinking about the place of single combat in the military subculture, especially for officers or horsemen. Like taking prisoners for ransom, deliberate single combat seems out of keeping with the common perception of early modern warfare as a nascent form of modern warfare. Secondary sources devoted to this period do not mention it. Yet Herman Hugo’s eyewitness account of the siege of Breda in 1624 contains a lengthy description of single combat. This passage describes a meeting for combat between Spinola’s ally Count John Nassau¹⁰⁸ and three companions, and four horsemen from the besieged city. One of these horsemen, a young man fighting for the United Netherlands named Briaute, had arranged the fight when he learned that a cavalry lieutenant named Grobbendonck was among Spinola’s forces. Grobbendonck’s father had killed Briaute’s father several years earlier in the same long war, and Briaute was desperate for revenge, “as if otherwise his own ruyne would have fallen upon him.” Grobbendonck the younger was indeed among Count John of Nassau’s retinue that day. The horsemen on both sides rode out with a sword and a case of pistols each and three hundred defenders stood up in their trenches to watch. During the scrum, Briaute “with a daring bold courage and voyce” called out: “Charge me, charge me...whosoever thou art that darest: behold, I am Briaute: this day, this day, shall reueng the murder of my Father!” He set spurs to his horse and raced toward Grobbendonck, who leveled his pistol and shot him. “And catching hould of his saddle-pummell, with a dying hand, he quickly fell downe dead to the ground. Thus it was

so Präf gehalten, die Rittmaister aber, deren 4. gewesen, den andern Tag wackher außgemacht, daß so gar kheiner darbey gewesen oder hinauß khommen...” *Ibid.*

107 Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts*, 149.

108 John VIII, Count of Nassau-Siegen, who unlike the rest of his family had converted to Catholicism and fought on the Habsburg side. Justin of Nassau, the defender of Breda, was his second cousin.

the fortune of the two Grobbendoncks, being provoked to it, to proue the ruyne of the two Briautes, Father and sonne.”¹⁰⁹ The combat is scheduled; challenge is given and accepted; the number of combatants and their weapons are scrupulously equal. Even Count John of Nassau, one of the Spanish leaders, risks his life rather than calmly considering his chances of survival and leading from behind (or forbidding the whole thing). Five days later a French horseman and some of his companions rode out from the city and challenged anyone who would listen to single combat, again.¹¹⁰

Like the fights before Breda, the fight Augustin von Fritsch got into before Stade took place during a siege. Sieges involved a lot of people, with a lot of free time on their hands—time to plan and watch an event like this. All these fights also involved cavalymen, more mobile than infantry, able to ride out to meet their enemies. And all of them involved people of relatively high rank, even one of the commanders of the Spanish forces at the siege of Breda. (However, the fight five days after Grobbendonck and Briaute’s fight was begun not by an officer or noble—although a baron eventually got involved—but simply by “Boutteuille a french man.”¹¹¹) Within these parameters, arranged combat or single combat was not only accepted, it was lauded. Herman Hugo—who as a priest was himself forbidden to shed blood—describes the fights during the siege of Breda at length and in detail. He specifies the actions of the combatants step by step—who did what is important to him, as it probably was to his readers. He uses nothing but positive words (“bravery,” “courage,” “fire”) to describe these soldiers. Whether or not Fritsch’s depiction of his fights in his memoir is strictly accurate, he deliberately portrayed himself getting

109 Herman Hugo, *The Siege of Breda by the Armes of Philip*, 1627, in *English Recusant Literature 1558-1640*, vol. 261, ed. DM Rogers, (London: The Scolar Press Ltd., nd), 44-46.

110 Hugo, *The Siege of Breda*, 46.

111 Loc. Cit.

into single combat repeatedly, in a memoir intended for his children to read and emulate.¹¹² For him like for Hugo, they were a good thing. To a modern observer, Camargo forbidding Fritsch and his friends from fighting on their own during the siege of Stade in 1632 looks like good discipline. To a contemporary observer, he was overstepping his authority severely.

Camargo routinely grasped for power over his inferiors only to lash out when they didn't react the way he wanted them to. His tantrums killed more people than just Victoria: in October 1632, “when the soldiers were placed” in Mühlhausen in Saxony, on the way to Lützen, “Colonel Camario had a tailor's apprentice, who had served under him earlier and had deserted, and whom he received again while he was putting out a fire, hanged off a tree in the Spittelsgrab near the city pond (at St. Margaret's hospital, in the garden).”¹¹³ If he could not secure the respect or obedience of others, at least he could hurt them.

Yet Camargo's life was a series of examples of weakness. In the battle outside Stade Lieutenants von Fritsch, Eichelberger, and Jän disobeyed him, and his fellow colonel praised them for it. His wife slept with other officers for years and he did not duel them—the people he was a physical threat to were not his peers but his inferiors, a woman and a common soldier. But he did not mention disciplining Victoria physically, which would have been an acceptable attempt to control the situation. He didn't even kill her until after several years of this. Instead, Victoria cheated on him habitually and even his own father may have got along better with her than with him. He could neither maintain order in his own household nor govern himself. (He may also have been an outsider in the Mansfeld Regiment's high command, with few or no

112 Mortimer, *Eyewitness Accounts of the Thirty Years War*, 144.

113 “Als die Soldaten hier lagen, ließ der Oberst Camario einen Schneidergesellen, der früher unter ihm gedient hatte und desertirt war, den er bei diesem Feuerlöschten wieder bekam, im Spittelsgraben am Burgteiche (zu St. Margarethen-Hospital im Garten) an einen Baum hängen.” Reinhard Jordan, *Chronik der Stadt Mühlhausen in Thüringen* Vol 3 (Mühlhausen: Dannischer Buchhandlerei, 1905), 63.

family or regional connections to Mansfeld already like the other two lieutenant colonels. Nor had he served with Mansfeld before, like Winckelmann had.) The kind of manhood that Camargo was trying to live up to was specifically military, but out of his reach. He was a cavalier, he kept saying nevertheless. He was an officer, he said, brought up to honor from his youth.

On the sixteenth of November 1632, Camargo led the Camargo-Reinach regiment at the front of the Imperialist left at Lützen, where he was severely wounded. He died of his wounds on the withdrawal, when the Imperialists stopped in Chemnitz.¹¹⁴

This chapter not only tells the stories of Theodoro de Camargo and Victoria Guarde, it is also about Mattheus Steiner, who wrote all this down but said little: about the things Steiner may have thought about Camargo, and the things he chose to do. Victoria's murder was not the last time he came into direct contact with Camargo. On 11 February 1627, Camargo notified Steiner that his Fähndrich, Juan Gammert from s-Hertogenbosch, had "the audacity to treat his servant very evilly with blows without any cause." Not much illustrates the multiethnic character of the monarchy of Spain as concisely as Juan Gammert's name. This was the way he signed it himself: Mattheus Steiner and the Germans in Gammert's company called him Johann.

Before he could be arrested for abusing his subordinate, which Camargo didn't tolerate in others, Gammert packed his things, had his horse new-shod, and ran on a forged passport. He made it to a Franciscan cloister near Milan, but they caught him and brought him back.¹¹⁵

Gammert tried to explain that he had never served in a German regiment before, a regiment

114 Christian Lehmann, ed. Hendrik Heidler, *Die Kriegschronik: Sachsen mit Erzgebirge* (Books On Demand: 2009), 55.

115 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 138-161.

ordered according to German military legal norms, but Camargo had none of it. Gammert had left his flag, he had set himself against the praiseworthy war law, and finally, “like an honor-and-oath-forgetting impudent rogue, thief, and scoundrel,” when he ran he “stole gold and pay from the purse of the King of Spain, our most gracious lord.” Camargo sentenced him to hang from a withered tree, but he ordered Steiner to review the case anyway.¹¹⁶

Steiner collected Gammert’s brother officers, Lieutenant Johann van Velle and Fourier Matthias Laiber, and Laiber told him how Gammert had tried to persuade them to leave with him because “he wanted to be able to share everything with him.” “They could well find another lord” together, he said; “I don’t trust the Lieutenant Colonel.” Laiber refused. “No, it’s completely unethical [*ganz Unrecht*]. I want to stay and handle the situation like an upright soldier.” Laiber’s uprightness was *redlich*, loyal to his superiors and dutiful, not *rechtschaffen*: when Gammert left Laiber promptly informed on him.¹¹⁷

Steiner concluded that Gammert should be freed, but his reasoning is totally opaque, since he wrote nothing down about his own thoughts in this case. If there was any more to it than that—if Mattheus Steiner had argued for Gammert’s release because he remembered Victoria on her back in a vaulted room in the dark, or the little links of her broken earring—it’s buried deep. But if this had been an act of dissimulation, it saved Juan Gammert’s life: he was released on 7 July 1627.¹¹⁸

116 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 156.

117 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 146-147.

118 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 161.

Chapter 7: Making It in This Thing Money and Payment¹

Of the 248 recorded deserters from the Mansfeld Regiment, 40 left on a single night, the 27th of August 1625. When the regiment was deep into southern Germany, near Lake Constance, a rumor went around that they were going to be sent to Spain and given Spanish officers, and then the deserters snuck away.² Two officers deserted at the same time; unlike the common soldiers, they left letters.³ Mattheus Steiner copied them into the legal book.

One of the officers, Georg Dressler from Dresden, listed several reasons for his departure. In the first place, he thought Lieutenant Stach Löser was leaving, and since Löser had been the one who personally recruited Dressler he felt no further obligation to stay. In reality, once the regiment was operational Löser became a Lieutenant Colonel, one of the two in charge of the regiment's cavalry. Dressler may have meant that Löser was being promoted and going to Alessandria with the cavalry, instead of the region just northwest of Milan with the infantry. More disturbingly, the regiment was five weeks out of Dresden and Dressler still had no idea where they were supposed to be going. He may have spoken as a representative for the other deserters: "we have received the Ordinance that we must march away from my people, but we do not know where we will have our last Muster-place, but instead march all the time, God knows where there will be an end of it." "I want to solemnly vow to you that as long as God gives me luck, I will provide your wife with wood this winter, when I can get there," he said, and then he signed off.⁴

1 Thanks to Zhou Fang for assistance with this chapter.

2 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 20-27.

3 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 15-19.

4 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 17-19.

The other letter, written by a Fourier whose name wasn't recorded, was angrier, and had less to do with the rest of the deserters. "To the honorable and manly Fähndrich and my most honored friend," began the Fourier to Fähndrich Stach Krakow. "Because as everyone knows, I have received no money from the lord, and I did not imagine that I would be thus betrayed, I also ask your honor and manliness to pardon me in this case, because I have done what is due and entitled to every righteous guy." His servant had lent him money, so before he went away told Stach Krakow that he was leaving enough cash to pay him back. "I really liked marching with you...I had really hoped to have better opportunities in this thing than this, and to serve in my office as promised. But now I see that I was only leading an empty name...I have spent a great deal on the soldiers [*Knechte*]: effort, work, and money I have spent, so that it really seems to me, as I had hoped, that I should have been better repaid." Somebody—probably Wolf von Mansfeld—had been promising this officer promotions and money, and he hadn't received either. The quid-pro-quo which should have existed between him and his superiors had broken down: he'd received no money from the lord. Exhausted and rueful, he summed up mercenary life as he saw it, the reason he couldn't go to war any more: "To make it in this thing you've really got to be young, and you've got to look at others with your fists."⁵

In German, what this anonymous officer said was *Zurechnen*, to apportion, attribute, or calculate. To count cash, make money; to "make it." For this Fourier, the combativeness of the mercenary subculture took the form of a continuous struggle for financial security. To make it as an officer, he thought, you had to be willing to compete with other officers as well as struggle with your superiors to get what they promised you. This was a punishing daily grind: only young

5 "Ich hette zwar vermainet, in dieser sache besser gelegenheit zuhaben undt mein *officium* verheißener sach Zubedienen, weil ich aber sehe, daß ich nur den bloßen nahmen führen, undt ein dießer sache Zurechnen, nur lunge sein muß und anderen ein die fäuste sehen." SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 15-16.

men could do it. For what was he fighting? Was it possible for a mercenary to make it in this business at anything but the highest rank? What were soldiers' wages, when they were paid at all?

Between 1610 and 1622, the economy collapsed almost everywhere in Europe.⁶ Fluctuating prices, bad currency, and high taxation contributed to “a feeling of growing poverty.”⁷ The world was also growing colder. This climate shift, called the “little ice age,” contributed to harvest failures and scarcity: historians like Geoffrey Parker blame it for the entire “crisis of the seventeenth century” throughout Eurasia.⁸ Although the traditional view that soldiers enlisted to escape immiseration is exaggerated, these economic problems would have made military service an attractive alternative to non-military life. One historian believes that the rising price of food compelled Hungarian soldiers to enlist; Geoffrey Parker said the same thing happened in Spain. Even young nobles in the Kingdom of Hungary enlisted as common soldiers to pick up some money.⁹

On the other hand, non-soldiers were beginning to own more consumer goods. One historian has hypothesized that people began to work harder to be able to afford these new things, creating what he called an “industrious revolution” before the Industrial Revolution.¹⁰ The

6 David Hackett Fischer, *The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythm of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 95.

7 DH Pennington, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1989), 93-94.

8 Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate, and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

9 Zoltán Péter Bagi, “The Life of Soldiers during the Long Turkish War (1593–1606),” *The Hungarian Historical Review* 4.2 (2015), 384-417. 396, 387-388.

10 Jan de Vries, “Between purchasing power and the world of goods: understanding the household economy in early modern Europe,” J Brewer and R Porter eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge,

sudden wide availability of consumer goods at the end of the seventeenth century led in the early eighteenth century to a debate within European armies over the effects of “luxury:” an excess of luxury in camp supposedly made soldiers or officers less virile and less capable of fighting.¹¹ The early seventeenth-century military community would have rejected the terms of this debate: luxury consumption was a manifestation of soldiers’ spirit and fire rather than a check on it, or a rare escape from a life of hardship. And unlike their later counterparts, early seventeenth-century soldiers probably found it difficult to scrounge up the kind of finery they liked. The inventory of Wolfgang Winckelmann’s possessions made when he was arrested in 1631 amounted to “one cuirass, one Hungarian saddle, another saddle with leather inserts, a tent made of multicolored stuff, a saddle-cushion [*Postkussen*],” and “in a yellow clothes cupboard,” one pair old black cloth breeches with a mantle and stockings of the same, one pair old black silk samite breeches with broad brown silk piping, one pair old black silk atlas breeches with silk stockings, one “mourning hat” (*Trauerhut*), one small Italian hat with a black feather, one old embroidered sword hanger with the belt, and one old sword hanger with red embroidery.¹² Rich but tattered; Winckelmann had a multicolored tent and two different saddles but not a wooden spoon to eat with. His priorities were different from ours. The saddle-cushion probably went under his head at night, but where and how did he sleep, when not in someone else’s bed? When he was indoors he probably folded the tent up and slept on that. Peter Hagendorf referred to his things as “his

1993). Idem, “The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution,” in *Journal of Economic History* 54 (1994), 249-70.

11 Jan de Vries, “Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age in Theory and Practice,” in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, ed., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires, and Delectable Goods* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 42; Fadi El-Hage, *Vendôme: La gloire ou l'imposture* (Paris: Belin, 2016).

12 Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1-4. SHStADr 10024 9678/12, *INQUISITION Acta CONTRA Den Vorhafften Wolfffen Winckelmann 1631*, 185.

linens” (*Weißzeug*); between that and the plunder he was limited to the amount of possessions his wife or boy servant Bartelt could carry on a horse. Everything else, like the belts and pitcher his wife brought out of Magdeburg, they flipped for cash as fast as they could.¹³

Soldiers probably had fewer goods than non-soldiers but more cash. Estate inventories reveal that non-soldiers kept little money and stored their wealth in material objects instead, but they didn’t have to think about how easy their possessions were for a woman to carry on foot.¹⁴ When Wolfgang Winckelmann’s *Musterschreiber* Heinrich Teichmeyer lay dying in Faro on the eighth of January 1626, he called Mattheus Steiner into his room to witness his last testament and watch while he bestowed his temporal goods. His wife and children got all his goods that were “lying to hand or far away” and his wife got his salary, which was in arrears, but he left the 25 ducats he had on him at the time to Winckelmann, his captain.¹⁵

During the early modern period a lot of business was reckoned in money of account, for which there may not have been an equivalent physical coin. Accounts ticked along in tidy *Reichsthaler* or *Reichsgoldgulden* while the real physical coins that clattered in your purse were more or less clipped, debased, battered, or counterfeit. Or they may have been almost pure copper, the “black money” that served as low-denomination fiat coinage in places like Spain or Venice. But there wasn’t that much coinage available in the Mansfeld Regiment in the first place.

The argument between Feldwebel Johann Silbernagel and Fähndrich Michael Hevel erupted on 14 February 1626. While the two of them were having lunch Hevel had been needling

13 Peter Hagendorf, ed. Jan Peters, *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Eine Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 145, 47.

14 James C Riley, “A Widening Market in Consumer Goods,” *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 257.

15 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 88-90.

Silbernagel about making change for him, but Silbernagel refused. “Because the Feldwebel had wanted to get a drink of wine,” he said that Hevel should let it go until they got to the pub, “then I’ll shoot money at you [*alß den ihm solches geldt herschießen*].” Since Silbernagel knew Italian, Hevel asked him to buy some thread with him after lunch: while they were making the purchase, Silbernagel poured a Zick and some batzens and half-batzens onto the table. Then Hevel took a ducat and a Zick out of his own purse and said “Feldwebel, you have lots of half-batzens, give me something for both of these because up until now I’ve had to pay my servant back in my quarters and I can’t get this broken [*kan ich nicht gewechßelt krieggenn*].” Silbernagel said he’d give him something for one of them, not both. Hevel answered “Didn’t you put a Zick in your stuff?” (*habt Ir nicht einen Zickin im Crahm Zu euch genommen*), implicitly accusing him of theft back in the pub. Silbernagel hotly denied it. Since Silbernagel had been the one slandered and the witnesses didn’t see him steal anything, the case probably would have been found in his favor if he hadn’t deserted before the trial, but its relevance to the current discussion is that this was a pair of company-level officers squabbling over whether one of them could make change. Hevel had even asked around to see if anyone could break a ducat.¹⁶

For Michael Hevel, the problem was not a lack of funds, it was specifically a lack of useful coins—ducats were just too big to buy wine and thread with, or to pay his servant back. A shortage of small change dogged the early-modern world and would until the late nineteenth century. Low-worth coins were not only scarce, they frequently got debased relative to more valuable coins as governments attempted to solve the problem of their scarcity by devaluing them and minting more.¹⁷ This is what happened in the German world at the same time as

16 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 206-210.

17 Thomas J Sargent and François R Velde, *The Big Problem of Small Change* (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Mansfeld's expedition to Lombardy, during the *Kipper- und Wipperzeit*. A soldier who had recently made money from plunder could—if the coins were too valuable—have a purseful of silver but not enough available cash to buy basic necessities.

Most people did most business in small change. But if a government wanted to pay its soldiers in small-denomination coins, an immense effort was required to transport that much metal: a French writer pointed out that in 1676, 200,000 écus were 11,989 pounds of silver. (Even obtaining this much silver was problematic for non-Spanish great powers.) A big siege gun of this size needed 25 horses and crawled down the road at no more than a few miles a day. According to Le Tellier, it took 800 horses to haul cash over land to French troops in Italy in 1641. Shipping 86,000 livres from Brittany to Paris in 1606 took eighteen pack horses and 24 days. One solution was to transport the money in larger-denomination gold coins, which weighed less and took up less space, but changing them into smaller coins in-country was difficult and local financiers charged money to do it.¹⁸ If the place where the soldiers were quartered used a different currency from the government that sent them there, local authorities could also attempt to make money off a commander by manipulating the exchange rate. This happened to the Mansfeld Regiment's Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt.

“Receiving money from the lord” was a stock phrase members of the Mansfeld Regiment and other mercenaries used for what they did; Camargo said that when Juan Gammert deserted he was stealing from the purse of the king of Spain. There were specific words for specific kinds of payment. *Sold* or *Besoldung* is pay; one colonel was given his salary *zu*

18 David Parrott, *Richelieu's Army: War, Government, and Society in France, 1624-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 244-246.

Leibesbesoldung, “payment to support his body.”¹⁹ *Liefergeld* or *Laufgeld*, “delivery money” or “walking money,” was the sum given to recruits to pay their expenses while they traveled from the place where they signed up to the place where they were supposed to muster in several weeks later. *Werbegeld* was literally “enlistment money.” *Verpflegung* was the amount necessary to support a soldier for one month; room and board. Some high-ranking cavalrymen got *Umritsgeldt*, “circuit money.” *Lehn* meant pay when a soldier said it (*Vorlehn*, literally “prepayment,” was the month’s pay you received as a lump sum when you signed up) but to non-soldiers it meant feudal beneficence: enfeoffment or investiture. Perhaps as an echo of its feudal meaning, this word was used in solemn contexts: *Lehn* should be given out in the presence of the captain and the Elector’s clerk, one contract said, and shared out by the soldiers hand to hand.²⁰ These touches bound the company together. In contrast to a contemporary non-military view in which it lowered you to work for wages (even Levelers excluded them from the vote²¹), mercenaries regarded “getting money from the lord” as a source of pride. It had specifically been because Nicholas Sonntag had wanted to take Balthasar Kaltoffen’s sword, “by which he gets money from the lord,” that Kaltoffen’s retaliation had been ruled as self-defense, not murder.

The relationship between employer and soldier was not solely financial. The word *Arbeit*, “work,” was never used to describe what soldiers did. They were not laborers. It was *Dienst* or *Pflicht*: “service” or “duty.” This came with moral obligations on the part of the soldiers. “If Your Grace were not my paymaster,” wrote Johann Wolf von Schrauttenbach to the

19 SHStAdr 11237 10798/4, *Niedereingegebene Feld-Kriegs-und Andere Bestellungen, de Ais 1618, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 32, 35, 39, 53r.*

20 “Gleichfalls sollen alle die werordneten lehen in beisein des hauptmans und höchstermelter Irher Churf. Gn. Feldtschreibers, den knechten selbst von hand zu hand ausgeteilet, und darüber ordentliche register erhalten warden.” SHStAdr 11237 10798/4, 5r.

21 Keith Thomas, “Work and Leisure,” *Past and Present*, 29 (1964), 50-66; 64.

Margrave of Hesse in knotty language, “you could order me into the street or the alley...to attack [the man von Schrauttenbach was suing].” But a mercenary with a paymaster (*soltener*) didn’t just jump people in the street.²² “If you had no lord, you could go from one fair to another with your wife and cut purses,” sneered Feldwebel Georg Lauren to Lieutenant Wolf Heinrich von Dransdorf, both of the Mansfeld Regiment.²³ When Maz Japsch was questioned by his company authorities about whether he actually thought it was legitimate for soldiers to fight one another whenever they felt like it, he answered that he had been wrong to say that: “it would have to be someone who was lordless and who had enough cause.”²⁴ A mercenary “without a lord” was *auf dem garten*, “on the guard;” many people feared and loathed a *Garteknecht*.²⁵ Similarly, von Schrauttenbach, Lauren, and Japsch thought that soldiers who “had a lord” were responsible for a level of honorable behavior that masterless men were not. The ideal is significant whether it was followed in real life or not.

Out of my entire source base of Saxon rolls from the Thirty Years’ War, there are 72 infantry muster rolls from the 1620s and late teens which list pay, and three cavalry payrolls from 1624. Contracts to order troops (*Bestellungen*) also specify pay. The rolls with pay are from the 1620s only. Pay for this decade is well-documented, but I only have *Bestellungen* from the

22 “Oder aber damit Ihg. nicht meiner soltener, das ich mich für Johan Wersen fürchtete, möchten Ihg. ihme befehlen mich auf Straßen oder gaßen Zur *attacquiren*.” SHStADr 10024 9119/30 Doc 1.

23 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 162.

24 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 47r.

25 The etymology of this phrase, which dates from the 14th century, is the French *garde*, “watchman/servant,” since masterless soldiers often had to work privately. From this comes a host of dissolute, rowdy meanings: *gardede* or *garden* also meant “to go foraging,” and *garren*, “to fence.” *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*. Trier Center for Digital Humanities/Kompetenzzentrum für elektronische Erschließungs- und Publikationsverfahren in den Geisteswissenschaften an der Universität Trier 1998–2011 http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB entry for “Garten, garden.”

1630s (and no pay data of any kind from the 1640s). Since pay varied widely, these contracts give only a vague and general picture of what was going on. Soldiers haggled: in Joachim von Zeutzsch's company, when Cilian Hildebrand entered Hans Adam Birckner's vacant spot, since Birckner had made more than Hildebrand had, Hildebrand asked for more money per month, and got it. This kind of raise was recorded for four soldiers in this company.²⁶ Although it's only in this roll and a few others that we have written evidence, haggling was probably common.²⁷ As John Lynn observed, mercenary soldiers were also subcontractors in their own right.²⁸

The pay for company-level infantry officers is standard, and did not change throughout the 1620s.

Rank	Pay (gulden/month)
Captain	360
Fähndrich	70
Lieutenant	50
Feldwebel	36
Führer	24
Fourier	24
Feldscher	24
Musterschreiber	20
Gemeinwebel	20
Drummer	12
Piper	12

Table 7.1: Infantry Officers' Pay, 1619-1625

However, wages for common infantrymen varied considerably. Soldiers' wages from 1619 to 1625 are broken down in Table 7.2, which produces the graph in Figure 7.1.

26 SHStADr 11237 10840/4 8.

27 SHStADr 11237 10481/1.

28 John Lynn, "Comments on Mercenary Military Service in Early Modern Europe," IISH Conference in March 2010, 7; quoted in Frank Tallett, "Soldiers in Western Europe, c. 1500-1790," Erik-Jan Zürcher, ed., *Fighting for a Living: A Comparative Study of Military Labour 1500-2000* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 152.

Pikemen																							
Number	501	213	535	482	140	495	173	365	146	19	30	84	10	108	5	2	8	2	2	4	4	1	
%	9	39	1	9	3	9	3	7	3	4	0.5	2	0.2	2	0.1	0.05	0.1	0.05	0.05	0.1	0.1	0.02	
R/month	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	24	25	30	32	36	40	48		
Total: 5,422																							
Halberdiers																							
Number	108	480	252	149	58	102	60	25	16	33	22	20		12	1								
%	8	36	19	11	4	8	4	2	2	2	2	2		1	0.07								
R/month	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		20	24								
Total: 1,338																							
Musketeers																							
No	963	847	208	440	215	18	37		9	1													
%	7	64	16	3	2	0.1	0.3		0.07	0.00													
R/mo	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		14	15													
Total: 13,242																							

Table 7.2: Common infantry pay in gulden/month by specialization, 1619-1625

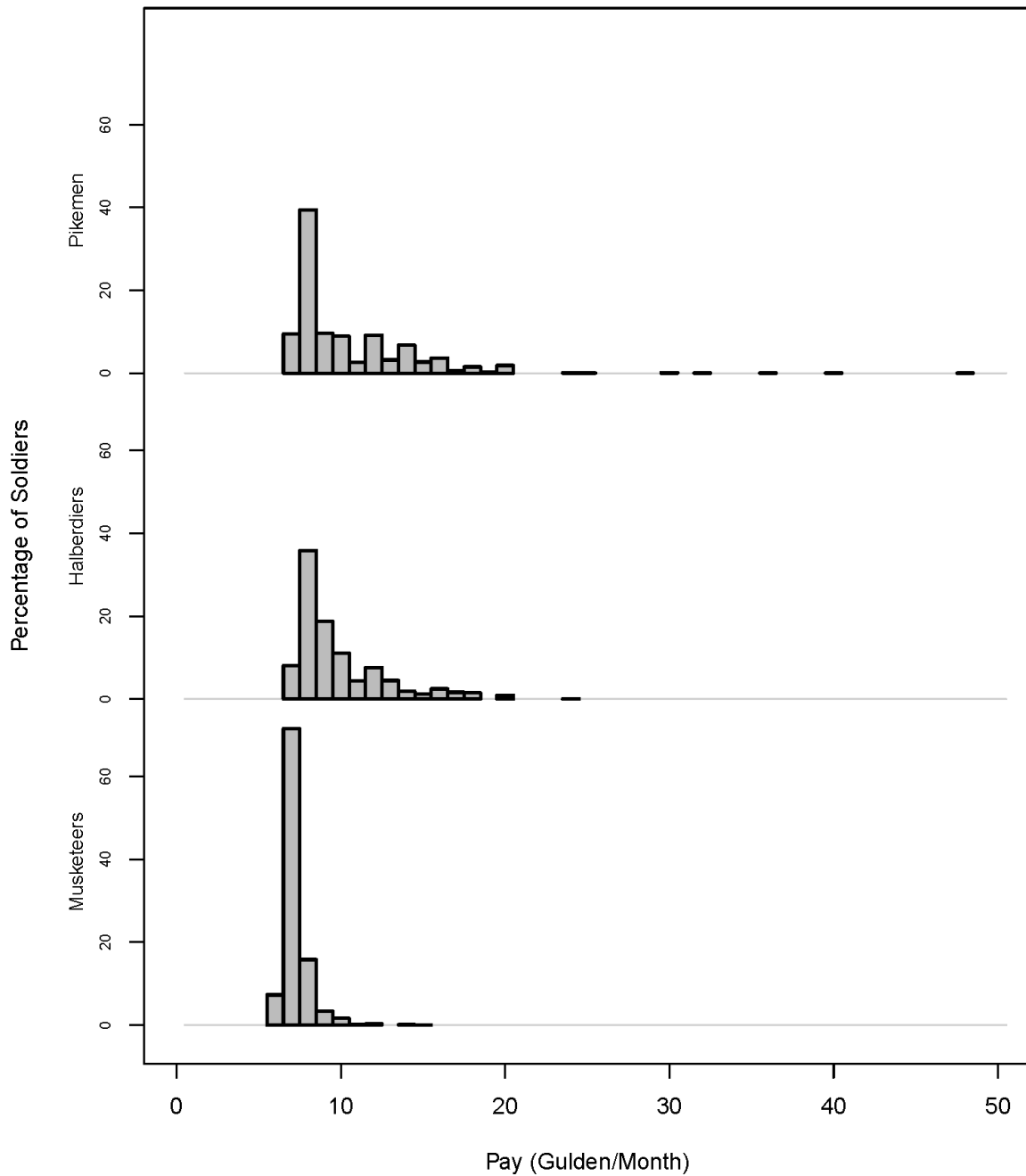


Figure 7.1: Common infantry pay in gulden/month by specialization, 1619-1625

Figure 7.1 is a histogram that depicts the information in Table 7.2 visually. This graph and table are produced from 20,002 separate entries (5,422 for pikemen, 1,338 for halberdiers, and 13,242 for musketeers). This is more than the number of infantrymen in the surviving muster

rolls for this decade, because unlike the maps tracking soldiers by place of origin, they count repeat entries. Since the relevant data is amount of money made per month rather than number of people, if the same person shows up multiple times, he is counted multiple times. These graphs do not include people listed only as squad leaders, since those could be either pikemen or halberdiers, nor do they include the members of one company who were listed with the unhelpful designation “People paid more including squad leaders” (*Doppelsöldner sambt die gefreyter*). I have also removed all the people labeled as reformed officers: to “reform” a company was to dissolve it, after which its officers could be placed on another company’s roll as pikemen and paid more than usual until someone figured out where to place them.

The old word “double mercenary” (*Doppelsöldner*) for pikeman, still used alongside *piquenier*, is a simple word for a complicated situation. 2,133 pikemen made 8 gulden a month: 39% of all pikemen in the sample. 36% of halberdiers (480 people) also made 8 gulden a month. A much larger percentage of musketeers made 7 gulden a month: 64%. Most pikemen or halberdiers seem to have made only a little more than most musketeers. But pikemen’s and halberdiers’ wages were far more variable than musketeers.’ Some made far more than other infantrymen, even most company-level officers: they form the right side of this graph, the pikemen’s and halberdiers’ “long tail.” Pay tended to cluster around numbers that are easy to divide in your head: far more people made 10 or 12 gulden a month than 11 or 13. There were more very highly paid pikemen than very highly paid halberdiers, and they could also make more: only one halberdier made 24 gulden a month, already as much as a fourier or a company surgeon, but four pikemen made 40 per month. The highest-paid pikeman in any document, Heinrich Philip from Steinsdorf, made 48 gulden a month. On the other hand, the previous incumbent of his spot on the roll, Wolf Heinrich von Grünthal, had been both a reformed Fähndrich and a

noble—Philip may have managed to persuade the same amount out of the regimental authorities based on fairness.²⁹

Senior pikemen and halberdiers were listed earlier on the rolls. Some of them were labeled as squad leaders (*Gefreiter*) or senior squad leaders (*Gefreiter Corporal*). Others were probably experienced soldiers with no written designation. In addition to distributing food, men like these would have helped train the other soldiers. They would have known how to find food and how to sleep in the open, all the tasks that made up a soldier's life. They would have known how to live with other soldiers with minimal friction, even people who belonged to other religions or came from other regions. In battle, experienced soldiers would have helped keep the block together, which is where some of the French terms for old soldiers came from: the *chef-de-file*, "chief of the line," stood in the first rank of the formation; the *chef-de-serre-file*, "chief of the back of the line," stood in the rear; and if a regiment had enough experienced people, a *chef-de-demi-file*, "chief of halfway down the line," stood in the fourth or sixth place. The French also called experienced soldiers *anspessades*, from *Lanza Spezzata*, "broken lance," "an experienced soldier."³⁰ Although this term was not used in rolls produced by Saxon units in Saxony, the Mansfeld Regiment's Jacob Hammer and Samuel Bernhardt were referred to as "lancepassades," possibly because of this regiment's proximity to Italian speakers.³¹ As they remained in the military year after year, these senior pikemen or halberdiers often became lower-level officers, while sometimes lower officers dipped back down the ranks to pikeman or halberdier again.

29 SHStADr 11237 10840/5 no 9.

30 Parrott, *Richelieu's Army*, 140-141.

31 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 103, 109.

When we sort infantry by social origin as well as pay, we see something interesting.

Table 7.3 sorts the pay of noble and common-born infantrymen by specialty, and this information is represented visually in Figure 7.2. (The total infantrymen in Table 7.3 do not add up to the total in Table 7.2 because soldiers of unknown class origin are not counted in 7.3.)

Noble Pikemen		11	4	8	9	50	18	85	34	48	6	31	54	2	2	1	1	2			
Number		3	1	2	2	14	5	23	9	13	2	8	15	0.5	0.5	0.25	0.25	0.5			
%		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	20	24	25	30	32	40			
R/month		Total: 366																			
Common-Born Pikemen		534	2175	528	474	129	430	148	276	106	140	24	53	10	49	2	7	1	2	2	1
Number		11	43	11	9	3	9	3	6	2	3	0.5	1	0.2	1	0.04	0.1	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.02
%		7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	24	30	32	36	40	48
R/month		Total: 5,004																			
Noble Halberdiers		3	2	3	1	1	2				1	1									
Number		21	14	21	7	7	14				7	7									
%		8	9	10	11	12	13				16	17									
R/month		Total: 14																			
Common-Born Halberdiers		108	477	250	145	57	99	58	25	16	32	21	20	12	1						
Number		8	36	19	11	4	7	4	2	1	2	2	2	1	0.08						
%		7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	20	24						
R/month		Total: 1,321																			
Noble Musketeers		20	9	7	8		16			4											
Number		31	14	11	13		25			6											
%		7	8	9	10		12			14											
R/month		Total: 64																			
Common-Born Musketeers		961	9418	2066	430	205	16	20		5	1										
No		7	72	16	3	2	0.1	0.2		0.04	0.008										
%		6	7	8	9	10	11	12		14	15										
R/mo		Total: 13,122																			

Table 7.3: Common infantry pay in gulden/month by specialization and social background, 1619-1625

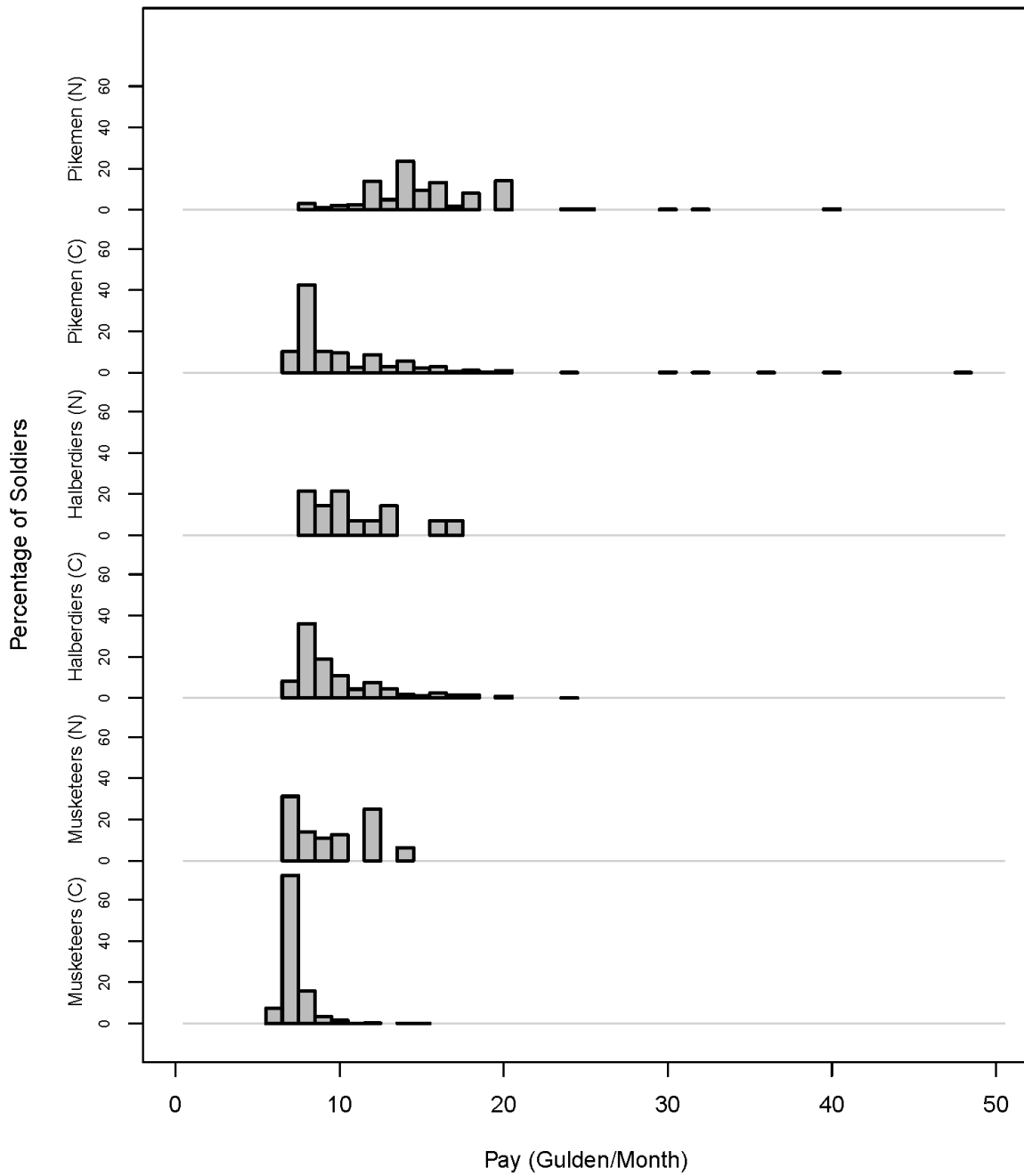


Figure 7.2: Common infantry pay by specialization and social background, 1619-1625

In Figure 7.2, nobles are represented by the abbreviation N; commoners are the second of each pair, represented by C.

In all three weapons specializations, common-born infantrymen tend more often to cluster at the more usual rates of pay; the pay rate with the highest percentage of common-born pikemen and halberdiers is eight gulden a month, and for musketeers it's seven. Noble pay was both higher and more variable. Either they were more likely to make more regardless of their level of experience or they were more likely to be promoted. One word for "squad leader," used in Hauboldt von Schleinitz's company in the early 1620s, may have been *Pigknir von Adelsburch*, "noble pikeman."³² It was probably harder for common-born soldiers to advance, although they were not barred from higher-paying positions. On the other hand, unlike the highly-paid pikemen, the extremely highly-paid halberdiers were all common-born.

In addition to the social origin of soldiers, the social position of different weapons is also apparent here: there is a gentle slope upwards in pay from common-born musketeers to noble halberdiers and common-born pikemen, and then a jump upwards to noble pikemen. In a striking illustration of the pike's symbolic power as an honorable object, the real top earners were noble pikemen, not noble soldiers in general. There was no cultural place for halberds, or even the sword and buckler, comparable to that of pikes: to learn something "from the pike up" is to learn by doing; "to trail a pike" is to be a soldier. It's unfortunate that soldiers' age was not listed in early-seventeenth-century Saxon rolls; some of these high-earning noble pikemen were probably young future officers, placed in the ranks to learn how to go to war.

It may seem plausible that soldiers from Saxony made more than non-Saxons, but this is not the case. While the difference is minor, Saxon soldiers made slightly less than soldiers from elsewhere: given two infantrymen of equal social background with the same weapon, the soldier from Electoral Saxony got about a twelfth of a gulden less per month. If you do not control for

32 Despite the literal meaning of this phrase, not every one of them was of noble birth. It may be another term for squad leader. SHStADr 11237 10840/3 7 and 11237 10840/4 3.

social background, the difference is more pronounced—then, the Saxon soldier got slightly more than a third of a gulden less on average. The difference between the two figures is that more non-Saxon soldiers were nobles. Nobles traveled more widely to enter Saxon military service, but even common-born non-Saxons made more. More widely-traveled soldiers were also more experienced.

In these ways, the discussion of how much money infantrymen made per month, which we can see, is a proxy for the complex social organization inside an early-seventeenth-century infantry company, which we largely cannot see. Infantrymen's pay and status depended on their prior experience, their class, whether or not they were good at haggling, and the weapon they fought with, as well as talent, personal charisma, whom they knew, where they were from, and the countless other factors that regulate human interaction in a small community. When the pike was dropped for the bayonet at the end of the century, an entire way of life must have gone with it.

The cavalry payrolls I have found are from the Saxon Hoffahne, the "Court Company," an elite unit connected to the Elector of Saxony and based in Dresden.³³ They cover three and a half consecutive months in the spring of 1624. Unlike infantry in the same decade, cavalry may have kept their records of pay in separate documents from the records of troop strength, since no cavalry muster rolls I have found list pay. In addition to pay, this document also notes "Vertheil"—money to distribute—for many officers. This corroborates evidence from muster rolls that many soldiers, especially officers and nobles, had their own retinues that were either not on the books or only appeared on the books indirectly, like in provisions records.

33 SHStAdr 11237 10840/11 doc 2.

Pay for cavalry officers is listed in Table 7.4:

Rank	Pay (gulden/month)
Oberst	150
Rittmeister	150
Lieutenant	150 or 90
General-Feldscher	150
Fähndrich	120
Quartermaster	90
Wachtmeister	75
Corporal	60 or 45
Musterschreiber	45
Fourier	30
Wagenmeister	30
Feldprediger	20
Kettledrummer	15
Trumpeter	15

*Table 7.4: Cavalry Officers' Pay, Hoffahne Rolls
1624*

Although most cavalry officers made more than most infantry officers, the Rittmeister made far less than infantry captains, possibly because this data comes from the Hoffahne: an elevated position in this Dresden-based company might have been intended as a sinecure or bonus for someone whose major source of income lay elsewhere.

Unlike infantrymen, the troopers in the Hoffahne records made a standard amount: they were paid by the horse at 15 gulden a horse. The troopers with one horse apiece made 15 gulden per month, while common troopers with two horses, like Abraham Paritzsch, known as “Tartar,” made 30 per month. Higher, but still somewhat undefined, positions like Fahnenjunckers made anywhere from 15 to 60 gulden a month, depending on how many horses they had in their string. Fifteen gulden a month per horse is comfortably above most infantrymen’s pay, but a cavalryman did not keep all of it since he was expected to buy fodder himself. Oats for one horse cost 4 gulden and 12 groschen a month according to the Saxon Hoffahne, so a common

cavalryman's monthly take-home pay started at 10 and two-fifths gulden.

Like infantry companies, cavalry companies were probably also subdivided by complex informal social divisions: both the number of horses a cavalryman had and the amount he made were probably dependent on his social position in the company. Both pay and social status in these units were highly variable. Moreover, in the 1620s each position in a muster roll was treated as independent: if the tenth pikeman in the list died, for instance, the *musterschreiber* did not write that they needed one more pikeman, but that the tenth slot had become vacant. Exact position in the roll was another form of social differentiation. Since a soldier's position on the roll was probably also reflected by where he stood in line during the mustering-in, it would have been visible even without seeing a copy of the muster roll for yourself. People may have calibrated their perception of their place in the company social order by their place on the rolls. The jostling, competitive character of daily interactions among the People is more subdued here than when Jonas Beck and Melchior Schröter had a play-swordfight, but the same mentality is behind both.

These wages seem high. They are certainly higher than the wages Burschel has identified for soldiers in southern Germany, at four Rhenish gulden a month.³⁴ But what did a soldier's pay mean in terms of quality of life, when he was paid at all? Economic historians often use the building trades as their benchmark for wages, since the data is good.³⁵ The twentieth-century economist Moritz John Elsas focused on records from city administrations and

34 Peter Burschel, *Söldner in Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992).

35 Fernand Braudel and Frank Spooner, "Prices in Europe from 1450 to 1750," in EE Rich and CH Wilson, ed., *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe Vol 4, The Economy of Expanding Europe in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 426.

hospitals.³⁶ Although laborers were paid by the day and soldiers by the month, when we do the math the majority of common soldiers made about as much as some craftsmen; in 1622 Munich, a master mason made the equivalent of 10 gulden a month, a journeyman 7 and a half, and an apprentice 6 and a half.³⁷ Highly paid infantrymen or cavalrymen made a lot more than many unskilled workers, comparable to skilled artisans or some of the seasonal jobs. It took years to learn how to wield a pike or halberd, or how to manage your horse, but pay did not correspond only to the amount of effort and skill an individual's position required: the lower officers didn't make all that much. An infantry *Musterschreiber* or *Gemeinweibel* made about as much as a reaper in Munich would have made during harvest (the equivalent of 21 gulden a month between 1578 and 1608³⁸), and a trumpeter or drummer noticeably less.

However, many non-military laborers were only paid on days they worked. The work didn't last the whole year, either.³⁹ Many of them were paid differently at different times of year. In Augsburg between 1600 and 1640, rakers made the equivalent of 5.25 gulden a month from the end of September to June, and 7 from July to the middle of August. But soldiers were theoretically paid whether they were fighting or not, and they were paid the same amount year-round. This may have contributed to the popular image of soldiers in non-military consciousness as idle. During the hyperinflation of the 1620s, soldiers were also paid in better money: gulden and thalers, which had not become devalued, instead of the smaller coins, which had.

36 MJ Elsas, *Umriss einer Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Deutschland*, Vol. 1 (Leiden: AW Sijthoff, 1936), 57.

37 Tables, Elsas, *Umriss* 64-67.

38 Op. Cit.

39 *Ibid.*, 58.

On paper, soldiers in the 1620s could make a lot more than workers. But although both male and female workers were paid, in the Saxon army only soldiers received pay. If a soldier had a female companion the pair of them required twice as much food and clothing, and if they had children even more; she would either attempt to live on his pay with him or bring in money or goods herself. When supplies got short in Peter Hagendorf's regiment—a pound of tobacco was going for 3 thalers and a pair of boots for six—he and his second wife Anna Maria made a little mill out of two whetstones, dug a hole and baked bread in the hole, and sold the bread.⁴⁰ In this context it is interesting to think of David Sabean's observation that the peasant household was not the total unity of traditional German historiography but a site of alliances between husband and wife.⁴¹ A soldier and his female partner formed an economic unit, the "family economy" of the soldier mentioned by John Lynn, but each was also an economic actor in his or her own right, and they maintained an implicit contract between each other.⁴² If contemporary observers noted that soldiers and their partners joined and separated from each other in a way that seemed casual, it may have been because they could afford to. Whether together or single, each soldier could fight; each woman could sew and carry, sell things or sell sex, dig a trench or shove a cannon into place. Even so, military theorists recognized at the time that soldiers who were partnered had an easier life.⁴³ This may have been why the roll recording Bernhard

40 Peter Hagendorf, ed. Jan Peters, *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Eine Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 94.

41 David Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckerhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 97-98.

42 Lynn, "Comments;" quoted in Tallett, "Soldiers," 152.

43 James Turner, *Pallas Armata, Military essayes of the ancient Grecian, Roman, and modern art of war vvritten in the years 1670 and 1671* (Richard Chiswell: London, 1683), 277.

Miltirz's company from October 1621 to October 1622 noted when one of the company's Gemeinwebels, Christoff Tiel, became a widower.⁴⁴

Despite the war, non-military wages rose on paper in the seventeenth century, even during the dark economic times of the twenties.⁴⁵ But real wages in this “iron century”—wages in terms of what you could buy with the money—had been falling in Europe since the mid-1500s and by 1625 were at their lowest point in most German cities.⁴⁶ Economic historians calculate price levels by monitoring the price of wheat or rye, wine and bricks; they assert that prices moved in vast cycles beneath the ephemera of events.⁴⁷ In the twenties, prices were at the end of a great swing upwards.⁴⁸ Per capita civilian consumption of meat fell.⁴⁹

From 1619 to 1623, the years surviving muster rolls were begun, the average pay of common infantrymen rose by slightly over one-quarter gulden per year, each year (correcting for position and social status). That's fifteen Kreuzer. This gradual paper wage increase, which was probably not even perceptible to the soldiers, may have occurred because long-term soldiers were gaining experience during this time, becoming worthy of being paid more. Whatever caused it, it was not enough to make up for the rise in the cost of goods in many areas of Germany.⁵⁰ The presence of hostilities also caused regional increases in the cost of food and

44 SHStAdr 11237 10840/5 no 6.

45 Elsas, *Umriss*, 73.

46 Ulrich Pfister, “Consumer prices and wages in Germany, 1500–1850,” Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster Historisches Seminar, March 2010, 17, 22.

47 Braudel and Spooner, “Prices in Europe.”

48 Jan de Vries, “The Economic Crisis of the Seventeenth Century after Fifty Years,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 40.2 (2009), 151-194, 157.

49 Jan van Zanden, “Wages and the standard of living in Europe, 1500-1800,” *European Review of Economic History*, 3.2 (1999), 175-197, 190-191.

50 Pfister, “Consumer prices and wages,” table on 11.

supplies: during war years, the prices of grain, lard, and salt spiked in Munich.⁵¹ During the first five years of the twenties, the ability of soldiers to buy what they needed would have decreased substantially, even if they could find what they needed in places disrupted by war. However, signatures on muster rolls from the 1620s indicate that Saxon soldiers in the Saxon army were paid at least a few times a year.

Saxon wage data from the 1630s are sketchier, and none seem to have survived from the 40s. A mercenary contract from 1631 indicates nominal wages:

Rank	Pay (equivalent in gulden/month)	% change from 1620s
Captain	255	-29
Lieutenant	67.5	+35
Fähndrich	52.5	-25
Feldwebel	27	-25
Musterschreiber	16.5	-17.5
Führer	16.5	-31
Fourier	16.5	-31
Feldscher	15	-37.5
Gemeinwebel	15	-25
Drummer	10.5	-12.5
Piper	10.5	-12.5

Table 7.5: Infantry Officers' Pay, 1631⁵²

There has been some shuffling around in the relative positions of company-level officers; the Musterschreiber has moved up in the *prima plana*, while the lieutenant is now the second-highest ranking person in the company, a position lieutenants will occupy from then until the present. Except for lieutenants, officers' pay has fallen substantially by 1631 from their position in the

51 Elsas, *Umriss*, 52-53.

52 SHStAdr 11237 10798/4. Wages given in thalers; one thaler is 1.5 gulden.

1620s. For the majority of common soldiers, most ordinary pikemen and musketeers, wages did not fall: according to this contract, squad leaders were supposed to make the equivalent of 10.5 gulden a month, pikemen 9 gulden/month, and musketeers 7.5.⁵³ But in this contract there is no recorded difference between regular infantrymen and others, which may mean that pay fell precipitously for experienced or otherwise elite soldiers.

Pay seems to have remained constant into the 30s for common horsemen, although not cavalry officers. On the 24th November 1632, the contract for Franz Albrecht von Sachsen's regiment of arquebusiers specified the following rates of pay:

Rank	Pay (equivalent in gulden/month)	% change from 1624
Rittmeister	255	+70
Lieutenant	75	-50 or -17
Cornet	60	--
Fourier	15	-50
Corporal	18	-60 or -70
Musterschreiber	15	-66
Feldscher	15	--
Fahnenschmied	15	--
Saddler	15	--
Trumpeter	15	--

Table 7.6: Cavalry Officers' Pay, Franz Albrecht von Sachsen's Regiment, 1632⁵⁴

Most of the officers on this list saw deep cuts in pay. The major exception is the rittmeister, who was finally making something comparable to an infantry captain's pay, lending credence to my hypothesis that pay for the higher officers in the Saxon Hoffahne was intended as a bonus to

53 SHStAdr 11237 10798/4. Wages given in thalers; one thaler is 1.5 gulden.

54 SHStAdr 11237 10798/4 52r-54r. Wages given in thalers; one thaler is 1.5 gulden.

someone with an existing means of support. On the other hand, common arquebusiers were still supposed to receive the equivalent of 15 gulden a month per horse.

There are some caveats here: the Hoffahne was an elite organization, so it is possible that its numbers are unusual; the data from Albrecht von Sachsen's regiment may be closer to usual cavalry pay. In addition, my sources for cavalry pay refer to arquebusiers specifically. I have found no pay data for cuirassiers.

At first glance, the limited data for cavalry and infantry for the 1630s does not seem to demonstrate that bad a situation: officers' wages fell sharply or fluctuated and very highly paid soldiers are no longer attested at all, but for most common soldiers pay either remained constant from the 20s or rose slightly. But during the war real wages for civilians rose by 40 percent.⁵⁵ If soldiers' official wages remained static or fell while everyone else's wages went up, military service would have been a much less attractive option for a potential soldier, if it had not given him the opportunity to loot or steal. The 1630s also saw a subsistence crisis in Germany as well as repeated outbreaks of plague, which would have made living on their pay even harder for soldiers.⁵⁶

The only pay documents from the 1630s that survive are contracts. They specify what soldiers should receive in theory, as opposed to pay records, which recorded what each soldier actually received. They do not preserve the results of haggling, or of a paymaster's opinion of a prospective soldier's level of experience. Most records from the 30s and 40s do not even label soldiers by weapon—I do not know when Saxony stopped fielding halberdiers, or the even more archaic sword-and-buckler men. The social distinctions in the infantry among different weapons,

55 Pfister, "Consumer prices and wages," 23.

56 *Ibid.*, 10.

different roles, and different individuals; the constant negotiations over money and social status, visible only as traces in documents from the 20s, now disappear entirely. They may have collapsed. The Saxon army of the 1630s and 40s may have been a more egalitarian institution than the army of the 1620s. But surviving rolls from these decades are more disorganized in general, more casually-written: it is also possible that the countless little gradations among the soldiers, by the end of thirty years of war, were simply too much trouble to write down. By the 1640s, the financial situation in Saxony had completely fallen apart, and soldiers supported themselves directly off the land. It's hard to imagine the Electoral treasuries in the 40s being able to spare the kind of money demanded by some elite pikemen back in the 20s. If what was written down in contracts really was what the common soldiers made, the real losers as the war dragged on were the elite pikemen and halberdiers, the erstwhile aristocracy of the infantry battalion. But without records of real pay, this remains conjecture.

We can now compare pay in the Mansfeld Regiment to that of soldiers in Saxon units during the twenties. Although few financial records for this regiment remain in the Dresden Hauptstaatsarchiv, several mentions of pay survive for both infantry and cavalry.

The Mansfeld Regiment's cavalry made the same as the cavalry in all other records: 15 gulden a horse.⁵⁷ But the amount von Mansfeld gave his cavalymen to support themselves on the way to Milan before they were mustered in was less generous. On 17 September, 1625, Mansfeld wrote in a letter to the Duke of Feria that he was giving his cavalymen four batzen a day to maintain them. But despite his remarks that he had "employed great expense" and "done

57 10024 9235/6, 90r.

more than obligation carried,” this works out only to 8 gulden a month.⁵⁸ If it cost 4 gulden and 12 groschen a month to buy fodder for a single horse in Dresden, then depending on the price of oats in Lombardy and Piedmont, these cavalrymen would probably have found it difficult to impossible to obtain food for themselves and their mounts on their delivery money alone.

Not surprisingly, I have gleaned some of the information about infantry pay in the Mansfeld Regiment from a dispute over pay. On the night of 7 July 1626, Georg Schmaliner and Lucas Paz came at the head of some other “lads” (*pursche*) to the quarters which their Führer shared with at least two other officers, and they called the Führer outside to face the crowd. The recruiting agent (*Impresarius*) who had signed them up, they said, “had said that they would be given 13 Sold a day,” three soldi more than the 2 batzen/day that they said was the usual rate, “but they are now receiving only 10, and would therefore like to know where the other 3 Sold went and why it should not be coming to them.” This was apparently part of a wider pay dispute in this company: “Herr Führer, because the corporals and squad leaders are now asking for what's theirs, it's no more than equitable that we also further what's ours,” Paz said in front of the assembled crowd, who roared in unison.⁵⁹ The military subculture may have been a moral community, but it was also fissured with conflict: although these soldiers didn't think of themselves as a separate “class” as opposed to their officers, they were fully willing to fight against them for their interests if they had to.

The money Schmaliner and Paz thought was the going rate, which is also what they ended up receiving, works out to 4 gulden a month. Far from being usual, that's half of what most pikemen up in Saxony made. The money they had been promised was scarcely better: 5 and

58 SHStAdr 10024 9737/13, 24. Rough draft of letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to the Duke of Feria, 17 Sept 1625.

59 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 30-35.

four-fifths gulden a month, 3 batzen less than the lowest amount recorded for common musketeers in Saxony. It was for these wages that Schmaliner and Paz agitated, and for these wages they were quickly condemned to death. Paz was pardoned, Schmaliner was hanged.⁶⁰ But while the regiment's authorities presented an iron front in public, Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt was livid when he wrote to Gonzalo de Córdoba a year later in September 1627, attempting to obtain funds that were still owed to the Mansfeld Regiment months after it had crumbled apart in mid-July of that year. It turns out that the recruiting agent had not knowingly lied to Paz and Schmaliner at all: the extra three soldi per soldier per day had been promised to the Mansfeld Regiment's authorities by the governor of Milan himself. This money, wrote Vizthumb von Eckstedt, "which the Duke of Feria ordained to give daily on top of each ration, over and above the other support, and not to have it charged, he promised with princely words, but now such princely words and promises about the set-down and aforementioned 3 soldi have been entirely annulled." The total amount that Feria's successor Córdoba owed the regiment for this came to 31,753 scudi.⁶¹ There is no record of the Milanese administration paying the Mansfeld Regiment's officers this or any of the other money it owed them.

Neither Georg Schmaliner nor Lucas Paz shows up on any surviving Saxon muster rolls. Whether or not the Mansfeld Regiment's *Impresarius* had offered them a package comparable to what mercenaries were getting in Saxony, they may not have been experienced enough to tell. On the other hand, although infantrymen's wages in this regiment were low, at the time this dispute took place food was issued to the soldiers. Food plus pay probably worked out to decent

60 Loc. Cit.

61 "Die durey solt, welche der *Duca de feria* aff iewdem *Racion*, Vber den andern *socors*, deglige Zu geben *ordiniret*, Vndt solche nicht *Cargiren* zu laßen, mitt furstl. worten zugesagett, itzo aber solche furstl. wort Vndtt zusage an dan gesetzt Vndt gedacht 3 Solt gentzligen abgeZagen worden, beluffen sich Aff - - 31753." SHStAdr 10024 9239/5, 63v.

support, at least for a single soldier—if it took about six gulden a month for one soldier to feed himself, issuing food to him plus four gulden cash works out to the equivalent of about ten gulden a month. Yet this is already less than many Saxon infantrymen got in Saxony. When they did not receive food, the Mansfeld Regiment’s infantrymen got only 15 soldi a day, or 6 gulden a month.⁶² This was enough for a single soldier to support himself, no more.

It is difficult to see how some Mansfelders survived. But many of their economic activities would not have been recorded. We refer to irregular, partially legitimate, or illegitimate work as “shadow economies.”⁶³ In eighteenth-century Dresden, the ambiguity of tobacco’s legal status led to conflicts between semi-legitimate peddlers and members of the food purveyors’ guild over who could sell it; in Leipzig, female traders sold goods they had not made, which was illegal.⁶⁴ (Some of the soldiers in this book, or their descendants, probably met these people—or were these people; former soldiers or invalids often sold tobacco.⁶⁵) Soldiers worked informally too—some of the Mansfelders sold their weapons when the regiment collapsed; armies were nodes of circulation for used weapons and fabric. Eighteenth-century soldiers with craft skills worked for their own or the company’s benefit; captains saved money on uniforms by getting a tailor in the company to make or alter them. Guard duty was an especially good opportunity to

62 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 61r.

63 Scholarly interest in shadow economies and irregular work dates from the 1960s and 1970s when anthropologists and sociologists began to study the topic. Economists began to pay attention to this only later, and the use of the concept in by historians is later still. Thomas Buchner and Philip R. Hoffman-Rehntz, “Irregular Economic Practices as a Topic of Modern (Urban) History—Problems and Possibilities,” idem eds., *Shadow Economies and Irregular Work in Urban Europe: 16th to Early 20th Centuries* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2011), 10; Beverly Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures: The Material World Remade, c. 1500-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), Chap.4: “Smuggling, Wrecking, and Scavenging; Or, the Informal Pathways to Consumption.”

64 Christian Hochmuth, “What Is Tobacco? Illicit Trade with Overseas Commodities in Early Modern Dresden,” in Buchner and Hoffmann-Rehntz, *Shadow Economies*. Susanne Schöltz, “Female Traders and Practices of Illicit Exchange. Observations on Leipzig’s Retail Trade between the Sixteenth and Nineteenth Century,” in *Ibid.*

65 Hochmuth, “What Is Tobacco?” 114.

work at your side job.⁶⁶ It's also possible that for some of the people in seventeenth-century rolls who were recorded leaving their companies and then coming back, soldiering was a part-time job. When Peter Hagendorf was between enlistments in northern Italy he and a friend of his worked for a luthier for a while.⁶⁷

In the non-military world, irregular work was disproportionately performed by women. It still is.⁶⁸ This was also the case in military society. They bought and sold goods to civilians and soldiers, hawked food and alcohol, sold sex for money. Most centrally to historian John Lynn, they sold or recirculated plundered goods, an essential part of what he called “the pillage economy.”⁶⁹ The people who hired mercenaries disapproved: the phrase William of Orange used for soldiers' families was “useless followers,” *onnutte naeloop*.⁷⁰ In March 1574 a Dutch captain wrote his superior that his men were unhappy because their families were no longer supposed to accompany them on the march; instead, they were to be “dispersed over villages and make themselves useful by spinning.” The order came from Orange himself.⁷¹ He did not understand how a company functioned. Just as irregular and regular work complemented and interpenetrated each other in the civilian world, licit, semi-licit, or illicit womens' work helped keep even the best-disciplined companies fed.

66 Jutta Nowosadtko, “Soldiers as Day-Labourers, Tinkers, and Competitors. Trade Activities in the Garrisons of the Eighteenth Century Using the Example of Prince-Bishopric Münster,” in Buchner and Hoffmann-Rehnitz, *Shadow Economies*.

67 Hagendorf, *Söldnerleben*, 38.

68 Buchner and Hoffmann-Rehnitz, “Irregular Economic Practices,” 22.

69 John Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), Chap. 3.

70 Erik Swart, “From “Landsknecht” to “Soldier”: The Low German Foot Soldiers of the Low Countries in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century,” *IRSH* 51 (2006), 89.

71 Swart, “From “Landsknecht” to “Soldier,”” 91.

Networks of credit spanned companies. Michael Hevel and the unnamed deserting Fourier were both in debt to their own servants. Some of the people in Winckelmann's company who gave fabric to other soldiers did so as payback for debts. Officers were creditors for their men. One document from 1681, on the eve of the development of a standing army in Saxony, recorded the debts owed to a regiment's Oberst-Lieutenant: more than 200 thalers for equipment (*Mundierung*), accrued over about ten years.⁷² When soldiers in the Mansfeld Regiment owed each other money, they testified before Mattheus Steiner while he wrote the amounts down. The accounts in the regiment's legal book are copies; the originals were probably carried by the soldiers involved.⁷³ If they had been civilians this might never have been written down: record-keeping on paper was important for a society in which one party to the transaction might leave or die at any time. This happened a few times in the Mansfeld Regiment. The common soldier Franz Beer owed Friedrich Zeckel, also a common soldier, 18 thalers for his medical bills, "a cure for his thigh." He had also borrowed 32 thalers from Zeckel on a different occasion, for a total of 50. Then Beer died. Twenty thalers were found on him, from which two were given to a soldier named Samuel Aschenbacher, to whom Beer was also in debt. The remaining 18 went to Zeckel, but the challenge was finding 32 more thalers to cover Beer's entire debt. Zeckel ended up getting a promise from his company's officers that they would eventually pay it back. In this case, the written document from the regimental secretary was a receipt for Zeckel as well as written assurance from the officers involved. The members of Beer's and Zeckel's company had

72 SHStAdr 11241 000001, see Oberst-Lieutenant Gateschi's company in the Life Regiment of Foot, Jan 1681.

73 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 203-207, legal tickets of Hans Munderler and Hans Großman; Michael Schreiber and Feldwebel Heinrich Rabenau.

worked out a sort of insurance—*versicherung* was in fact the word they used—for loans among themselves.⁷⁴

Like their relationship to food, soldiers' relationship to money was one of chronic dearth punctuated every now and then with sudden windfalls, pay or the jackpots of booty, theft, and plunder. Similarly, they spent most of their lives in a long walking semi-idleness, interrupted by brief moments of desperate effort or under the press of terror. In the early seventeenth century the "disciplining of time" had not yet separated work from leisure and confined each to demarcated hours, either for workers or for soldiers.⁷⁵ Boom and bust, starvation and glut, boredom and effort: this was not a way of life that encouraged the People to plan ahead, to save money, or to eat and drink sparingly.

One way for soldiers to try to secure their livelihoods when food and pay were unsure was mutiny. Soldiers' willingness to mutiny in this period has been well known since a pioneering essay on the topic by Geoffrey Parker. They were a form of workplace protest.⁷⁶ As one historian pointed out, the sixteenth-century Landsknechts regarded their service as a free choice, for which they expected payment; if they were not paid punctually, they threatened to simply leave.⁷⁷ Like food riots, the other great example of early modern economic negotiation, military protests rested not only on a view of the world in which social relationships had to be

74 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 201-203.

75 Thomas, "Work and Leisure;" EP Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present*, 38 (1967), 56-97.

76 Geoffrey Parker, "Mutiny and Discontent in the Spanish Army of Flanders," *Past and Present*, 58 (1973), 38-52; Julius R Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 55.

77 Reinhard Baumann, "Protest und Verweigerung in der Zeit der klassischen Söldnerheere," in Ulrich Bröckling und Michael Sikora, eds., *Armeen und ihre Deserteure. Vernachlässigte Kapitel einer Militärgeschichte der Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1998), 16-49.

“fair,” but on the recognition that this fairness required active defense.⁷⁸ The best-explored early modern mutinies in English-language sources are probably the ones carried out in the Spanish Army of Flanders. Once these soldiers resolved to mutiny they elected their own leaders, swore to obey them, and submitted their grievances to the military authorities. The matter was then settled by negotiation. In contrast to the opinion that military justice in this period was harsh and arbitrary, the mutineers' demands—arrears of pay—were usually met.⁷⁹ This also happened when units in Hungary threatened to mutiny.⁸⁰ What mutineers wanted was no more than their due as they saw it, but it had to be wrested away from others. In this way they protected their material interests and affirmed themselves as people who deserved respect.⁸¹ Like the anonymous letter-writer, these people were fighting for what was owed them, looking at others with their fists.

There was at least one big mutiny in the Mansfeld Regiment before the final collapse, the one in the Moser Company that began soon after the regiment was mustered in, on 11 January 1626. It was catalyzed when Moser's soldiers were supposed to receive meat as part of their food allotment but got sausage instead. When Captain Moser's Feldwebel Heinrich Deckert came to the company with the food that he was supposed to distribute, “Hans Gebler asked, where is the meat...the Feldwebel answered, there was no meat, but sausage in its place, at which Gebler said again, people promise a lot but hold to it little [*mann sagte viel zu, hielt aber*

78 EP Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,” *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), 76-136.

79 Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2004, Chap. 8. For officers' mutinies, see Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser*, 445.

80 Zoltán Péter Bagi, “The Life of Soldiers during the Long Turkish War (1593–1606),” in *The Hungarian Historical Review* 4.2 (2015), 384-417, 394.

81 Parker, *The Army of Flanders*, 170.

wenigk].” At this, the captain sent out Lieutenant Simon Löhr “to ask them whether they wanted to go on or not. They answered no, they did not want to go on, but to have money.”⁸² This was a serious protest: when the mutinying soldiers told Löhr they didn’t want to go on, Feldwebel Deckert turned away “and was going to go back to the captain, but there was a shot behind him, so that the smoke blew out around him, but he doesn’t know who did it.”⁸³ The person who did it was musketeer Hans Albrecht, who also attacked a transport boat with a pike. After his Gemeinwebel took his musket from him, he ripped his bandolier off and dashed it against the stones.⁸⁴ Whether Albrecht had intended to kill Deckert or not, the threat was plain. But the rest of the mutineers never lost sight of their demands, which from their point of view were limited and reasonable. They had been mustered in back in November and they wanted a month’s pay, like they had been promised. Löhr listened to their demands and told them “You should be taken care of,” and called them his “brothers.” When he said that it looked like they “did not want to follow their flag,” “they answered they wanted money.” “What money?” blurted Löhr.⁸⁵

After Captain Moser spoke to the soldiers himself and realized there was nothing he could do to make them go on, he spent the mutiny in the pub called The Angel, losing his nerve. The other officers told him “they had 400 men to order, and if they did not want to go on they’d bring them on, and also they wanted him to send this in writing at once to the Oberst Lieutenant and also to the Duke of Feria and Signore Castelan at once.”⁸⁶ Despite Moser’s alarm, the mutiny eventually fizzled out. Although the exact terms the mutineers got aren’t recorded, the

82 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 91.

83 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 92.

84 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 97.

85 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 92.

86 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 96.

Mansfeld Regiment wasn't mustered in for pay until the better part of a year later. Yet only Hans Albrecht, the man who had attacked a boat and fired on his officer, was executed, on February 24.⁸⁷ The rest of the mutineers were not prosecuted, not even Hans Gebler, who had begun the thing: as long as you didn't cross certain lines, soldiers appeared to have had a great deal of leeway in their actions. The members of the Moser Company had made their grievances known, and they had not been punished for it. Not only were experienced soldiers too valuable to treat harshly without cause, contemporary observers recognized that unpaid soldiers could be expected to protest.

Desertion was another way for soldiers to navigate military life to get the best possible outcome for themselves out of it. This was ubiquitous and it could destroy entire regiments. Manuals even warned against letting a regiment remain idle too long before taking it into the field, since everyone in it would leave. Some desertion was due to economic dissatisfaction; soldiers were more likely to desert when they were not paid or fed, and frequently deserted from one company to enroll in another for the enlistment bonus. Like the wave of desertion when the Mansfeld Regiment thought it would be sent to Spain, soldiers left for any number of reasons. But they did not do so randomly or meaninglessly: desertion was a rational response to lack of food, lack of quarters, poor supplies, or being forced into service. Soldiers, even officers like the anonymous Fourier this chapter begins with, believed they were entitled to desert if they wanted to. Sometimes they came back, but since the word used was *Außreisen* or *Entloffen* (to run away or stray away) rather than the later *Desertion*, muster roll entries were often unclear about the difference between deserters and people who just took a break for a while. Much of the time their companies knew where they had gone. One cuirassier roll from the 1630s lists troopers—still on

87 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 97-98.

the roll, not recorded as absent—spread out around Saxony and Bohemia as far as Zeitz in one direction and Cheb and Plzen in the other.⁸⁸ Sometimes the difference between temporary and permanent absence blurred for reasons beyond a soldier’s control: in 1635 Jobst Steinnetze from Hermannsacker, infantryman in HE Koenig’s company, “wanted to go home but never got there, whether he had fallen into the hands of the enemy or was slain by peasants, nobody knows.”⁸⁹ The other members of the company were close enough to his hometown and familiar enough with the people in it that they asked around about him. They were also less afraid of their enemies, who would have simply taken Steinnetze prisoner or enrolled him in their army, than they were of peasants, who would probably have killed him. (The word the roll uses for “slain” is *erschlagen*, literally “bludgeoned to death.”)

In his list of deserters from the Mansfeld Regiment, Mattheus Steiner wrote that if any of them came back he would have them hanged from a withered tree, to show their dishonor to all like they had displayed their dishonor when they left. Since they weren’t around, he nailed a piece of paper with their names on it to a withered tree instead.⁹⁰ Steiner probably knew this was exaggerated when he wrote it, a florid overcompensation for the lack of power he had in real life to control his regiment’s unruly people. In reality, from what I can tell from notations in muster rolls, only a few deserters were hanged. Although we probably can’t track early seventeenth-century desertion rates systematically, they were almost certainly higher than they were in the eighteenth century. That century was called “the century of the deserter” not because of desertion rates, but because desertion became a topic for discussion then, a problem that might

88 SHStADr 11237 10841/2 2.

89 SHStADr 11237 10841/3 3. Jobst Steinnetze, new soldier, recruited in Stolberg in 1635: “nach hause gehen Wollen, aber nichtt dahin kommen, ob er in Feindes haende kommen oder Von bauern erschlagen sey, Weiss niemandt.”

90 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 239.

be solved, which it wasn't yet when the Mansfeld Regiment was in operation.⁹¹

Seventeenth-century military authorities took desertion for granted as one of the things a commander just had to deal with, like bad weather. But despite the differences between the seventeenth century and the eighteenth, one eighteenth-century historian's observation also holds true for the seventeenth century: soldiers left when they thought they could get away with it. Desertion rates in eighteenth-century Austria dropped when military authorities began offering rewards to civilians to turn deserters in. Moreover, despite the prevailing view that eighteenth-century military discipline was overly cruel, most deserters were pardoned when they came back. Likewise, absent soldiers in seventeenth-century muster rolls who came back were received without comment. Deserters were also amenable to persuasion: one cuirassier roll contained a request to the Elector to issue patents to the officers to force absent troopers to come back, implying not only that casual absence was common but also that these soldiers respected military social norms enough that this measure might work. This company's horsemen not only had no armor but were "mostly terribly clothed" (*meistentheils Vbel bekleidet*), which may have been one of the reasons why so many had left.⁹²

Soldiers also turned to other ways of scraping together enough money to live. Although they were often unpaid, another way they received money from their lords was being offered the opportunity to make money through plunder. This was legally distinct from looting, which soldiers did anyway: sacking a city that had been taken by storm or plundering the dead on the field of a battle that you won was legitimate according to the military customs of the time. Like many early-modern military beliefs, the belief that war was a legitimate means of acquiring

91 Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), Chap. 2.

92 SHStADr 11237 10841/2 3.

property had classical roots, dating back to the *Iliad*. This belief was so taken for granted during the Middle Ages that most medieval legal analyses of war, such as Isidore of Seville's, were conducted as exercises in property law.⁹³ While this referred to the attempts of sovereigns to pursue their property claims by going to war, the right of common soldiers to claim booty was also well-established.⁹⁴ Plundering the dead was a common practice during early modern warfare. The arranged combat between Grobbendonck and Briaute during the siege of Breda could have come straight out of a romance—the challenge, the acceptance, the young man who wanted to avenge his father's death. Until Briaute fell dead off his horse and a Spanish trumpeter stripped his body.⁹⁵ Considering how often soldiers went unpaid, the opportunity to get booty represented a bigger financial incentive to stay in an army than the wages, depending on how often a soldier engaged in combat.

Another way soldiers got booty from war was the solidly medieval practice of taking prisoners for ransom.⁹⁶ During the late Middle Ages, ransoming prisoners was widespread for common soldiers as well as members of the elite.⁹⁷ Like single combat, ransom-taking was also part of seventeenth-century warfare. Probably because they were more mobile, taking prisoners is notable in writings by or about cavalrymen, like Augustin von Fritsch. He listed the results of his victory outside the walls of Stade in 1632 in detail: he and his friends returned to the city

93 James Whitman, *The Verdict of Battle: The Law of Victory and the Making of Modern War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 105-112.

94 Whitman, *Verdict of Battle*, 112.

95 Herman Hugo, *The Siege of Breda by the Armes of Philip*, 1627, in *English Recusant Literature 1558-1640*, vol. 261, ed. DM Rogers, (London: The Scolar Press Ltd., nd), 46.

96 Frank Tallett, "Soldiers in Western Europe, c. 1500-1790," Erik-Jan Zürcher, ed., *Fighting for a Living: A Comparative Study of Military Labour 1500-2000* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 151.

97 Rémy Ambüh, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

“with good plunder, and with great rejoicing,” “with over a hundred saddled horses, also over 70 prisoners, including two Rittmeisters, 2 Lieutenants, and a Cornet.”⁹⁸ He itemized some of the prisoners because high-ranking prisoners not only increased the victors’ renown but they were ransomed on a sliding scale by rank—in addition, of course, to the valuable horses, saddles, and tack. By attempting to forbid von Fritsch and his fellow lieutenants from engaging in single combat or taking prisoners, Camargo was not only demanding a level of obedience he had no right to expect from self-respecting officers, he was also cutting into their ability to support themselves.

In the long run the Mansfeld Regiment’s lack of funding was an insupportable burden. While the war they had come to Lombardy to fight continued, the regimental authorities could put off the day of reckoning. Enough money was coming in to feed the soldiers, although less than they needed, and even to pay them sometimes. But once this little conflict ended in March 1626, Mansfeld and his officers did not have enough money to dismiss them: according to the customs of war, soldiers’ back pay had to be settled in full upon dismissal. They lingered in-country for more than a year. In the summer of 1627, the Mansfeld Regiment collapsed.

98 “wür yber hundert gesattelte Pferd, auch yber 70. gefangene, darunter zwey Rittmaister, 2 Leutenant, vnnd ein Corneth gewesen sein, alßdann mit gueter Beutt, vnnd grossen Frolockhen, in die Statt gekehrt...” Augustin von Fritsch, ed Hans J Rudnik, *Tagebuch des Augustin von Fritsch: Taten und Schicksal im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Obrist und Kommandant von Parkstein und der Stadt Weiden* (Forum Verlag, 2012), 123.

Chapter 8: And To My Son the Breaking Wheel The Mansfeld Regiment Falls Apart

On February second 1627, Lieutenant Wolf Heinrich von Dransdorf, along with his friends Führer Hans Reinhardt Kochstetter and Fourier Barthel Golzer, went to take a walk for pleasure. Feldwebel Georg Lauren followed behind. These were all officers in the company of August Vizthumb von Eckstadt, Dam's younger brother.

“Now the Lieutenant had on him that day no more than one ducat, and thus no more than I,” Golzer said later, “and he wondered to me where he could get some clothing. I had brought a fine penny out of my own country” —Golzer was from Arnswald in Pomerania, now Choszczno— “and I just can't give him anything from it [if] I [wanted to] be able to cover my own body” (*kan doch nichts er übergenn daruon ich wie etwz an leib schaffen köntte*).¹ By early 1627 things were now so bad that these officers were carefully budgeting their pennies for new clothing. They were probably crawling with lice: clotting in their long hair, skittering through their threadbare rags. The skulls of seventeenth-century soldiers in multiple mass graves still bear traces of inflammation caused by an unusually large number of lice. The immune reaction ate into the bone.² Working their fingers under damp tattered clothing, bundled against the gray Milan winter, von Dransdorf, Kochstetter, and Golzer would have scratched their grimy skin with grimy nails until they bled.

1 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 162.

2 Bettina Jungklaus and B Prehn, “Ein Soldatenmassengrab vom Friedländer Tor in Neubrandenburg aus dem Jahre 1631 und dessen anthropologische Untersuchung,” in *Heimatgeschichtliches Jahrbuch des Regionalmuseums Neubrandenburg 35* (Neubrandenburg: Regionalmuseum Neubrandenburg, 2011), 10-33; Markus Plum, “Archäologische Zeugnisse des Dreißigjährigen Krieges in Bayern: Die Erstürmung von Höchststadt an der Aisch 1633 und die Schlacht bei Nördlingen 1634,” academia.edu 2011, https://www.academia.edu/1235094/Archäologische_Zeugnisse_des_Dreißigjährigen_Krieges_in_Bayern_Die_Erstürmung_von_Höchststadt_an_der_Aisch_1633_und_die_Schlacht_bei_Nördlingen_1634 accessed 4 April 2018.

Up came the Feldwebel behind them. “Oh, the Lieutenant’s a big noble,” he sneered: “*O der Leutnantt ist izundt hierinnen ein großer vonn Adel*. But if he had no lord, there’s no other way he could help himself than by going from one fair to another with his wife and cutting purses.” Lauren continued: he knew that Lieutenant von Dransdorf’s wife’s first man had been hanged. She was pregnant at the time. And as they led this man to the gallows hill [*richtstadt*], he turned to her and said: if you have a daughter, I want to bequeath her the rod of correction with which the hangman should beat her back; if you have a son I’d leave him the breaking wheel.³ Three weeks later, she was whipped out of that city by the hangman, Lauren said: *ausgestäupet und gestrichen*, the same fate that her man allegedly wanted to leave their unborn child.⁴

Wolf Heinrich von Dransdorf was a noble: his family provided officers to the Saxon army for generations. Christof von Dransdorf oversaw a collection of Imperialist prisoners, probably Lützen veterans, in Leipzig in 1633.⁵ August Adolf von Dransdorf was the Fähndrich of the fortress of Pleißenburg just outside Leipzig when he headed a fireworks show in honor of Elector Johann Georg II on July 8 1667.⁶ But the implication here is that Wolf Heinrich’s wife was a criminal, like her first partner had been. Like Wolf Heinrich himself could become, said Lauren, if he had no lord.

3 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 162, 168.

4 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 163.

5 SHStADr 11237 108351-1 *Extract der in Leipzig zuruckgebliebenen und verwunderten Offiziere und Knechte von der Kaiserl. Armee 1633*.

6 August Adolf von Drandorff, *Augenschein und Positur Derer Feuer-Wercks Stücken/ Welche Der ... Churfürst zu Sachsen Hertzog Johann Georg der Andere in Gegenwart ... Hertzogen Augusti zu Sachßen ... Hertzogen Maurittii zu Sachßen ... Hertzogen Johann Adolphen/ zu Holstein ... jenseit der Pleiße bey der Vestung Pleißenburgk den 8. Julii Anno 1667. ... angeordnet An statt Einer Feuerwercks-Probe...abgeleget und geborsamst verrichted worden durch Augustum Adolphum von Drandorff/ der Zeit bestalten Fähndrich bey der Vestung Pleißenburgk von Leipzigk*. Digitized by the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 2008. <http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-34726>, accessed 11 Feb 2018.

The close connection between Wolf Heinrich von Dransdorf's wife and a criminal is probably not the primary reason Georg Lauren's remarks were insulting. Veneration of the praiseworthy Imperial German War Law coincided more or less easily with criminal acts, whether in the same company or the same person—at different moments, at the same moment. Or the perpetrators just didn't think they'd get caught. Nor by now should it be surprising that an officer's future wife was involved; she had probably done less than Wolfgang Winckelmann or Theodoro de Camargo. The insulting part is probably the contact Lauren was attempting to establish between von Dransdorf's wife and non-military rituals of punishment. Halfway to the gallows—halfway up the ladder, in one witness's account of what Lauren said—her man had allegedly looked back at her and said that her future child deserved to be whipped out of the city or broken on the wheel. This was a dishonoring thing—not just punishment, but any contact with the executioner, even saying that someone should have such contact.⁷ Both von Dransdorf's wife and her man had also been dishonored when he was hanged: even if she had not been scourged out of the city later, even if her man had kept his mouth shut on the scaffold, she would have been shamed because a relative of hers had been shamed.⁸ And so, by extension, her later husband. Georg Lauren was attempting to insult Wolf Heinrich von Dransdorf through his wife: if she and her child had been dishonored, von Dransdorf would be too, when Lauren spread the story around.

Where this event took place, or what von Dransdorf's wife and her first partner had done, is not recorded. Nor was it recorded why Georg Lauren was this angry at Wolf Heinrich von Dransdorf. The person who did have a reason to be angry at him was the surgeon of

7 Kathy Stuart, *Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honor and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

8 Susanne Pohl-Zucker, *Making Manslaughter: Process, Punishment and Restitution in Württemberg and Zurich, 1376-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 98, fn 19.

Mansfeld's personal company, Michael Meder. The previous year, on Pentecost 1626, his wife and Wolf Heinrich von Dransdorf's wife had gotten into a fight: Meder's wife had been "injured in her honor" by von Dransdorf's wife. "Know that my wife is better in one finger than the lieutenant's wife is in her entire body," Meder said. Nevertheless, when the lieutenant's wife's man had been hanged, "[Meder's wife's] sister was beaten out with rods, [and] the same sister's man was broken on the wheel." Meder's brother, "who was led into it by [von Dransdorf's wife's man]," was executed with the rest. Michael Meder blamed von Dransdorf's wife's first partner for his brother's loss and his brother-in-law's torturous death, as well as the dishonor of multiple family members; his wife blamed von Dransdorf's wife.⁹

Everyone involved was knit together by murky ties of blood, marriage/partnership, and friendship. Michael Meder and Georg Lauren were probably related, or at least close; they addressed each other as "gaffer," *Gevatter*.¹⁰ Von Dransdorf's wife was probably also close to Meder's wife and her sister, if not liked by them. Von Dransdorf's wife's earlier partner was Meder's brother's partner in crime, and possibly also a relative. And when Michael Meder's wife and Wolf Heinrich von Dransdorf's wife began brawling in Georg Lauren's quarters, Meder "became enraged and called the Lieutenant's wife a tremendous whore...at which [Georg Lauren] answered, should my Lieutenant have a wife like that?"¹¹ Like honor and dishonor, blame traveled from relative to relative, whether by marriage/partnership or blood, and from friend to friend. Together, Michael Meder and Georg Lauren had planned to get revenge not only on von Dransdorf's wife and her child, but on von Dransdorf for being married to her. As Lauren said: "Now my heart is healthy, since if I have taken one I also get the other:" when they dishonored

9 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 168-170.

10 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 168.

11 Loc. cit.

von Dransdorf's wife, they also dishonored him.¹² Soldiers may have been bad at explicit lying, but the Mansfeld Regiment was crawling with issues that were hidden, implicit, and unspoken. Knowingly or not, Wolf Heinrich von Dransdorf had married into this thicket of old associations when he married into the regiment.

Meder and Lauren spread slander around their companies together. ("The Feldscher asked me another time," reported Lauren, "saying: Gevatter Feldwebel, didn't you know that I wanted to say more to you, can you stay quiet about it when you get drunk? At which I said, when it doesn't touch me I can well be silent."¹³) When you look for von Dransdorf you'll find the horn, they said. Lauren sent Meder a note by two musketeers, recounting what had happened on the gallows hill that day, but Meder "could not read, much less write." He gave it to the Gefreiter-Corporal to read it to him.¹⁴ The musketeers overheard him say in the doorway that Lieutenant von Dransdorf's wife was a whore and should have accompanied her previous man to the gallows.¹⁵ Eventually von Dransdorf took it to court. Georg Lauren was forced to swear that his words had only been "lightminded talk" and that he had slandered von Dransdorf, and to beg the latter for Christian forgiveness.¹⁶ Whether anyone had or had not been a criminal, or might start cutting purses in the future, was less important to Mattheus Steiner and his colleagues than the maintenance of good relations among the Mansfeld Regiment's squabbling officers.

This confusing, sordid little episode is significant for several reasons. These events largely took place in February and March 1627, but the case was only decided in June. By 1627

12 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 175.

13 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 169.

14 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 173.

15 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 175-176.

16 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, 180-181.

legal cases were progressing through the regimental system more slowly: the regimental officers and staff were overwhelmed. Probably for the same reason Wolf Heinrich von Dransdorf and Barthel Golzer hadn't had enough money to buy new clothes in the first place—the regiment had been entirely without external funding for a long time.

While the Mansfeld Regiment sat near Milan and Alessandria, the army to which it was attached had done well: in the spring of 1625 a Spanish army successfully relieved a siege of Genoa, then Genoese and Spanish forces reconquered forts across Piedmont. In October 1625, the Spanish and the French signed a six-month truce. On the fifth of March 1626, as Savoy rearmed, the two great powers concluded the Treaty of Monzón. This suspended the fighting between French forces and Spanish forces, as well as between the Duke of Savoy and the Republic of Genoa. (Hostilities between other political entities were also supposed to end, but Turin and Genoa continued small-scale military operations against each other.)¹⁷ Although the treaty largely restored the pre-1617 situation, it also officially recognized the Valtelline as Catholic.¹⁸ This victory was not mentioned in the Mansfeld Regiment's surviving written documents. Few of these officers' concerns were political or even strategic. They were worried about whether the regiment was going to survive or successfully disband.

To dismiss the common soldiers without a mutiny or a riot, the officers would have to pay them their arrears in full, money that nobody had.¹⁹ Mansfeld and his lieutenant colonels

17 Thomas Allison Kirk, *Genoa and the Sea: Policy and Power in an Early Modern Maritime Republic 1559-1682* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 100-102.

18 Peter Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 383.

19 Not paying the soldiers was normal for the Milanese administration, especially after 1640. Davide Maffi, *Il Baluardo della Corona: Guerra, esercito, fi nanze e società nella Lombardia seicentesca (1630-1660)* (Florence: Le Monnier Università/ Storia, 2007).

and captains avidly followed the progress that other German regiments in northern Italy made getting their troops out of the area.²⁰ “Successfully leaving” the theater of war, when a member of the Mansfeld Regiment used the phrase, did not mean getting out of a tight strategic spot; it meant a colonel managing to dismiss his troops or lead them north without incident. By the 17th of July, Wolf von Mansfeld wrote a letter saying that he was disbanding his troops and had it distributed to all his officers. He was hopeful: “Therefore we don’t feel that there is any danger, yes everyone here is confident that the dismissal in Italy should succeed.”²¹ The troops would be dismissed and paid out in Italy. (Mansfeld himself remained on his estate in Schluckenau.)

The first hint that things were not going according to plan came on the 23rd of September 1626, when Vratislav Eusebius von Pernstein wrote to Mansfeld that a courier had just come to him four days previously with orders to dismiss the troops, except nobody knew what was going on. Von Pernstein, along with Stach Löser, was one of the regiment’s lieutenant colonels of cavalry. He was the last descendant of a major Catholic Bohemian noble dynasty, which died out in the male line when he died in 1631. His grandfather had been the leader of the Hofkanzlei of Bohemia and the confidant of Rudolph II, and his father had been the director of the Imperial artillery during the Long Turkish War (1593-1606). After his mother Marie Manrique de Lara was widowed, she remarried Wolf von Mansfeld’s brother Bruno, making Wolf not only Vratislav Eusebius's colonel, but also his step-uncle.²² Von Pernstein’s cavalry was centered in Alessandria and Cremona. Although its activities are sparsely documented

20 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 49v; SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 62r.

21 “So haben wir doch nicht für Unrath befinden, da ia uber alles Verhoffen undt Zuversicht die Abdankung in Italien erfolgen sollte.” SHStADr 10024 9239/2, *Die Beiden in Italien Stehenden Regimenten des Grafen Wolfgang von Mansfeld: Schreiben Desselben an die Unterbefehlshaber, des Rechnungswerk, die Abdankung u.a.bet. 1626-28*, 2-3r. Letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to his officers, 27/17 July 1626.

22 Petr Vorel, *Páni z Pernštejna. Vzestup a pád rodu zubří hlavy v dějinách Čech a Moravy* (Prague: Rybka, 1999), 267-274.

compared to the infantry, the effects of the Mansfeld Regiment's financial problems on the common soldiers are most apparent in the cavalry's operations.

The infantry had held a mustering just before von Pernstein wrote to Mansfeld, but according to him the cavalry hadn't begun to settle their accounts yet since they did not have the money to pay off the men. They weren't interested in Milan's explanations: "What the Duke of Ferra has promised, nobody wants to know now" (*will man Itzt nichts davon wissen*). "We have nothing to console ourselves with except good poor comrades remaining on hand now" (*gute arme gesellen bei dem Itzigen handt zubleiben*) he continued in idiosyncratic German; "It's heartbreaking to see the cavalry now, and how they hoped to be, sick, tattered, miserable, the change is indescribable" [*sic*]. They were short of food. "Many of them have been forced by need to hock their pistols, cloaks, and everything they have. Winter is before the door, but the cavalymen are very poorly clothed." He'd been supporting them out of his own pocket ever since they'd had been mustered in, "for the maintenance and reputation of the regiment."²³ On the 23rd of September von Pernstein sent out a provisional order to prepare to deduct a half batzen from each cavalryman's wages per day; although he hoped it wouldn't come to that, this would stretch his funds. "Except that a battle has just taken place," he wrote, hoping for plunder. "So the account settlement should be good."²⁴

By September 30, von Pernstein learned that the regimental officials at Cremona "have not paid, and cannot, and do not know anything about payment." Stach Löser told him that everything would work out all right (*dieselbe sachen auch köcte zur richtigkeit gebracht warden*).

23 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 4v-15v.

24 "Sonderlich weiln es ein schlacht anstehen hat, das die abrechnung, gut sell warden." SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 4r-4v. Letter from Vratislav Eusebius von Pernstein to Wolf von Mansfeld, 23 Sept 1626.

Nevertheless, von Pernstein began deducting money from his cavalrymen's pay.²⁵ Von Pernstein and Löser were good friends: they spent so much time together in the fall of 1626 that their letters are written on the same paper, with the same ink. They talked about the horse that Löser had taken as plunder: Turkish breed, outfitted with a saddle and a pair of pistols, everything chased in worked silver. Horse and tack together cost 200 Thalers. "I don't want the horse," said von Pernstein; "I'll let him sell everything and hand it over."²⁶ Mansfeld wrote them about the Majolica porcelain he had ordered from in-country; it was supposed to have been shipped to his Schloss in Leipzig but it never arrived, had it been sent somewhere else by mistake?²⁷

Meanwhile, the Governor of Milan was telling Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt that he would exchange gulden for soldi at a rate of 63 soldi and 4 denarii per gulden. When the Mansfeld Regiment was first mustered in on November second 1625, the *Viador General* had promised the nascent regiment that the Milanese authorities would reckon it at 66 soldi per gulden. Per soldier per day, the cumulative difference between what was promised and what was eventually supplied worked out to 13,818 scudi, a substantial fraction of the more than 63,000 scudi Milan owed the regiment.²⁸ Swindling officers on the exchange rate between the money used where the soldiers came from and the money used in-country was one way for local authorities to make money off a unit, and one reason why some commanders thought it was

25 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 6r-9v. Letter from Vratislav Eusebius von Pernstein to Wolf von Mansfeld, 30 Sept 1626.

26 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 8v. Letter from Vratislav Eusebius von Pernstein to Wolf von Mansfeld, 7 Oct 1626.

27 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 17r. Letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to unknown recipient, undated.

28 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 63r heading #3.

worthwhile to haul the massive amounts of silver necessary to pay their troops with them rather than rely on bills of exchange.²⁹

On 14/24 October, Mansfeld wrote to Camargo from Dresden. The Elector of Saxony had written to him in secret, he said, and wanted to talk to both Cordoba and the Spanish Ambassador. However, the Swiss were making so much difficulty that Mansfeld did not believe the regiment would make it out of Italy until at least the following spring.³⁰ We'll have to winter over, he told von Pernstein, thanking him for his efforts: "I ask you to do your best again."³¹ But von Pernstein stayed with the regiment only a little while longer: in early January the great general and financier Albrecht von Wallenstein offered him a regiment of horse if he'd come up north to join him, and von Pernstein took the offer. He would have left immediately if Don Gonzales hadn't told him to remain in northern Italy to help handle the dismissal. Tactlessly, von Pernstein then wrote to Mansfeld to ask him to tell Don Gonzales to give him permission to leave the regiment. "People are speaking very strongly about this dismissal and there is no hope of [the regiment] coming back to Germany," he justified himself: "I no longer have the financial means to remain like this, the will is indeed good but the abilities are weak."³² By March he was leaving.³³

29 David Parrott, *Richelieu's Army: War, Government, and Society in France, 1624-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 245.

30 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 11r-12r. Letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to Theodoro de Camargo, 14/24 October 1626.

31 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 13r. Letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to Vratislav Eusebius von Pernstein, 16/26 Oct 1626.

32 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 48r-49v. Letter from Vratislav Eusebius von Pernstein to Wolf von Mansfeld.

33 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 16v, Letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to Theodoro de Camargo, 1 March 1627.

That fall and winter the soldiers shivered in their poor accommodations, half-starving, while the officers cast around through the people they knew for someone to bail them out.³⁴ Feelers were put out to Ambrogio Spinola's oldest son Don Philip Spinola, which went nowhere.³⁵ No matter where he and his regiment ended up, Mansfeld wanted to "remain in the service of the most praiseworthy House of Austria."³⁶ At some point, he made contact with Albrecht von Wallenstein.

For most of the regiment's stay in northern Italy, high politics took place largely in the background. Most Mansfelders probably had little conception of the wider sociopolitical context around them, or only a garbled one: when the rumor went around that everyone would be sent to Spain, it was probably because Theodoro de Camargo arrived from the Spanish Netherlands around that time. But Wolf von Mansfeld and Wallenstein had hated each other for a while.³⁷ Wallenstein was then near the height of his fame. In the summer of 1627 he was mopping up the Danish army. (Mansfeld had anticipated this: "Wallenstein's going to completely destroy" the King of Denmark and his allies, he told Camargo in October 1626.³⁸) According to Peter Wilson, Mansfeld's operations in Italy gave him a patronage base outside Wallenstein's influence.³⁹ His relationship to Saxony and the Elector of Saxony were also sources of money and relationships

34 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 15r, Vratislav Eusebius von Pernstein to Wolf von Mansfeld, 11 Nov 1626: "The seven [cavalry] companies at Cremona are very badly accommodated."

35 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 41r.

36 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 45r.

37 Golo Mann, *Wallenstein: Sein Leben Erzählt* (Frankfurt am: S Fischer Verlag, 1986), 221-222.

38 SHStADr 10024 9239/2. 11r. Letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to Theodoro de Camargo, 14/24 October 1626.

39 *Europe's Tragedy*, 398. However, Wilson appears to believe Mansfeld spent this little war in Italy, which is not correct. He spent most of the time in Schluckenau or Leipzig.

that was one step removed from Imperial networks of power. But as Mansfeld looked around for funding in early 1627, Wallenstein offered to bail him out if the Mansfeld Regiment entered Imperial service.⁴⁰ On March 10, the Emperor decided to take “the Regiment of Foot as well as two or three companies of the best cavalry.”⁴¹

Mansfeld’s instructions to Eustachius Löser for negotiations with Wallenstein are dated 10 July. They make plain the powerless position he was in and his attempts to retain some independence. “We...demonstrate before Your Noble Grace with deserved respect and obedience and ask that [you] remember our need,” Mansfeld began, ingratiatingly. (In stark contrast to the catty way he referred to Wallenstein behind his back—there, whereas Tilly “has been favored by happy success” which covers his enterprises with “immortal glory,” Wallenstein “has only responded with presumptions, mentioning which has worked to his disadvantage.”⁴²) Mansfeld wrote that Löser should try to nail Wallenstein down on when exactly they had to “shove on up to Your Grace with this People” (*Wan wir mit dieseem Volck Zu Ihr stoßen müsten*),⁴³ ask for written instructions about how the officers were to be remunerated, and ask him to send written documents to the colonels in the places where the Mansfeld Regiment was heading.⁴⁴ Nobody other than Wallenstein himself should command the regiment, none of

40 A number of the letters tracking the detente between Wallenstein and Mansfeld are in 10024 9235/6, which is mislabeled as *Rescript Von Kaiser Ferdinand II an graf Mansfelden, angleichen verschiedenen Schreiben des general Wallensteins und andern angedachten Grafen Wolfgang zu Mannsfeld 1628*. Despite the title, there are many letters from 1627 in this file as well. According to SHStADr 10024 9235/6 54 the Mansfeld switch into Imperial service was Wallenstein’s idea.

41 SHStADr 10024 9235/6, 53.

42 SHStADr 10024 9239/2. 11r-12r. Letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to Theodoro de Camargo, 14/24 October 1626.

43 The rougher draft of this point probably sounded more like Mansfeld actually talked: “da man midt den exercitu Zu Sam steßen soldt...” SHStADr 10024 9235/6 60v.

44 SHStADr 10024 9235/6, 55r-56r.

Wallenstein's people.

This set of instructions is comprised of three collections of notes, different layers of rough drafts. Each is less emotionally guarded than the previous. "I will uncover my feelings to the Oberst Lieutenant, namely that I cannot give way to the General Lieutenant and Field Marshal." Make clear to him that the Mansfeld Regiment's top officers should still be appointed by Mansfeld. Stress that Mansfeld would under no circumstances give up his Life Company of Horse.⁴⁵ Finally, in his own hand: "Remember, in order to further my high name, to be conscious of what title and authority with which I command."⁴⁶ As he faced the prospect of losing control over his regiment, Mansfeld clung more fiercely to the baroque displays of power that were his titles, his "high name," and his Life Company of Horse. (Von Pernstein was acting for similar reasons when he pumped money into the cavalry to maintain its "reputation.") This must have grated on him.

Even while Stach was negotiating, the regiment made its painful trek north. The letter from the Imperial war council to Mansfeld stating that the regiment's Imperial service shall date "from the day when they shall be paid in Italy and might be dispatched" was written on 21 May 1627.⁴⁷ So was his Imperial patent.⁴⁸ On the fifth of July the regiment was mustered out by Philip IV's war commissioner and immediately mustered into Imperial service.⁴⁹ Wallenstein wanted them to hook up with his own forces in Alsace and the Palatinate.⁵⁰ According to the

45 SHStADr 10024 9235/6, 58r-59r.

46 SHStADr 10024 9235/6, 60r.

47 SHStADr 10024 9186/2, *Akten von Wolfgang von Mansfeld, 1619-1630*, 58.

48 SHStADr 10024 9186/2, 59.

49 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 51r.

50 SHStADr 10024 9235/6, 27, letter from Albrecht von Wallenstein to Wolf von Mansfeld, 11 May 1627.

plan, the regiment's officers would pay for the passage up through Switzerland, and get reimbursed later.⁵¹ They headed north and then northeast through the Valtelline, swinging wide around Bern and other Protestant territories, traveling in little groups. Some companies and officers, including Mattheus Steiner, stayed in northern Italy. Steiner did so to finish copying the regiment's court books; he remained until at least early 1628.

On July eleventh, while the regiment was heading through the Grisons, Hans von Ponnickau's company mutinied. They were joined by Camargo's company, Arnswald's, and August Vizthumb von Eckstedt's. They ripped their flags off their poles, forced passports and money from their officers, sold or threw away their weapons, "and in summa, did all the insolence and crime that it was possible to think of."⁵² The rest ground slowly north. In Lindau, six companies almost mutinied "from the instigation of the city folk and the mob," but they were given cash so they vowed to follow the flags as long as they flew in Imperial service.⁵³ This salvaged the situation briefly, but in Memmingen and Ulm, again through the incitement of local civilians, most of the remaining companies mutinied and walked away.⁵⁴ This seems to have been as polite as a mutiny can get: Mansfeld later wrote "Our regiment that was mustered out in Italy mostly made a friendly mutiny on the way and left."⁵⁵ In August about six hundred soldiers,

51 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 51r.

52 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 51r-51v.

53 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 51v.

54 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 51v.

55 "Welcher gestalt Unser in *Italia* abgedanckten Regiment meistlich unter Wegens freundlicher Weiße *meutiniret* und ais gerißen." SHStADr 10024 9239/5, *Allerhand Schriften, das aus Italien Zurückgekehrten Regiment zu Fuß des Kais-Generals Grafen Wolfgang Mansfeld, dessen übler Zustand, aufenthalt zu Frantfurt a.m. samt u.d.a.*, 83r.

without food, without clothing, and without weapons, came to rest just outside Frankfurt am Main.⁵⁶

Much of the surviving information about what happened during the summer and fall of 1627 comes from the repeated clashes between the Mansfeld Regiment's captains and mid-level officers on one hand and local authorities in Frankfurt and the nearby Electorate of Mainz on the other. A document specifying that the remnants of the Mansfeld Regiment were supposed to be given quarter and food had been written by the Emperor and copies had been sent out ahead of the crumbling regiment to places along its potential path; not only to Frankfurt, but to Nuremberg, Cologne, and the Elector of Cologne.⁵⁷ Frankfurt promptly refused.⁵⁸ This city was still surrounded by its broad moat and great fourteenth-century curtain walls. It was beginning to build modern defensive works, thick-walled and low: construction on the northeastern Friedberger Gate bastion began in 1626 and the half-starved Mansfelders might have seen it in progress as they crossed the Main and headed around the city. But although the modernization of Frankfurt's defenses did not begin in earnest until the 30s, there was still no way for 600 exhausted and hungry soldiers to force their way in.⁵⁹

Frankfurt did not let them remain before its gates.⁶⁰ At some point before August 10 the remaining Mansfelders scattered into nearby villages. "They had to support themselves and were

56 SHStADr 10024 9239/2, 51v.

57 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 3.

58 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 5v.

59 Emil Padjera, "Die bastionäre Befestigung von Frankfurt a. M.," in *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst, Band 31*, (Frankfurt am Main: Selbstverlag des Vereines für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde, 1920). See also the Merian engraving of the city from 1628, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/ae/Frankfurt_Am_Main-Merian1628-MFHK-Komplett.jpg

60 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 26r.

almost entirely ruined and dispersed,” wrote the Mansfeld officers. “That’s a measure that’s easy to measure,” they said, that’s easy to figure out why: “without quarters and provision from the officers their companies and troops broke up because of hunger, and the officers had to start letting them go, it had become impossible to hold them together for long.”⁶¹ They concluded: “Before God and the world, we the assembled captains and officers want to be exonerated of the destruction of the Imperial Count Mansfeld Regiment, which happened because we were in no way paid off.”⁶² These officers had stayed with their People north through Switzerland and into Germany; they had thrown their own money into paying for everyone’s food and passage until they had nothing left. If they were still alive, Felix Steter and Hieronymus Sebastian Schutze were among them, their arguments now unmentioned.

Some of these officers, led by Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt and Wolfgang Winckelmann, now started lobbying the city of Frankfurt and the Elector of Mainz for food and quarters. The Electorate of Mainz was the most senior political entity in the Empire. Its Elector was the *primas Germaniae*, the Pope’s vicar north of the Alps, and arch-chancellor of the Empire.⁶³ In contrast to its formal and ritual preeminence this polity was not large, with discontinuous territories along the Main, on both sides of the Rhine, and in Thuringia. (Many Saxon soldiers came from Mainz’s Thuringian territories. Erfurt was well-represented.) As of late summer 1627, the Elector was Archbishop Georg Friedrich von Greiffenklau. His immediate

61 SHStAdr 10024 9239/5, 5v, “biß auf ein we[...]ges so noch alhier zu befinden, undt biß anhero umb das ihrigen Zehren müßen, fast ganz Zurgangen *ruiniret* und vorstrunet worden, Maßen dan leicht zu ermeßen, daß ohne Quartier und proviant den Hauptleuten ihre *Compagnien* undt Troppen, welche hungers halben sich trennen, undt die Hauptleute umb erlaßung anlangen müßen, in die lenge Zu erhalben Unmöglich gefallen.”

62 SHStAdr 10024 9239/5, 6r, they are writing “alß wollen wier hiermit die anwehsender Hauptleute undt Befehlshaver, Vor Gott Undt der Weltdt, an dieser deß Keyserl. Graff. Mansfeldisch. Regiments beschener Zerrittung, welches aber weil wier keineswegs abgedancket...”

63 This was a formal post; policy was made by the vice-chancellor, appointed by the Emperor. Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy*, 17, 350.

predecessor, Johann Schweikhard von Kronberg, had been politically moderate, favoring compromise and dialogue with moderate Protestant powers like Saxony.⁶⁴ But Schweikhard died in September 1626, as Vratislav Eusebius von Pernstein was realizing that his beloved cavalry was not going to get paid, and von Greiffenklau appears to have been somewhat less moderate. He was a stalwart supporter of the Emperor's opinions, and his influence helped shape the Edict of Restitution.⁶⁵ (Von Greiffenklau's successor Anselm von Umstadt was harsher still, so intransigently anti-Protestant that the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia had to be delayed until after his death.⁶⁶)

On 11 August the Mansfeld officers wrote to von Greiffenklau: they wanted to follow the Emperor's patent and remain "non-infamous" (*unbeschweret*), and they begged him obediently not to ignore their requests for quartering like Frankfurt had. They wanted to pull the regiment back together and lead it out against the Emperor's enemies. They had led their soldiers up through Switzerland at their own expense for ten days, they said: this part was so important to them that they kept coming back to it, even in the middle of unrelated sentences. The Emperor had signed their patent with his own hand. So they asked for help.⁶⁷

Von Greiffenklau responded on the 24th of August with a firm "no." It was true, he wrote, that their Imperial patent required those who read it to provide the regiment with food and shelter, but the documents clearly referred to "a regiment." Since the Mansfelders had dissolved their companies when they ripped their flags off the poles, they were no longer legally "a

64 Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 226, 245, 227.

65 Anton Philipp Brück, "Georg Friedrich v. Greiffenclau zu Vollrads," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Band 6 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1964), 219.

66 Idem, "Anselm Casimir," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*. Band 1 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953), 310.

67 SHStAdr 10024 9239/5, 10r-12v.

regiment” and until the regiment was reconstituted the soldiers could not stay in his territories.⁶⁸ This threaded the needle of legal pedantry with some precision—ignoring that in addition to an Imperial patent to demand supplies for the remnants of his regiment, Mansfeld also had a patent to recruit a new one. Von Greiffenklau may have been this recalcitrant because many of the Mansfeld Regiment’s officers were Protestants, to which he would have objected as a staunch Catholic. But these officers probably never had the opportunity to meet him let alone discuss their beliefs: von Greiffenklau had written that letter from Aschaffenburg, 25 miles southeast of Frankfurt. He had been there since August 15 for his episcopal consecration.⁶⁹ (Some of the Mansfeld officers were Catholic anyway, like Georg Lauren or Felix Steter.) It’s more likely that von Greiffenklau just didn’t want soldiers anywhere near his dominions if he could avoid it; villages in Mainz had already faced “total ruin” when troops came through two years earlier.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the Elector’s agents harassed Mansfeld’s officers: on September 17, Mansfeld’s emissary Bernhard Lauerwald described the Elector of Mainz as “insubordinate.” “Yesterday evening I was returning from Darmstadt and I was asked for my written commission by His Grace [the Elector of Mainz; probably one of his representatives], who then discarded it.”⁷¹ Religiously-motivated personal spite may have played a part in acts like these.

From August until September, the regiment’s officers tried to get food and quarters for their men from the Frankfurt city council. They had a letter from the Emperor and one from the Council of War, but they had little success. “Your Grace could not believe,” wrote Dam

68 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 33r.

69 Ferdinand Sender, *Georg Friedrich Greiffenclau von Vollrads 1573-1629. Ein Prälat aus der mittelrheinischen Ritterschaft. Aufstieg und Regierungsantritt in Mainz.* (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1977), 146.

70 Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy*, 402.

71 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 52v.

Vizthumb von Eckstedt to Mansfeld, “how insubordinate people here are, and when I’m looking for something or other, or have someone else look for something for me, I’m made fun of.”⁷² (“Insubordinate” is a word the Mansfeld officers used frequently to describe civilians around them who did not want to do what they said. They may have had few words in their vocabulary to talk about dealing with them, who were neither their superiors nor inferiors.) The officers knew what the remnants of their regiment were doing in the villages outside the city walls: they were extorting food and supplies from the people living there, and committing terrible deeds to do it. They brought this up in the negotiations: “The evil and destroyed condition of these places and the surrounding area is well known by the lords.”⁷³ Despite their attempt to use the population of these villages as leverage, Frankfurt refused to quarter soldiers, and only gave out bread and beer once, as well as some money.⁷⁴ According to one historian, townspeople thought of country people as brutish and as the countryside as a disorderly place, unlike the ordered safety which should prevail within city walls. Whatever soldiers did out there mattered less: when a soldier was arrested in Augsburg in 1643 for drunken misconduct, the city council asked him “if he thought he was in a village, where he could defy and brutalize people at will.”⁷⁵ Statistically, the effect of armies on rural areas in Western Europe was atrocious, and may have been worse than the effect of either harvest failure or epidemics.⁷⁶

72 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 24v: “EG können nicht glauben wie wiederwurtig leitten eß alhie hatt, Undt wan ich einß oder daß anders suche oder suchen laßen, Wurde ich noch höhnisch darzu geholten.”

73 SHStASr 10024 9239/5, 30r: “Bey den herrn der Uble unndt verderbte Zustandt dieser orten unndt der Nachbarschafft wohl bekannt...”

74 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 55r-55v.

75 Barbara Tlusty, “The Public House and Military Culture in Germany, 1500–1648,” in Beat Kümin and Barbara Tlusty, *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2002), 155.

76 Myron Gutman, *War and Rural Life in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

The Mansfeld Regiment was familiar with acts like these. In addition to the usual threats, thefts, and low-grade harassment, 700 Mansfeld cavalymen had launched a raid on a small castle in Piedmont two years earlier, at some point between late September and late November 1625. Detailed descriptions survive from multiple witnesses, vivid but fragmentary.

Less than an hour after daybreak, the horsemen stormed the little castle in the cold grey light.⁷⁷ The Knecht Mattheus Altman had been woken from sleep by the cavalryman he served and berated for not getting up and fetching something like everyone else.⁷⁸ When he was questioned later, the Knecht Jobst Meyßer said that he didn't know who began sacking the place, except that his lord (the cavalryman he served) had also told him that everyone was getting something so he should go to the castle too.⁷⁹ Georg Caner saw someone from his company whose name was Marx beat a window open and climb inside.⁸⁰ Christof Heschler heard trumpet blasts as he ran down toward the castle.⁸¹ Marcus Wagner was there two hours after daybreak: he saw a full seven hundred horsemen in and around the castle.⁸²

“Were priests, children, women, and old people killed? How many and by whom?” asked the interrogating officer, alluding to the old Peace of God that the Mansfeld Regiment were supposed to adhere to.⁸³ Hans Ernst Grosch saw three dead men; “whether they were

77 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 28.

78 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 29.

79 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 32.

80 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 40.

81 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 39.

82 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 41.

83 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 25-26, HEJ Cowdrey, “The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century,” *Past & Present* 46 (1970), 42-67.

murdered though, he doesn't know."⁸⁴ Jobst Meyßer said he didn't see more than one dead person.⁸⁵ Lorenz Pfeiffer saw "an old man and an old woman, but they were fresh and healthy."⁸⁶ "Were any women dishonored?" Trumpeter Heinrich Lehnfeldt "had well seen that a woman was raped, she screamed piteously, who it was [who did it] however he doesn't know, because he wasn't known to him."⁸⁷ Christof Heschler also saw a rape.⁸⁸ Hans Ernst Grosch saw two women going into a room, then he saw nothing else.⁸⁹

In the past decade, the place of rape in war and the use of rape as a more-or-less deliberate weapon during war have been widely discussed by historians and sociologists.⁹⁰ This is a new development; as little as twenty years ago this was an understudied area of wartime experience.⁹¹ Both historians of the early-modern period and contemporary observers recognize that rape was commonplace during early-modern war, the dark side of the swaggering,

84 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 34.

85 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 21.

86 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 31.

87 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 36.

88 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 39.

89 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 34.

90 For rape by soldiers and sexual assault within the military, see Kristen Zaleski, *Understanding and Treating Military Sexual Trauma* (New York: Springer, 2015). For the civil war in the former Yugoslavia, see Inger Skjelsbæk, *The Political Psychology of War Rape: Studies from Bosnia and Herzegovina* (New York: Routledge, 2011). For the rape of men during war, see Lara Stemple, "Male Rape and Human Rights," *Hastings Law Journal* 60 (2008), 605-647; and Dustin Lewis, "Unrecognized Victims: Sexual Violence Against Men in Conflict Settings Under International Law," *Wisconsin International Law Journal*, 27.1 (2009), 1-49. Interestingly, although the rape of men during war is almost never mentioned now, early modern observers were not so reticent; see, for instance, the beginning of Chap. 4 of *Candide*.

91 Skjelsbæk, *The Political Psychology of War Rape*, 1-2.

threatening masculinity of the War People.⁹² Not all mercenaries were rapists, but there would have been plenty of people like Lehnfeldt and Heschler who knew what was happening, even watched, but did nothing. One sociologist has hypothesized a “military rape subculture,” in which modern military characteristics like hierarchy, collectivization, and aggressive masculinity produce an environment in which perpetrators commit rape (here, of other soldiers) almost with impunity.⁹³ It is difficult to tell if something similar was also at play in the seventeenth century, because it is difficult to tell how common sexual violence was in the contemporary non-military world as a point of comparison. Not only did laws vary between jurisdictions, but rape was probably underreported, while some sexual crimes appeared to be isolated only to a few locations.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the way war was fought in western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries created circumstances in which sexual assault was likely. Soldiers did not think they belonged to the same group as the civilians around them, nor were there any “battle lines” which distinguished a safe place from a hostile area. It was already expected that soldiers took what they wanted from civilians whether they were “friendly” or “hostile,” making other violent acts likely too.⁹⁵ One historian noticed that soldiers were more likely to commit

92 Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, 153. Rape is commonplace in fictional accounts like *Simplicissimus*, and allusions to sexual violence against women can also be seen in visual art like the engravings of Hans Ulrich Franck.

93 Zaleski, *Understanding and Treating Military Sexual Trauma*, 20.

94 Garthine Walker, “Sexual Violence and Rape in Europe, 1500-1750,” in Sarah Toulalan and Kate Fisher, eds., *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body: 1500 to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 431-432.

95 This was part of “the tax of violence.” John Lynn, “How War Fed War: The Tax of Violence and Contributions during the Grand Siècle,” *The Journal of Modern History*, 65.2 (1993), 286-310.

exceptionally violent rape, and to do it in groups.⁹⁶ Soldiers and officers may have believed they had a right to rape civilian women; some of them were habitually accustomed to it.⁹⁷

The sexual violence of soldiers may have been conditioned by distinctions between ingroup and outgroup—as far as I can tell, it was rare for a soldier to rape a woman from his own company. (Conversely, John Lynn points out that female members of the military community had no reason to stop their men from raping female civilians, because they had no reason to think of themselves as the same kind of human beings as civilians.⁹⁸) However, although it might have been unusual to attack women from your specific ingroup, military women were not completely out of bounds. They may have been more capable of defending themselves than civilian women; in paintings they carry knives and daggers. One Saxon military diarist recorded an incident where a corporal tried to force a soldier's wife to sleep with him. She stabbed him to death, and was acquitted.⁹⁹

Finally, the interrogating officer asked what the cavalymen had gotten. Noc Münch, who last appeared in the regiment's legal records for robbing a civilian on the road near Alessandria, “saw nothing but rice and wheat mixed together, of that he only got a little for his prize.”¹⁰⁰ Lorenz Pfeiffer and Hans Kreiss got a *Viertel* of beans, Jobst Meyßer a *Viertel* of

96 Karin Jansson, “Soldaten und Vergewaltigung in Schweden des 17. Jahrhunderts,” in Benigna von Krusenstjern and Hans Medick, *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe - Der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 195-225.

97 Mary Ailes, *Courage and Grief: Women and Sweden's Thirty Years' War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), 29.

98 Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare*, 156-157.

99 R Lehman, ed., “Bruchstück eines Tagebuches aus dem Zeit des 30 jährigen Krieges,” in *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 40 (1919), 174.

100 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 27.

wheat.¹⁰¹ Marcus Wagner got a little jacket (*röckel*) worth about a ducat, and fodder for his horse.¹⁰² Hans Altman fetched a bundle of hay. After he tied it together he left with nobody ordering him away.¹⁰³ Heinrich Lehnfeldt went home by himself.¹⁰⁴ It was for these things that at least three people were murdered and at least three women raped.

One witness saw the cavalry's Oberst Wachtmeister ordering people away from the castle, but a single officer wasn't enough to keep seven hundred people from looting the place. Most of them probably never heard the Oberst Wachtmeister, or even saw him. His attempts to enforce the law of war were also selective: several of the cavalymen who had been questioned reported giving up some of their haul to him or seeing someone else do it, because it was church property, the robbing of which violated the Peace of God.¹⁰⁵ As for the rest of the thefts, and the murders and rape, Vratislav von Pernstein closed the case without comment: "The thing is passed over in silence, and will not be gone into further."¹⁰⁶ The military word for what had just happened was "inconvenience" (*Ungelegenheit*). Inconveniences were often tacitly let go.

Acts like these have become part of the bloody narrative of the Thirty Years' War from the mid-seventeenth-century until the present, embedded in stories which served different purposes for different tellers. In Europe in the late seventeenth century, references to the lurid age of warfare and unsettling social disorder that people had just escaped helped legitimate comparatively centralized regimes. Higher taxes to pay for a standing army were supposedly

101 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 30-32, 37. A *Viertel* is a quarter of a scheffel, which varied by location. Possibly around ten liters.

102 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 41.

103 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 29.

104 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 36.

105 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 40, 42.

106 SHStADr 10024 9739/5, 42.

tolerable, if mercenaries like the Mansfeld Regiment were the alternative.¹⁰⁷ For nineteenth-century Germany, fragmentation and violence were an image of Germany's political position two hundred years later, and images of horror formed the backdrop for a Romantic exploration of emotion.¹⁰⁸ These narratives presented this war as a slough of violence and terror. In terms of proportional impact this was the deadliest conflict in Western European history. But as Gary Kulik and Peter Zinoman pointed out about the Vietnam War, each atrocity happens at a specific place and time, and for a specific reason or set of reasons.¹⁰⁹ These reasons could be both material and psychological.¹¹⁰ Historians of the early modern period maintain that the cruelty of sixteenth and seventeenth-century warfare was the result of the complex interaction of many factors. Heads of state had the money to raise armies but not to regularly pay their soldiers. Financial systems were inefficient and easily corrupted, while seventeenth-century armies faced massive logistical challenges getting food, supplies, and money to the field.¹¹¹ Civilians weren't merely passive sufferers of violence; they fought back against soldiers of all sides, and their revenge could be terrible.¹¹²

The Mansfeld Regiment was chronically ill-supplied and seems to have rarely fought. Its soldiers not only had a great deal of free time, they lacked money and sometimes food, and

107 Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 807.

108 Kevin Cramer, *The Thirty Years' War and German Memory in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press).

109 Gary Kulik and Peter Zinoman, "Misrepresenting Atrocities: *Kill Anything that Moves* and the Continuing Distortions of the War in Vietnam," in *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* E-Journal 12 (2014) 164-198, 166. https://cross-currents.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/e-journal/articles/zinoman_kulik.pdf, accessed on 1 March 2018.

110 Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 834.

111 Lauro Martines, *Furies: War in Europe, 1450-1700* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), xii-xiii.

112 Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 837.

many of them were deprived of opportunities to make money from lawfully plundering their enemies. Some of them did not speak Italian, making it more difficult to communicate, while the regiment's Swiss, Saxon, or Belgian members may not have been able to easily talk to people from near Frankfurt.¹¹³ If we can speak of a "system" at all, atrocities like the Mansfelder cavalry's assault on this castle in fall 1625, or the things they did in the villages around Frankfurt in fall 1627, were built into it. The members of the Mansfeld Regiment were both the victims of oppression and its agents.

At least one person in this regiment may have realized the nature of their position, but the evidence is unusual. On the 20th or 21st of May 1627, the Emperor had written an edict which described how Mansfeld was to lead his regiment from the service of the King of Spain into Germany. There are two copies of this text in the regiment's records. One is dated to May, and filed with other documents from the spring.¹¹⁴ The other one, identical in content, is dated 7 August, just after the regiment had made it to Frankfurt.¹¹⁵ Whoever wrote this down—it is not Mattheus Steiner's handwriting—reinscribed the Emperor's promises after they had been proven hollow. The soldiers will be given passage, the words went. They will be given food. There are constant references to people they were not supposed to prey on: the "poor subjects" (*Arme Untherthanen*), "the guiltless poor common man" (*desß armenn gemeinenn mannß*), civilians. (Even here, civilians are not a "Volk." That word is used throughout both these documents for soldiers.)¹¹⁶ This copy, which had been written down after the hope that the original articulated had crumbled, is spotted with drops of liquid front and back which hit the paper when the ink

113 *Ibid.*, 834.

114 SHStADr 10024 9239/5 2r.

115 SHStADr 10024 9239/5 67r-68r.

116 SHStADr 10024 9239/5 67v.

was still wet. It's as though the scribe had been working outside and gotten caught in sudden rain. Or the droplets were tears: the members of the Mansfeld Regiment knew how seventeenth-century war was waged, the things soldiers did to non-soldiers. They took part in these things. They were inextricably entrammeled within the context that gave rise to them. That does not mean they all approved.

Letters were passed back and forth among Mansfeld, his agents, and his captains almost daily. A person named Bernard Lauerwald shows up frequently in these documents from the summer and fall of 1627. He was Wolf von Mansfeld's emissary; not much is known about him. Lauerwald and some of Mansfeld's officers spent the early fall of 1627 bouncing back and forth between Frankfurt and other places in Germany: delivering letters from Mansfeld, asking around for money. (Lauerwald himself had so little money that he was in debt to the people whose houses he stayed at.¹¹⁷) In addition to the fragmented regiment, the Mansfeld officers also dealt with more quotidian matters: on 13 September, Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt recommended his adjutant Daniel Daumer and his Fähndrich Schörteln to raise companies of their own, which might help bring the regiment up to twelve full companies again while also advancing these young officers' careers. Vizthumb von Eckstedt's words when he wrote to Mansfeld about this practically fizzed with joy; he hoped that "luck health and all prosperity, And that Your Grace with happy artifice and good contentment with God's help will remain fresh and healthy in the same, and might gain [the regiment] again, from the heart I wish it."¹¹⁸

Wolf von Mansfeld did not share his soldiers' misfortunes. He spent the summer and

117 SHStAdr 10024 9239/5, 53r.

118 SHStAdr 10024 9239/5, 36r, "glick heil undt alle *prosperitet*, Auch daß E.G. mitt glichligern Vorrichtung undt gudem *Contento* mitt Gotteß hilff frisch undt gesunt in deroselben haffetatt, wiederumb erlangen mag, von hertzen wunschen tun."

fall of 1627 in Schluckenau. On 3 September, he wrote that he would head to Prague and from there take the post coach to Vienna. He would be better able to discuss matters at the Imperial court in person.¹¹⁹ On the seventeenth of September, Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt reported that Jacob Binder had written to Lauerwald and told him that Mansfeld couldn't make it to Vienna yet because of "bodily weakness."¹²⁰ This was also a common reason given in muster rolls for letting soldiers or officers go. The social networks that are adumbrated in the daily actions of military units required tremendous physical effort from their participants: travel for even the most cossetted officer meant long hours on bad roads. Unless they expected an attack or were planning a battle, big units spread out rather than concentrating their forces, so the soldiers could supply themselves. Once dispersed armies could not easily be concentrated again, since roads were sparse and bad.¹²¹ As of the end of August, some of the regiment's officers, like Mattheus Steiner, were scattered as far away as Ulm, 150 miles from Frankfurt am Main.¹²² The frequent exchange of messages and information as the Mansfeld Regiment responded to a crisis, or even during its daily operations, entailed almost constant travel on horseback from one part of the scattered regiment to others. In their letters, people frequently report conversations with third or fourth parties, passing information on: Pappenheim's regiment had been dismissed successfully in Italy in mid-September; rumor had it an entire company of horse was surprised by peasants and scattered on the march to Lothringia, where they had been heading in search of quarters.¹²³

119 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 43r.

120 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 61v.

121 Denis Showalter and William J Astore, *Soldiers' Lives through History: The Early Modern World* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2007), 15.

122 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 77v.

123 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 61v-62r.

But this information could not travel faster than a horse with a person on its back and a letter in his saddlebag, which made decisions complicated. On the 14 August, Mansfeld, in Schluckenau, had wanted to know the strength of the officers and common soldiers and reported that he had a lead on “6000 man good Dutch weapons [*Gewehr*]” from a businessman he had met in Prague called “Jobst from Brussels.”¹²⁴ But on this same date Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt and some of the other officers in Frankfurt were deciding they had to start dismissing the remaining soldiers. These officers had consumed their savings on the way from Italy, and no longer had the means to live in Frankfurt with honor and without lack. Mansfeld got the news of this on September 4.¹²⁵ But on September 3 they still thought that Frankfurt would be the musterplace for a reconstituted Mansfeld Regiment, and had written a letter to the Burgermaster and city council stating that the captains would pay for the quartering in the hosts’ houses themselves.¹²⁶ There is no record of where the money was supposed to come from for this, although Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt wrote to Mansfeld that he was expecting money on the 27th.¹²⁷ Despite their lack of money, the captains lingered in Frankfurt. Vizthumb von Eckstedt had assumed a leading position among the remaining officers although it is unclear whether he or Wolfgang Winckelmann was the third in command of the infantry at this point. He and the other officers stuck in Frankfurt quarreled frequently.¹²⁸ It rained.

Gradually, Mansfeld stopped using the word “reconstitute” (*recolligiren*) to refer to the fragments of the regiment. Instead, he wrote about raising new units. The soldiers drifted away

124 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 18v.

125 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 49r-49v.

126 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 37r.

127 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 58r.

128 SHStADr 10024 9239/5, 51r.

until only about a hundred were left; some officers left too, while the captains left in Frankfurt attempted to settle the debts they had racked up during their layover. On September 11, after heavy rain, Bernard Lauerwald made it to a pub in Frankfurt: “I was prevented from travelling because of the rain and the bad roads stemming from that, and the great storms, this last Saturday was the 11th, and with good luck, praise God, I arrived here and found in the pub Dam Vizthumb, his brother August Vizthumb, Captain Answald, the adjutant Daniel Daumer, Fähndrich Schörteln, the provost, and the other captains.” Wolfgang Winckelmann and some other officers had left eight days before. Lauerwald gave the officers who remained a copy of a letter from Mansfeld letting them go.¹²⁹ “I brought Your Grace’s writing as well as the verbal testimony that was necessary up to the council here,” he wrote to Mansfeld on the 23rd. “They wondered that people were still bothering them with this thing.”¹³⁰

Nobody expected that Spain and France would be dragged into another war over the same territory in less than a year. “I heard that the Duke of Mantua is dead,” wrote Mansfeld to Camargo on November 28 1626. This was Ferdinando Gonzaga, who had died on October 29 and left the duchies of Mantua and Montferrat to his younger brother Vincenzo II. “Please God it’s true, since it’d stop this thing for all time,” said Mansfeld: if Vincenzo II stayed alive, the succession crisis that Mansfeld feared would never happen. Perhaps there would be peace in northern Italy.¹³¹ On 5 December 1627, the Count-Duke of Olivares wrote that the Spanish Monarchy had little to fear from France. Richelieu’s domestic position was ambivalent, he said,

129 SHStAdr 10024 9239/5, 88r.

130 SHStAdr 10024 9239/5, 88v.

131 SHStAdr 10024 9239/2, 22v.

and his attempt to invade Genoa and the Valtelline had completely failed.¹³²

On Christmas Day 1627, Vincenzo II Gonzaga died. The conflict over the Mantuan succession eventually sucked Spain and France into open war, a parallel Thirty Years' War that lasted from 1635 until 1659 and exhausted both combatants.¹³³ Philip IV said if he had ever erred in his life it was when he began that war.¹³⁴ 1629 was the year, he claimed, his monarchy began to decline.¹³⁵ The war devastated northern Italy, causing massive civilian casualties.¹³⁶ Plague came in 1630. Gregory Hanlon's examination of the burial records of Parma and Piacenza reveals huge spikes in mortality during war years: the death toll in besieged Castel San Giovanni in the single month of May 1637 was 144, double the average in peacetime for an entire year. Death rates increased in the cities, the towns, and the countryside, in places occupied by soldiers and places free of them, in areas that saw combat and areas that did not, everywhere Hanlon can track the records, even in locations the Spanish commanders wanted to protect.¹³⁷

In comparison to the catastrophes that followed, the war that brought the Mansfeld Regiment down to Lombardy and Piedmont was minuscule. It is now almost entirely forgotten.

132 "Parecer del Conde Duque de San Lúcar sobre el estado de las cosas en todas partes. En Madrid a cinco de diciembre de 1627," quoted in RA Stradling, *Spain's Struggle for Europe, 1598-1668* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), 99, 138.

133 Stradling, *Spain's Struggle for Europe*; Graham Darby, *Spain in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Longman, 1995); David Parrott, "France's War against the Habsburgs, 1624-1659: The Politics of Military Failure," in Enrique García Hernán and Davide Maffi, ed, *Guerra y Sociedad en La Monarquía Hispánica: Política, Estrategia y Cultura en la Europa Moderna (1500-1700)*, Vol 1 (Madrid: Laberinto, 2006), 31-49.

134 JH Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 310.

135 Stradling, *Spain's Struggle for Europe*, 51.

136 Gregory Hanlon, *The Hero of Italy: Odoardo Farnese, Duke of Parma, His Soldiers, and his Subjects in the Thirty Years' War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Gregory Hanlon, *Italy 1636: Cemetery of Armies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

137 Hanlon, *Hero of Italy*, 196-199.

The only people whose lives the Mansfelders ruined when they went down to Italy were some civilians, and themselves.

Chapter 9: Those Who Remain The War People and Death. Religion.

Colonel Alwig von Sulz was dying. He had led a regiment through Switzerland and northern Italy in 1625 as part of the same expedition that had brought the Mansfeld Regiment there—every now and then, the members of Winckelmann’s company mentioned seeing someone from *Das Sulzische Volck* over the next hill. That had not been Sulz’s first foray south: he had already led an army through Switzerland at least once, heading through the Lower Engadine back in August 1622.¹ After the 1625 expedition, Sulz had brought his People back north into Germany successfully. They disbanded, and he had raised another regiment. Now, in fall 1627, something was wrong.

Sulz had fetched up in or near Hanau, where his new regiment was hanging around without having been mustered in.² From there he wrote to the Emperor. His letters were in another’s hand, possibly his Lieutenant Colonel Johann Beck. Below the words his signature skitters shakily around the bottom of the page. Sulz could barely hold the pen, he could barely press it down onto the paper, but he wanted to give an account of his life and career to the overlord he served. He had gone to Milan in the service of His Majesty in Spain, he said, but unfortunately with “bad satisfaction;” the expedition had not been economically rewarding for him.³ After his People were dismissed, Sulz heard that more War People were being enrolled for

1 Friedrich Pieth, “Der Dreibündengeneral Rudolf v. Salis und ein österreichischer Bericht über den Einfall des Grafen Alwig v. Sulz in Graubünden 1622,” in *Bündnerisches Monatsblatt : Zeitschrift für bündnerische Geschichte, Landes- und Volkskunde* 4 (1915), 113-115, 114; Friedrich Pieth, “Der Dreibündengeneral Rudolf v. Salis und ein österreichischer Bericht über den Einfall des Grafen Alwig v. Sulz in Graubünden 1622: Fortsetzung und Schluß” in *Bündnerisches Monatsblatt : Zeitschrift für bündnerische Geschichte, Landes- und Volkskunde* 5 (1915), 158

2 SHStAdr 10024 9235/4, *Entreffende das Sulzische Regiment Zu Fuß, Mansfeldischen 1627*, 9. Letter from unknown writer to Ferdinand II.

3 Letter from Alwig von Sulz to Ferdinand II, 26 Sept 1627, SHStAdr 10024 9235/4, 10r.

the suppression of the same rebels that had begun the unrest in Bohemia, this time under “His Majesty the Duke of Friedland.”⁴ Sulz was loyal: he fully accepted the Imperial framing of the war as one against an illegitimate rebellion, so he decided “along with other cavaliers, to set down and add my body, my goods, and my blood against the same enemy again.”⁵ This time it was more difficult. Like Mansfeld, Sulz had been forced to dismiss his previous regiment without paying them; in fact, they owed him 1000 gulden for their weapons. When he raised the new regiment he had to foot the bill himself, but he had done it. Then he had appointed the captains and officers, “so that I could bring it complete and onto its feet in the good springtime.” The regiment went out to Wissembourg in April 1627: it had been “happy and strong” then.⁶

But Wissembourg did not give them quarters or lodging. Unfortunately, said Sulz, this “pulled some of the newly enlisted soldiers lamentably into exile” (they deserted). To his great shame, some of them “sought their opportunities elsewhere” (they enlisted with other commanders).⁷ The Imperial *Kriegscommissarius* Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla assigned them mustering places: four companies and their staffs were supposed to live among the Imperial knights of lower Alsace; five in Strasbourg, 38 miles south of Wissembourg; and Sulz and his own company made it to the County of Hanau, a hundred miles northeast. From Alsace to Hanau, the future regiment was spread out over more than 150 miles. Someone had miscalculated: there was no way Hanau could support those People, but since Wissembourg had rejected them there was little he could do.⁸ Compounding this, once Sulz got to Hanau he made the naïve mistake of

4 Loc. Cit.

5 Loc. Cit.

6 Letter from Alwig von Sulz to Ferdinand II, 26 Sept 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 10v.

7 Loc. Cit.

8 Letter from Alwig von Sulz to unknown recipient, 30 Oct 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 20v.

selling the Count of Hanau a *salva guardia*.⁹ The latter immediately used it to demand that Sulz move the soldiers out of his territory, since other regiments had traveled through in 1621 and 1622, the land was “quite empty, without peasants,” and Wallenstein was demanding 6000 gulden a week from Hanau.¹⁰ But since Sulz got no order to leave either from the Emperor or from Wallenstein, he stayed there.

Then something happened to him: what it was is unrecorded. His soldiers, who still had not yet been mustered in, started walking off. According to Sulz’s secretary, it was only through Sulz’s personal financial intervention that another thousand of them didn’t leave.¹¹ Now in his letters Sulz “begged and cried” to the Emperor to force Hanau and Strasbourg to pay him and his regiment, “me and mine.”¹² His language is intensely proprietary, as though he and his regiment were one thing. He had raised one regiment for service in Italy and then another in the Rhine, and he remembered when the second was “happy and strong.” As he summed up his life, his efforts, and his obligations, Sulz said that he wanted his soldiers to be paid “so they can be content with me.”¹³ This is what he chose to say to his overlord on the brink of death: this was his valediction.

On the sixth of October 1627, Wallenstein heard Alwig von Sulz was dead. “Now I have wanted to offer his vacated regiment to you,” he jotted to Mansfeld a few minutes later.¹⁴ Mansfeld was still in Prague. He got the news on the tenth. “We would have well seen, we would

9 Letter from Alwig von Sulz to Ferdinand II, 26 Sept 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 11r.

10 Letter from Count of Hanau to Albrecht von Wallenstein, 22 Aug 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 3r-3v.

11 Letter from Sulz’s secretary Jacob Brizzer to Wolf von Mansfeld, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 12r-12v.

12 Letter from Alwig von Sulz to Ferdinand II, 26 Sept 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 11r.

13 Letter from Alwig von Sulz to Ferdinand II, 26 Sept 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 10r.

14 Letter from Albrecht von Wallenstein to Wolf von Mansfeld, 6 Oct 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 7r.

have liked it,” he wrote emolliently to Sulz’s Lieutenant Colonel the next day, “if God the almighty could have led this young man to a longer life, and longer in His Imperial Majesty’s service, but because it fell otherwise to him, we must submit ourselves to [God’s] gracious will.”¹⁵

At first glance the prospect of death seems like it would have been more unnerving for seventeenth-century soldiers than for modern soldiers, because of the contemporary attitude toward death. The good death was one the dying person had prepared for spiritually, but a soldier’s death could come unforeseen.¹⁶ This came up when contemporary non-soldiers talked about soldiers’ deaths: they claimed that soldiers who lived stubborn, non-God-fearing, dissolute lives faced the possibility of sudden death.¹⁷ According to Protestant writers, Gustavus Adolphus had committed himself to God long before Lützen, and therefore did not fear death.¹⁸ They claimed his death didn’t count as sudden, since he had prepared his soul before the battle. Saxon preachers tried to reason the problem of sudden death away in non-military contexts too, especially since the kind of death someone experienced was a sign of God’s judgement upon their life. This consoled the living and saved the reputation of the dead, even if the deceased had

15 Letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to Lieutenant Colonel Johann Beck, 1/11 Oct 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 8r-8v.

16 Benigna von Krusenstjern, “Seliges Sterben und böser Tod: Tod und Sterben in der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges” in idem and Hans Medick, *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe - Der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 469-496.

17 Andreas Bähr, “Magical Swords and Heavenly Weapons: Battlefield Fear(lessness) in the Seventeenth Century,” in Erika Kuijpers and Cornelis van der Haven, ed., *Battlefield Emotions 1500-1800 Practices, Experience, Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 49-70, 57.

18 Bähr, “Magical Swords and Heavenly Weapons,” 61.

died ignominiously like as the result of an accident while drunk.¹⁹ Death in a duel was supposedly unsanctified (it theoretically counted as suicide), but some Saxon duelists prayed or fasted before the fight, while preachers stressed elements of good deaths in funeral sermons for duelists.²⁰

Wolfgang Winckelmann's *Musterschreiber* Heinrich Teichmeyer faced his death with the dignified acceptance expected in the seventeenth century. At eight in the morning on 8 January 1626, Teichmeyer called Mattheus Steiner into his quarters, along with Albrecht Wehen of the staff, and Michael Henel, a *Fähndrich*. The dying man was sitting on his bed, and when the observers got there he began to speak: "Because, in the fear of God, I can see that humanity shall have neither certain nor eternal happiness in the misery of this fleeting world; instead, we have been shaped by God the Almighty so that a human being must sojourn in the present exhausting life and be certain of nothing." There are echoes here of the anonymous deserter's weary complaint to Stach Krakow. Teichmeyer was leaving this exhausting life in general and the challenges of the military in particular; he was on the brink of the "step of death" which his Savior will "demand of him," the separation of body and soul. Therefore, freely and with good will, he made his testament, "according to order, Spiritual and Temporal War Law," he said. He commended his soul to almighty God, asked that his body be buried "according to Christian order and military custom," and thanked God for his earthly goods. Then he left his property to

19 Alexander Kästner, "Die Ungewissheit überschreiten: Erzählmuster und Auslegungen unverhoffter Todesfälle in Leichenpredigten," in Eva-Maria Dickhaut, ed. *Leichenpredigten als Medien der Erinnerungskultur im europäischen Kontext* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014), 147-172, 159.

20 Idem, "Unzweifelhaft ein seliger Tod! Überlegungen zur Darstellung des Sterbens von Duellanten in protestantischen Leichenpredigten," in Ulrike Ludwig, Barbara Krug-Richter, and Gerd Schwerhoff (ed), *Das Duell: Ehrenkämpfe vom Mittelalter bis zur Moderne* (Konstanz: UVG Verlagsgesellschaft, 2012), 141-158, 145, 149.

his wife and children and the cash he had on him to Wolfgang Winckelmann.²¹ Teichmeyer's mental image of the divine law he tried to obey may have been a spiritualization of the familiar War Law that governed his daily life, and he wanted to be buried like soldiers were buried, but the form of his speech to his gathered friends and the regimental secretary was like contemporary civilian models of death.

A slightly different spirit is visible in the death of Jonas Eckert, who fought a duel with his Gemeinwebel Valentin von Treutler and lost. He lingered for four days. Then someone called Treutler into Eckert's quarters, and Treutler ordered a small crowd of other officers and soldiers from their company to come too. Many were from the Saxon city of Döbeln. The Gemeinwebel bent over the dying man's bed: "How now?" he said. "What are you doing?" Eckert looked up. "I'm thinking very hard about getting better," he said: *er heffte der beßerungk*. "If you had not hit that peasant, this calamity would not have broken out," said Treutler. Eckert was "stunned" at first, but then "also confessed the beginnings of his evil." The common soldier Barthel Grinzelman asked Eckert if he forgave the Gemeinwebel from the bottom of his heart. Eckert couldn't speak easily because he was so weak "you couldn't really hear whether or not he had said Yes," but he and Treutler offered their hands to each other, "and with that his life came to an end."²² Forgiving those you fought is also familiar from civilian good deaths, but Eckert may have been joking when he told Treutler he was thinking about getting better. To joke around on your deathbed with the man who killed you takes nerve, the kind of spirited gutsiness that soldiers valued.

21 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 86-90.

22 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 171-177.

These deaths were both conscious, but death in battle could be fast indeed. Two of the musketeers in a mass grave found on the Lützen battlefield died instantly: they fell with their next bullet in their mouths, propped between the back teeth for a quick reload that never came.²³ Battle deaths could also be dirty and agonizing, panicked, demeaning. Yet since the High Middle Ages the spiritual problem of violent death had explicitly excluded deaths in war, although in the fourteenth century this was amended to the assertion that a dead soldier deserved a Christian burial only if he died in a war whose motive was just.²⁴ And by the seventeenth century the idea that sudden or violent death was theologically problematic was fading anyway: neither Erasmus nor Bellarmine thought it was particularly dangerous for the soul.²⁵ If seventeenth-century civilians did regard the deaths of soldiers ambivalently, this may have reflected their attitudes toward soldiers as well as toward death. The members of this threatening subculture often seemed so evil it made sense they would come to a bad end. A gallows or a breaking wheel stands in the background of many contemporary battle paintings, drawn in with a hair-fine brush.

Soldiers were afraid to die or to be hurt; writers like Raimondo Montecuccoli are explicit about this. But contrary to my expectations I found no evidence they were more anxious than non-soldiers about death itself. Some of the things members of the military community say about death are indistinguishable from contemporary civilian thought about sober, directed living. The night after the morning Martin Seyfried Deckert of the Dresden city guard shot himself his colonel Claus von Taube wrote to the Elector of Saxony about conscious living in the face of

23 Nicole Nicklisch, Frank Ramsthaler, Harald Meller, Susan Friedrich, Kurt W Alt, "The face of war: Trauma analysis of a mass grave from the Battle of Lützen (1632)," in *PLoS One*, 12(5), 2017, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5439951/#pone.0178252.s002> accessed 4 April 2018.

24 Phillipe Aries, *The Hour of Our Death: The Classic History of Western Attitudes toward Death Over the Last One Thousand Years* (New York: Knopf, 1981), 12.

25 Aries, *The Hour of Our Death*, 307.

death. He didn't know why the dead man, who "was once a God fearing human being," would "choose his place outside of the churchyard to be buried in some corner." He had asked his friend Doctor Weller, who answered: "before everything else, people must know the circumstances of their life's course." Taube passed this advice on to the Elector as well as New Year's wishes; it was January 2.²⁶ By the seventeenth century, clergymen had begun to recommend this kind of introspection and consideration of death as part of routine religious practice.²⁷

What military documents did say—and they said this over and over—was that the dead were immobile. The most common phrase in muster rolls to designate a soldier as dead is "he remains" at some place. For a soldier to "remain" or "sit" at a place meant either that he had died or he was too sick to travel, in which case he "remained behind." To "remain before" a city meant that he had died trying to assault it, and "to remain in the battle" meant that he had died on the field.²⁸ For a seventeenth-century soldier, whose company was almost constantly mobile during the campaigning season in search of quarters and supplies, to come to rest meant either dangerous illness or death, and the sick and wounded were expected to catch up when they recovered. When Maria Cordula von Pranckh wrote that her half-brother had died, she said *dott pliben*: "he remains dead" at Ehrenbreitstein on the Rhine and the Moselle, so far away from their native Styria she thought it was in the Netherlands.²⁹ Soldiers moved constantly in the

26 SHStADr 10024 9121/15, Doc. 1.

27 Aries, *The Hour of Our Death*, 314.

28 For example, SHStAD 11237 10831/1; or SHStAD 11237 10841/3 4, muster roll for Jacob Zader's infantry company, 1635.

29 Maria Cordula von Pranckh, ed. Joseph Zahn, "Gedenkbuch der Frau Maria Cordula, Freiin von Pranck, verwitwete Hacke, geb. Radhaupt, 1595–1700 (1707)," in *Steiermärkische Geschichtsblätter* 2/1 (1881), 9–29, 9.

on-season. They paused when they went into winter quarters, but nobody used the word “remain” for this: people in winter quarters were “in,” as opposed to “going out” in the spring. (As Ossa put it, they “lived at home.”) No matter how caring a burial was, eventually a military community and its dead had to part.

If the death did not occur in combat, military funerals could be compassionate. Hans Wilhelm Kirchof describes what they should look like in camp:

The one should be taken from there / or where he is / shot or wounded / dead / his squad-companions should take four pikes / each two should have their iron heads turned opposite from each other / bound together one or three times / so / that two pikes make one pole / bind the two poles together / under, over, and in the middle / with cords so close to each other / that the dead man with his bedding [*Waht*] and clothing / like he died / can be laid between them and carried out. Before them go pipes and drums / behind go other squad companions / people from the country / and whoever wants to be there. Outside the camp on the assembly place / or wherever you go / a grave is made / and lay the corpse in it / cover it up. It'd be good / to say an Our Father with uncovered head: several is better / and sing a Holy Psalm along with it. The more esteem he has in the regiment / or if he held an office / the more music is brought before his corpse.³⁰

The symbolism is like the baptism Kirchof describes elsewhere: even the areas of life that are not combat-related are militarized and brought into the military community. The dead man is borne to the grave on a stretcher made of pikes, the prototypical and most honorable weapon, the symbol of the military profession. This is done by his squadmates. They probably carry him on their shoulders. Like all military rituals, the funeral is accompanied with drums and music; in Catholic armies, the drums were sometimes beaten during the elevation of the Host. The funeral of Heinrich Teichmeyer, who specifically asked to be buried “according to military usage,” may have looked like this. It is unclear from this passage whether the corpse would be buried inside

30 Kirchof, *Militaris Disciplina*, 203.

or outside the camp's earthen walls; it may not have mattered to Kirchhof. But the bodies of the young men found at Latdorf were buried inside the earthworks, within the filthy soil of the camp itself. Each still had his clothing and possessions; one had a knife on his belt.³¹ Sometimes sickness tore through a camp: at Gardelegen in 1627 "they were burying their dead daily, twenty together, in open pits."³² But this too was like the way things worked in contemporary cities: at Les Innocents in Paris those who could not afford to be buried in the church were buried in great pits which were always open, fifteen by eighteen feet across and thirty feet deep.³³ Like dead civilians, dead members of the military community were buried in public ground, the ground of the community: if they were buried in the assemblyplace, an army would form up with its dead beneath its feet. Regiments may have held trials there too, like the legal acts that were performed in contemporary churchyards in France.³⁴ Whether they were buried in the assemblyplace or elsewhere in camp, communal activities were hard by the dead, until the army moved on.

If a soldier died in quarters like Heinrich Teichmeyer or Jonas Eckert, he was buried in the town or city where he died. Yet civilians probably treated a dead soldier differently from their own dead. In some regions of eighteenth-century Germany voluntary donations were made by the people attending a funeral, which varied based on the number of congregants, how much money they had, and "the valuation placed on the dead person." These donations reflected a close relationship with the deceased. Donations are recorded for all groups of people, even

31 J Fahr, P Pacak, "Das schwedische Feldlager Latdorf," in S. Friederich et al, *Archäologie am Kalkteich 22 in Latdorf. Die Chemie stimmt! Arch. Sachsen-Anhalt* Special Vol. 9 (Halle: 2008), 105-114; J Fahr, Nicole Nicklisch, A Grothe, HJ Döhle, and S Friederich, "Herbst 1644 –Das schwedische Feldlager bei Latdorf," in Harald Meller and M Schefzik, ed. *Krieg. Eine Archäologische Spurensuche* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2015).

32 CV Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years' War* (New York: New York Review Books Classics, 2005, first edition 1938), 211.

33 Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 57.

34 Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 67.

“stillborn infants...illegitimate children, orphans, beggars, senile spinsters, and those described as desperately poor.” The only people who had none were soldiers. This was so self-evident to the people making the death registers that when a soldier was buried in the town they only wrote the word *miles*, “soldier,” in the space where the funeral donation would otherwise have been recorded.³⁵

Battlefield deaths were different. Pitched battles were rare, but they were destructive. Total casualties on the field at Lützen, a day-long slugging match between two comparable opponents, were 9,000.³⁶ The vicious fighting at Wittstock may have produced total casualties as high as 8,500.³⁷ Dead human beings and horses choked the ground; in such quantity, the blood would not have soaked into the earth at once but stood upon it like paint. We can see the aftermath in military paintings, the living busily stripping the dead of armor, weapons, and clothing. There are some surviving bodies from this war that were not plundered, but this is rare. One grave in Stralsund excavated in 2010 contains not only clothed people but also debris and weapons: pikes of varying lengths; three muskets, two with initials scratched into the stocks; and several thick-bladed swords, one with the word *Iohannis*: “John’s.”³⁸ There were also axes and what may have been an incendiary lance: this could have been a doomed storming party, part of Wallenstein’s abortive 1628 attempt to take Stralsund. These men had not been plundered, but they could have fallen or been thrown into one of the shallow marshes that surround this city,

35 Sheilagh Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living: Women, Markets, and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 76, fn. 96. The example is from 1735.

36 Peter Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 510.

37 Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 583.

38 Marlies Konze and Renate Samaritan, “Der Stralsunder Laufgraben von 1628 – verschüttete Söldner und Waffen in situ. Festungsbau im Süden der Hansestadt (Quartier Frankenhof) im Spiegel archäologischer Befunde und historischer Quellen,” in *Forschungen zur Archäologie im Land Brandenburg*, 15 (2014), 197-231.

along with valuable clothing and weapons that otherwise would have been reclaimed. The skeletons of two people were found near the Nördlingen battlefield: the sixteen-year-old boy had been shot three times, and the 35-to-40-year old man was hunchbacked. Both had cavities. The teenager had been wearing a mantle, and metal clasps were found on the lower legs of the adult—had his mantle been draped over his legs? But these bodies were sprawled out, fallen over each other, and may not have been buried at all.³⁹ Most of the time, insatiable armies scavenged everything they could from a battlefield. For the victor this was normal and legal; controlling your own dead and the enemy's dead was one of the ancient proofs of victory.⁴⁰

Once they had plundered the dead, the victorious army often moved out. Battles produce large numbers of corpses in a small space in a short time: until very recently, battle dead were buried near the spot where they fell. The disgusting challenges of putting that many rotting bodies below-ground or otherwise dealing with them (pyres, throwing corpses into a nearby river) are not unique to this conflict.⁴¹ The great numbers of dead killed by epidemics or natural disasters also posed huge logistical difficulties to early-modern and medieval cities.⁴² What is

39 Markus Plum, "Archäologische Zeugnisse des Dreißigjährigen Krieges in Bayern: – Die Erstürmung von Höchststadt an der Aisch 1633 und die Schlacht bei Nördlingen 1634 –," https://www.academia.edu/1235094/Archäologische_Zeugnisse_des_Dreißigjährigen_Krieges_in_Bayern_Die_Erstürmung_von_Höchststadt_an_der_Aisch_1633_und_die_Schlacht_bei_Nördlingen_1634 accessed 5 April 2018.

40 James Whitman, *The Verdict of Battle: The Law of Victory and the Making of Modern War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 179.

41 For the challenges of burying the battlefield dead in the Eastern theater of the American Civil War see Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2008), Chap. 3. Two months into the Gallipoli campaign, on the first day of the Battle of Gully Ravine, Private Daniel Joiner and the rest of the 1st King's Own Scottish Borderers advanced into an arroyo to turn it into a fortified strong place. First they dragged the rotting Turkish dead out of the shelters where they had been killed and threw them on pyres. It had been months and the dead had long since rotted into pieces. The Turkish army had been unable to bury them: the ground was rocky and unyielding, and the British commander had forbidden truces to bury the dead. This was in June. Peter Hart, *Gallipoli* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 262-263.

42 Vanessa Harding, "Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London," in *Epidemic Disease in London*, ed. JAI Champion (Centre for Metropolitan History Working Papers Series, No. 1, 1993) 53-64; Miguel Telles

distinctive is that during this period soldiers often do not bury their own dead. At almost all times, in almost all cultures, human beings have buried their dead.⁴³ If the argument of this book is that the early seventeenth-century military was a subculture, it was probably the only culture in history that did not. This emphasizes their uniqueness, but it must have been a great burden for the People.

The dead in a grave found at the battlefield of Wittstock lie head to head and feet to feet in tidy rows: in this case, the Swedish field marshal Banér had ordered the cleanup of the battlefield.⁴⁴ Soldiers had done this work for other soldiers, with care. Most graves from this war are not like this. The people in the Lützen mass grave were not put in the pit in any sort of formal order: some bodies appear to have been arranged but some were probably thrown in, one after the other. But the body on top of the pile has his arms outstretched as a cross, which may have been deliberate. The dead were buried about three or four days after the battle, after both armies had vacated the area.⁴⁵ The inhabitants of Lützen had done it with the help of civilians from nearby Weissenfels. A hundred years later an observer was shown three mounds which he was told were graves: one on the Swedish center; one behind the Imperial center; and one where the

Antunes, “Vítimas do Terramoto de 1755 no Conventu de Jesus (Academia das Ciências de Lisboa),” in *Revista Electrónica de Ciências da Terra Geosciences On-Line Journal* 3.1 (2006).

43 Walter Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 2015), 43.

44 A Grothe, Bettina Jungklaus. “Der Tod—Steter Begleiter im Dreissigjährigen Krieg,” in Harald Meller, M Schefzik ed. *Krieg. Eine Archäologische Spurensuche* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2015), 391–398; *1636 - ihre letzte Schlacht*.

45 Nicole Nicklisch, Frank Ramsthaler, Harald Meller, Susan Friedrich, Kurt W Alt, “The face of war: Trauma analysis of a mass grave from the Battle of Lützen (1632),” in *PLoS One*, 12(5), 2017, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5439951/#pone.0178252.s002> accessed 4 April 2018.

Imperial left had stood, possibly near Camargo's regiment.⁴⁶ The corpses poisoned the water. That winter, death tolls in the little town spiked.⁴⁷

Saxon soldiers were disproportionately urban. They would have been familiar with bodies washed out of shallow graves under heavy rain, blackened skin, swollen faces, eyes pooching out of puffy sockets like cooked egg whites, the stench. What bothered soldiers, thought Montecuccoli, was the anonymity of remaining on the field. He thought they thought they would be forgotten, and he tried to counter this in his example of exhortations to the troops: "If one is buried upon the battlefield, one feels nothing thereby. The glory of one's name is not impaired. Rather, the historical accounts that describe battles will preserve the memory of a person's life far more durably than all the marble monuments that could be erected upon a tomb."⁴⁸ Battles killed men in their thousands, but this discussion of soldiers without monuments has a hint of the same emotion as a muster roll that laconically notes that a dead soldier "remains" somewhere: loneliness. Franz Christoph von Khevenhüller, chamberlain and privy councillor to two Emperors, passed by the Nördlingen battlefield two years after the battle, which had been in 1634. "Today I saw the place where Your Imperial Majesty had made yourself seen to be undying and glorious," he wrote, "and you can see more bones and skulls lying on the field than wheat growing."⁴⁹

46 It is unlikely but not beyond the bounds of possibility that some of the Lützen dead in addition to Camargo himself were former Mansfelders. The Mansfeld regiment had an unusually high proportion of people from the Spanish Netherlands, who probably came in with Camargo and who may have left with him too.

47 Peter Wilson, *Lützen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 90-91.

48 Raimondo Montecuccoli, *Sulle Battaglie*, in Thomas Barker, *The Military Intellectual and Battle: Raimondo Montecuccoli and the Thirty Years' War* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1975), 132.

49 "Heute hab ich die wahlstatt, darauf sich EK Mt unsterblich und glorwürdig gemacht gesehen und sieht man noch mehr Bain und Tottenköpf auf dem feldt liegen alß Traidt herumwaxen." March 26, 1636. Quoted in Lothar Höbelt, *Von Nördlingen bis Janckau: Kaiserliche Strategie und Kriegführung 1634-1645* (Vienna: Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, 2016), 104.

Common soldiers had no physical epitaph. Contemporary civilians erected crosses and plaques near the bodies of the dead; the deep concern with the exact physical location of the dead came later. The walls, floors, and pillars of churches are covered with these commemorations.⁵⁰ Unlike common soldiers, some officers were no exception. Numerous seventeenth-century officers' epitaphs survive in France, proudly recounting their genealogies and their heroic deeds, sometimes listing the ranks they held in order. The marquis de Gesveres died in 1643 at 32: he "was so admirable that his death could only have been glorious...If you are French shed a few tears for a noble warrior who shed his lifeblood for the honor of France...he asks only for your piety, for he is content with his fate..."⁵¹ The epitaphs are magnificent but the bodies lie where they fell, naked on the common heap of filth. When the Bavarian general Franz von Mercy died at Alerheim in 1645 his opponent the Duc d'Enghien gallantly erected a monument on the spot: *Sta, viator: heroem calcas*; "Halt, traveler: here is a hero's dust." But thousands of people died with Mercy in that place, and they lay there for at least one and a half months, in late summer. Eventually four civilians were found and paid 250 gulden to bury them, five gulden less than a Saxon captain's monthly pay in 1631 or 1632. By then the flesh had begun to fall apart; when the shallow grave was discovered again it teemed with disconnected bones, now soft and fragile from their rough time above-ground.⁵² Many of the dead had suffered cutting and slashing wounds, and a Louis d'or was found in the pit: these may have been infantry on the French right

50 Aries, *The Hour of Our Death*, 62; 281-284 etc.

51 *Ibid.*, 255-256.

52 St Berg-Hobohm and F Wedekind, "Gold erworben, den Tod gefunden," in *Archäologie in Deutschland*, 5 (2008), 40.

wing, which had crumbled under a Bavarian cavalry attack. The battle of Alerheim took place very late in the war: proportionately more of these people were young. One was twelve.⁵³

Yet survivors sometimes went to tremendous lengths for the bodies of people they knew. Maria Cordula von Pranckh's first husband Captain Gerhardt Johann Hacke was killed during the Little Northern War (1655-1660). On 11 November 1659 "between 1 and 2 in the afternoon," a Swedish cornet with a carbine leaned out of a round tower and shot him while he was trying to assault Reblino in Pomerania. "Since [Hacke] had his partisan in his left hand, he was shot in the left arm and side, the bullet mutilated the arm, went under it and through his chest and right through the heart, and ended up on the right side of his chest." Maria Cordula was heartened that he had gone to Confession the previous Sunday.⁵⁴ On the twelfth of November she had him embalmed. Then with her nineteen-month-old daughter Maria Renata, Maria Cordula transported the corpse from Pomerania to Straßburg in Carintha, more than six hundred miles south. She buried Captain Gerhardt Johann Hacke by St. George's altar in the church of his regiment, beside his children who had already died. Maria Renata was buried there herself next year.⁵⁵ When the Saxon Lieutenant Colonel Haugwitz of Carl Bose's regiment of dragoons died, both his regiment and his enemies took care of his body. Haugwitz had been on the way from Freiberg to Pirna in 1639. He rode out to drink with the Swedish cavalry colonel Wittemberg "on parole," a word of safe-conduct, "and because he was drunk went too far coming back to know whether the enemy was far away or not." A troop of his drinking-partner's men "who didn't

53 K Misterek, "Ein Massengrab aus der Schlacht von Alerheim am 3. August 1645," in *Berichte der bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege*. 53 (2012), 361–391.

54 Maria Cordula von Pranckh, ed. Joseph Zahn, "Gedenkbuch der Frau Maria Cordula, Freiin von Pranck, verwitwete Hacke, geb. Radhaupt, 1595–1700 (1707)," in *Steiermärkische Geschichtsblätter* 2/1 (1881), 9–29, 12.

55 Von Pranckh, "Gedenkbuch," 12-13.

know that he had parole...found him, charged him, fatally wounded him, and brought him as a prisoner to the camp before Pirna, where he died.” The Swedes sent his body back, and Haugwitz was buried in the Freiberg cathedral.⁵⁶ Most of the people who got this special treatment were nobles or officers, but not all: in one case, a Catholic soldier condemned to hang asked Jesuits to bury his body in consecrated ground. Although the hangman buried him beneath the gallows, the priests dug the body up and carried it to its final resting place.⁵⁷

The Mansfeld Regiment’s own Stach Löser died on October 8 1634, when he was stabbed by Duke Carl of Sachsen-Lauenburg in “a duel on horseback.”⁵⁸ He was buried in Dresden's Lutheran Sophienkirche, where his mournful grave inscription expressed the hope that Jesus would give his noble body a gentle rest. (“Although the righteous may fall, they will not be cast aside, the Lord holds them by the hand: Psalm 37. What God wills.”)⁵⁹ But the Sophienkirche was gutted by fire when Dresden was bombed on the night of 13 February 1945, and despite protests the ruins were destroyed between 1962 and 1963. Löser's remains were probably pulverized with them, if they had not burned already. The bones of the Mansfeld Regiment’s talkative young lieutenant colonel of cavalry now remain under a weed-strewn concrete courtyard next to a bar and shopping center.

56 “undt folgents Freybergk vobey nach Pirna gangen, ist der Obriste Lieutenant haugwitz uff parole Zum Obristen Wittembergk heraus geritten, undt hat sich trunckenerweise im rückwege Zu weit vergangen, umb etwas Zu recognosciren, ob der feindt ganz wegk oder nicht da er dann von einem *troupp*, unweißend der Wittembergischen *parole*, angetroffen, *chargiret*, tödtlich verwundet, undt gefangen ins lager vor Pirna bracht, woselbst er gestorben.” SHStAdr 11237 10831/1, 44.

57 Bernhard Duhr, SJ, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge* Vol. 2 Part 2 (Freiburg im Br: Herderische Verlagshandlung, 1914), 316.

58 SHStAdr 11237 10831/1.

59 Bernd Warlich, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg in Selbstzeugnissen, Chroniken und Berichten*, entry for Löser [Leser], Eustachius von, <http://www.30jaehrigerkrieg.de/loser-leser-eustachius-von/> accessed 18 Nov 2016.

The Mansfeld Regiment probably saw combat only rarely if at all, and no records of its combat losses survive in the Dresden archives. But attrition rates for the Mansfeld infantry between November 1625 and July 1627 can be determined from the musters listed by Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt when he tried to bill Milan for their bread.⁶⁰

Month	2 Nov 1625	2 Sep 1626	23 Feb 1627	5 Jul 1627
Mansfeld Company		279	276 (3 Feb)	261
Camargo “		271	260	214
D Vizthumb von Eckstedt “		280	265	237
A Vizthumb von Eckstedt “		277	264	251
Von Arnswald “	242	221	186	175
Von Körbitz “	286	236	172	153
Von Ponickau “	271	251	182	180 (31May)
Winckelmann “		275	263	236
Medringer “	261	232	223	205
Richter “	275	223	213 (27 Feb)	172
Total Infantry	incomplete	2,545	2,304	1,874

Table 9.1: Infantry strength in Mansfeld Regiment, September 1626-July 1627

Mansfeld infantry companies were mustered for pay at least four times. While these numbers do not show a drastic plunge downward before the mass desertions after July 1627, they are well below the 3,000 troops that composed the regiment’s infantry on paper. I have not found solid figures for the regiment’s cavalry; they numbered 1,000 horsemen on paper. Considering the gulf between paper strengths and real strengths in the early seventeenth century, the 700 horsemen

⁶⁰ SHStAdr 10024 9239/2, 54r-82.

who took part in the raid on the castle in late 1625 may have been the regiment's entire cavalry contingent.

The lists these numbers come from did not distinguish among different reasons soldiers might be absent or unfit for combat like death, sickness, imprisonment, wounds, or desertion. But chances are the real killer for the Mansfeld Regiment was sickness. Malaria cut down their French enemies in droves. Although we cannot track the impact of illness on the entire regiment, we can examine its effects on Wolfgang Winckelmann's company. When Mattheus Steiner assembled this company on or about 11 January 1626 to ask them about the fabric taken from the Swiss traders, he took roll.⁶¹ On that date, this company numbered 235 soldiers on paper not counting the *prima plana*, forty soldiers fewer than it eventually climbed to that September.⁶² But 24 or 25 soldiers out of 235 were sick that day, with a *k* or *kr* next to their names for *krank*. (The writing in one entry is unclear.) A few were so sick they couldn't understand what was said to them: Jacob Fritsch *hat kein verstandt mehr gewesen*, he could no longer understand anything.⁶³ Had Steiner walked into Fritsch's quarters, the civilian house or scrap-wood shanty where he was lying? And seven soldiers out of 235 had died--some just then, like Paul Scheckner and Elias Kerdenmit, who had the *k* scribbled out and the cross for "dead" written next to their names instead, as though Steiner had corrected himself abruptly when they died.⁶⁴ It is unclear when the roll that Steiner was working from was produced--it is not listed in Dam Vizthumb von Eckstedt's records for November 2 1625. If it had been made in early November like the company records in Vizthumb von Eckstedt's list, these numbers mean that almost three percent

61 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 59, 75.

62 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 60-74.

63 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 61.

64 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 71.

of Wolfgang Winckelmann's company had died within three months. If this was how the adults died, the child mortality rate in armies must have been atrocious.

The bodies of the War People were abject, vulnerable to pain and illness during life and degradation after death. But the war did not erase their individual humanity. Each death meant the end of a human life as well as the misery of the dead soldier's relatives and friends, their anger and grief. Peter Hagendorf was in the Swedish army in the battle of Nördlingen: they made fifteen frontal assaults uphill against entrenched positions, and all were beaten back.⁶⁵ When he recounted this he broke off, begged the reader's pardon, and then broke into a string of expletives: *o lutrian, begfutu, Madtza, hundtzfut*. "The Spanish destroyed my regiment." He said nothing more.⁶⁶ To go into battle meant horror and fear or disgust, as well as the gratifying exercise of martial strength and power--and these soldiers were self-directed compared to later periods, their commanders had to take their emotions into account when making decisions.⁶⁷

His superiors thought he was dead, but letters from Alwig von Sulz begin appearing in the archive again on the 27th and 30th of October 1627. His signature is still shaky, pale as coffee with milk in it, but Alwig von Sulz was alive after all. He got a letter on the 26th delivered by Mansfeld's Rittmeister Krakow, he said: Mansfeld has been nominated as a general over the War People in the Empire. He wished Mansfeld much dignity, much luck, every prosperity of body and soul, and a victorious hand against the Estates who were rebellious against the Emperor. "I

65 Wedgwood, *Thirty Years' War*, 374-375.

66 Peter Hagendorf, ed. Jan Peters, *Ein Söldnerleben im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Eine Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 62.

67 One reason Wallenstein refused to resume the fight at Lützen was because "our People were so desperate that the officers could no longer hold the troopers and privates with their units." Wilson, *Lützen*, 86.

will work hard for you,” he wrote.⁶⁸ But at this point he took little part in the activity that teemed around him. The ultimate authority over Sulz’s regiment was still Wolf von Mansfeld.⁶⁹ However, when Mansfeld left Prague he had gone to Schluckenau again; he wanted nothing to do with the command of the Sulz Regiment, and had only taken the job against his will.⁷⁰ So *Kriegscommissarius* Ossa headed west to handle things in person.⁷¹ He hustled back and forth, arranging pay, appointing quarters, receiving letters and forwarding them along.

Ossa found quarters for Sulz’s people with dark relish. Almost nobody in the Mansfeld Regiment let alone its high command had mentioned the religion of individual soldiers or civilians, but Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla knew every city, town, and village near the Sulz Regiment and kept a list of their confessional affiliations in his head so he could punish the Protestants by directing soldiers toward them. “The Herrschaft of Barr...has that place because this city was...with the horrible *Union*,” the Protestant Union, and therefore must quarter troops; “I see Württemberg and Rappolstein [Ribeaupierre], as well as Fürstenberg, as real servants of the Catholic League, [but] they need to take the People because they will not have more than three villages, which they will be able to do, especially Colmar, Schlettstadt [Sélestat], Kaysersburg, Turckheim, and Münster im Gregoriental, since they have suffered nothing at all in this war. They have set themselves hard against His Highness my gracious lord.”⁷² He listed

68 Letters from Alwig von Sulz to Wolf von Mansfeld, 30 Oct 1627 and 27 Oct 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 37r-38r.

69 Letter from Ferdinand II to Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla, 23 Oct 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 17r.

70 Letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to Ferdinand II, 1 Dec 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 86r-86v.

71 Letter from Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla to Wolf von Mansfeld, 13/3 Nov 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 42v.

72 Letter from Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla to Wolf von Mansfeld, 12 Nov 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 44v.

each polity in the region down to the villages, and marked the religion for each.⁷³ Ossa must have had a phenomenal memory of a time when he had walked that ground himself, because his knowledge of the region around Alsace was so granular that he made sure the villages he was assigning the Sulz People to were at most three miles from one another, more usually one or two.⁷⁴

Unlike Ossa, most members of the Mansfeld Regiment did not talk about religion, a significant silence in a war with religious overtones like this. Like many other issues in the historiography of this conflict, the debate about whether or not the Thirty Years' War was a religious war is old. Some historians used to deny the importance of religion for early-modern wars, arguing for the preeminence of socioeconomic forces; since the 1970s, historians have taken religion seriously as a motivation for interpersonal conflict or warfare.⁷⁵ By the seventeenth century, religious and political justifications for going to war coexisted.⁷⁶ The Thirty Years War was not solely a religious conflict, and religious militants were not the only

73 Undated copy of report with no author given, probably Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla, probably early November, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 57r-58r.

74 Letter from Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla to Wolf von Mansfeld, 19/29 Nov 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 69r.

75 For France see Mack Holt, "Putting Religion Back into the Wars of Religion," *French Historical Studies* 18. 2 (1993), 524-551; Henry Heller, "Putting History Back into the Religious Wars: A Reply to Mack P. Holt," *French Historical Studies* 19. 3 (1996), 853-861; Mack Holt, "Religion, Historical Method, and Historical Forces: A Rejoinder," *French Historical Studies* 19. 3 (1996), 863-873. A central example of the cultural approach to the history of religious conflict is Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past & Present* 59 (1973), 51-91.

76 Cornel Zweierlein, "The Thirty Years' War: A Religious War? Religion and Machiavellianism at the Turning Point of 1635," in Olaf Asbach and Peter Schröder, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Thirty Years' War* (London: Routledge, 2014), 240-242.

decisionmakers during this war.⁷⁷ However, religion was more strongly integrated into the daily life of armies than the usual view of this war acknowledges.⁷⁸

But the members of this regiment almost never talked about denominational specifics. When they mentioned religious topics, they usually echoed their own Articles of War and stuck to general phrases that could have been spoken by members of any denomination: "God protect you," "God have mercy on Victoria Guarde's soul." The public, "on-the-job" neutrality about religion in the Mansfeld Regiment looks less striking to us than to contemporary civilian observers, who lived in a world scarred by denominational conflict. Exceptions exist. Heinrich Teichmeyer may have been a Calvinist, since on his deathbed he said that he was going to the "home-like joy that has been ordered for all the elect."⁷⁹ But tolerance of religious differences may have been more common among ordinary soldiers than the powerful. *Kriegscommissarius* Ossa had the leeway to direct soldiers to quarters in territories that had allied with the Protestant Union, but the rank and file Mansfelders had to live in crowded rooms with one another for years, no matter who believed what. In a regiment that roiled with interpersonal conflict of many kinds, I have seen someone use a denominational insult only once: Feldwebel Hans Ritter claimed that because he spread the rumors Michael Meder had told him about Lieutenant Wolf Heinrich von Dransdorf, someone (he didn't say who) called him a "Catholic dog."⁸⁰ Yet this regiment was

77 Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 9-10; idem, "On the role of religion in the Thirty Years War," *Institute for Historical Research*, 30 (2008), 473-514. Wilson has been criticized for downplaying the religious aspect of this war. Mark Charles Fissel, "Review of *Europe's Tragedy*," *Journal of World History*, 22.4 (2011), 873-877.

78 Michael Kaiser, "Cuius exercitus, eius religio? Konfession und Heerwesen im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XCI (2000), 316-53; F Kleinhagenbrock, "Die Wahrnehmung und Deutung des Westfälischen Friedens durch Untertanen der Reichsstände," in I Schmidt-Voges et al. Eds., *Pax perpetua. Neuere Forschungen zum Frieden in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 2010), 177-93. For discussion on this topic I am grateful to M Ryan Crimmins, who is preparing a dissertation on religion and the military during the Thirty Years' War.

79 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 86-90.

80 SHStAdr 10024 9739/6, 170.

unusually likely to have been multi-denominational. It would be interesting to compare daily life in a unit that did not share the Mansfelders' position between denominations, like one in the Bavarian or Swedish army. The soldiers of Dietrich von Starschedel the Younger's free company invoked the Virgin Mary in a letter, making at least one of them likely Catholic, but the letter was to the Elector of Saxony, local head of the Lutheran Church.⁸¹

The religious practices and opinions of common soldiers varied. When the Mansfeld Regiment was heading south through the Swiss city of Bellinzona in September 1625, squad leader Georg Riedel and common soldiers Hans Sarm and Gregor Leutolten went into a church they called "The English Cross." As Sarm and Leutolten knelt to pray, Riedel "went behind the altar, there was a little bitty chest standing there, with a key in it, he opened that, and it had a chalice lying on top of a platter and other church stuff, from that he took the chalice." The theft immediately went wrong: not only did some civilians follow Riedel to his quarters, but when he got there his mates disapproved. Hans Sarm took the chalice from him and "told them (the others who were living with him) and prayed on God's will" that Riedel would give it to the civilian they were staying with, who could put it back in the church it came from. Riedel obeyed.⁸²

Soldiers also performed magic. Historians and antiquarians have known about this for a long time.⁸³ They continued to do magic into the eighteenth century and beyond.⁸⁴ Practices

81 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 62r-62v.

82 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 10.

83 EM Kronfeld, *Der Krieg im Aberglauben und Volksglauben, kulturhistorische beiträge* (Munich: Hugo Schmidt Verlag, 1915); Nicolas Funke, "Naturali legitimaque Magica oder Teuffliche Zauberey? Das festmachen in Militär des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Fruhen Neuzeit* 13.1 (2009), 16–32; Ulrike Ludwig, "Der Zauber des Tötens. Waffenmagie in frühneuzeitlichen Militär," *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Fruhen Neuzeit* 13.1 (2009), 33–49; Bähr, "Magical Swords and Heavenly Weapons."

84 Johann Ludwig Hartmann, *Neue Teuffels-Stucklein* (Frankfurt: Zunner, 1678); Johann Friedrich von Fleming, *Der vollkommene teutsche Soldat* (Leipzig: Martini, 1726), 355–368. Kronfeld has numerous examples of charms and protective devices from first-world-war Bavaria and Austria.

included making yourself invulnerable to being shot or healing wounds by rubbing magic salve on the weapon that injured you. People debated whether this magic was legitimate or demonic, but few doubted its efficacy. One historian claims there was a tension between making yourself impervious to bullets with magic and the early modern art of dying well, since magic was an attempt to evade death.⁸⁵ I do not agree. What I have seen suggests that soldiers viewed most magic as part of their normal lives, like the deserting officer who drew little bullets and an arrow in his letter to Stach Krackow as a form of sympathetic magic to prevent him from getting hurt: *may no [bullets], no [arrow], and no sword blow* hit you. Mattheus Steiner copied them when he copied the deserter's letter (Figure 9.1).⁸⁶

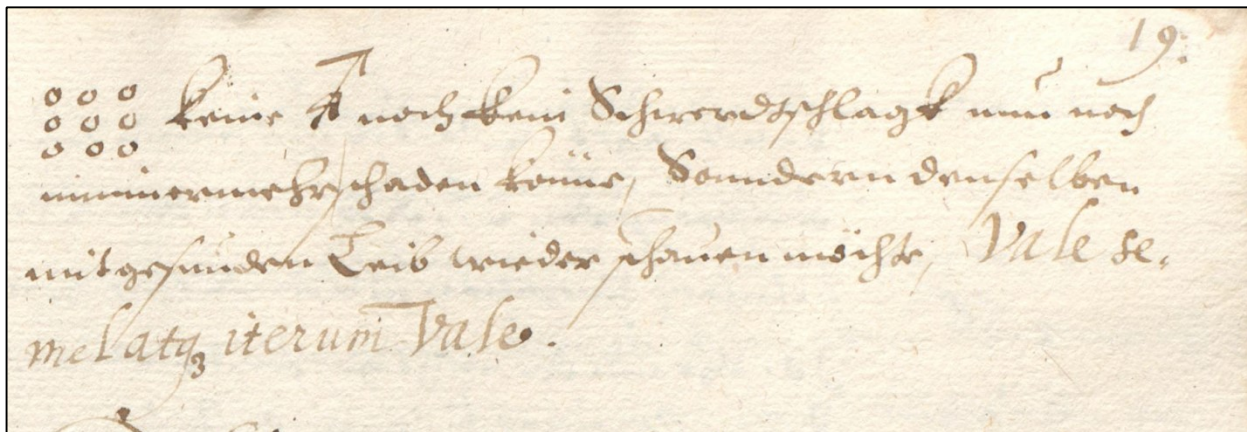


Figure 9.1: Steiner's copy of sympathetic magic in the Mansfeld legal documents

When Jonas Beck and Melchior Schröter were scrapping in the pub in Triptis, the barkeep poured some beer on their table “as some table-hold [*Tischhalt*] so nobody might begin anything else until the next morning.”⁸⁷ It almost worked: Beck and Schröter did not stop fighting for fun,

85 Michael Kaiser, “Zwischen 'ars moriendi' und 'ars mortem evitandi'. Der Soldat und der Tod in der Frühen Neuzeit,” in *Militär und Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed Michael Kaiser and Stefan Kroll (Münster: Schöningh, 2004), 323-343.

86 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 18-19.

87 SHStAdr 10024 9121/5, 22r.

but the next time they wanted to have a go at each other they went outside, and the peace inside the establishment was maintained.

The exception to the familiar little magics of soldiers' daily lives is the Mansfeld Regiment's Michael Klebe, who made a pact with the devil. On Feb 24, 1626, Klebe and his countryman, both very drunk, came into the quarters they shared with at least three other soldiers. One of them, Tobias Krause, found that someone had taken three Zicks out of his pants, which he had stashed under the bed. "I haven't left this room--one of you must have done it." A fight broke out. Klebe was sitting next to the fire. The fight must have angered him: "The devil should come and knock them from one wall to the other so that their brains would stick to the wall." The other soldiers, quarrel forgotten, said he shouldn't talk about the devil. He answered: "he had made a pact with the devil, he could do nothing to him, and when Georg Schneider begged him to be silent from such talk and instead far more to think about our Lord God, he let the following words leave his mouth: God's hundred thousand sacraments--I shit on them."⁸⁸ This was the kind of macho posturing that one historian said motivated soldiers' magic: putting your immortal soul in danger proves you're a hard man.⁸⁹ Klebe was fettered for 14 days and lost his rank.⁹⁰ Compared with his possible fate in a civilian court he got off lightly: Mattheus Steiner might have been so scandalized by what Klebe had said that he refused to write it all down, but executing him for diabolism and blasphemy may have been less important than retaining a willing soldier. (Klebe was a turbulent person in general; on the ninth of August 1625 he had

88 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 117-119.

89 Barbara Tlusty, "Bravado, Military Culture, and the Performance of Masculine Magic in Early Modern Germany," in the panel *Masculinity and Military Culture*. 8th Annual FNI Conference, *Rethinking Europe: War and Peace in the Early Modern German Lands*, 9 March 2018.

90 SHStAdr 10024 9119/38, 119.

been walking past a woman as her sheep were coming in and he pulled out his dagger and stabbed one.⁹¹⁾

We know more about the religious thoughts and mental state of the Dresden guardsman Martin Seyfried Deckert, but only because he killed himself. Deckert came from Nuremberg; he shows up on the roll for Johann Friedrich von Brietschke's infantry free company as a squad leader from 1641 to 1646.⁹² I have found no rolls for this company after 1646; the Saxon free companies were paid off and dismissed in August 1650.⁹³ Deckert must have sought out the military life, or been used to it: he joined the Dresden city guard (*Unterguardia*) as a musketeer about a month later on 23 September.⁹⁴

Early on January 2 1654, Deckert and his squad were preparing for their watch in Old Dresden, the part of the city north of the river. Deckert was polite but focused (*ganz nüchtern*) when he came in. It was deep dawn, before four in the morning in midwinter, sunrise more than four hours away. When Deckert and the other musketeers lit their long matches they would have chained them like lighting one cigarette from another, blowing on them, scarred hands cupped around the flames. One musketeer cups his hands around another's when they light their match like that, they lean in head to head. From four to five, Hans Munch stood before the Weissentor between the first and second bulwarks; he heard a bell ring five, and then Deckert relieved him. Deckert stood on his watch alone in the dark for more than an hour. Did he think about what he

91 SHStADr 10024 9119/38, 13.

92 SHStADr 11237 10841/20 doc 3.

93 SHStADr 11237 10831/1, *Churf. Durchl. Zu Sachsen etc Erste und Andere Kriegsverfassung Nach entstandener Unruhe im Königreich Böhmen*, Infantry entry #1.

94 SHStADr 10024 9121/14, *Martin Seyfried Deckert, Soldaten in der Unter-guardia zu dresd, der sich selbst erschossen*, doc 2.

was about to do? We cannot know. It was fifteen past six when Hans Thomson and squad leader Sebastian Zimmerman left from the Weissentor and began the day's rounds; when they came upon Deckert they called "Round!" and he answered "Round passed." "And [Zimmerman] went along, and when it was three-quarters past six he heard a shot."⁹⁵

The guardsmen turned to one another in the darkness. Samuel Brondigen, who was standing by the mill, asked Zimmerman if he had heard a shot, and where it came from. Zimmerman didn't know. When the two walked to the guardhouse they asked the guardsmen inside if they had heard a shot. Christoff Leonard, who had been standing watch, said he heard it: it had come from the earthworks on the righthand side. Zimmerman ordered Hans Thomson to run down to the first watch station on the earthworks, where Deckert was, and ask him if he had heard something. When Thomson came to the place where Deckert should have been standing he didn't find him. He doubled back and walked to the other bulwark, and found Deckert lying in front of the tower at the end. It was shortly after seven in the morning in early January, in central Europe: Thomson couldn't see anything. He nudged Deckert with his foot. "Brother, what is it?" "And then he didn't move, because he saw that he was dead, and the blood was fizzing out over his head [*heraus gezischt*]."

Back in the guardhouse Zimmerman's first reaction was disbelief: he "didn't entirely want to trust" what Thomson said. So he sent squad leader Peter Baldin back with Thomson to see what was going on with Deckert. Baldin found Deckert dead, lying on his knees, right shoulder hanging into the schoolhouse that was against the earthworks: when he pulled the corpse out by the shoulder so he could see what had happened and testify to it, Deckert's head was split entirely in two. Then they went back to the guardhouse and Zimmerman went at once

95 This account and the following paragraphs are from SHStADr 10024 9121/14, doc 2.

for Hauptmann Goldbach. The legal process had swung into motion. At 9:30 in the morning the witnesses inspected the body. They testified that they saw:

a soldier from the Underguardia by the name of Martin Seyfreid Deckert, from Nuremberg, and the musket, with the hair that had been blown off, and the musket fork lies before a bend in the school house, and the fork extends out of the doorway, turned over, the soldier however is lying before the doorway, and his livery taken off, kneeling, and his entire skull is shot in two, and his head stood entirely open to the brain, and the dura and pia mater were gummed to a corner of the doorway above him, also part of the brain around the shards, and the long part lay on the end, and horrifying to see, and above the nose his face is split in two, but the nose is whole, and so it seems to the witnesses as though he set the musket against his face, above the nose, and shot himself that way, and it seems to all as though he stood before the doorway, the musket set a little bit against the schoolhouse, and pulled the trigger with the musket fork, so the bullet flew into the air and he fell instantly.⁹⁶

The wall of the schoolhouse was caked with a bloody mixture of dura mater, pia mater, and Deckert's long hair, which was still hanging there when Doctor Paulus Burkner made his report.⁹⁷

A seventeenth-century matchlock musket is massive, clumsy, and furniture-like: it comes up to higher than your shoulder. Many of them fire a ball of one and one third ounces of lead, with a charge of the same weight in powder. Shooting yourself with a gun like this was an involved procedure. It would have been easier for Deckert to cut his throat or jump into the Elbe,

96 "ein Soldate aus der Unterguarde namens Martin Seifried deckert, Von Nurembergk, todt gefunden, und ist der Musquete, mit auf geschlagenen hahwr, und der Musqueten gebel vor Kehrt danben in Schullerhause gelegen, und sich den laufft Zur Thur heraus gekehret, den Soldate aber die Leuge Von der Thur, und die Leberey ahngehabt, mit gebogenen Kniehen, und ihme die ganzn hirnschale antzwey geschlossen, und den Kopff ganz offen gestanden das gehirn und die dura pia mater oben an der Thur in Winckell geklebet, auch theils gehirn unbrust der schalen, und den Langer ahn Enden gelegen und schrecklich anzusehen gewesen, und ist das angesicht obenhalb ganz ent Zwey die Nase Kiehn und baut aber noch ganz, das wie der augen schriey giebet er die Musquete, Uber die Nase ins gesichte gesetzt und sich also er schoßen, und weill allen ansehen nach er Van der Thur gestanden, die Musquete in wendig ins Schullenhauß an gesetzt, mit dem Musqueten gebel die Zunge Lohs gestruckt, ist die Kugel in die Lufft geflogen, und er alsbald wie den gefallen..." SHStADr 10024 9121/14, doc 2.

97 SHStADr 10024 9121/14, doc 3.

but he killed himself with the weapon he knew. He took off his livery (*Leberey*), which probably refers to a uniform mantle. The city was icy at six on a dark January morning but he must have wanted to keep his mantle clean: this was his uniform. He flipped the musket's pan cover open to expose the priming powder, probably identically to the way he did it during the firing process: by 1654, he had been doing this for at least thirteen years. He did this by feel, in the dark. Stooping, he propped the butt of his musket on a corner of the wall between the earthworks and the schoolhouse. This was to keep the musket more or less horizontal: since it requires an open pan full of gunpowder to function you can't fire a matchlock musket pointing sharply upwards. Then Martin Seyfried Deckert knelt, set the wide cold greasy mouth of the gun against his forehead, reached forward with the musket fork in one hand, pushed the lever up, and blew the top of his head off.

The suicide unsettled Claus von Taube, colonel of the Dresden city guard. Everything von Taube knew about self-murder told him that Deckert was unlikely to commit such a grievous sin. Augustine had reasoned that someone who killed themselves was not only guilty of homicide, they committed a sin that was worse than anything they sought to avoid. This was a sin beyond forgiveness (*City of God*, 1:17-27). By the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church maintained that this sin was against nature; since human beings had only limited control over themselves, it also usurped the role of God.⁹⁸ Some historians maintain that by the late eighteenth century the official attitude towards suicide had become secularized, seen as a reaction to melancholy or bad circumstances instead of demonic temptation. Harsh penalties for suicide, such as the impaling and public display of the body of the dead or the forfeiture of their

98 Gary B. Ferngren, "The Ethics of Suicide in the Renaissance and Reformation," in Baruch Brody, ed, *Suicide and Euthanasia* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1989), 155-181. See in general the review of the literature, Róisín Healy, "Suicide in Early Modern and Modern Europe," *The Historical Journal*, 49.3 (2006), 903-919.

property, were gradually dropped.⁹⁹ Suicide may have been rarer in the mid-seventeenth century than later, because it was still so terrible.¹⁰⁰ The blind spot of this analysis is the problem of data. During periods when suicide was regarded harshly, those recording the event had an incentive to cover it up, whether deliberately or unconsciously.¹⁰¹ Attitudes toward suicide were also more complicated than originally believed. Historians now use the word “hybridization” instead of “secularization” for how reactions to it changed, arguing that newer attitudes were a mixture of religious and secular ideas.¹⁰²

If self-murder was the greatest sin a Christian could commit, it would make sense for someone who committed it to be a sinner in other areas too--a blasphemer, a drunk, a shameless person. This may have been why Colonel von Taube apparently asked around about Deckert. What he learned was not what he expected. Not only did Deckert go to church regularly, he had gone just the previous day. The soldier Christoff Pfrungk and a neighborhood butcher said Deckert prayed diligently, and when he came home from church he talked about the preaching. Deckert was pious, the wet-nurse (*nehrmutter*) said. She took care of Deckert’s baby because his wife had not yet recovered from the birth. Before the family ate, she saw Deckert lead one of his children in prayer. This scrupulously religious soldier was outwardly a normal part of his family, his neighborhood, and the Dresden city guard. But people said he was “somewhat melancholy.” The wet-nurse remembered a hint that Deckert might have been disgusted with the world around him: “He feared God and was led by him, and she had never heard anything bad about him, but

99 Jeffrey Watt, “Toward a History of Suicide in Early Modern Europe,” in idem, ed, *From Sin to Insanity: Suicide in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

100 Jeffrey Watt, *Choosing Death: Suicide and Calvinism in Early Modern Geneva* (Kirksville MO: Truman State University Press, 2001).

101 Patrice Higonnet, Review of *Choosing Death*, in *The Journal of Modern History* (77), 2005, 472-474, 473.

102 Healy, “Suicide in Early Modern and Modern Europe,” 907-908, 918.

four or five days ago he said it felt to him like every human being just runs around like a pack of cats [*es speirta ihn baldt eidermann ahn ensehe wie hauffen kazen umb sich lauffen*].”¹⁰³

Deckert’s thoughts were probably darker than anyone knew.

Claus von Taube was a veteran, an officer and the relative of officers, but his musketeer’s suicide left him at a loss; he could not reconcile the contradiction between what a suicide was supposed to be like and Deckert’s life. All he could conclude was that Deckert must have once been God-fearing, and then somehow turned away. Be mindful of your life’s course, he wrote.¹⁰⁴ Although Lutherans rejected the notion of consecrated ground, suicides were buried in different areas of the churchyard or outside it, in silence, or with other truncated rites.¹⁰⁵ Martin Seyfried Deckert had no military funeral: no pikes bore him up, no drums hurled their sound against the walls for his procession, no flags were unfurled before his body. He was buried outside the churchyard in the corner, the afternoon after he died. After the soldiers had carried the body back to the guard house Colonel Taube didn’t want it lying there.¹⁰⁶

Late fall, 1627. The date for the Sulz Regiment’s eventual mustering-in kept getting pushed back.¹⁰⁷ They were originally supposed to have been mustered in in June. On the 13th of November Ossa assumed they would muster in on the 20th, and then he’d be able to see what

103 SHStADr 10024 9121/14, doc 2.

104 SHStADr 10024 9121/15, doc 1.

105 Craig Koslofsky, “Controlling the Body of the Suicide in Saxony,” in Jeffrey Watt, ed, *From Sin to Insanity: Suicide in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 52-53.

106 SHStADr 10024 9121/15, doc 1.

107 This happened frequently: whether it was deliberate or not, the locals experienced it as a form of tax increase. Zoltán Péter Bagi, “The Life of Soldiers during the Long Turkish War (1593–1606),” in *The Hungarian Historical Review*, 4.2 (2015), 384-417, 398.

kind of People they were.¹⁰⁸ On the 29th he thought it would happen on the 21st of December.¹⁰⁹ This was well into the off-season, so in any case the Sulz Regiment would not leave their winter quarters until spring. By this point, remnants of the Mansfeld Regiment were being mentioned too: the plan may have been that they would be mustered in with the Sulz People. Ossa had known about them since at least early November, when he noted that “Wissembourg is Lutheran, has about 800 citizens and a little village, was in the [Catholic] League, and Mansfeld also has a company there [*auch hatt Mannsveldt ein Compagni mitterhalten*]. Landau is Lutheran, has about 1000 citizens and 2 villages, was also in the *Union*, and paid Mansfeld for one company of infantry [*ein Fendel Knecht*].”¹¹⁰ Leopold of Further Austria wrote that except for Colmar and Schlettstadt his territories on the Rhine had been devastated by “the Mansfeld Regiment’s onslaught” and “forced payment with threats of fire;” they were “entirely ruined” right up to the border with Lorraine.¹¹¹ The six hundred survivors of Mansfeld’s infantry may not have been enough to produce destruction on this scale. But the company in Wissembourg was probably Mansfeld’s Life Company of Horse, and the rest of Mansfeld’s cavalry could have made it out of Italy by late November.

On November 27, Alwig von Sulz wrote to the Emperor in his own hand. His writing was dark and steady: his hand wasn’t shaking. He had recovered enough to begin taking an active role in his regiment’s affairs again. The musterplace would be in Strasbourg, whither Ossa

108 Letter from Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla to Wolf von Mansfeld, 13/3 Nov 1627, SHStAdr 10024 9235/4, 42v.

109 Letter to Mansfeld from Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla, 19/29 Nov 1627, SHStAdr 10024 9235/4, 69v.

110 Undated copy of report with no author given, probably Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla, probably early November, SHStAdr 10024 9235/4, 57v.

111 Letter from Leopold of Further Austria to Ferdinand II, 16 Nov 1627, SHStAdr 10024 9235/4, 81r.

had led seven of Sulz's companies himself, and in the nearby Duchy of Barr.¹¹² As he prepared to head out again in his Emperor's service, Sulz wrote that Barr was a terrible place for his People to be quartered in: not only did it have few villages, but "partly through hail and a bad year, partly through careless quartering and troop movements," those villages were "entirely destroyed, chewed up [*ausgemegelt*], and impoverished, so most of the subjects have left house and home, their nourishment, much less what a soldier needs, little of the maintenance of life" [sic].¹¹³ Alwig von Sulz was conscious of his duty and good to his men; he had tried to provide for them even from his deathbed. But when he complained about the devastation around him it was without a trace of self-consciousness, no hint of recognition that it was him and his men who had done it. Before his regiment mustered in he hoped that the Emperor would send him money and do what is necessary "for the conservation of this my fresh and brave regiment [*frisch und dapper*], reported without fame."¹¹⁴

On the first of December 1627, Wolf von Mansfeld wrote to Sulz from Schluckenau: he had just heard that Ossa had mustered the Sulz Regiment in.¹¹⁵ The last members of the Mansfeld Regiment may have been among them. They would take the field in spring.

112 Letter from Alwig von Sulz to Ferdinand II, 27 Nov 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 90r.

113 Letter from Alwig von Sulz to Ferdinand II, 27 Nov 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 90r-90v.

114 Letter from Alwig von Sulz to Ferdinand II, 27 Nov 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 91r.

115 Letter from Wolf von Mansfeld to Alwig von Sulz, 1 Dec 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 71r.

Conclusion: A Beautiful Regiment

When Wolf Rudolf von Ossa went to the Palatinate in November 1627 to supervise the Sulz Regiment since Alwig von Sulz was still incapacitated, one of the reasons he gave was that he wanted to see for himself “what sort of People [the Sulz regiment] was.”¹ He must have seen something he liked about them because he wrote later that “It would be a shame for such a beautiful regiment to scatter for lack of support, or be compelled to live at home, which they would have to do only with great outrages and destruction of the land.”² *Beautiful*, “schön,” was a common description officers used for regiments they liked. I hope the reader has come close enough to the War People to see a hint of what *Kriegscommissarius* Ossa saw when he looked at the Sulz Regiment.

I have argued that seventeenth-century mercenaries, both common soldiers and officers up to the level of at least lieutenant colonel, shared a set of beliefs and practices and can be analyzed as a subculture. This subculture shaped the path the Mansfeld Regiment took from Dresden to Lombardy, and the way it disintegrated. As much as possible, I have based this analysis of the mentalities of the War People on things they themselves said or wrote, without psychologizing. I have tried to avoid either demonizing these soldiers or attributing false heroism to them. The War People had their own norms and way of life. Soldiers may have been despised and hated much of the time by wider society, but within their own community they jostled against one another for honor and precedence. The word soldiers used for a proper soldier was *rechtschaffen*, which I have translated as “righteous,” as opposed to *redlich*, which I have

1 Letter from Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla to Wolf von Mansfeld, 13/3 Nov 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 42v.

2 Letter to Mansfeld from Wolf Rudolf von Ossa zu Dehla, 19/29 Nov 1627, SHStADr 10024 9235/4, 70r, “Es were schad, dz ein solch schön Regiment, Auß mangel underhalt, solte Zer lauffen, oder daheim gennötigt warden, daß sie mit großen *exorbidanzien*, undt Landts verderben, leben mußten.”

translated as “upright.” The officer who wrote Stach Krackow when he deserted called himself righteous; Matthias Laiber, the Fourier who obediently snitched on Juan Gammert, was upright.

Some basic assumptions about early seventeenth-century military life must now be substantially reexamined. Central to historians’ misconceptions about mercenaries have been the topics of drill and discipline. Soldiers’ social status was supposedly lower in the seventeenth century than it had been in the sixteenth; one element of this argument was the assertion that the seventeenth century was a period of increasing physical control over the soldier through drilling. In fact, when the members of the Mansfeld Regiment describe their daily routines, drill is never mentioned. Officers did not mention drill either; the Mansfeld Regiment’s Articles of War specified that the Articles should be read out loud at least twice a month, but said nothing about drill. Instead, officers talked about experienced soldiers who helped train the new people on an informal basis. Mercenary soldiers were motivated by their own values probably far more than by pressure from above, considering the relatively small proportion of officers and the profound challenges that highly mobile operations over huge distances without modern technology posed to keeping track of people. In addition to coercion and violence, the power that officers had over soldiers was based on their willing consent. Theodoro de Camargo could kill a common soldier, or his wife, but he could not force anyone to respect him. The only Justus Lipsius in this book is Justus Lipsius the pikeman, not the famous Neostoic writer on self-discipline and constancy.

Seventeenth-century military justice has also been misunderstood. Historians who focus on social disciplining claim that in contrast to sixteenth-century soldiers, seventeenth-century soldiers lost the right to participate in their legal affairs. For them this symbolized these mercenaries’ loss of status. Other historians have referred to armies during the Thirty Years’ War as lawless bands. Yet close observation of the daily lives of soldiers and

officers reveals that the military subculture was deeply legalistic. Soldiers had their own legal code, the *Kriegs Recht*, literally “War Law:” nobody used the word “law” without that qualifier. Reverence for this law may have coincided with a messy reality of corruption and in one case a rigged trial, but seventeenth-century German military customs did give a voice to ordinary soldiers. Military flags--impressive and very expensive--expressed the company’s legal status visibly. If the law was something divine, flags were too. This led to practices which are striking and odd to modern eyes, like loyalty to the flag as an object. When a company was dismissed its flag was ripped off its pole; if a flag was ripped off its pole in combat, running no longer legally counted as desertion. Flags were honorable objects, which meant that if you were involved in a lawsuit you could not touch one because your honor was in doubt. Yet flags also expressed briskness, energy, and vigor, a visual equivalent of the kind of spirit soldiers admired. Mercenaries used the words *wacker*, valiant and alert, or *frisch*, brisk, to compliment one another. Fresh and brave, as Sulz said. A feather in your cap expressed this too, the zip and dash that a soldier should display. Most people couldn’t afford luxuries most of the time: despite his massive, casual corruption, Wolfgang Winckelmann owned only three suits of clothing and held a party with his officers sitting with him on his bed. For those who could, luxury consumption was a manifestation of a soldier’s inner fire. So was mouthing off to people who tried to tell you what to do.

Historians have assumed mercenaries were rootless. In fact, most Saxon soldiers came from an area centered on Electoral Saxony or the Thuringian duchies. The Saxon army in the 1620s was a thickly rooted network of more or less long-term soldiers surrounded by looser crowds of people who came and went. These soldiers were often united by ties of blood or friendship, which criss-crossed individual companies as well as extending from one company to

another. Where records are dense enough, we can trace individual soldiers over multiple years, or different members of the same family entering the army over multiple generations. Even in the later years of the war, the men of the Metzsch family continued to provide cavalymen to Electoral Saxony--or to Sweden. Although the odds were slim, the early seventeenth-century military offered common-born officers the chance to attain money, position, and respect. Meanwhile, in contrast to the stereotype that mercenaries were motivated only by money rather than by more noble impulses, the way they talked reveals that the relationship between employer and soldier was not solely financial. Cash was a symbol of this personal relationship, which was conceptualized as a form of service; the Mansfelders “took money from the purse and hand” of Philip IV, the king of Spain.

The reputation of early modern mercenaries has been colored by negative stereotypes for a long time. This work has shown that they were more complex individuals than the stereotype suggests, and their experience reflects the diversity of the human condition in the seventeenth century. Soldiers were threatening, but they were also vulnerable. Covered in parasites, awake at strange hours, crammed into the corners of other peoples’ houses, starving and cold: before anyone even got into combat the study of soldiers is also a study of dearth, bereavement, and fear. The fragility coexisted with their swagger. When Jonas Beck was arrested after he had killed a man in Triptis the rest of his squad vowed to stay with him and protect him; they clung together and the civilians had to rip him out of their arms.³ But when Jonas Eckert joked to Valentin von Treutler minutes before he died, that was spirit.

The Mansfelders demonstrate the hardship of life on the sharp end of the spear; about three thousand human beings suffering in the service of a splendid and terrible empire. Beneath

3 SHStADr 10024 9121/5, 48r-48v.

the level of great decision-makers, we can see the wear and tear of military operations from day to day. The common soldiers were ready to kill one another very fast over real or imagined slights; the officers sued. The officers mistreated the men under their command and the men fought back. Everyone drank too much. Many of them, like Wolfgang Winckelmann or Wolf Heinrich von Dransdorf's relatives by marriage, were probably criminals. But the War People were also capable of selflessness, and of great loyalty—to their flags, to one another. Mattheus Steiner and people like him were also committed to the military legal system, or the ethics of seventeenth-century soldiering. On the way up through Switzerland and southern Germany, a desperate dedication remained: the Mansfelders who deserted did so according to the legal norms they knew. Even in the sordid conditions outside Frankfurt am Main, some soldiers never left until they had been dismissed. Was this loyalty, the hope--by now beyond unrealistic--of pay, or some combination of motivations that differed for each person? They could have walked off at any time and no authority figure would have known they were gone, and they stayed.

These soldiers were cruel, and cruelty was done to them. They suffered, and they made others suffer. Before everything collapsed, when the regiment formed up, drums beating, high flutes shrilling, flags shining, match and torches lit, a bullet in each musketeer's mouth and pikes black slashes against the light, they were beautiful.

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- Book 2 SHStADr 10024 9739/6, *Protocoll aller gerichtlichen sachen, so sich unter des herrn Wolfgang Graf von Mansfeld...Regiment Zu Fuß ereignet und vorgegangen, Mit sonderne fleiß aufgezeichnet und beschrieben, durch mich: Mattheum Steinern, Regiments Schultheissenn und Secretarien uber das Regiment. Pars II.*
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